# Our Heavenly Father

# OUR HEAVENLY FATHER

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*A short meditation*
*on our*
*human relation with God*
*through love*
*and*
*His ineffable devotion*
*to us.*

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Arranged by
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# Our Heavenly Father

by

Rev. Raymond Sonnek, O.F.M.

Of all created beings only man calls God his "Father". Faith taught him to do so after Jesus had revealed this wondrous Truth to the world. The beloved Son of God wished, that through Faith in Him, we, too, might become children of His heavenly Father by adoption in love. Why, we do not know nor understand, for though a little less than the angels, we have been placed by our heavenly Father at the distant edge of the Milky Way upon the third, rather small and insignificant planet from the sun, left spinning in circles, going through space we know not

where, partly forgotten until the coming of Christ.

But consider this. He had ordered the heavens to produce myriads of stars together with other heavenly bodies shining in brilliance, but never calling Him "Father". He caused the earth and the sea to bring forth millions of animals, fish, birds and insects without number, none of which call Him "Father". But in creating man He took great pains to personally supervise the formation of the human body and to instill His own breath of life in order to make him a living creature; thus proving beyond doubt, that He was truly our heavenly Father.

It is sometimes hard for us to understand His divine love or even to detect a trace of mercy in Him, hence we must consider these facts in the light of Faith. For He is not a Monster, as our feeble mind might

picture Him to be, but the most wonderful of all Beings, our heavenly Father, who cannot by Nature of being God express evil, since He is ALL GOODNESS and can only diffuse Goodness to all His creatures. We may not compare Him to our natural fathers, for He is God, the Father almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible, and follows NOT the common pattern we have in mind. His love is not the love and devotion of a human father, but divine, eternal and infinite, which has no equal nor example among His created beings.

Jesus has made known to us the Name of the Father and shown how and why we should love Him with our whole heart, our whole mind and with all the strength of our soul. From Jesus therefore we must learn to BELIEVE in the divine goodness of our heavenly Father. What to our natural vision appears to be evil, will in the

light of Faith shine brightly as supernatural goodness. If God were evil and if we had sufficient reason to accuse Him of evil, He would not be God, because evil is a defect, and our heavenly Father has no defects.

When without Faith we read the history of horrible punishments as it is unfolded in the Bible, or think of our own personal experiences in pain and suffering, it is difficult to see any real Goodness in our heavenly Father. But we should remember, that our appraisal of Him is entirely wrong and opposed to the appraisal of Jesus, who being His only-begotten Son, knows Him better than the combined minds of angels and men could ever hope to know. If we would only stop our mind from picking out imaginary flaws in our heavenly Father's love, Faith would soon suggest a way, where we could discover for ourselves how ineffably GOOD and GRACIOUS He al-

ways is. There cannot be evil in God, since He converts all evil into good. And our heavenly Father is God almighty.

We must, every single moment of our life, rely upon Jesus to understand our heavenly Father. Otherwise we shall worship Him in mortal terror of what might happen, if we did not render unto Him the things that are His. Mind alone is not sufficient; Faith is required, for "without Faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God, MUST BELIEVE that He is, and is a rewarder to them that seek Him" (Heb. XI-6). Jesus wanted all men to love His divine Father, yet so few "respond to His desire," because they try to understand God without the help of His beloved Son. He said plainly: "No man cometh to the Father but by Me. If you had known Me, you would without doubt have known the Father also" (John 14-6). And elsewhere: "No one knoweth the Son, but

the Father; neither doth any one know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom IT SHALL PLEASE THE SON to reveal Him" (Mat. XI-27).

In view of these statements we must refrain from accusing our heavenly Father of any evil or misconduct, and pray to His Son, Jesus, for enlightment and guidance in Faith. The Holy Spirit will then show us the Truth and we shall see the true picture of our heavenly Father so lovingly impressed upon our soul. All other images that our mind stirs up are incomplete or false. The Lord's Prayer makes it easy for us to visualize our heavenly Father as He really IS in the eyes of His beloved Son.

**"Our Father, who art in heaven"** — this filial invocation allays all fear and trepidation when we stand before the Lord, God almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible, for with Jesus we ad-

dress Him not as the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, but as our dear Father; and heaven is only His Home and therefore ours also. A child fears not to speak to its Father, but enjoys every moment of conversation with Him, knowing that the Father also enjoys listening to the chatter of His beloved children. No wonder Jesus wished all of us to be converted and become as little children (Luke 18-17).

**"Hallowed be Thy Name"** — here we express our fond hope of having God's Name honored by all men, cherished and loved above all other names, for it is the Name of our heavenly Father, which we share with Him in love. It is truly a Family Name of which we are proud, for it embraces all mankind, corroborating the joyous fact that we are the sons and daughters of the Most High. Like His Son we too, wish to spread the importance of His Name throughout the world.

**"Thy kingdom come"**—God's kingdom is supreme and the only one worth having, hence we pray, that it come down from heaven to be received with honor by all the children of our heavenly Father. We have a personal share in this heavenly Kingdom, because each and every one of us has received individual attention, being created individually and sanctified individually. In this respect we seem to surpass all other created beings, who have been brought forth in bulk, as it were, like stars in the heavens above. Is it any wonder then, that our heavenly Father wishes to share His Kingdom with us in a special manner of love, since we are His little children?

**"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"** — this, the most important link of harmony between our heavenly Father and all His children, must be preserved at all costs. For once broken,

severe punishment is meted our immediately in order to bring back the wayward children to His divine will. All punishment comes from the hand of our heavenly Father not in anger or vengeance, but in love, because He cannot desire the death of the sinner, only that he convert and live (Ezech. 33-11). How else would He be our Father, if He planned destruction even for the most hardened of His children? We do not, of course, understand, why our heavenly Father's hand becomes so heavy that He threatens with hell and eternal punishment, since life so condemned cannot be restored to His love, but we must BELIEVE that even such punishment comes as an act of His divine goodness. We do not presume to understand our heavenly Father, because He is God, and our little minds are incapable of grasping the vastness of His divine plans. They may appear CRUEL from our standpoint and without any semblance of love, yet Faith insists

that they are always good. Hence we should rely on Faith and believe what Jesus tells us about His Father, namely that He is all goodness. When He Himself was once called "Good Master", He immediately answered: "Why callest thou Me good? None is good but One, that is God" (Mark 10-17). This GOODNESS of our heavenly Father must always be uppermost in our mind, for otherwise we would merely fear Him instead of doing His will in love and devotion.

**"Give us this day our daily bread"** — after having presented our three best wishes, we ask our heavenly Father for necessary sustenance in the form of bread. Of course He knows that we have to eat in order to live, and He does provide food in abundance, but nevertheless we realize that, like any father, He too would like to be asked, so we ask and pray without fear. Especially do we ask for the

Bread of Life, that we may live with Him forever in the wonderful mansions His beloved Son had prepared for us in heaven.

**"And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us"** — by this humble confession of our weakness we acknowledge not only the Fatherhood of God, but also the Brotherhood of man. We hold before our mind the picture Jesus shown us of our neighbor, and we are ready to share on equal terms any forgiveness received from our heavenly Father. It is truly an expression of brotherly love and an acknowledgment of our heavenly Father's divine justice. We are aware that He is no respecter of persons, and thus we love Him and our neighbors, as if we were one Family, which indeed we are. It points out also our humility in not claiming any exception to His general Rule, by which He governs all mankind, and forgives our trespasses in

proportion to our love for the neighbor, the stranger and even the enemy.

**"And lead us not into temptation"** — we ask our heavenly Father to spare us, if possible, the more difficult experiences of life on this small planet of ours, confessing our weakness and praying for His leadership to direct our steps through the swarm of temptations that threaten our state of grace. Our earthly pilgrimage is beset with temptations of one sort or another, as numerous as the stars in the Milky Way, and it is hard at times not to collide with some of them which obstruct our path. We therefore ask our heavenly Father to have pity and to take us by the hand that we may come out of all distress of darkness and danger into His wonderful Light and eternal Safety. It is a prayer of confidence and filial devotion.

**"But deliver us from evil. Amen"** — we are naturally terrified at the rapid

spread of evil around us, and we beg our heavenly Father to deliver us from the ever threatening fangs of the devil, through whom sin has entered our little world. We cannot easily cope with the evil forces that have been released by our arch-enemy, for once outside of the state of grace, we are almost powerless to do anything in our behalf. "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in high place" (Col. 6-12). Therefore we plead with our heavenly Father to simply deliver us outright from evil and make us free again. To stress the importance of our need, we add "AMEN", that it may please Him to come to our aid before we perish.

* * *

Who then is the Person whom we lovingly call our Father? It would require

many superlatives to describe Him, and still we would know very little, if it were not for Jesus who had revealed Him to us. From Jesus we must learn all about our heavenly Father and be not surprised that He is a Spirit of infinite majesty and grandeur, immense in His divine greatness, almighty in power and eternal in love. He is a God, mysterious and the Source of all mystery, yet He wishes to be known and loved by His children. Compared to Him, we are less than a grain of sand, for we are nothing. Yet through His divine grace we are just a little less than the angels and in some respects even surpass them in the glory, which shall be revealed someday in heaven.

This great Person, our God and Creator has loved us from eternity and desires that we call Him "Father". What an honor and ineffable privilege to be able to stand upon the third, rather insignificant planet from

the sun, and shout proudly for all creation to hear, that we are the children of God and He is truly our heavenly Father! On bended knees with tears in our eyes we should be grateful for His love and rise to the very heights of glory by basking in His divine embrace.

Our heavenly Father is all that Jesus said of Him and infinitely more, for only in the light of future glory shall we know Him as He IS, when our hearts will expand like golden chalices of love and devotion. He is a mysterious Spirit, the most incomprehensible Being in existence. No wonder we so often fail to understand His seemingly strange ways. But He knows our weakness and does not therefore require understanding, only Faith and a great deal of love. What we already know about Him from His Son is sufficient to enable us to love Him with our whole heart, mind and soul, more than any one or anything in the world, including ourselves.

Our heavenly Father wishes to be loved, though He needs no one for His happiness, but wants others to be happy. We should then strive to coordinate our little wishes with His divine desire. Frequently we seem to have great difficulty in finding a reason for loving our heavenly Father, because in our estimation He has left us behind to our own resources, as if He did not care what happened to our little planet on the border of the bright Milky Way. But as usual, we are mistaken, for He is closer to us than we are to ourselves, because "in Him we live and move and be" (Acts 17-28). He cares so much for us individually, that He did not hesitate to send His only-begotten Son to bring us back Home. While here Jesus had established a firm Haven upon the Rock of Peter, where all men could find refuge in His catholic Church and have the necessary means of believing, that He was sent to us by the heavenly Father (John 17-21).

We show our love for our heavenly Father when we do His will and comply with every wish expressed by His Son, for action speaks louder than words. Many of us claim to love our heavenly Father, but defy His will, by establishing our own churches instead of affiliating ourselves with the divine Church of Jesus. Pagans, Jews, Protestants, Moslems and who knows what other personal Beliefs, all go their own way, not knowing what they do. They boast of a great love for our heavenly Father, but without Faith they cannot please God. His will must be honored before there can be any real love.

In this respect our heavenly Father always had trouble with His disobedient children. Starting in Paradise the strife against His will has never subsided, and He should have lost patience long ago. Yet, not for a moment has He ever stopped calling men back to His divine will

through the Prophets and His beloved Son, Jesus. When shall we learn to really love our heavenly Father and do His will, no matter how strange it may appear to us? He expects us to return to His love; otherwise He would have destroyed the little planet on which we enjoy defying His will. He simply bides His time, for He is eternal and can wait in the hope, that at least most of us, if not all, will learn to love Him as our heavenly Father.

In order to change our mind for the better, we must by all means get rid of the horrid idea, that our heavenly Father enjoys the suffering of His children. We look upon Him as a Tyrant who delights in seeing His only-begotten Son dying in great pain upon the Cross. What horrible thoughts have been spewed through ignorance and misunderstanding, which Faith could never entertain, not even for a moment.

Whenever we find ourselves in pain, and our heavenly Father will not even lift a finger, so to speak, to help us in our distress, let us lovingly gaze upon the Cross, where Jesus in His agony calls out not in accusation, but in love so great that it shames our selfishness, namely: "Father, (into Thy hands I commend My spirit" (Luke 23-46). If a human father condemned his son to be crucified, that would indeed be an act of cruelty, because such a father would have no ulterior motive than suffering and destruction. Whereas our heavenly Father is the Source of life and His ulterior motive in permitting suffering is resurrection and life. Therefore it is not cruel on His part to demand pain and suffering, for He sends such experiences out of love.

All other preconceived ideas against our heavenly Father must be discarded, before we learn to love Him as we should. Jesus

is our Guide and living example, which we should follow. That also is the wish of our heavenly Father expressed at the Baptism of His Son and His Transfiguration on Mount Thabor, when He spoke from a cloud: "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him" (Mat. 17-5). We must hear Jesus in order to obey our heavenly Father, because Faith insists on taking the words of Jesus as those of God. He asks us for such filial Faith, saying: "You believe in God; believe also in Me. I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life. No man cometh to the Father, but by Me" (John 13-1; 13-6). Without Jesus we can do nothing.

We must at all times stay close to Jesus, because it is so important for our salvation that we know and love our heavenly Father. The Holy Spirit, whom Jesus had sent from the Father, is forever present in the catholic Church eager to share His lofty

inspirations with those who wish to rise to the very heights of love and join the angelic choirs in singing: "Gloria in excelsis Deo —Glory be to God on high, and on earth Peace to men of good will". Then we, who are the children of our heavenly Father, may go a step further in our love, and proudly sing: "We praise Thee. We bless Thee. We adore Thee. We glorify Thee. We give Thee THANKS FOR THY GREAT GLORY, O Lord God, heavenly King, God, Father almighty!"

Such thankful love for our heavenly Father is truly an all-embracing love coming from the whole heart, the whole mind and soul. We cannot rise any higher, for we ask nothing for ourselves, but are exceedingly glad that our heavenly Father is so great, and we thank Him for His divine Greatness. He comes first in our love, and all the various wants can wait. If we could only sustain such admirable love in our

daily life, how greatly would we please our heavenly Father. But alas, our wants are so pressing at times, that we forget about our love, and keep groping in the darkness of our misery unable to rise into the sunshine of our heavenly Father's smile radiating goodness and love. Therefore Jesus calls upon us to set aside our petty desires, by joining the Faith of the catholic Church and learn the Truth, namely that "the Father Himself seeketh such, that would adore Him in spirit and in Truth" (John 4-23). Too bad, that so many religions of the world follow their own inclination rather than OBEY the will of our heavenly Father, who desires all men to belong to the catholic Church of His Son. It is sad to see so much worship gone wrong, because of the lack of true love.

Our heavenly Father has sent His beloved Son to teach all men One Way of love that would supplant all other ways,

for it is His own divine Way. There can be no other way no matter how pleasing it may appear to us; hence we should leave our personal paths and return to God's Way of love. Only then shall we "taste and see how sweet is the Lord" (Ps. 33-9). And no complaint or accusation against our heavenly Father shall ever dare to suggest itself to our mind. Therefore, whenever we discover a complaint lurking in our heart against our precious heavenly Father, let us be reminded by the Psalmist to render full justification to God when men rise to judge Him as if He were a criminal (Ps. 50-5). He must win His case always, because no creature can accuse Him of any misdoing or injustice. We should also remember the great love of Job for the heavenly Father, when he boldly stated his devotion, saying: "Even though He slay me, I shall confide in Him" (13-15).

Our heavenly Father never deserves the ill-treatment which we so often show Him in our accusations and unending complaints, as if we knew better than He, how to rule the world which He had made to His liking! It is sad to look upon such lack of love in children, who outwardly proclaim their devotion to our heavenly Father, but inwardly refuse to obey His divine will.

In order to really love our heavenly Father, we must constantly bear in mind the filial devotion of Jesus, who prayed thus: "Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee" (John 17-10). This is truly a prayer of love, for it centers not in any earthly petition, but solely in the love of our heavenly Father. We ask for glorification as a means to glorify Him for His own sake without any selfish motive. It is a cry of love that only a child of God could understand as be-

ing most pleasing and acceptable to our heavenly Father. In view of such love, how insignificant are our usual prayers, in which the dominant idea is never our heavenly Father, but always our own selfish ends!

Our heavenly Father longs for human love more than He cares for the adoration of all the other visible beings in the universe. For this purpose, it seems, He gathered the best of the angelic world with the best of the animal kingdom, fused these two together, and made man, admiring His own work and proclaiming that it was "very good" (Genesis). Furthermore, He had lovingly impressed His own Image upon the soul, that all visible creation might know, that man was the masterpiece of His hands. He liked this new creature so much, that He had His only-begotten Son assume human nature in order to encourage all men to follow Him in love.

Since then no human being has any excuse for not loving our heavenly Father, but all men can and should proudly look up to the vast outer space in the brilliance of the Milky Way and from the footstool of heaven, which our small rather insignificant planet supplies, cry out that all creation may hear: "Through Him (meaning Jesus) and with Him, and in Him, IS TO THEE, GOD THE FATHER almighty in unity of the Holy Spirit ALL GLORY AND HONOR, world without end. Amen"

Through Jesus, because He is our Mediator; with Him we unite in homage to our heavenly Father; and in Him, since we are incorporated in Him through Baptism. We may now recite the Lord's Prayer in confidence and filial devotion, having offered to our heavenly Father the acceptable Sacrifice of His own Son. He now invites us to the Lord's Supper at which our Victim, Jesus, will give Himself as Food. We pre-

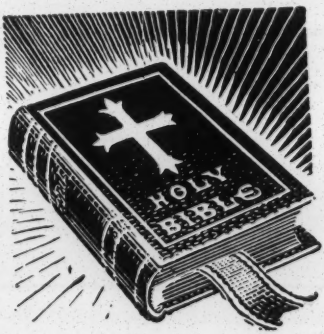
pare by praying according to His "method", to hallow our heavenly Father's Name, to spread His Kingdom, to do His will. Then will He give Bread sufficient for our body, forgive our trespasses of the soul, and save us from the evil of hell. Oh, how easy it is to develop our love!

Our heavenly Father has been very patient with us, waiting for our love to develop, but usually met with more of our demands, which we considered pressing, while He looked upon them as foolish and sometimes sinful. We now realize our poverty in wanting things solely for ourselves, when it was so easy to become rich by discarding all selfish desires for the greater Desire of truly loving our heavenly Father. We have lost so many opportunities in our daily struggle for things without value, that it is time and the hour has come, that we rise toward the distant Milky Way and far beyond calling with a loud

voice through the vast outer space for our heavenly Father. We might astound the heavens by such a cry of love, for no other visible being has ever called God its Father, but in our case it is truly the voice of our heart, our mind and our soul. How proud we should feel, having this ineffable love for our heavenly Father implanted in our soul at creation; delivered from the bondage of selfishness by Jesus, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit unto Life everlasting! We are indeed the temple of God and love must reign supreme.

In times of doubt always lean toward Jesus and listen to the loving throb of His Sacred Heart for our heavenly Father, and you shall feel the warmth of divine love spreading to your own heart, and soon with all the strength of your human composition of body and soul you will rally in time to uphold this wonderful love for our heavenly Father.

Above all else however always obey the will of our heavenly Father, for that is essential and proof of your love. Through Jesus He wanted all men to belong to One Fold under One Shepherd. Try to fulfill His wish in this respect, because He cannot change His mind to approve another Fold. Jesus is the only safe Guide, and we must forego our personal Beliefs, and strictly adhere to the Faith He left us in the catholic Church. The Holy Spirit will do the rest, and you will finally know that you do really love our heavenly Father.




One last word: pray, pray in this fashion: "God, that I may see the truth and have the strength to accept it!" — "God, grant that I may see the Catholic Church as you see it." Stop in as you are passing your next Catholic Church. It will be open. Make it the occasion of a prayer for religious truth.

**If I am right Thy grace impart**
**Still in that right to stay.**
**If I am wrong, then give me heart**
**To find a better way.**

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214 West 31st Street
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## THE NEGRO VOTER DRIVE—NO. 1

# Growth in Registrations Parallels That of Whites

By HAL GULLIVER

Georgia's Negro voter registration has soared in some urban areas during the past year, but for the most part the increase has been about the same as the growth in white voter registration.

This is true, despite the concentrated efforts of at least one statewide registration committee to coordinate Negro voter registration campaigns, all over the state.

This committee is affiliated with Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is also pushing Negro voter registration in other Southern states.

In April, 1962, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president, named Atlanta businessman J. H. Calhoun, longtime Negro Republican leader, chairman of the Georgia committee.

"We now visualize the doubling of the number of Negro registered voters within the next 2 years," Dr. King said at that time.

The results in Georgia in a year have fallen far short of approaching that ambitious goal.

Exact voter registration figures by race are available for less than half of Georgia's 159 counties, since many counties have abandoned the practice of reporting to the secretary of state separate totals for Negro and white voters.

Only 42 of the 73 counties for which 1962 figures are available, however, showed any increase at all in Negro registration since 1960.

And in most cases, the increase was slight and roughly equivalent to the growth in white voter registration.

MAJOR SPURTS in Negro registration came chiefly in the larger cities such as Savannah, Albany, Columbus, Atlanta, Macon and Augusta. But there were also rural counties with low Negro registration which more than doubled their total number of Negro voters last year.

In an annual report last month, Mr. Calhoun gave the following approximate figures for the 1962 increase in urban registration: Savannah, 1,000; Albany, more than 2,000; Columbus, 3,640; Atlanta, 6,000; Macon, 6,000; and Augusta, 3,500.

The effect of the Negro voter registration drive on local politics in some areas as well as the active interest of the U.S. Justice Department in voter registration in certain Georgia counties, will be discussed in later articles.

*Monday in The Constitution: The Drive in Terrell County.*

file J-C

SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1963

Duff. Ga.

## Among Negroes

# SHARP VARIATIONS IN REGISTRATIONS

The following table shows, county by county, the sharp variation in Negro voter registration in Georgia counties.

Registration figures filed in either 1960 or 1962 are available by race for 104 of Georgia's 159 counties and were supplied by Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office.

Figures for other counties come from 1958 registration figures or from more recent estimates of the number of Negro voters in a county.

Population figures are those of the State Health Department's 1962 estimate.

| | White Population | White Registration | Negro Population | Negro Registration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Atkins | 4,500 | 2,498 | 1,800 | 692 |
| Appling | 10,500 | 7,705 | 3,100 | 1,359 |
| Bacon | 7,500 | 6,184 | 1,100 | 101 |
| Baker | 1,900 | 1,631 | 2,700 | 24 |
| Baldwin | 13,600 | 5,353 | 8,900 | 1,477 |
| Banks | 6,200 | 3,696 | 400 | 30 |
| Barrow | 12,200 | 5,848 | 2,600 | 312* |
| Bartow | 25,900 | 11,239 | 4,900 | 1,208* |
| Ben Hill | 9,200 | 3,292 | 4,500 | 740 |
| Berrien | 10,500 | 5,078 | 1,800 | 561 |
| Bibb | 97,200 | 26,827 | 49,300 | 3,042 |
| Bleckley | 7,100 | 3,346 | 2,800 | 45* |
| Brantley | 5,200 | 3,500 | 800 | 265 |
| Brooks | 7,900 | 3,097 | 7,400 | 445* |
| Bryan | 4,100 | 1,972 | 2,300 | 817* |
| Bulloch | 15,600 | 7,780 | 9,000 | 1,403 |
| Burke | 7,100 | 3,664 | 13,700 | 427* |
| Butts | 4,800 | 4,086 | 4,200 | 1,582 |
| Calhoun | 2,600 | 1,685 | 4,800 | 145 |
| Camden | 6,200 | 2,428 | 4,100 | 1,176 |
| Candler | 4,400 | 2,989 | 2,400 | 1,066 |
| Carroll | 30,900 | 11,789 | 7,000 | 797 |
| Catoosa | 21,500 | 7,876 | 300 | 73* |
| Charlton | 3,800 | 1,096 | 1,700 | 204 |
| Chatham | 125,400 | 36,072 | 46,000 | 10,068 |
| Chattahoochee | 600 | 338 | 600 | 17 |
| Chattooga | 18,700 | 8,733 | 1,900 | 906 |
| Cherokee | 22,800 | 14,300 | 900 | 325* |
| Clarke | 34,000 | 8,907 | 11,400 | 1,451* |
| Clay | 1,700 | 900 | 2,800 | 150* |
| Clayton | 46,900 | 15,094 | 4,600 | 544 |
| Clinch | 4,200 | 2,293 | 2,500 | 339 |
| Cobb | 116,700 | 29,662 | 8,600 | 1,808* |
| Colquitt | 24,600 | 11,362 | 8,100 | 1,117 |
| Coffee | 16,500 | 8,000 | 6,000 | 2,000* |
| Columbia | 9,100 | 4,061 | 4,800 | 659 |
| Cook | 8,600 | 5,400 | 3,500 | 600* |
| Coweta | 19,300 | 9,108 | 10,200 | 1,594 |
| Crawford | 2,500 | 1,403 | 3,400 | 284 |
| Crisp | 10,400 | 5,179 | 7,600 | 890 |
| Dade | 8,800 | 4,100 | 100 | 26* |
| Dawson | 3,700 | 1,835 | ---- | ---- |
| Decatur | 12,300 | 7,841 | 10,700 | 1,016 |
| DeKalb | 259,400 | 64,450 | 22,500 | 2,153* |
| Dodge | 12,100 | 8,794 | 4,600 | 2,180 |
| Dooly | 5,500 | 4,252 | 6,100 | 722* |
| Dougherty | 52,000 | 13,700 | 26,700 | 4,800* |
| Douglas | 14,800 | 8,489 | 2,500 | 916 |
| Early | 6,400 | 3,729 | 6,800 | 261 |
| Echols | 1,400 | 838 | 500 | 19 |
| Effingham | 6,800 | 2,618 | 3,500 | 188* |
| Elbert | 12,000 | 8,787 | 6,100 | 934 |
| Emanuel | 12,200 | 7,864 | 5,900 | 2,098 |
| Evans | 4,500 | 2,206 | 2,600 | 483* |
| Fannin | 13,800 | 8,649 | ---- | 18 |
| Fayette | 5,900 | 2,760 | 2,400 | 26* |
| Floyd | 58,200 | 21,045 | 10,600 | 1,653 |
| Forsyth | 12,500 | 5,418 | ---- | ---- |
| Franklin | 12,000 | 7,500 | 1,500 | 100* |
| Fulton | 361,100 | 109,262 | 203,600 | 35,834 |
| Gilmer | 9,100 | 4,106 | ---- | 4 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Glascock | 1,900 | 1,283 | 800 | 1 |
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| Haralson | 13,600 | 7,162 | 1,200 | 384 |
| Harris | 5,100 | 3,340 | 6,100 | 263 |
| Hart | 11,700 | 5,978 | 3,700 | 281 |
| Heard | 4,200 | 2,321 | 1,200 | 325 |
| Henry | 19,400 | 7,225 | 7,600 | 2,377 |
| Houston | 34,200 | 7,799 | 8,600 | 413* |
| Irwin | 5,800 | 3,500 | 3,500 | 1,300* |
| Jackson | 16,600 | 6,679 | 2,400 | 408 |
| Jasper | 2,800 | 2,044 | 3,300 | 653 |
| Jeff Davis | 7,300 | 6,130 | 1,800 | 56* |
| Jefferson | 7,700 | 4,050 | 9,900 | 283 |
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| Johnson | 5,400 | 3,208 | 2,700 | 262 |
| Jones | 4,300 | 2,570 | 4,200 | 923 |
| Lamar | 6,300 | 3,590 | 4,100 | 992 |
| Lanier | 3,700 | 1,794 | 1,500 | 359 |
| Laurens | 20,900 | 9,590 | 12,500 | 2,231 |
| Lee | 2,400 | 1,210 | 3,900 | 29* |
| Liberty | 6,500 | 2,800 | 5,700 | 2,014* |
| Lincoln | 3,000 | 2,487 | 2,800 | 3* |
| Long | 2,700 | 2,201 | 1,300 | 1,061* |
| Lowndes | 30,600 | 8,943 | 15,300 | 1,637 |
| Lumpkin | 7,400 | 2,886 | 100 | 43* |
| Macon | 5,000 | 3,052 | 8,300 | 443 |
| Madison | 9,400 | 4,588 | 2,100 | 55* |
| Marion | 2,200 | 1,508 | 3,300 | 85* |
| McDuffie | 7,500 | 4,046 | 5,400 | 251 |
| McIntosh | 2,800 | 1,396 | 3,700 | 1,219* |
| Meriwether | 10,100 | 4,508 | 9,700 | 950 |
| Miller | 5,000 | 3,220 | 2,100 | 6 |
| Mitchell | 9,900 | 7,928 | 10,100 | 375* |
| Monroe | 5,500 | 3,938 | 5,000 | 738 |
| Montgomery | 3,800 | 2,385 | 2,600 | 715 |
| Morgan | 5,500 | 1,576 | 4,900 | 892* |
| Murray | 10,600 | 4,520 | 100 | 27* |
| Muscogee | 106,600 | 27,595 | 36,700 | 4,801 |
| Newton | 14,100 | 5,883 | 7,300 | 901* |
| Oconee | 5,000 | 2,317 | 1,400 | 86 |
| Oglethorpe | 4,400 | 2,763 | 3,500 | 259 |
| Paulding | 12,200 | 7,626 | 1,200 | 543 |
| Peach | 5,900 | 2,539 | 8,200 | 679* |
| Pickens | 8,800 | 5,124 | 400 | 140 |
| Pierce | 7,700 | 3,876 | 2,100 | 380 |
| Pike | 4,000 | 2,520 | 3,200 | 496* |
| Polk | 23,700 | 10,490 | 14,600 | 1,395 |
| Pulaski | 4,700 | 3,020 | 3,600 | 235 |
| Putnam | 3,700 | 2,303 | 4,200 | 563 |
| Quitman | 900 | 793 | 1,600 | 38 |
| Rabun | 7,600 | 5,089 | 100 | 29 |
| Randolph | 4,200 | 2,495 | 6,800 | 423 |
| Richmond | 81,700 | 26,097 | 42,300 | 6,747 |
| Rockdale | 8,000 | 4,641 | 2,900 | 731 |
| Schley | 1,400 | 893 | 1,800 | 134 |
| Screven | 7,200 | 3,530 | 7,800 | 863 |
| Seminole | 4,300 | 3,500 | 2,600 | 11 |
| Spalding | 26,300 | 9,370 | 10,500 | 1,391 |
| Stephens | 16,400 | 8,242 | 2,500 | 627* |
| Stewart | 2,100 | 1,656 | 5,100 | 136 |
| Sumter | 11,900 | 5,481 | 13,000 | 548* |
| Talbot | 2,200 | 1,448 | 4,900 | 219* |
| Taliaferro | 1,300 | 946 | 2,000 | 828 |
| Tattnall | 9,900 | 6,630 | 3,800 | 1,310 |
| Taylor | 4,400 | 2,940 | 4,000 | 389 |
| Telfair | 7,900 | 3,959 | 4,000 | 325 |
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| Thomas | 20,500 | 8,422 | 14,700 | 1,579* |
| Tift | 17,000 | 6,681 | 7,000 | 1,113* |
| Toombs | 12,500 | 5,962 | 4,800 | 431 |
| Towns | 4,600 | 3,514 | —— | ——* |
| Treutlen | 4,000 | 2,638 | 2,000 | 45 |
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| Upson | 17,500 | 6,404 | 6,700 | 655 |
| Walker | 46,300 | 24,928 | 2,600 | 1,019 |
| Walton | 14,700 | 6,381 | 6,200 | 458 |
| Ware | 24,900 | 12,365 | 8,800 | 2,391 |
| Warren | 2,800 | 1,640 | 4,600 | 188 |
| Washington | 8,200 | 5,269 | 10,800 | 1,542 |
| Wayne | 14,700 | 7,171 | 3,900 | 809 |
| Webster | 1,200 | 766 | 2,100 | 9* |
| Wheeler | 3,600 | 2,302 | 1,700 | 474 |
| White | 6,900 | 4,220 | 300 | 242 |
| Whitfield | 43,900 | 17,259 | 2,100 | 898* |
| Wilcox | 5,300 | 3,059 | 2,600 | 230* |
| Wilkes | 5,400 | 3,529 | 5,500 | 493 |
| Wilkinson | 4,900 | 3,041 | 4,500 | 411* |
| Worth | 8,900 | 5,855 | 8,100 | 296* |

*1958 registration figures, or a more recent approximate figure.

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Note: This letter has been referred to you by the Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C.

note: no return address!

April 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am writing you in reference to the voting rights of minority groups, especially Negroes, in the South. From your own point of view, I would like to know whether these groups enjoy the normal privileges. Here in the North, I am sure we receive a very distorted view of the situation. I realize, of course, that this is a very touchy subject, but I am doing a term paper on it. Any information would be very helpful.

1961
CR & Voting
#1

Prospective voters, as well as voters themselves, must be schooled in the needs of the people. I would like to put forth the following questions:

1. What is the actual Southern feeling toward Negroes as voters?
2. What do you think the Northern feeling is? - look -
3. What progress is being made?

Justice suits - 37

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Sandy Straus

Miss Sandy Straus

Fed
Exec
M. Price
VEP
64 Acts

Mon Aug. 5th

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Please forgive me for not answering your kind letter sooner. And I can't thank you enough for all the vitally interesting literature. I had wanted to attend some meetings and evaluate the situation here before writing.

I believe the greatest need today - especially in areas of crisis - is to provide a climate for communication and education. Violence seems to arise when lines of communication are broken. Therefore it seems to me the need in Tampa is for a sounding board - an organization which would make available to all concerned individuals the opportunity for expression of their viewpoints - such an

organization would be composed of people dedicated enough to the principles of brotherhood, that they would be willing to put aside their personal prejudices and projects in order that they might provide for others a climate ~~of~~ and opportunity for communication.... and understanding. With understanding would come the lessening of fear which appears to me to be at the root of much of our difficulties.

At the meeting of the Tampa branch of the F.C. on Human Relations the other night - only committee heads present by design - conversation and planning centered on the need for an "explosive and controversial general meeting in Sept." in the acting chairman's words. Then a number of individuals made plea for help in registering negro Jr. High students in here-to-fore white schools - corralling non-voters

for registering - finding a suitable Negro student for attendance at U.S.F. etc. all activist in design ... and all falling in areas already being handled by active and well ordered groups. I am an active member of the Urban League - and although our work is not spectacular, its aims (ULO) are slowly being realized.

Perhaps I've misunderstood the work and aims of the S.R.C. & the J.C.H.R. - By the above activities it has become pro-something or agst something else - forsaking forever the opportunity for mediatorship - Under the present circumstances, I'm afraid that I don't fit too well ... and I'm sorry. I've written Mr. Mitchell to this effect.

Everyone speaks so highly of you and your work - Namaskar!

Sincerely
Margot Kenyon

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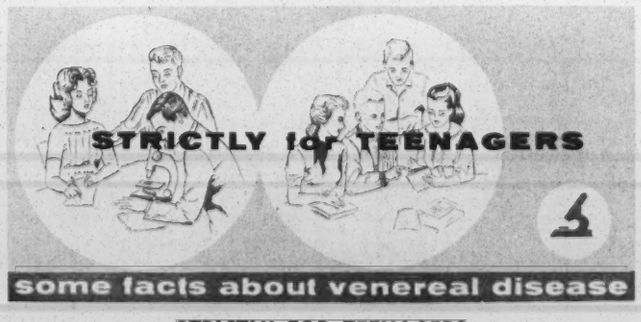


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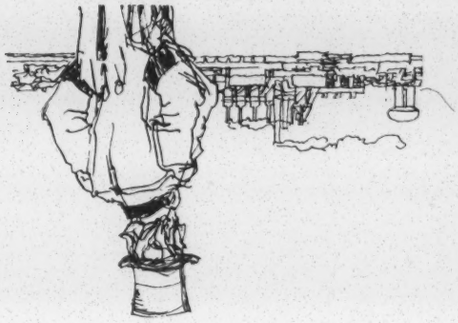

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**43T** ..... .10 Better Housing for the Future, etc. PrEx 8.2:H 81
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**44T** ..... 3.25 (Cloth) Vol. IV, the Near East and Africa. S 1.1:942/v.4
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**51T** ..... 1.25 Part 2. Y 4.G 74/6:D 84/pt.2
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Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.2 Cloth, $8.00

**26T. Volume III, Indian Ocean.** 1957. 267 pages of charts.
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**27T. Volume IV, South Atlantic Ocean.** 1958. 267 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.4 Cloth, $8.50

**28T. Volume V, South Pacific Ocean.** 1960. 267 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.5 Cloth, $8.00

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**41T. INQUIRIES INTO INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION.** Reports on special studies relating to the program of the Office of Economic and Statistical Studies of the National Science Foundation. 1963. 4 p.
Catalog No. NS 1.11:38 5¢

**42T. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDUSTRY 1960, FINAL REPORT ON A SURVEY OF R&D FUNDS AND R&D SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS.** Analyzes in detail the results of the 1960 survey of industrial research and development conducted for the National Science Foundation. This survey provides economic data on the magnitude, financing, and other characteristics of research and development in industrial firms. 1963. 118 p. il.
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**43T. BETTER HOUSING FOR THE FUTURE, A REPORT TO THE PANEL ON CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGY, OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, FROM ITS SUB-PANEL ON HOUSING.** This report was prepared in response to a request by the Panel on Civilian Technology for information on opportunities for and obstacles to technological innovation in the housing field. The report is being made public in the hope that it will contribute to the thinking of all those concerned with this vital sector of our economy. 1963. 15 p.
Catalog No. PrEx 8.2:H 81 10¢

**FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942.** These publications constitute the official record of the foreign policy of the United States. They include, subject to necessary security considerations, all documents needed to give a comprehensive record of the major foreign policy decisions within the range

**23T. U.S. NAVY MARINE CLIMATIC ATLAS OF THE WORLD, VOLUME VI, ARCTIC OCEAN.** Presents meteorological information for the surface and upper air over the Arctic Ocean in a modern manner suitable for wide use and adaptation. This volume deals with the Arctic Ocean and its adjacent coasts and seas. It also offers the first summarization of several years of dropsonde observations, i.e., radiosondes dropped from aircraft. Volumes 1–5, previously issued, are *still available in limited supply,* as listed below. 1963. 293 pages of charts.
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**28T. Volume V, South Pacific Ocean.** 1960. 267 pages of charts.
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**29T. TEACHING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS.** This reprint from School Life, November–December 1962 issue, discusses the Declaration of Human Rights and presents suggestions to follow in commemorating Human Rights Day and Week. 1963. [6] p. il.
Catalog No. FS 5.231:31004 10¢

**30T. EDUCATIONAL AM AND FM RADIO AND EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATIONS BY STATE AND CITY.** This list of educational AM and FM radio and television stations includes the call letters of the stations, and gives information on the frequency power, or channel, licensees, and the general managers, and/or program directors. 1963. 29 p.
Catalog No. FS 5.234:34016–63 25¢

**31T. PUBLIC SOCIAL WELFARE PERSONNEL—1960.** This report of a survey conducted in early 1960 presents a summary of the findings as related to all social welfare personnel in public welfare programs and a more detailed analysis of the findings related to public assistance and child welfare programs, respectively. 1963. 140 p.
Catalog No. FS 14.2:P 96 70¢

**32T. INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN, GUIDES AND GOALS.** The practices recommended or discussed in this publication are accepted by and are already part of the program of a number of the training schools in the country. Many others may have to revise their procedures, add staff, and be given greater community support—financial and otherwise—before these recommendations can be put into effect. It should be noted that this publication is primarily applicable to public institutions serving delinquent children, although much of the material could also be appropriate to private institutions carrying similar responsibilities. 1962. 141 p.
Catalog No. FS 14.111:360 45¢

**33T. RESEARCH RELATING TO CHILDREN, BULLETIN 16.** Includes reports of research in progress, or recently completed, on growth and development; personality and adjustment; educational process; exceptional children; the child in the family; social, economic, and cultural influences; health services and surveys; and social services and surveys, reported to the Clearinghouse for Research in Child Life between July 1, 1962–January 31, 1963. 1963. 146 p.
Catalog No. FS 14.114:16 $1.00

**34T. WATER REQUIREMENTS AND USES IN ARIZONA MINERAL INDUSTRIES.** Describes the effects of water shortage on Arizona's mineral industries. The information presented was obtained in interviews with company representatives. Operations covered included all State metal mines using substantial quantities of water and all concentrators and smelters. 1963. 97 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.27:8162 50¢

**35T. NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS.** Describes briefly the Mall, the White House, Lincoln Memorial, Jefferson Memorial, Washington Monument, the Marine Corps War Memorial, and other areas in nearby Virginia and Maryland under the jurisdiction of the National Capital Parks. Pictures of many of the statues and memorials are included, as well as a complete listing of all the statues and memorials in the Washington area. 1963. 31 p. il.
Catalog No. I 29.6:N 21/11/963 15¢

**36T. CAMPING FACILITIES IN AREAS ADMINISTERED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.** Containing informational and descriptive material of interest to campers, this booklet lists camping accommodations in each area, and gives definitions of categories of these accommodations. It also briefly discusses Mission 66—a long-range conservation program for the National Park System, and lists some general regulations which have been established for the protection of natural features and for the comfort and safety of the camper. Rev. 1963. 15 p. il.
Catalog No. I 29.71:963 10¢

**UNION WAGES AND HOURS.** The Bureau of Labor Statistics conducts annual surveys of wage rates and scheduled hours of work for specific crafts or jobs. These studies present the wage rate in effect as of July 1 of each year, as reported to the Bureau by the appropriate local labor organization in each of the cities included in the survey. Recently issued studies *are listed below.*

**37T. Building Trades, July 1, 1962, and Trend 1907–1962.** 1963. 43 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1355 30¢

**38T. Motortruck Drivers and Helpers, July 1, 1962, and Trend 1936–62.** 1963. 30 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1356 25¢

**39T. PRIVATE PENSION PLANS AND MANPOWER POLICY.** Reviews the effects of corporate pensions on various aspects of manpower policy, including labor mobility, the employment opportunities of older workers, and retirement and withdrawal from the labor force. 1963. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1359 25¢

**40T. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE AIRCRAFT AND MISSILES INDUSTRY (1956–1961), R&D FUNDS AND R&D SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS.** Presents statistics on funds for R&D performance in the aircraft and missiles industry for the years 1956 through 1961. 1963. 11 p.
Catalog No. NS 1.11:39 15¢

**41T. INQUIRIES INTO INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION.** Reports on special studies relating to the program of the Office of Economic and Statistical Studies of the National Science Foundation. 1963. 4 p.
Catalog No. NS 1.11:38 5¢

**42T. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDUSTRY 1960, FINAL REPORT ON A SURVEY OF R&D FUNDS AND R&D SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS.** Analyzes in detail the results of the 1960 survey of industrial research and development conducted for the National Science Foundation. This survey provides economic data on the magnitude, financing, and other characteristics of research and development in industrial firms. 1963. 118 p. il.
Catalog No. NS 1.22:In 2/960 65¢

**43T. BETTER HOUSING FOR THE FUTURE, A REPORT TO THE PANEL ON CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGY, OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, FROM ITS SUB-PANEL ON HOUSING.** This report was prepared in response to a request by the Panel on Civilian Technology for information on opportunities for and obstacles to technological innovation in the housing field. The report is being made public in the hope that it will contribute to the thinking of all those concerned with this vital sector of our economy. 1963. 15 p.
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**44T. Volume IV, the Near East and Africa.** 1963. 854 p.
Catalog No. S 1.1:942/v.4 Cloth, $3.25

**45T. Volume V, the American Republics.** 1962. 838 p. (*Limited supply still available.*)
Catalog No. S 1.1:942/v.5 Cloth, $3.00

**46T. Volume VI, the American Republics.** 1963. 773 p.
Catalog No. S 1.1:942/v.6 Cloth, $3.25

**47T. PROGRAM GUIDE, NURSING SERVICE, NURSING CARE OF THE LONG-TERM PATIENT.** This guide has been written to help the professional nurse develop guidelines for the nursing care of patients with prolonged or chronic illnesses. It should also be of assistance to the professional nurse in teaching and directing nursing personnel under her supervision and in determining those activities which she may safely delegate to nonprofessional workers. While this guide is written primarily for those who are responsible for the nursing care of the long-term patient, it should be of interest and value to all personnel involved in patient care services. 1963. [39] p.
Catalog No. VA 1.18:2/pt.5/G–8 30¢

**48T. WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CONSERVATION, OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, MAY 24 TO 25, 1962.** Contains the official proceedings of the White House Conference on Conservation held in Washington, D.C., on May 24 and 25, 1962. Its central purpose was to stimulate the exchange of ideas about the future course of American conservation policy. 1963. 103 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.W 58/6:2 P 94/962 $1.00

**49T. BANK HOLDING COMPANIES, SCOPE OF OPERATIONS AND STOCK OWNERSHIP.** This report to the members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency gives data on the structure and extent of bank holding company operations; concentration of ownership in bank holding companies; and multiple stockholdings among registered bank holding companies. 1963. 131 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.B 22/1:B 22/5 40¢

**INTERAGENCY COORDINATION IN DRUG RESEARCH AND REGULATION.** These hearings, held August 1 and 9, 1962, before the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, 87th Cong., 2d sess., an agency coordination study, presents a review of the cooperation on drug policies among the Food and Drug Administration, National Institutes of Health, Veterans' Administration, and other agencies. Issued in two parts *as listed below.*

**50T. Part 1.** 1963. 308 p. (*Limited supply still available.*)
Catalog No. Y 4.G 74/6:D 84/pt.1 $1.00

**51T. Part 2, Supplementary Exhibits and Index to Parts 1 and 2.** 1963. p. 309–774, il. (*Just released.*)
Catalog No. Y 4.G 74/6:D 84/pt.2 $1.25

**52T. INTERAGENCY COORDINATION OF INFORMATION, PART 1.** Presents the hearings held September 21, 1962, before the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, 87th Cong., 2d sess., an agency coordination study on Federal plans for improvement in the design, management, and use of scientific engineering, and other information systems. 1963. 242 p. il. chart.
Catalog No. Y 4.G 74/6:In 3/2/pt.1 80¢

***Just released . . .***

**Preventive Medicine in World War II, Volume VI**
**COMMUNICABLE DISEASES—MALARIA**
*Edited by Ebbe Curtis Hoff, M.D.*

Authors: JAMES O. GILLESPIE, M.D., PAUL A. HARPER, M.D., PAUL F. RUSSELL, M.D., M.P.H., Sc. D. (Hon.), and others

**53T.** Written by men who took an active part in the struggles, this volume presents the story of the difficulties as well as the triumphs in the constant fight against malaria during World War II. Discussed in detail is the monumental task performed by the Medical Department survey teams which were located in many parts of the world. Their reports on the physiography, climate, native population, general health situations, habits, and distribution of the mosquito vectors were the essential factors used by preventive medicine authorities to improve malaria prevention. As with other volumes in the Preventive Medicine series of this medical history, this book should provide excellent reference material for both *civilian and military physicians, nurses, and others* concerned with preventive medicine. The epidemiology of malaria and the technical application of control measures are basically the same in military and civilian communities. 1963. 642 p. il.
Catalog No. D 104.11:P 92/v.6 Cloth, $6.25

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1963—O-695-511

11

BETTER SCHOOLS - ATLANTA

PO Box 4451, Atlanta, Georgia 30302

October 8, 1968

Mr Bill C Wainwright
Mr Ed S Cook
Mrs LeRoy A Woodward
Dr Asa G Yancey
Mr Fred M Shell
Mr T Charles Allen
Mr Robinson W Schilling
Dr Horace E Tate
Mrs Sara P Mitchell

Dear Mr Wainwright:

Enclosed is a comprehensive report on the state of Atlanta Public Schools prepared under the auspices of Better Schools - Atlanta, a citizens' organization committed to better schools for all Atlanta citizens. We find the inequities in the Atlanta Public schools thoroughly alarming and request your prompt action to remedy the problems we have exposed.

Our research has revealed that desegregation, both student and faculty is almost nonexistent. The following figures graphically illustrate the meager progress that has been made:

> If we define as integrated a school with 5% or more students of the opposite race from the majority, then 95.4% of all black elementary school students this spring were in segregated schools.
>
> Only 7.6% of black high school students were in integrated schools.
>
> No less than 97% of Atlanta's black public school teachers are in "black" schools.

Our findings with regard to the equality of education were equally distressing. For example, 44% of black elementary schools (95% or more black pupils) have pupil-teacher ratios of 29 to 1 or above while only 14% of the white schools (95% or more white) are similarly handicapped. To our dismay, this type of situation prevails when black schools are compared with white schools using any number of yardsticks.

By as early as the 7th grade, students in black schools are 3 years behind students in white schools based on 1967-68 median reading scores. How can Negroes compete for the jobs now opening up for them with that kind of an education? How can we reduce the economic gulf between the white and black

communities with such an educational differential prevailing.

Do not misunderstand us. The responsibility for the present state of affairs does not rest solely with the Atlanta Public schools. But you have an obligation to play a much more aggressive role in assisting with the solution of these problems. An equitable distribution of bricks and mortar is not enough. Even more important is an equitable distribution of teachers and teacher skills, enlightened administration, textbooks, tailored curricula, and effective integration, ~~etc.~~

It is our intention as concerned citizens both white and black to press for a greatly accelerated effort to improve Atlanta's schools. We hope our exposure of the problem will be sufficient incentive for you to take the corrective action needed. We consider it our responsibility to inform the community of the size of the problem and the need for adequate taxes to insure investment in the kind of school system that Atlanta needs and deserves.

We will be looking for your response to this call for action.

Sincerely,

Robert F Tuve, Chairman
Better Schools - Atlanta

cc John W Letson

**B E T T E R  S C H O O L S - A T L A N T A**

**P. O. Box 4451, Atlanta, Georgia 30302**

October 8, 1968

Mr. Bill C. Wainwright
Board of Education
Atlanta Public Schools
224 Central Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Wainwright:

Enclosed is a comprehensive report on the state of Atlanta Public Schools prepared under the auspices of Better Schools - Atlanta, a citizens' organization committed to better schools for all Atlanta citizens. We find the inequities in the Atlanta Public Schools thoroughly alarming and request your prompt action to remedy the problems we have exposed.

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We will be looking for your response to this call for action.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Tuve
Chairman
Better Schools - Atlanta

cc: John W. Letson
Encl. - 1.

Same letter also sent to:

Mr. Bill C. Wainwright
Mr. Ed S. Cook
Mrs. LeRoy A. Woodward
Dr. Asa G. Yancey
Mr. Fred M. Shell
Mr. T. Charles Allen
Mr. Robinson W. Schilling
Dr. Horace E. Tate

Better Schools - Atlanta
P. O. Box 4451
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

For Release:
9:30 A. M. Wednesday
October 9, 1968

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Better Schools - Atlanta, a group of concerned citizens, requests the Atlanta Board of Education and the school administration to eliminate educational disparities in the schools.

We recognize changes are being made. However, the city of Atlanta is advertised as the commercial center of the South, the place where progress is being made; new business comes to the city, new buildings go up daily; increasingly there are more opportunities for culture and entertainment.

Yet, across the nation, school systems are in open conflict because of demands by community, teacher, and student groups. We are aware that the grievances expressed elsewhere in the country exist here in Atlanta. We are aware that various individuals in the community are interested in working together toward solution of these grievances now. Better Schools - Atlanta urges the Board of Education and the school administration to exert the leadership it has been delegated by the community and to work closely with the total community for quality education.

Because of concern for quality education, Better Schools - Atlanta has analyzed existing data from the Atlanta Public School system. This analysis has revealed shocking inequities in the schools. A report has been published summarizing the findings of the study. Copies of the report have been sent to all members of the Atlanta Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, and to interested citizens.

The report shows that a total of 92.3 per cent of black elementary school students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1 per cent are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6 per cent are in integrated schools, i.e., schools with more than five per cent students of the opposite race.

It was found that students in black schools attend larger elementary schools, attend larger first grade classes, attend schools with larger pupil-teacher ratios in succeeding grades, and have fewer textbooks per student. Students in the black schools attend schools with less site area per student, attend classes in buildings of less value per student which contain less valuable furniture and equipment.

Fourth grade pupils in black schools are more than one year behind pupils in white schools based on median reading scores. By the eighth grade, pupils in black schools are four years behind.

Because of the gravity of the educational needs, Better Schools - Atlanta requests the opportunity to be heard at the Monday, October 14, regular meeting of the Atlanta Board of Education.

Listed below are five areas in which Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate changes:

1. Although the Atlanta Board of Education is under court order to desegregate students and faculty in the Atlanta Public Schools, the court order itself and the results of its implementation have resulted in a school system where the amount of desegregation is proportionately lower than many rural and small town communities. To achieve better education for all Atlanta children, the Board of Education is requested to take the leadership position and make immediate revision of its program for school desegregation, incorporating whatever variety of desegregation techniques are needed to accomplish the task. Meaningful desegregation, not token desegregation, must be achieved

by 1970. To show good faith with this request, there should be plans to implement more desegregation at mid-year 1968-69.

2. Atlantans can be proud of a school system willing to participate in some of the educational experiments now undertaken in many school systems across the United States. However, historically there has been disparity between the educational opportunities provided black and white children in this city. To begin meaningful improvement in the education provided all children, there must be prompt elimination of existing inequalities in such areas as class size, teacher-pupil ratios, the number of books available per child in each school, the quality and quantity of furniture and equipment, the size of school recreation and athletic areas, and the availability of special services.

3. Recognizing that the school system has a public information office, created three years ago, Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate improvement of communication between the system and the wider Atlanta community. The Board of Education can no longer afford to make decisions affecting the community without involving it in planning discussions. Education can no longer be treated as a process to be accomplished with the teacher and children locked up in a box, sheltered from the nitty-gritty of life.

4. Recognizing the Atlanta School System provides in-service programs and cooperates with local colleges and universities to help teachers deal with individual differences, learning styles, cultural backgrounds, and achievement levels, Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate expansion of these programs. Since the success of any teaching program depends on the teacher's attitude toward his students, an immediate survey must be made of teacher and administrative attitudes about race and poverty. The survey should be administered by an outside agency and used as a basis for planning future in-service programs.
5. Recognizing the Atlanta School System has begun to include new curricula in some areas of instruction, Better Schools - Atlanta requests the inclusion of new curricula at all levels in socio-economic subjects, and increased interaction among student groups concerning the culture of poor black and poor white Americans. The term "disadvantaged" refers to a lack of experience in situations which derive from middle class experiences; poor black and white Americans are not devoid of culture. Middle class teachers and students, black and white, must be provided with an opportunity to learn the culture of Afro-Americans as they have Euro-Americans, and they must also learn the culture of American poverty. Schools have long provided learning units on England, Alaska, and Japan

while refraining from honest discussions about America. The school system must provide opportunities for all children at all levels to learn about our multi-cultural American society.

B E T T E R  S C H O O L S  -  A T L A N T A

P. O. Box 4451, Atlanta, Georgia 30302

October 9, 1968

Dear Fellow Atlantan:

Did you know that seventh grade students at over one-half of Atlanta's elementary schools are reading at a median level equivalent to the fourth grade?

Did you know that when Atlanta public schools are grouped by race, black elementary schools average 10 textbooks per student and white schools average 16 textbooks per student?

Did you know that 44 per cent of the black elementary schools (95 per cent or more black pupils) have pupil-teacher ratios of 29 to one or above, while only 14 per cent of the white schools (95 per cent or more white) are similarly handicapped?

Read the enclosed report (reading time: 20 minutes) to find the true condition of Atlanta's public schools based on official public school records. We believe you will be shocked and distressed to find out how poorly Atlanta is preparing its young citizens for adulthood.

A citizens' group has been formed to press for action that will remedy the conditions this report exposes. Will you join us? We need the support of every concerned citizen. Better Schools - Atlanta is committed to better schools for all Atlanta citizens.

Are you interested in the work of this organization? If so, please return the enclosed card. (Extra copies of the report may be obtained by writing Better Schools - Atlanta, Post Office Box 4451, Atlanta, Georgia 30302).

Sincerely,

R F Tuve

Robert F. Tuve
Chairman
Better Schools - Atlanta

Encls. - 2.

B E T T E R  S C H O O L S  -  A T L A N T A

P. O. Box 4451, Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Yes, I am interested in better schools for Atlanta.

Name: _____

(Please print)

Address: _____

Number  Street

_____

City  State  Zip

Telephone: _____

Signature: _____  Date: _____

**Memo** from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Natl Opinion Research Center

San Negro Higher Educ.

ings or current studies

also unpublished or

unusual studies

**Memo** from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Negro Higher Educ.

U.S News & World Report
11-25-63

"Negroes in College: What Figures Show"

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Sat Evening Post 1-19-63

"The Diversity of Integration"
by Carl T. Rowan
(Keep hearted Complainers frustrate the law of the land.)

**Memo** from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Commencement Address by
Hon. Berl I. Bernhard, Staff
Director, U.S. Commission on
Civil Rights at Central
State College, Wilberforce, Ohio
June 2, 1963

"Equality & 1984"

**Memo** from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Report - 1963 73 p. mimeographed

US Natl Student Assn

347 Chestnut St, Phila 4, Pa.

"Higher Education in the South

Compiled & edited by Dennis

R Yeager

---

The Negro Student at

Integrated Colleges 1963

by Kenneth B. Clark 57 p.

and Lawrence Plotkin

Dept. of Psychology, the City College of the City Univ. of N.Y.

Natl Scholarship Service and

Fund for Negro Students

**Memo** from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

State Legislature Affecting Higher Edn in the South, 1963

Prepared as a service by the Sou. Reg Edn. Bd, 130 6th St NW Atlanta 13, Ga.

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Journal of Negro Education Vol. XXXII Fall, 1963, The Relative Progress of the Negro Since 1950, Chapters XIV XXV on Negro education.

Post card

Better Schools - Atlanta:

Yes, I am interested in better schools for Atlanta.

Name: _____
please print

Address: _____
number street

_____
city zip

Telephone: _____

Signature: _____ Date _____

Data Sources for Tables 4a. and 4b.

Population: 1960 U.S. Census Reports

Registration: Alabama - Compilation made by the Birmingham News, June 10, 1962, from various sources. Chilton County not included.

Arkansas - Report of Arkansas State Auditor, 1962

Florida - Report of Secretary of State, April 19, 1962

Georgia - Atlanta Journal, April 16, 1962

Louisiana - New Orleans Times Picayune, May 5, 1962

Mississippi - CRC Report, 1961 (69 of 82 counties)

North Carolina - North Carolina Advisory Committee, 1960

South Carolina - Negro: Report of South Carolina Progressive Democrats, April, 1962; White: Washington Post, July, 1961

Tennessee - CRC Report, 1961 (63 of 95 counties)

Texas - Compiled by Robert S. Calvert, Comptroller of Public Accounts; Racial breakdown estimated statistically by VEP

Virginia - Letter from Levin Nock Davis, Secretary, Virginia State Board of Elections, August 3, 1962

TABLE 4a.

| State | Total Voting-Age Population | % of South-wide Total | No. Non-White VAP | % of South-wide Total | No. Negroes Reg. | % of South-wide Total | No. Negro VAP Not Reg. | % of South-wide Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 1,924,936 | 8.2 | 509,731 | 10.1 | 68,317 | 5.1 | 441,414 | 11.9 |
| Arkansas | 1,089,358 | 4.0 | 202,593 | 4.0 | 68,970 | 5.1 | 133,623 | 3.6 |
| Florida | 3,207,238 | 14.7 | 495,420 | 9.8 | 182,456 | 13.5 | 312,964 | 8.4 |
| Georgia | 2,549,352 | 11.4 | 656,047 | 13.0 | 175,573 | 13.0 | 480,474 | 13.0 |
| Louisiana | 1,892,402 | 8.2 | 544,997 | 10.8 | 151,663 | 11.3 | 393,334 | 10.6 |
| Mississippi | 1,235,072 | 5.1 | 449,296 | 8.9 | 23,920 | 1.8 | 425,376 | 11.5 |
| North Carolina | 2,700,778 | 11.9 | 586,219 | 11.6 | 210,450 | 15.6 | 375,769 | 10.1 |
| South Carolina | 1,344,466 | 5.9 | 396,848 | 7.8 | 90,901 | 6.7 | 305,947 | 8.3 |
| Tennessee | 2,193,799 | 9.7 | 329,630 | 6.5 | 150,869 | 11.2 | 178,761 | 4.8 |
| Texas* | 2,010,034 | 8.8 | 414,233 | 8.2 | 111,014** | 8.2 | 303,219 | 8.2 |
| Virginia | 2,437,328 | 10.7 | 460,081 | 9.1 | 110,113 | 8.2 | 349,968 | 9.4 |
| | 22,584,763 | | 5,045,095 | | 1,344,519 | | 3,700,849 | |

*All Texas figures include only those 65 counties in East Texas which have more than 15% non-white population.

**Statistical Estimate

TABLE 4b.

| State | No. White VAP | % of South-wide Total | No. White Reg. | % of South-wide Total | No. White VAP Not Reg. | % of South-wide Total | % of State NVAP Reg. | % of State WVAP Reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 1,415,205 | 8.1 | 883,732 | 8.4 | 531,473 | 7.6 | 13.4 | 62.4 |
| Arkansas | 886,765 | 5.9 | 506,799 | 4.8 | 379,966 | 5.4 | 34.0 | 57.1 |
| Florida | 2,711,818 | 15.3 | 1,819,342 | 17.2 | 892,476 | 12.7 | 36.8 | 67.0 |
| Georgia | 1,893,305 | 10.1 | 1,152,707 | 10.9 | 740,598 | 10.6 | 26.7 | 60.8 |
| Louisiana | 1,347,405 | 7.1 | 934,862 | 8.8 | 412,543 | 5.9 | 27.8 | 69.3 |
| Mississippi | 785,776 | 4.1 | 390,000** | 3.6 | 395,776 | 5.6 | 5.3 | 49.6 |
| North Carolina | 2,114,559 | 12.0 | 1,861,330 | 17.6 | 253,229 | 3.6 | 35.8 | 88.0 |
| South Carolina | 947,618 | 5.4 | 480,793 | 4.5 | 466,825 | 6.6 | 22.9 | 50.7 |
| Tennessee | 1,864,169 | 10.6 | 930,198 | 8.8 | 933,971 | 13.3 | 45.7 | 49.8 |
| Texas* | 1,595,801 | 9.0 | 658,293** | 6.2 | 937,508 | 13.4 | 26.7 | 41.2 |
| Virginia | 1,977,247 | 11.2 | 940,115 | 8.9 | 1,037,132 | 14.8 | 24.0 | 47.5 |
| | 17,539,668 | | 10,566,111 | | 6,981,497 | | | |

*All Texas figures include only those 65 counties in East Texas which have more than 15% non-white population.

**Statistical Estimate

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 25, 1963

# THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from April 1963 through June 24, 1963, prepared by the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

## ALABAMA:

**Attalla** -- April 24 -- William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.

**Alabama-Georgia Border** -- May 3-10--Freedom marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne, June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of appeal.

**Anniston** -- May 12--Negro homes and a church fired into by a carload of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites, May 18.

**Birmingham** -- April 3 - June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10, when a truce was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12, when a riot broke out following 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city until May 31. Initial steps taken in June to implement desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of City's four public golf courses slated to re-open June 29.

**Gadsden** -- June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Forty-two more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.

**Mobile** -- June 1 --Sheraton Hotel announced it will desegregate.

**Montgomery** -- May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

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ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville -- June 17--Local restaurant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

Hot Springs -- April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

Little Rock --- June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to suppress its activities. Theatres desegregated the following week.

Pine Bluff -- April-June--1,300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). Thirty-nine arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theatre. Four Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Bi-racial committee formed in early June.

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FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Cocoa -- Late May - early June--Peaceful picketing of restaurants and hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners.

Daytona Beach-- June 1-9--At least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities and restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a bi-racial committee.

Gainesville -- June 2--Attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed bi-racial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continued.

Melbourne-- No demonstrations. Mayor has named bi-racial committee.

Miami -- May 25 - June 1 -- Peaceful picketing of chain stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations.

Palmetto -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Orlando -- June 8 -- City government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.

Sarasota -- June 1 -- Picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date.

St. Petersburg -- Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee -- May 23 - June 8 -- Large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment). By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During the first week of June Court upheld the right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard.

Tampa -- Has had a bi-racial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.

Winter Haven -- June 1-7 -- Swim-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed.

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GEORGIA:

Albany -- May 7 - June 24 --Picketing and boycotting began May 7, with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19, 20, and 21, gathering to march and demonstrate, at least 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. Negro stores were closed.

GEORGIA (continued)

Atlanta -- April 12 - June 24--After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occasioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements;and a night club integrated second week of May; students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without an official committee. Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

Augusta -- April 5 -- A group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities.

Brunswick -- June 20 -- Howard Johnson motel desegregation.

Columbus -- Demonstrations threatened, none to date.

Macon -- April 2 and 3 -- Two rows initiated by whites resulted in one stabbing, two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. April 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past.

Marietta -- By mid-May reported to have a bi-racial committee. No demonstrations .

Rome -- April 2 -- Sixty-two high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again.

GEORGIA (Continued)

Savannah -- June 3 - June 24-- Current wave of demonstrations -- marches, picketing, sit-ins, began June 3,continued daily through June 14, when the city announced some restaurants, theatres, and hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few hours, then re-segregated after a protest demonstration by whites.) June 13 -- Negro home shot into. When owners reneged demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. Four restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized bi-racial committee formed during the month. June 20 -- Howard Johnson's desegregated.

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KENTUCKY:

Louisville -- April 9---May 16 -- The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Alderman on April 9, an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which could lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotels, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

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LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- May 28 - June 4 -- City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29), and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

New Orleans -- April 3 -- Louisiana State University -- medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

April 26 -- State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremillion declared there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. But no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport -- June 1 -- Negro demonstration held.

Winnsboro -- May 30 -- Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

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MISSISSIPPI:

Clarksdale -- May 4--June 22-- State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26, unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city (June 22).

Greenville -- May 25 --City Council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson -- May 27 - June 24 -- After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year old fertilizer salesman, Bryan de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Jackson -- of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington -- May 8 -- A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb -- May 15 -- Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona -- June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

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NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. Five lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte -- April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theatres warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barriers four days later. A permanent bi-racial committee was formed by the mayor in May.

Chapel Hill -- May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. Two hundred and fifty Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord -- June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. Seven drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham -- May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30. Twelve motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public

N. C. (Continued)

accommodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield -- May 30--Local theatre picketed.

Edenton -- April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theatre in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville -- May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. Nine-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 Motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro -- Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro -- May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. 420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrested. Mayor appointed a 16-member committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theatres had tentatively agreed to desegregate.

Hickory -- June 6--Mayor formed a bi-racial Community Relations Council.

High Point -- May 28-30--Mass demonstrations began May 28, mayor's bi-racial (11-member) committee appointed two days later.

Lenior -- May 24--Mayor appointed five-member bi-racial committee.

Lexington -- June 3-6--Mayor Sink appointed bi-racial committee of 10 members. June 3, 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter June 5; but they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley. Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites; one person killed and seven arrested June 6. The First Methodist Church recently admitted Negro worshippers.

Lumberton -- June 6--Mayor Hedgpeth appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members.

Monroe -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

Mount Airy -- May 30--3 Negroes served in a drug store.

Oxford -- June 16--Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

Raleigh -- April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14, 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Roxboro -- June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Statesville -- June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville -- May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two day later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pools opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Wadesboro -- June 5--Windows of 2 business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a pre-dawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington -- June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; a bi-racial commiteee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem -- May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theatre May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. Fourteen of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston -- During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W.T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing. No official bi-racial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.

Columbia -- June 7--City Council began meeting with Negro leaders.

Greenville -- On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race.

On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntary desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident.

Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-racial basis last August. The Greenville stores affected were: S.H. Kress, W.T. Grant, H.L.Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; in shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores, and restaurant operators.

Rock Hill -- June 1--16 Negroes demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.

Spartenburg -- June 1--Unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.

Sumter -- A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed June 5 in U.S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga -- June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theatre, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville -- May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restaurant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

Knoxville -- May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. Three hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. Two thousand citizens signed a petition May 22, to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. Four leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Maryville -- June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis -- May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1, that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilities May 30, except swimming pools (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10. Has permanent bi-racial committee.

Nashville -- May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all on June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

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TEXAS:

Dallas -- June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro named to an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

TEXAS (Continued)

Denton -- April 6-Fifty Negro and white students from North Texas State University, picketed in the downtown area, carrying banners calling for the integration of local theatres.

Houston -- June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

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VIRGINIA:

Alexandria -- May-June--City Council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27, and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theatres and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington -- April-June--County Board established in Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville--May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been unsuccessful this far.

Danville -- May 31-June 22--Fifty-sixty Negro youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10, when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses;about 45 persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following day 35 more Negroes were arrested. Ten leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot. Police seized three other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22. Thus far, about 150 persons have been arrested. June 19, 29 demonstrators broke three-day truce by marching downtown; all were arrested. Mayor Stinson announced 10 Negroes had been assigned to white schools. Motel operators met to discuss desegregation.

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Farmville -- May 18--Small sit-ins staged, with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton -- April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to mayor April 1 charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students,10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relatinns was formed May 18.

Lawrenceville -- May 29-30--Students quietly picketed downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg -- May-June--Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations,that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June, 2 movie theatres and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Martinsville -- June 7--Martinsville - Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint official bi-racial committee.

Norfolk-Portsmouth-- Late May--Major movie theatres agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form a bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg -- April 25--Three Virginia State College students fined $25.00 and given 30-day suspended sentences for picketing.

Richmond -- May 28-June 18--Parker Field, local athletic stadium quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theatres announced June 15, that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race. Another 25 restaurants had previously desegregated.

## STATE ACTION

FLORIDA:

During the 1960 demonstrations there - Governor Fowler appointed the Statewide Fowler Commission on Race Relations. The Commission was not continued by Governor Bryant.

KENTUCKY:

Commission on Human Rights established under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960. Eleven members are appointed by the governors. Governor Combs stated June 4 he would "ask the General Assembly to pass a general civil rights act."

NORTH CAROLINA:

June 18--Governor Sanford moved on several fronts to head off North Carolina's growing racial crisis. In a statewide radio and television address (June 18) the Governor spoke sympathetically of Negro "requests and aspirations." He also asked for a halt to Negro demonstrations "to help avoid strife, ill will, danger to life and property, and damage to our state."

He announced he had called Negro leaders to the Capital for a meeting on June 25, "to place before the public in an orderly manner their requests and aspirations." He appointed retired Major General Capus M. Waynick, former commander of the N. C. National Guard and experienced in negotiating racial conflicts, to represent his office in continuing negotiations with Negro leaders. Two immediate targets are sought by the Governor's negotiators: statewide application of the "Durham Plan"; daily progress reports to local Negro leaders by city officials.

Also under intense negotiation: employing more Negroes in state jobs. In January of this year the Governor began naming of 24 prominent Negro and white citizens to the statewide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

VIRGINIA:

May 29--Governor Harrison rejected a proposal for a statewide bi-racial commission.

## SUMMARY

### CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

**ALABAMA:**

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

**ARKANSAS:**

Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

**FLORIDA:**

Miami

**GEORGIA:**

Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

**MISSISSIPPI:**

Jackson

**NORTH CAROLINA:**

Asheville
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston Salem

**OKLAHOMA:**

Oklahoma City

**SOUTH CAROLINA:**

Charleston
Greenville
Spartenburg

**TENNESSEE:**

Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

**TEXAS:**

Austin
Houston

**VIRGINIA:**

Alexandria
Arlington
Falls Church
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

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### ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE APRIL 3,1963

10,420

(The Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

### NUMBER OF FATALITIES RELATED TO DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

3

## CITIES WHERE SOME DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

**ALABAMA:**

Birmingham
Gadsden

**ARKANSAS:**

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

**FLORIDA:**

Cocoa
Daytona-Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

**GEORGIA:**

Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

**LOUISIANA:**

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

**MISSISSIPPI:**

Biloxi
Clarksdale
Greenwood
Jackson

**NORTH CAROLINA:**

Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

**OKLAHOMA:**

Oklahoma City

**SOUTH CAROLINA:**

Charleston
Rock Hill

**TENNESSEE:**

Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

**TEXAS:**

Denton

**VIRGINIA:**

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

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## ADDENDA

**FLORIDA:**

Lakeland -- June 6 -- movie theatre picketing.

Miami -- June -- leading hotels desegregated, (comparable to Miami Beach where they have been desegregated for some time).

**KENTUCKY:**

Covington )
Henderson )
Hopkinsville )---
Lexington )---
Louisville )
Paducah )

Local commissions on civil rights sponsored in these cities by the statewide commission.

**MISSISSIPPI:**

Biloxi -- June 23 -- attempted wade-in.

Greenwood -- June 24 -- six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

**NORTH CAROLINA:**

Sanford -- June -- bi-racial committee formed.

**TENNESSEE:**

Athens -- ) both cities have official bi-racial commissions
Oak Ridge -- ) and have had no demonstrations.

**TEXAS:**

Austin -- June 10 -- 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

**VIRGINIA:**

Arlington -- June 17 -- 4 movie theatres desegregated.

Danville -- June 13 -- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new bi-racial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a local mill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.

Falls Church --June 17 -- a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal )
Harrisonburg )---- Mid-April--Howard Johnson's in these cities desegregated.
Waynesboro )

Newport News -- June -- a bi-racial committee in operation.

Roanoke -- June -- a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.

Woodstock -- June -- has a bi-racial commission of 8.

R + R Rel.

# The Bourbon South And Its Curses on the American Negro

**By Dr. D. D. FOOTE, D. D. S.**
**3902 State St., Chicago**

After years of oppression, Jim-crowism, (the white man's stamp of inferiority) mob-violence and other forms of lawlessness, many Negroes South had practically conceeded this to be a white man's country and that they should be thankful for being permitted to live there.

In the state of Mississippi, the Negro has made an unconditional surrender of all rights of citizenship. He has given up suffrage, liberty, in many instances, his women and in fact, everything but Jesus.

Since this is generally true thru-out the entire south it was quite natural that the following expression, at the beginning of the world's war, should escape from an old colored man's lips. "Dey say dat dis is a white man's country and now since dis here war done broke out I don't keer if tis. Since he is fust in everything I wants to see him fust in battle. I am perfectly willing to remain in the rear and guard ole Missus an the chillens."

War time is no time for argument and again the "cracker" had to change his slogan and admit that this was the black man's country as well as the white man's. From the pulpit and theatres they were impressed with the fact and it was rather risky for a Negro to say that this was not his country. As I listened to one of the speakers, Ex Mayor Griffith I could scarcely refrain from exclaiming, good Lord! do you mean it? I afterwards found out that it was just a salve for Rheumatism. For the duration of the war the Negroes were acknowledged cropped wing citizens of the United States.

In order to raise the quota for the City of Vicksburg during the Liberty Loan drives, the Negroes were told that great changes were going to come after the war. Old things would pass away and other rot that it is needless to mention. Hints were made, but nothing promised that would change the present status of the Negro. At this time I raised a feeble cry and began a propaganda for Democracy at Home. The right of suffrage, equality before the law, the abolition of Jim-crowism and Southern concubinage. The result was, I was branded as a disloyalist, charged with making seditious remarks, blocking the government in the sale of war stamps and Liberty Bonds, last but not least, an educated Negro and therefore a bad Negro. For this "awful" crime I was banished from "Bam" for the remainder of my natural life. Can you beat it? I might add here that I have borne up well over the harsh sentence. Gained about ten lbs. in weight and added two gary hairs from worry.

The south is so strong with her lies that secret service men were on my trail here in Chicago, having been informed by the "red necks" that I was disloyal. Altho for thirty eight years "behind the sun" I have kept aglow a spark of patriotism that Jim-crowism, Disfranchisement, Segregation and Lynching failed to extinguish. With the "cracker's" heel upon my neck I would feebly say that "this is my own, my native land." I know no other, next to the American Indian I am an original American.

Now that the war is over and boys are returning victoriously from Eastern battlefields, having traveled over 3000 miles to fight for a principle denied them at home, what is the government going to do towards righting the wrongs of an oppressed race? A race in which there are no Benedict Arnolds, no I. W. W's., bomb-throwers or labor[redacted]s. A race of 12,000,000 people, the peasantry and industrial back-bone of the South. A race 100 per cent American. Continue to fiddle while Negroes burn? Continue to learn on the crutches of "State rights"? Let us earnestly hope not.

What is the obstinate and backward South going to say concerning a "square deal" for the Negro? Judging from past history she will not yield an inch from traditions handed down from slavery.

"Wise men sometimes change, fools never". The white South will not change unless pressure is made on her heart, stomach or pocket-book. General Grant obtained results by making pressure on their stomach. We must make pressure on their pocket-book. "God helps those who help themselves". The change must be made by the Negro. He must migrate, that is, "get up and git," get out of the rain and seek some sunshine." He must continue to scatter North, East and West. There is work for the workers, nothing for "shirkers". Leave the plantations, let them grow up in weeds and some sort of a change will take place in the Land of Bondage.

Nothing is to be gained by "watchful waiting" or writing "peace notes" to Southern newspapers The Negroes North and South together with their white friends should keep up a constant agitation demanding the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendment.

We have proven to the world that we are Loyal American Citizens and as such are entitled to every right guaranteed by the constitution of the United States.

Let it not be said by this great government that we **FIRST** in war, **LAST** in peace and **LAST** in the hearts of our countrymen.

D. D. FOOTE

2 | 24 | 19

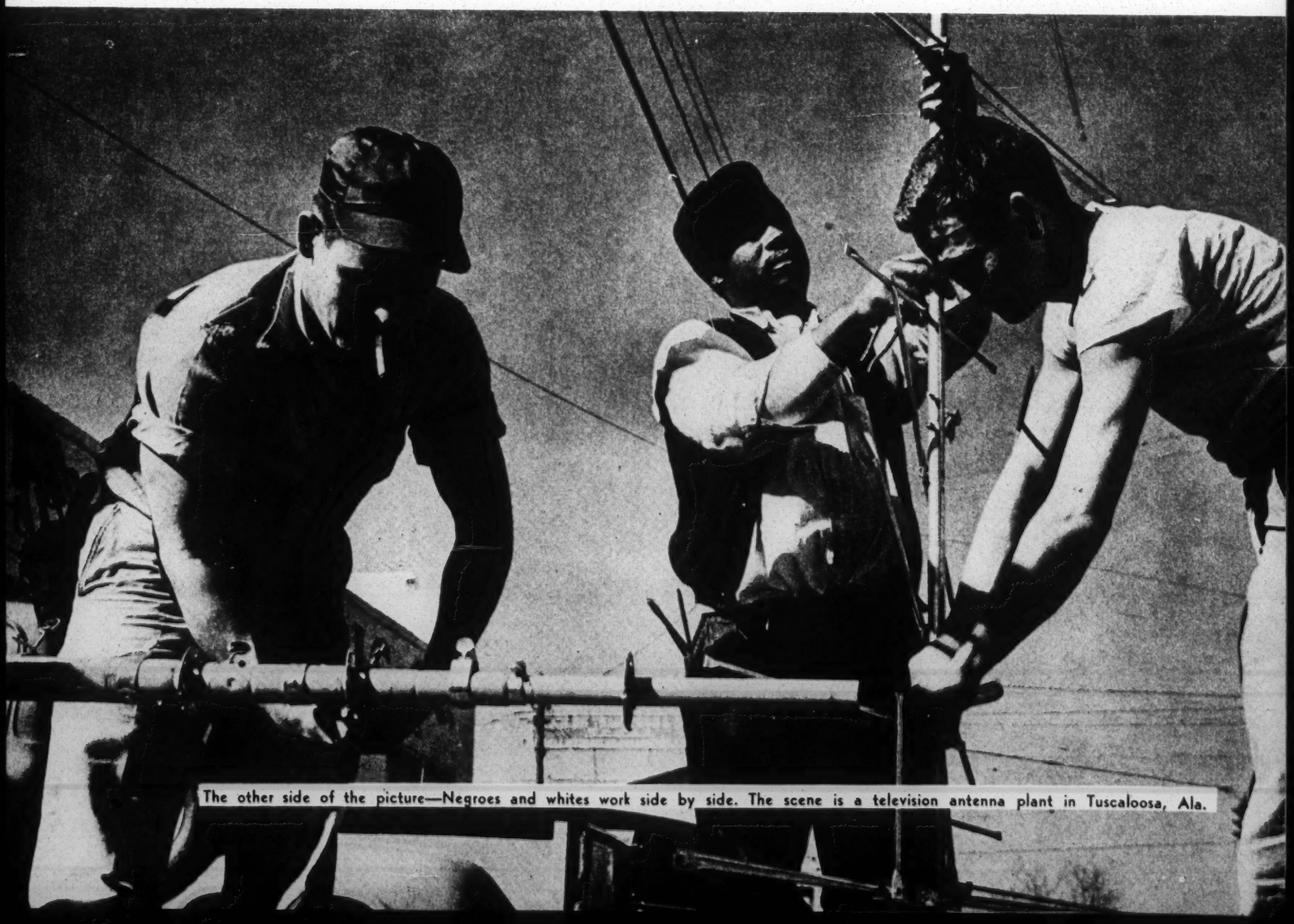
The New York Times Magazine

April [illegible] 1960 SECTION 6

# A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH

**A liberal Southerner sees the racial turmoil as part of revolutionary, forward-moving changes — changes that must be better explained to foreign critics.**

*by* **HAROLD C. FLEMING**



The other side of the picture—Negroes and whites work side by side. The scene is a television antenna plant in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

ATLANTA.

THE turbulence accompanying Negro student demonstrations has thrust the South, once again, into the glare of publicity. Not since the tension in Little Rock subsided has the United States faced as great a danger of international scandal over the region's racial problems.

The stolid young faces of the Negro demonstrators, the grimaces of white rowdies, and the mouthings of white-supremacist politicians are made to order for Communist propagandists. Not that they need strain at the task; the normal functioning of the democratic press will do most of the work.

Coincidentally, President Eisenhower has just created a committee of leading Americans to survey our overseas information programs and policies. It may be hoped that they will concern themselves to some degree with the effectiveness of American efforts to counter exploitation of the periodic eruptions in the South. A fair number of Southerners have had some opportunity of their own to make such a judgment. For the years since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have brought a steady flow of overseas visitors to the South. A turban in Atlanta, a fez in Montgomery or a sari in New Orleans—to say nothing of a British or German accent—is no longer the rarity it once was.

WHAT do these foreign visitors volunteer about our racial problems? Very little, indeed. But, more often than not, behind a courteous and noncommittal demeanor lies a well-developed set of preconceptions. Visitors from the emergent young nations of Asia and Africa are especially likely to harbor strongly negative views. To most of them, Southern racial incidents are atrocities of an undemocratic and unchanging society. Here, to their mind, is the archenemy colonialism in American dress and on the ascendancy.

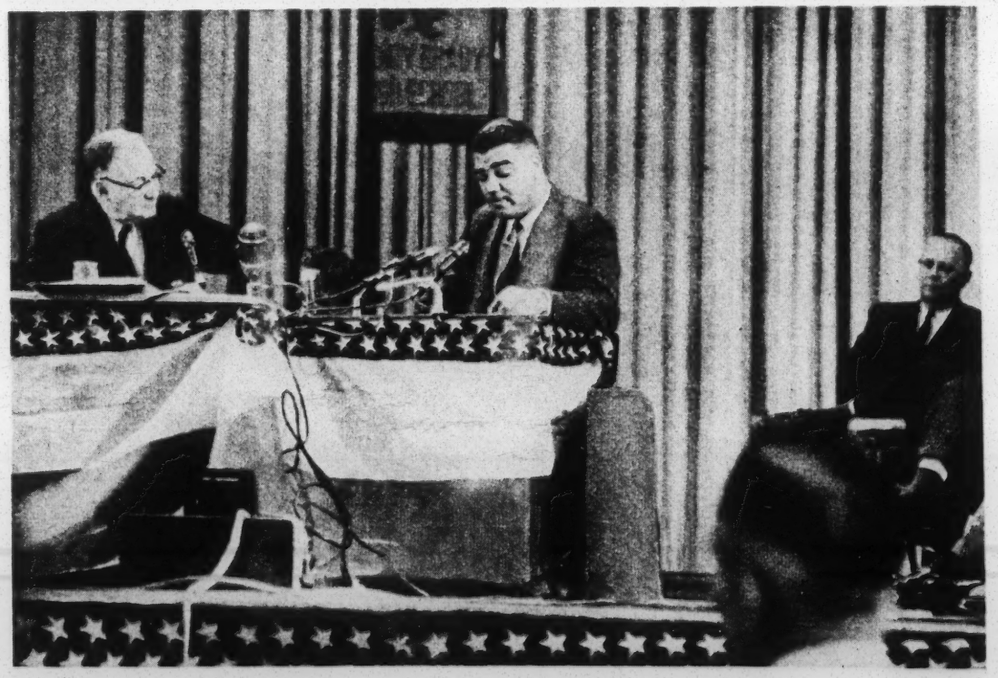
As one young Nigerian expressed it, "How do your people expect to win our friendship when they exalt the very evils we have been fighting against?"

For the Negro or liberal white Southerner—the only ones likely to be asked such a question—a persuasive answer comes hard. It takes more time and interpretation than is afforded by an hour's conversation, or even a two-day stopover, to remold a sharply defined image of a whole region. The process has to start earlier, and continue later.

Admittedly the only satisfactory way to answer criticisms of our racial practices is to eliminate discrimination and segregation. Yet even the most optimistic prophets calculate the time this will require in years rather than in days or months. Let us, by all means, redouble our efforts. Meanwhile, more concern for the image we project to the rest of the world is imperative.

The violence, injustices and political excesses that have fouled the wake of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings cannot be denied or suppressed. To try to do this will only earn us the distrust and contempt of those whose goodwill we seek. But we can honestly present a more positive picture of the South; if we are accurate, we will do so.

THE disturbances of the past few years are symptomatic not of regression, but of forward movement, bitterly contested but inexorable. The South's troubles are not caused by a resurgence of an old order; they are the results of an old order's last desperate rally against new forces it can neither understand nor control. It is a disheartening fact that as the pressures for change mount in the Deep South, more severe reactions may be expected. But these, too, will represent the **backlash of a mortally strick-**



**ON THE EDUCATION FRONT**—In Georgia a state commission is inviting both Negroes and whites to give their views on school integration. Above, a Negro leader in Atlanta is heard by the commission.

en system of inequality, not a rebirth of oppression.

A middle-aged Southerner can remember a time when race relations stagnated peacefully, at least on the surface. There was occasional violence, to be sure, but it was mainly the ritual brutality of lynching, so common that it caused little public outcry. Segregation in its multitudinous forms was virtually unchallenged. Even the grossest inequalities —in schools and teachers' salaries, in trains and buses, in sanitation and medical care—were accepted by all but a few as part of the natural order.

AS for the Negro's right to cast a meaningful ballot, to attend a high school or university, to swim in a municipal pool, in many areas there was no question of inequality—such opportunities for Negroes simply didn't exist. There were occasional gains within the rigidly separate framework, but these were so slight and scattered as to be almost imperceptible.

Many Southerners, scarcely aware of the cruel injustice of those years, look back on them as "the good old days" of race relations. Yet even they, hurled suddenly backward in time, would be shocked at the price in human suffering and denial that was paid for interracial peace.

During the last twenty years, a high price of another kind has been exacted of Southerners, white and Negro. Homes schools and churches have been bombed by small bands of hate-filled marauders. Mobs have rioted in the streets of Clinton and Tuscaloosa and Little Rock. Negro children have walked the gantlet of jeering adults and suffered abuses from bullying classmates. A few Negroes have died at the hands of the rabble who interpreted the inflammatory words of their betters as license to kill.

THIS is far from a complete tally; nor has it yet ceased to mount. But at least it is a price paid for something worth having—the elimination of injustice systematically practiced against a large segment of Americans. As a result, in Little Rock and elsewhere, countless children still unborn will get a better and more democratic education; some children already are. A mob drove Autherine Lucy out of the University of Alabama, but the same general effort peacefully opened the doors of more than 200 colleges and universities to Negroes.

Americans a hundred years hence may well look back on the race relations changes of our day as a major social revolution. While many may wonder what all the fuss was about, the more thoughtful will marvel that it was accomplished as rapidly and peacefully as it was. In any case, without minimizing the harsh costs of these changes, we can appreciate the value of what is being won by and for Americans.

It should not be assumed that the new aspirations and rising status of the Negro are the sole cause of the traditional South's malaise. The region is also shaken by the chills and fever of profound economic change, of huge population shifts, of big-city growth and rural decay.

Within a few short years the South has experienced an industrial revolution that was spread over generations in the rest of the country. In the decade following World War II, the South added 4,000 new manufacturing plants. A third of this new industrial growth was accounted for by only thirty - seven metropolitan areas; the lesser cities showed similar gains. By 1955 the average per capita income of Southerners had climbed to 257 per cent of its 1929 level, as compared with 141 per cent for the rest of the nation.

Population changes have been equally spectacular. During the Forties, the number of Southerners living in cities swelled by 39 per cent, as against only 15.4 per cent elsewhere in the country. At least four million native Southerners, more than half of them Negroes, have moved out of the region entirely. A smaller but sizable group of Northerners and Westerners have moved in with the new industry.

AS these trends continue, the South is being abruptly transformed from a rural agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. But factories can be built and people shifted about far more speedily than attitudes and customs can be changed. Old roots have been torn up and new ones not yet put down. Outworn patterns of decision-making and political power have still to be reshaped to drastically changing circumstances. The central cities are choked with rural newcomers, under-educated, unskilled, and uninitiated in urban ways.

It is no wonder that widespread feelings of insecurity and anxiety lie close to the surface. Even the stabler elements of the society are uneasy in the face of rapid changes whose magnitude and significance they can only dimly perceive.

Racial antagonism is a ready outlet for the fears and frustrations bred by economic and social upheaval. The old isolation has broken down, leaving the South unprotected against the influx of people and ideas alien to its once impervious way of life. Seeking to hold on to the familiar, to a sense of continuing identity, many a white Southerner has rallied to the call for solidarity on the segregation issue. But to even the most recalcitrant it daily becomes clearer that this cause, too, will be lost. The racial patterns of the South cannot remain fixed and immutable while all else is in flux.

THESE are the realities of the Southern revolution—and he who tries to find the meaning of racial discord apart from them is on a fool's errand.

The dark-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa are peculiarly well-equipped to understand the conflict of old and new that disturbs the peace of the South. For, though different in detail, in essence it is not unlike the revolutionary ferment they know in their own countries. The upthrust of a people long denied, the fearful and sometimes cruel resistance of the privileged group, the clash of new technology and ancient custom—in one form or another, these are the common realities of our time, in southeast Asia and southeast United States alike.

One need only consider the persistence of caste and religious intolerance in India, tribalism in Nigeria, internecine strife in Indonesia, ethnic and language barriers in Malaya, revolt in Algeria, unrest in the

Belgian Congo — and everywhere the stumbling blocks of ignorance and superstition, poverty and disease, inexperience and apathy. The path of progress, there no less than here, is clogged with this detritus of the past.

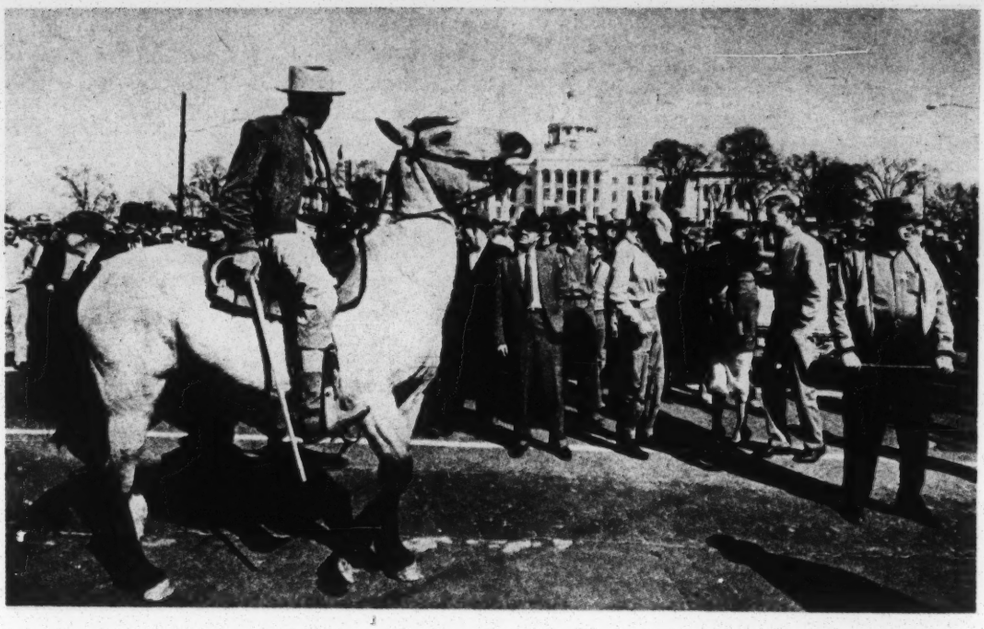
The failure to see the South's difficulties in these terms, a failure shared with foreign observers by many Americans, betrays a lack of historical perspective.

The South is perpetually being rediscovered in times of crisis by reporters and pundits and moralists. But in the obscure intervals between these moments, the flow of history continues. The outbreaks in Little Rock, Clinton or Tuscaloosa must be viewed against a backdrop, as part of a drama of sweeping transition rather than as self-contained incidents.

In Atlanta not long ago, a sensitive and well-informed visitor from India addressed himself to this problem.

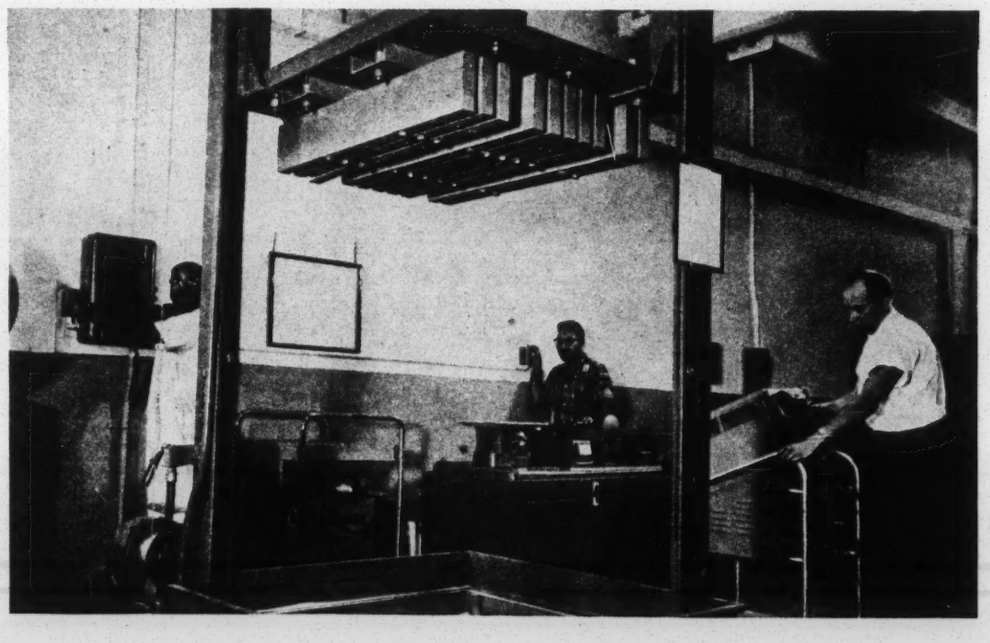
"In my country," he said "we try to conceal the difficulties we face in eradicating caste. I regret this. But we are not the self-appointed leader of the free world, like the United States. My people measure your anti-Negro acts against the high democratic standards you yourselves profess. At the height of the Little Rock disorder, the American information bulletins I read made almost no mention of it; instead, they talked of the exceptional American Negroes who have won fame or acceptance in spite of discrimination. So we were left to the simplification and sensationalism of the press."

PERHAPS the obstacles to creating abroad a more mature understanding of the South are insuperable. But it might be worth trying bold analysis, rather than silence or embarrassed mutterings, when our domestic revolution spills over into violence. After all, most of the uncommitted peoples of the world also know what it is to live through a revolution.



**SEPARATION**—Police, one on horseback, hold back a crowd near a Negro meeting in Montgomery, Ala.

**INTEGRATION**—A missile part is subjected to a shock test by workers in a plant in Winston-Salem, N. C.



**HAROLD C. FLEMING** is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization in Atlanta that has been working to improve race relations in the South since 1919.

Research

YOU SAW IT IN SEVENTEEN — OCTOBER, 1961

Race + Race Relations

HERB BREUER

# teen-agers talk about RACE, RELIGION and PREJUDICE

**The Panel of Americans is exactly that: a panel of five young Americans—three of them white (a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, and a Jew) one a Negro and one a member of an ethnic group whose views are either little known, particularly timely, or both—for example, a Puerto Rican now living in New York. There are many Panels of Americans in the United States today. Most are university-sponsored and each has the same objective: to bring together people of varying racial, religious and cultural**

**EUNICE SANTANA** *is twenty years old, a junior majoring in English at City College of New York. Eunice was born in Vega Alta, Puerto Rico, but she has lived in New York since 1950. She plans to become an English teacher.*

**LYLE GUTTU** *is twenty-four, a graduate of Harvard University, where he majored in history. Lyle was raised in Thief River Falls, Minnesota; he is now a resident of Manhattan, attending Union Theological Seminary. He wants to be either a minister or a teacher. Lyle was the Protestant member of the Panel.*

**GERARD (GERRY) WEBER** *is twenty-two, a graduate student at Columbia University. Gerry is from Brooklyn, New York. He was a history major at Fordham University, where he did his undergraduate work. He would like a career with the government, particularly in the international field. Gerry was the Roman Catholic member of the Panel.*

**PRISCILLA HILLIARD** *is twenty, a senior at Hunter College in New York City; her major, too, is history and, like Gerry, Priscilla was also born in Brooklyn, where she still lives. She intends to be an elementary school teacher. Priscilla was the Negro member of the Panel.*

**GORDON GENEK** *is nineteen, a freshman pre-law student at City College of New York. He was born and raised in the Bronx. Gordon's plans for the future are tentative, but he thinks he would like to be a government lawyer. Gordon was the Jewish Panel member.*

*Moderator at the Caldwell High School assembly was Marion Hargrave, national associate director of the Panel of Americans.*

*And now, at right is a transcript of the question-and-answer period of the Caldwell assembly—a frank discussion of race, religion and prejudice between the Panel of Americans and students like yourselves.*

**Q.** "I'd like to ask Gordon how much allegiance he feels toward Israel. What I mean is, if this country and Israel should ever go to war, which side would he fight on?"

**A.** (*Gordon*) "I'm an American. I'd be sorry if Israel and the United States were enemies, but naturally, my loyalties would be with my country—the United States."

**Q.** "Lately in Caldwell, we've had a problem. The farmers in the valley have hired some Puerto Rican workers and now when we walk to town at night, the men say things you don't understand and sometimes they try to stop you. We know that customs are different in Puerto Rico, but even so this flirting presents a big problem. We can't decide if we should try to be polite or run to the nearest policeman or just stay home. I'd like to know how the Panel thinks we should handle this."

**A.** (*Eunice*) "Well, first of all, you're right about customs being different in Puerto Rico — and in most Latin American countries. Nobody there thinks anything about casual flirting; it's very common and girls understand it's meant as a compliment. But things are different here and it takes a while for newcomers to learn that flirting on the street isn't considered nice. In answer to your question,

backgrounds so that they may examine their differences and similarities as citizens of the United States. The Panel of Americans appears before an audience to stimulate people to think—to talk openly about subjects that are often considered taboo. All Panel appearances follow the same format: after making clear that they speak as individuals, not as spokesmen for their race, religion or ethnic group, the members give a brief statement about their lives and views, and then the audience participates by asking direct questions. It is not unusual for a Panel to make seventy-five appearances a year, and many Panels have been on radio and television. Recently, Panel of Americans was invited to appear before two hundred junior and senior students of Caldwell High School in Caldwell, New Jersey. And there to record and photograph the assembly was SEVENTEEN. But first, on the opposite page, meet the Panel—five young people who feel that all Americans share an interest in human dignity

I'd suggest you just ignore the men who flirt. You don't have to be polite to them. And there isn't any reason why you should stay at home. As for calling the police—well, I wouldn't think that would be necessary. As I said before, these men don't know yet that customs are different in the States. They're not dangerous—just confused."

**A.** (*Lyle*) "I agree with Eunice, but I'd like to add something too. It's true that casual flirting isn't as common here as it is in some other places, but things really aren't *that* different. What I'm getting at is that I think the problem—or at least part of the problem—stems from the fact that Puerto Ricans are new here. And because they come from a different culture, they frighten people a little. Which, in turn, makes people suspicious of them and quick to criticize what they do. My point is, I think what bothers girls most is not the amount of flirting but who's doing it."

**MODERATOR:** "Are there any comments on that from the audience?"

**COMMENT** *(from a senior girl)*: "Well, I hadn't thought about it that way before, but I can see what Lyle means. I *am* more nervous when a Puerto Rican says something to me than when a local boy does. You know, I'm used to boys here and I'm not afraid to freeze one who acts smart. But with the Puerto Ricans—well, whenever one of them says anything, I'm not sure how to react. I always worry that he might get mad and *really* nasty."

**MODERATOR:** "Any further comments? No? All right then, to sum up the answer to this particular problem, it seems that the way to handle Puerto Rican men who flirt is by treating them as you treat strangers who flirt—by ignoring them. Now, next question?"

**Q.** "This is addressed to the whole Panel. If you could be born again, would any of you choose to be born of a different race or religion—so you'd belong to the majority group?"

**A.** Each member of the Panel replied with a flat 'No.' Priscilla added, "If you had asked me that question when I was younger, there were days when I'd have been tempted to answer 'Yes.' "

**Q.** "I'd like to ask Gerry and Gordon if they'd marry girls of another religion if the girls agreed to convert to their religions."

**A.** *(Gerry)* "Well, assuming that I loved the girl, yes, I'd marry her. After all, if she converted, we'd both be of the same religion so that wouldn't be a problem."

**A.** *(Gordon)* "I agree with Gerry. If a girl I wanted to marry decided to become Jewish, I can't see why religion would be a worry."

**Q.** "I'm interested in knowing if Gordon and Gerry would marry outside of their religions if the girls refused to convert."

**A.** *(Gordon)* "I honestly can't answer that question now. For one thing, I don't plan to marry *anybody* for a long time—at least until I finish school—and for another thing, I don't believe people can predict accurately what they'd do in a situation like that. I know I can't. I think you have to be actually faced with the problem to find out how you'd handle it. The only thing I can say definitely is that my religion is very important to me and I know if I *did* fall in love with a girl of another faith, it would mean a big problem to me."

**A.** *(Gerry)* "I go along with everything Gordon said. The only thing I want to add is that I don't believe a couple can be happy unless they solve any religious difficulties they may have. I don't necessarily mean that I think one person has to convert to the other person's faith; I just mean that I don't believe a marriage can succeed if two people disagree about something as basic as religion."

**Q.** "I'd like to ask whether any member of the Panel would consider

marrying anyone of another race."

**A.** *(Priscilla)* "I'm glad someone has raised that question. It's important because, particularly in the South, that's the big qualm many people have about integration—that it'll result in intermarriage. Therefore, even if we don't agree, I think it's good to talk openly about the subject. Both integration and intermarriage present many problems and I feel that the more people talk intelligently—and, yes, the more they pray too—the closer we'll come to solving all the problems involved. As to whether I personally would marry someone of another race, I wouldn't know that until I was faced with the question. But I have dated members of other races and I've found that when you get to know people, they're all pretty much the same. Break down the barrier of prejudice and you see that most people have similar feelings, similar likes and dislikes, similar *everything*."

**MODERATOR:** "Before other members of the Panel give their views on intermarriage, does anyone in the audience wish to comment on Priscilla's remarks?"

**COMMENT** *(from a junior girl)*: "Well, suppose Priscilla were in love with a white man and she did want to marry him; wouldn't she worry about the children they might have? I mean, the children of interracial marriages aren't either white or Negro and they're usually despised by both groups."

**A.** *(Lyle)* "I know that comment was directed to Priscilla, but if nobody minds I'd like to answer it. What I want to say is this: I'm white myself and if I'm able to love and accept a wife who's black, why shouldn't other people be willing to accept my child?"

**A.** *(Gerry)* "I think people *should* accept the children of interracial marriages. But let's be realistic; most people frown on both the marriages and the children. This is still a big problem. I'd say that couples who intermarry racially have to be twice as strong and twice as mature as other couples. They have to be real pioneers."

**A.** *(Gordon)* "It seems to me this is a subject you just can't reach any conclusion on. So much depends on the two people involved—where they live, what kind of life they want, the attitude within their particular community, all those things and more. It's a complicated problem and there isn't any one pat answer to solve it."

**MODERATOR:** "All right, are there any last comments from the audience before we move on to another question?"

**COMMENT** *(from a senior girl)*: "I'd just like to say that I agree with Priscilla—with what she said about all people being a lot the same when you get to know them. I think that's true. And for that reason, I believe racial intermarriage is probably inevitable. It's bound to happen more and more as the races begin mingling."

**Q.** "We were talking about the Freedom Riders in our history class last week, and I'd like to ask Priscilla what she thinks of them; in particular, if she believes that all the riots they've provoked can really help to make things better in the South."

**A.** *(Priscilla)* "Well, first, I think it's important to remember that the aim of the Freedom Riders isn't to provoke riots; it's to exercise their rights as citizens of the United States. Unfortunately, when a Negro tries to exercise his rights in most sections of the South, there are some people who'll do almost anything to stop him. I don't believe you can blame the riots on the Freedom Riders—not unless you believe that to ask to be treated like a human being is just provocation for beatings and setting fire to a bus—all the things that have happened so far. But to answer what I think you're really trying to ask me—do I believe that this kind of trouble can help the Negroes' cause—I say yes. I think it accomplishes two things. First, it forces a lot of Southern moderates to see that they can't just sit on the sidelines during this segregation struggle. You know, it makes them realize that if they don't step in, the mobs will take over completely and then *everyone* will lose. And second, trouble like this makes the Negroes see that they've got to be determined if they're going to win even the most basic rights. Don't misunderstand, I'm not glad there was trouble, but I do think people on both sides have profited from what's happened."

**Q.** "But what about the North—this is directed to Priscilla too—isn't there as much racial discrimination here as there is in the South?"

**A.** *(Priscilla)* "No, I don't think so. There's a lot of discrimination in the North, of course, but that's been improving lately too. Or I guess what I mean is, I think the situation is getting better everywhere—South *and* North—because it's being forced into the open. Remember, right after his inauguration, President Kennedy said something to the effect that our economy might get worse before it got better? Well, I believe that theory applies to race relations too. On the surface, it may seem that things are worse, but at least now we're headed in the right direction. And eventually things *will* get better."

**MODERATOR:** "Before we take another question from the audience, Gerry has requested that he be allowed to ask you something. All right? All right, go ahead, Gerry."

**Q.** *(Gerry)* "Well, while we've been talking about integration and racial problems around the rest of the country, I've been wondering what the situation is in Caldwell—right here in school, in fact. For instance, I notice that most of the Negro students are sitting with other Negroes. Is this just coincidence or did it happen by choice or what?"

**MODERATOR:** "Would anyone in the audience care to answer Gerry?"

**A.** *(from a Negro girl, a junior)* "Well, about the seating arrangement, that's accidental. The room was overcrowded and Mr. Thompson, our principal, had to move everybody around and this is how it happened to end up. Usually, Negroes and whites sit together without anybody thinking about it. I'd say race relations in Caldwell—and here in school—are pretty good. I've lived in Caldwell for a long time and I've never had any bad problems; most of the white kids are nice to the Negro kids. But there is prejudice and that's a fact. For instance, there are a lot of clubs and things that Negroes can't join just because they're Negroes. That's how it is."

**MODERATOR:** "Would anyone in the audience care to comment on this?"

**COMMENT** *(from a senior girl)*: "I don't think Hilda's right about there being prejudice here. I mean—well, there's separation among the white students too. People travel in different cliques whether they're white or Negro and nobody gets asked everywhere or belongs to everything. Even if the school were all-white, there would still be this kind of separation. It's natural."

**COMMENT** *(from a junior girl)*: "I agree that nobody gets asked everywhere or belongs to everything, but I think Hilda's right about there being prejudice in school. We've never talked about it or admitted it until now, but in our hearts we all know it exists."

**COMMENT** *(from a junior boy)*: "I just wanted to say that I used to be prejudiced against Negroes—before I knew any. Then, in the fourth grade, I was transferred to a school where there were Negro students and I haven't had any prejudice at all since—because I got to know Negroes, understand? In a way, I was lucky. I was young when I was transferred to that school. I think when you're young you're a lot better able to see people the way they really are—not the way you've been *told* they are."

**COMMENT** *(from a senior girl)*: "I'm a member of the Student Council here at Caldwell and while I know I can't speak for the whole Council, I'm positive the other members feel as I do. I *know* I'm not prejudiced against Negroes. And if the Negro students in school would come out for the clubs and things they want to join, I'm sure they wouldn't find any prejudice. It may be that because the Negroes are in the minority here, they think prejudice exists when it actually doesn't."

**COMMENT** *(from a Negro girl, a senior)*: "I've been around white people all my life and from what I've seen—especially in the South—prejudice starts with older people. I think if parents would leave their children alone, there almost wouldn't be any prejudice problem. Usually it's the older people who act as if being colored is the same as being dirt—being just nothing, you know? And they shouldn't do that; it's wrong. But I do want to say that as a Negro in this school, I've been very happy; the white kids have always treated me as if I were one of them. As a matter of fact, I think that bringing more colored people into schools and colleges is one of the best ways of ending prejudice. It gives all of us a chance to start knowing each other."

**MODERATOR:** "We've heard comments from two Negro girls, now what about the Negro fellows? Would any of you like to say something? No? All right, then let's take a new question from the floor."

**Q.** "This is to the white members of the Panel. How would they feel if they were married and living in a nice suburb like Caldwell and a Negro or a Puerto Rican family tried to move into the neighborhood? Wouldn't they be upset about their property values going down? And if that didn't bother them, how would they cope with the pressure their neighbors would put on them?"

**A.** *(Gordon)* "Well, first, I want to say that it's a mistake to assume that property values fall automatically when a neighborhood stops being all-white. I know that's what a lot of people believe, but it isn't always true. If you're interested, read the study UCLA did on the subject—it shows that when Negroes moved into an all-white neighborhood somewhere in California, the property values *didn't* go down. So that's my answer to your first question—I wouldn't worry about my property because I don't believe that real estate always depreciates when Negroes—or Puerto Ricans or Jews or Mexicans—move into a neighborhood. Now, as for the second question, I guess if my neighbors put pressure on me, I'd do exactly what I'm doing now: I'd talk to them. I'd try to make them see that living with members of a minority group isn't anything to be afraid of."

**A.** *(Lyle)* "I think Gordon put his finger on the root of the whole problem just then: It's fear—not dislike—that makes people show prejudice toward minority groups. And it's such a vicious circle. People are taught to be afraid of minorities so they avoid knowing them and because they don't know them, they never learn there's nothing to be afraid of."

**COMMENT** *(from a senior girl)*: "Recently, something happened in our neighborhood that I'd like to mention. I live in a section of town that's considered nice, and not long ago a rumor was going around that Elston Howard, the Negro ballplayer, was trying to buy a house there. Well, I'd never heard of him then, but the only reaction I had was, 'Good; maybe now I can get into Yankee Stadium free!' But that wasn't how other people around us reacted—especially the older people. Some of them came to my father and tried to get him to contribute money so they could buy the house before Elston Howard could! It was just like that movie *Raisin in the Sun*. Well, anyway, as it turned out, no one bought the house—maybe the rumor wasn't even true—but I still can't see why the idea of a Negro in the neighborhood bothered people. I wouldn't have minded living next to Negroes. And—I'm proud to say—neither would my parents."

**MODERATOR:** "Thank you for telling us that story. And I imagine if Elston Howard heard it—whether he had wanted the house or not—he'd thank you too. Now, next question from the floor?"

**Q.** "I wonder if Gerry as a Catholic and Gordon as a Jew can tell me why they think so many people are prejudiced against Catholics and Jews."

**A.** *(Gerry)* "Well, if you mean can I give a valid reason for this prejudice, the answer's no. Of course I've seen and felt the prejudice—I've been called a Black Papist a couple of times and I've heard Jews called kikes, a lot of things like that—but people never have rational reasons for prejudice. For instance, under the first amendment to the Constitution the right of any religion to set up its own educational system is guaranteed—yet some people dislike Catholics simply because the Catholic Church has chosen to exercise this right. To hear these

people talk, you'd think Catholic education was subversive—and that Catholic parents *had* to send their children to parochial schools. And believe me, you can talk yourself blue trying to explain the truth, but with most bigots, it's hopeless. Their feelings are irrational and 'mere facts' won't change them."

**A.** *(Gordon)* "As a Jew, the most common excuse for anti-Semitism I've heard is the old routine about Jews-and-money. And as Gerry said, most bigots don't want to be bothered with facts. Yes, for a long time—even before the Middle Ages—Jews *were* associated with money. But not because they worshiped the almighty dollar, but because they were discriminated against. You see, for centuries in both the Middle East and Europe, Jews were forbidden by *law* to own property or hold office or even to become citizens. During one period in most of Europe—around the eleventh century, I think—all professions were closed to Jews. Believe it or not, in those days handling money was considered a dirty, undignified job. And because Jews were discriminated against, they got the dirty job. In other words, the current association between Jews and money has a historical basis, but bigoted people distort—or don't know—the facts. Jews aren't money-mad; they got involved with banking and commerce because they *had* to."

**Q.** "I'd like to ask Gerry why it is that so many Catholics have prejudice toward Jews. I mean—well, Christ was a Jew, so if a Catholic is against Jews isn't that the same as being against Christ?"

**A.** *(Gerry)* "Well, first, I have to say I'm not aware that 'so many' Catholics *are* prejudiced against Jews. And second, I wonder if your question isn't a way of asking if I blame the Jews for Christ's death; usually, that's what people are trying to say when they ask about Catholics' prejudice toward Jews. If that is what you mean—and if it isn't, maybe somebody else in the audience is interested—this is my answer: Throughout my whole Catholic education, from elementary school through college, I was taught that the reason for Christ's death was a moral one; that insofar as we're all sinners, we're each of us the cause of His death. I wasn't ever taught that Jews are Christ-killers—and neither, by the way, were any of my friends who attended other Catholic schools. Maybe there are schools that stress *how* Christ died, but the schools I know stress *why* He died."

**Q.** "This is for Lyle. I was wondering if he could tell us how to handle parents if they object to our wanting to know people of another race or religion. I guess what I'm trying to say is, how do you stop parents from being prejudiced?"

**A.** *(Lyle)* "I wish I could answer that, but I can't. From what I've seen, there's very little you can do to change prejudiced parents. Talking—*not* arguing—is one thing to try, of course, but if your folks are dead set against your having friends of a different race or religion, you probably won't get very far. You'll just have to wait until you're older and more on your own—and even then, it isn't always easy. For instance, I know lots of people from the Middle West who are in college now in the East; and though they have some very good friends of another faith or another race, they know they can't ever invite those friends to visit back home. It's too bad, but well, that's how it is. You have to try to follow that prayer—you know the one I mean: 'God grant me the strength to change those things I can change, the courage to accept those things I cannot change—and the wisdom to know the difference.' "

**Q.** "I have a question for Priscilla. I'd like to know if she feels any ties with the people of Africa—or with Africa itself."

**COMMENT** *(from a junior boy, a foreign exchange student)*: "Excuse me for interrupting, but before Priscilla answers that, may I ask a question of the girl who asked it?"

**MODERATOR:** "Yes, of course. That's the point of this assembly—to encourage you to question yourselves and others."

**Q.** "Well, I happen to know that the girl who asked Priscilla about Africa is of German descent. So I'd like to know if *she* feels any ties with Germans or Germany."

**A.** "No, no, I don't. My grandparents came from Germany, but I'm an American."

**COMMENT** *(from the same boy)*: "That's my point exactly! I mean, Priscilla's an American, too, so what made you wonder if she'd feel any bond with Africans?"

**MODERATOR:** "Suppose we let Priscilla answer the question now and we'll see how she *does* feel."

**A.** *(Priscilla)* "Well, I do feel certain ties with African Negroes, but because they're Negroes, not because they're African. Like the Negroes here, they've just begun to fight to be treated as human beings, and I guess you could say I'm in sympathy with them. However, lately I've met some African exchange students, and if I ever doubted that my roots are in America, I know it for *sure* now. Don't misunderstand; we get along fine, but our cultures and our backgrounds—even our problems—are worlds apart. I have much more in common with any American—even a white supremacist American!"

**Q.** "This is directed to Eunice: Can she explain why so many Puerto Ricans seem to have trouble—or get into trouble—when they come up to the States."

**A.** *(Eunice)* "That's a big, hard question to try to answer briefly, but I'll do the best I can. First, at least from what I've seen and experienced myself, there's the problem of color. You see, in Puerto Rico, there honestly isn't any color line; black or white or in between, if a man can afford it, he's welcome in any hotel or restaurant on the island. So it comes as a shock when a Puerto Rican finds out that there *is* discrimination in the States. As a matter of fact, life for a newly arrived Puerto Rican is a whole series of shocks. For instance, he's always considered himself an American, but it isn't long before he realizes that almost no one here does. You'd be surprised, in fact, at how many people actually don't know that Puerto Ricans *are* Americans. And then there's the shock of finding people so—so impatient and suspicious. Lots of times, a Puerto Rican gets yelled at or maybe ignored because his English is poor. And, even worse, almost nobody except other Puerto Ricans seems to trust him; his boss, his American co-worker, even the police look at him—and talk to him—as if he's an escaped convict. He's come here with a lot of big dreams and, at least at first, nothing's the way he thought it would be. His kids go to the overcrowded, rat-infested schools, he lives in a dirty slum, no one seems to like him or accept him. So he turns bitter—and if he stays bitter he may get into trouble. It depends on the man, I guess. Some Puerto Ricans give up and go back home, some stay and cause trouble, some stay and become good citizens. I love the States, but I do have to say this: life is hard at first for Puerto Ricans who come here. Very hard."

**A.** *(Gordon)* "I'd like to add one thing to what Eunice said. You know, the United States is supposed to be a haven for immigrants—what's that line on the Statue of Liberty—'Give me your tired, your hungry and your poor'—but it isn't a haven. The truth is, we have a shameful history of discriminating against *all* newcomers who arrive in numbers. When the Irish started coming over, we gave them a bad time—and then it was the Italians, then the Jews and now the Puerto Ricans. It's a real pity. I mean, if the United States won't welcome new citizens, what country will?"

**Q.** "I'd like to ask Priscilla how she feels about the Black Muslems—I think that's their name—the group of Negroes that advocates black nationalism."

**A.** *(Priscilla)* "I don't agree with them at all. I guess I understand why they feel the way they do—as a reaction against white supremacy—but I'm opposed to everything they stand for. I feel that black nationalism is just as bad as white nationalism."

**MODERATOR:** "Unfortunately, time has run out, but I would like to take a minute to thank you for being a wonderful audience. You've talked frankly and thoughtfully about things that aren't easy to discuss. And we hope you'll keep on talking about them because you—the young people—are the only ones who can end prejudice finally. Some of you may feel that the problem is your parents' fault, but very soon the responsibility will be yours alone. Again, thank you for sharing your thoughts with us. We appreciate being invited here—and we hope that when you enter college, many of you will decide to accept *our* invitation: join the Panel of Americans!"

THE END

R&R Rel

# WHY ARE PEOPLE BROWN OR BLACK OR YELLOW OR WHITE?

## What the Scientists Say

**Race problems are spreading from one end of the world to the other.**

**In Africa, blacks battle the whites. In Indonesia, browns menace the blacks. In Asia, yellows threaten the browns. In America and Britain, whites riot with blacks.**

**Even where there are not open conflicts, the races of man often seem to rub each other the wrong way in many fields of activity.**

**Why? What really divides the races? Are there differences deeper than the color of skins? What accounts for them?**

**Ask scientists, and you get wide agreement on the cause of some physical differences but controversy on nearly everything else.**

**Some stress that new "mixed" races are forming. Yet they only seem to add to the conflicts already existing in many places.**

In today's world, almost everywhere you look, you find mounting conflict between races.

In black Africa there is increasing hostility by Negroes toward outnumbered white settlers. In Indonesia, "the little brown people," having won independence from the Dutch with U. S. help, are now seeking to dominate the blacks of New Guinea—members of a different race.

There have been race riots in Britain between whites and blacks. There has been bloodshed in the streets of Georgetown, British Guiana, as Negroes battled people whose origins are in India. And France's long struggle in Algeria has been called a "racial holy war" by some zealots.

The so-called "race issue" is still creating sharp division among Americans in many parts of the United States.

In all the turmoil, this question increasingly is being asked: Why are races different? What accounts for black skins on some people, white skin on others? Why do some people have "slant" eyes? Are these differences only skin deep? Or is something fundamental involved?

Put these questions to the scientists who make a study of race and heredity—the anthropologists and geneticists—and you find general agreement on the causes of most physical differences between races. But you also find sharp argument on other points.

***Climate and color.*** The layman's view that dark skin is the product of exposure to sunlight is probably correct, scientists say.

The substance that makes skin dark—and enables some fair skins to tan—acts as an effective screen against the penetrating ultraviolet rays of the sun. This has been proved.

Overexposure to ultraviolet rays can lead, in fair-skinned people, to skin cancer, to reduced fertility and premature aging among women. Most black people of the tropics do not suffer in these ways. The coloring substance—called melanin—protects them.

Ability to produce melanin is hereditary, and the race that has that ability in largest measure will survive in hot, bright lands while other races dwindle. That, scientists believe, is what happened over possibly 20,000 years to develop the dark races of the world—Negroes in Africa, the pygmy Negritos of Asia, blacks in Australia and the islands of the Southwest Pacific.

The white race owes its skin color to climate, too, biologists suggest. It is known that while too much ultraviolet light is harmful to human beings, some of it is necessary for healthy growth. It promotes the formation of vitamin D, the "sunshine vitamin" that makes strong bones. In the cloudy climate of Northern Europe, dark skins would filter out too much sunlight. Children would be puny.

Even today, scientists point out, Negro children in northern climes are more prone to rickets than their white neighbors. The U. S. Army found that Negroes in Alaska during World War II suffered much more from frostbite and other cold-caused damage than did white soldiers in the same camps. This, too, was an indirect result of their dark skins, researchers say.

***Slant eyes and snow.*** Dr. Carleton S. Coon, professor of anthropology at the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, has proposed the theory that climate also accounts for the slant eyes, high cheekbones and short noses of the typical Asian. Here is his suggestion:

It gets bitterly cold in North Asia, and the wind can be fierce. The people who survived best were those who had a

BROWN PEOPLE include natives of much of Indonesia, and of Pacific isles such as the Philippines, Tahiti, Hawaii.

BLACK PEOPLE include not only Negroes of Africa but also Asia's Negritos and blacks of Australia and the Pacific.

YELLOW PEOPLE actually range in skin color from light tan to bronze. Group consists mostly of Chinese and Japanese.

Photos: Magnum, USN&WR

WHITE PEOPLE comprise those who originally were European and Middle Eastern, but who now are widely scattered.

heavy padding of fat around the eyes. It takes a particular shape of eye socket, Dr. Coon points out, to sustain this heavy padding. It should be longer than is common among "round-eyed" people.

Another help in withstanding cold was the reduction and retraction of the brow ridges which protect the highly sensitive sinuses. To accommodate these adaptations to cold, the nasal passages became shorter and canted back more sharply. Noses became less prominent, cheekbones more so. Chewing muscles came farther forward.

Result: the slant-eyed, broad-faced, snub-nosed human generally thought of as "the typical Chinese."

Other anthropologists may not go all the way with Dr. Coon's theory. "But it's possible," most of them say.

***A "yellow race"?*** The United Nations, in its "Demographic Yearbook for 1960," estimates that there are some 3 billion people in the world. About one third of them live in Asia and islands around that continent, according to estimates by the Population Reference Bureau. They form what many modern scientists call the "Asiatic geographical race," and they range in skin color from the dark Burmese to the light Manchurians. In between, climate seems to have been best for people of different shades of tan, getting darker nearer the tropics. Because the light-tan Chinese are the most numerous, ancient European travelers grouped all Asians into a "yellow" race.

There's no real basis for this, scientists say. The traits that put all Asians into a race are straight, blue-black hair, eyelids with a so-called "inner fold"—which give a slant-eyed appearance—wide, flat faces and little body hair.

Scientists now say that there is probably some connection, too, between climate and color of hair and eyes. The tight black curls of some Negroes may be the result of natural selection for protection against sun and humid heat, some experts suggest.

Others disagree, pointing out that most people native to tropical Asia have straight black hair.

Dark eyes are said to be less sensitive to bright sunshine than eyes of paler color. But it is estimated that four out of five people in the world have dark eyes. The blue-eyed blonds of Northern Europe are a very minor race statistically, even in Europe, ethnologists agree.

Scientists use a number of ways of distinguishing one race from another, but they do not agree among themselves on which differences between people are the really basic ones.

Head shapes and body structure have been held to be important differences. Using them as yardsticks, ethnologists have found four "races" in Europe alone—the Nordic, the Alpine, the Mediterranean and the Northeast European.

In the vast subcontinent of India, among a population double that of Europe, there are even more "races," and the notion that natives of India are dark-skinned people of European stock is no longer held to be true of all Pakistanis and Indians. Most ethnologists now take the subcontinent as a whole and speak of the "Indian geographical race."

Dr. Stanley M. Garn of Antioch College, in the 1961 edition of his book "Human Races," lists nine such "geographical races."

They are: the Amerindians, who lived in North and South America before the coming of the white man; the Polynesians, ranging from New Zealand to Hawaii; the Micronesians, dark people of the small Pacific atolls; the Papuans, "Stone Age" natives of New Guinea and surrounding islands; the Australians, the

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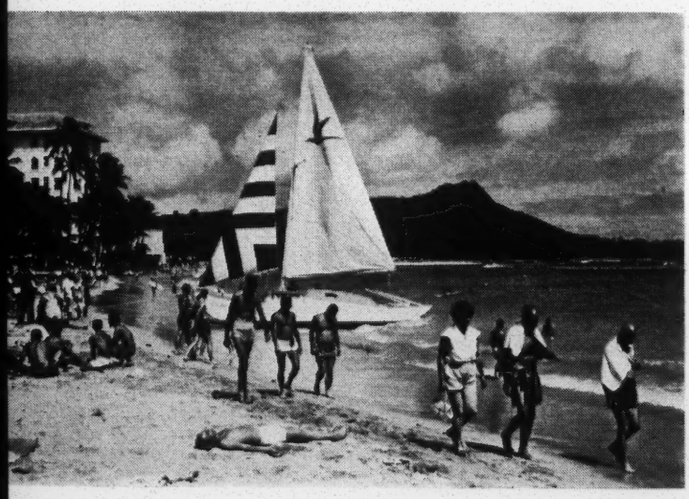
CHINESE FEATURES are thought by one scientist to be an adaptation to cold winds of North Asia, with "padded" eyes, snub nose providing special protection.



SUNSHINE is believed to be the big factor in skin color. Light-skinned people on this Hawaiian beach enjoy the sun, but dark skins are less sensitive to such exposure. Scientists think this difference has caused dark strains to develop in hot, bright lands through natural selection.

Photos: Magnum, USN&WR

LATIN-AMERICAN populations include whites, Indians, Negroes and others. Large mixed-blood groups also exist, and these are often classified as races.

# BROWN, BLACK, YELLOW, WHITE—

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original natives of Australia and Tasmania, some of whom have light or red-gold hair; the Asiatic, the Indian, the European, and the African races.

Within these "major" races, Dr. Garn distinguishes some 32 important "local" races plus some groups of people he classes as "isolated races"—the Lapps, the Pacific Negritos, the African Pygmies and the Eskimos.

Taking the world's 3 billion population as a whole, the Population Reference Bureau estimates this division by colors: yellow people, 930 million; white people, 930 million; brown-red, 900 million; black, 240 million.

***Where did races come from?*** Remains of creatures that were more man than ape, but still were not men, have been found in Africa, Europe, China and Java. Some of them may have used fire and kept stones and sticks as tools and weapons. Anthropologists cannot yet tell, however, if any of these creatures was the immediate ancestor of modern man.

There is dispute at this time over just where modern man originated. Most scientists suggest a broad area in Southwest Asia and Asia Minor. Some others feel that Africa may have been the place. There is also debate over dating the appearance of true humans – the species *Homo sapiens* – on the earth. Some biologists put it at 100,000 years ago. Others suggest 50,000 years.

By 15,000 or 20,000 years ago, it is generally agreed, men had spread to almost every part of the world where they are found today. By that time, also, the main races of men had been formed, scientists now hold. They say that the people best adapted to bright sunlight were multiplying successfully in the tropics, while those not so well adapted were dying out in the tropics, multiplying in climates more favorable to them.

As they became adapted to their territories through natural selection, the members of large population groups became generally more like each other, less like other groups. The early inhabitants of North and South America, for example, are known to have come originally from Asia. However, modern study of blood – the science of serology – shows that the Indians of the Western Hemisphere seldom or never have blood type B. Yet this is the most common blood type among Asians. Scientists are still puzzling over the reason for the wide difference.

The presence of "sickle cells" – cres-

cent-shaped red cells—in the blood of Negroes and not in any other race is more readily explained. It has recently been found that the sickling trait in blood can offer protection against the malaria which killed off other races trying to live in tropical Africa.

As serologists develop their studies, they say, it is likely that other significant differences in blood make-up will appear to help define races.

***Racial mixing.*** In the U. S. and in Britain's former colonies, historically there has been little formal intermarriage between the white and dark races. And social scientists report that there is even less today. The mixed marriage, particularly between whites and Negroes, is not generally acceptable to either race.

Another form of race mixing, however, may be taking place, some sociologists believe. This involves the very light-skinned Negroes—possibly with a number of white ancestors—who "pass over" every year to live as whites. There is no way of telling, authorities say, just what this number is. And, geneticists point out, there is no chance that a person who had "passed" as white would produce a dark baby unless the other parent was dark.

At this time, scientists cannot tell in advance which racial heritage will dominate in a mixed marriage. In mulatto families some children will be dark, others quite light, others various shades in between, studies have shown. They are likely to vary in intelligence, too, just like the children of a racially "pure" union.

***The "hot" issue.*** When it comes to comparison of intelligence among different races, scientists divide sharply.

In June, 1951, a group of physical anthropologists and geneticists, meeting under United Nations auspices, issued a long "Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences." From that statement:

"Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development.

"Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the view that genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men."

Other scientists were aroused. Intelligence, they said, might well be developed in a race through natural selection.

The scientists who hold this view are branded as "racists" by most of the sign-

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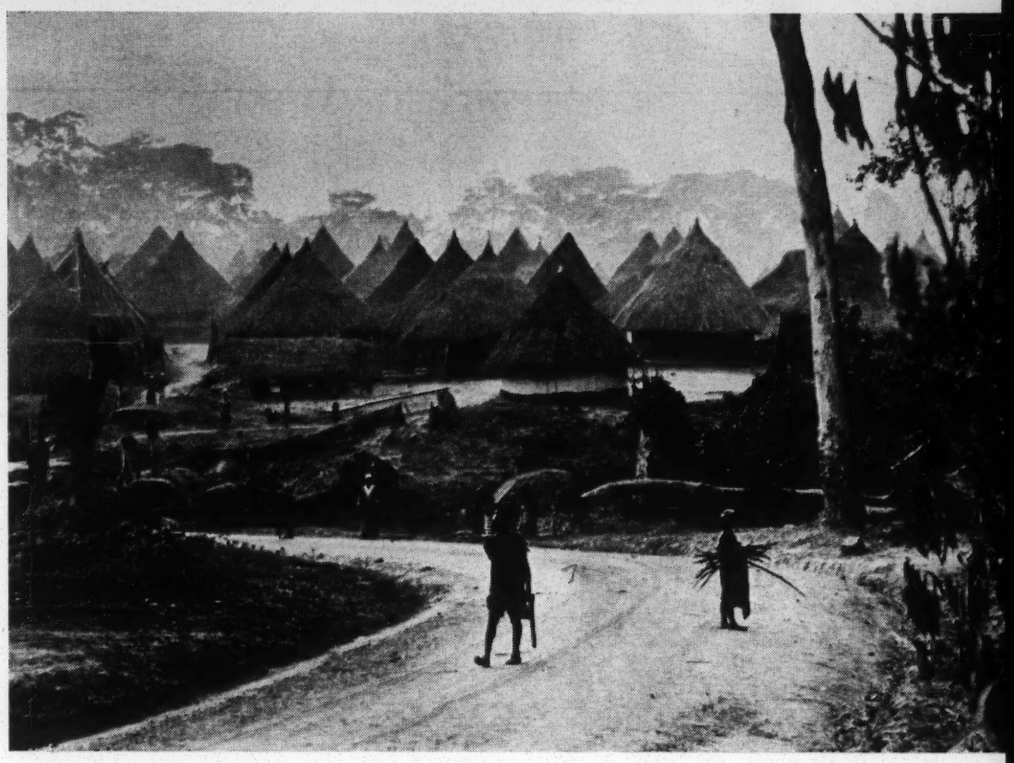
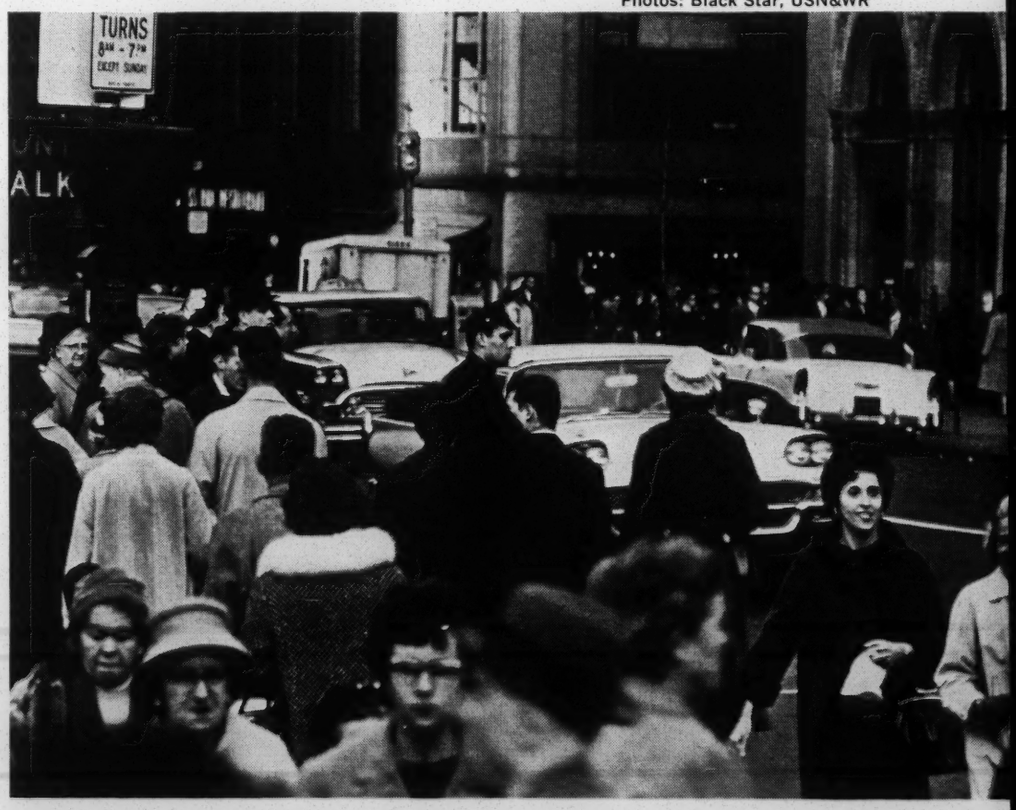


**PRIMITIVE CULTURES** of the tropics are explained by one anthropologist as a natural result of a relatively "easy" life, where "little ingenuity is required to provide food and shelter and there is no premium on outstanding leadership."

**ADVANCED CULTURES** of colder climates are said by some scientists to arise from intelligence produced by "survival of the fittest." Others disagree, argue that there is no proof that "groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity."

Photos: Black Star, USN&WR



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# BROWN, BLACK, YELLOW, WHITE—

ers of the U. N. statement, and a battle of words is raging among scientists at this time.

One skirmish in the battle deals with history. The men who believe that intelligence can be developed in a race through natural selection—"the survival of the fittest"—point out that, while African Negroes are artistically highly gifted, left to themselves they never produced such basic tools as the wheel, the sail or an alphabet. They built few cities, and those, apparently did not endure very long.

Dr. Coon, who is not branded a "racist," says, "We do know that wide differences exist in the anatomical and physiological properties of the human brain, and that some of these are racial." He offers this explanation of what happened in Africa:

"In a situation where only the clever can survive, the dull die. In another situation, where life is easy as long as everybody is happy, and little ingenuity is required to provide food and shelter and there is no premium on outstanding leadership, the exercise of his superior imagination by an unusually clever person threatens the social equilibrium."

Scientists interpret this to mean that the smart man is at a disadvantage and racial stagnation can be the result. The comparative isolation of all Africa below the Sahara may have helped the stagnating process along, some anthropologists suggest.

The Europeans and Asians, constantly in contact with other peoples, were constantly borrowing new ideas and sharpening their wits in the process, historians say. A number of anthropologists hold that, where competition between men is keen, the laws of natural selection will operate so that the more intelligent men have the best chance of surviving and having children. And those children can inherit their parents' intelligence. This has happened with Europeans and Asians, these scientists assert.

Opponents of this view state that no good way has yet been found to measure intelligence among people who cannot read or write. And they go on to say that it is environment, not heredity, that makes people act intelligently. Attempts to test intelligence by race are "racist," they charge.

***New races coming?*** While the battle over racial intelligence is raging among scientists, new races are being formed.

Dr. Garn classifies the present American Negro as a member of a new race, different in many respects from his African forebears. And American Negroes who have traveled to Africa as exchange students or members of the Peace Corps frequently report feeling like members of a strange race when they are in Africa.

In some Latin-American countries, as reference works show, people of mixed blood outnumber the "pure" whites, Indians and Negroes. Most ethnologists describe these mixed-blood people as a race.

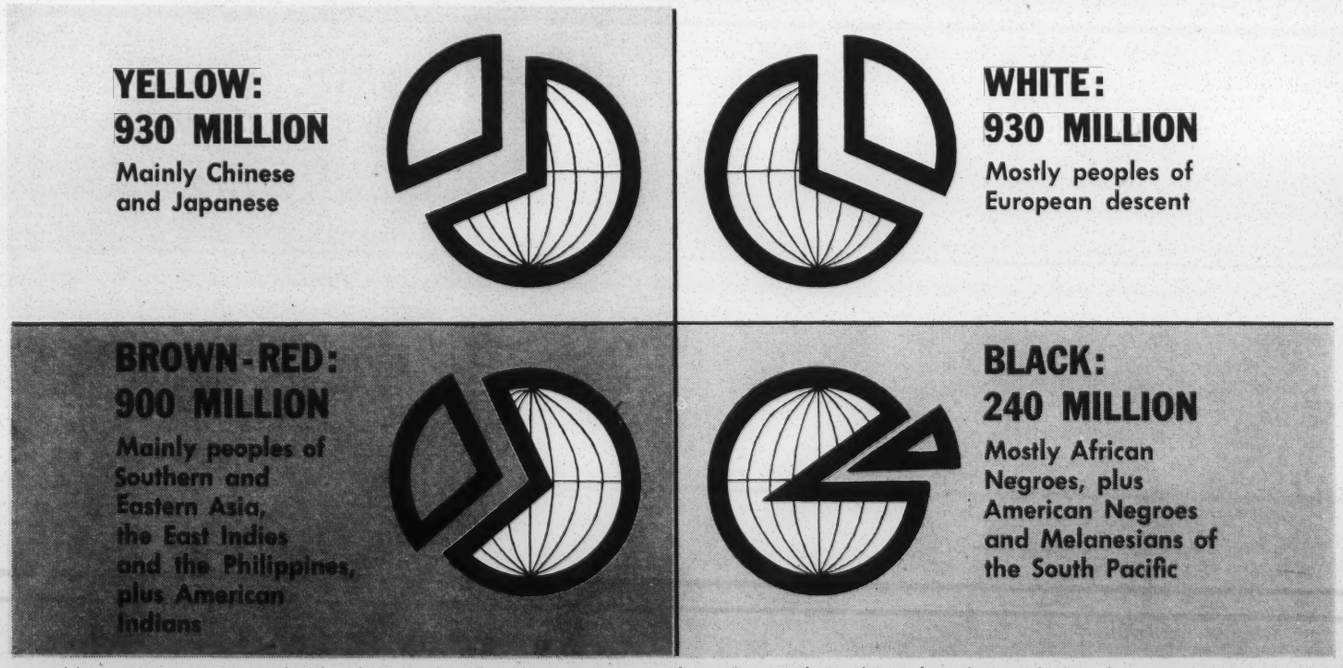
A new, extremely mixed race is being formed in Hawaii—the neo-Polynesian—according to Dr. Garn and his associates.

Modern public-health measures and more-potent and more-useful drugs make it likely that these new races will multiply, biologists agree. So will the "pure" races, where they are separated by geography or law or custom, according to the same scientists.

In a world where racial conflict is seething, social scientists point out, growing pressure from new races may add to the world turmoil.

## THE COLORS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES

*Out of approximately 3 billion people in the world today—*




*Note: Estimates compiled by the Population Reference Bureau, based on anthropological studies and United Nations sources.*

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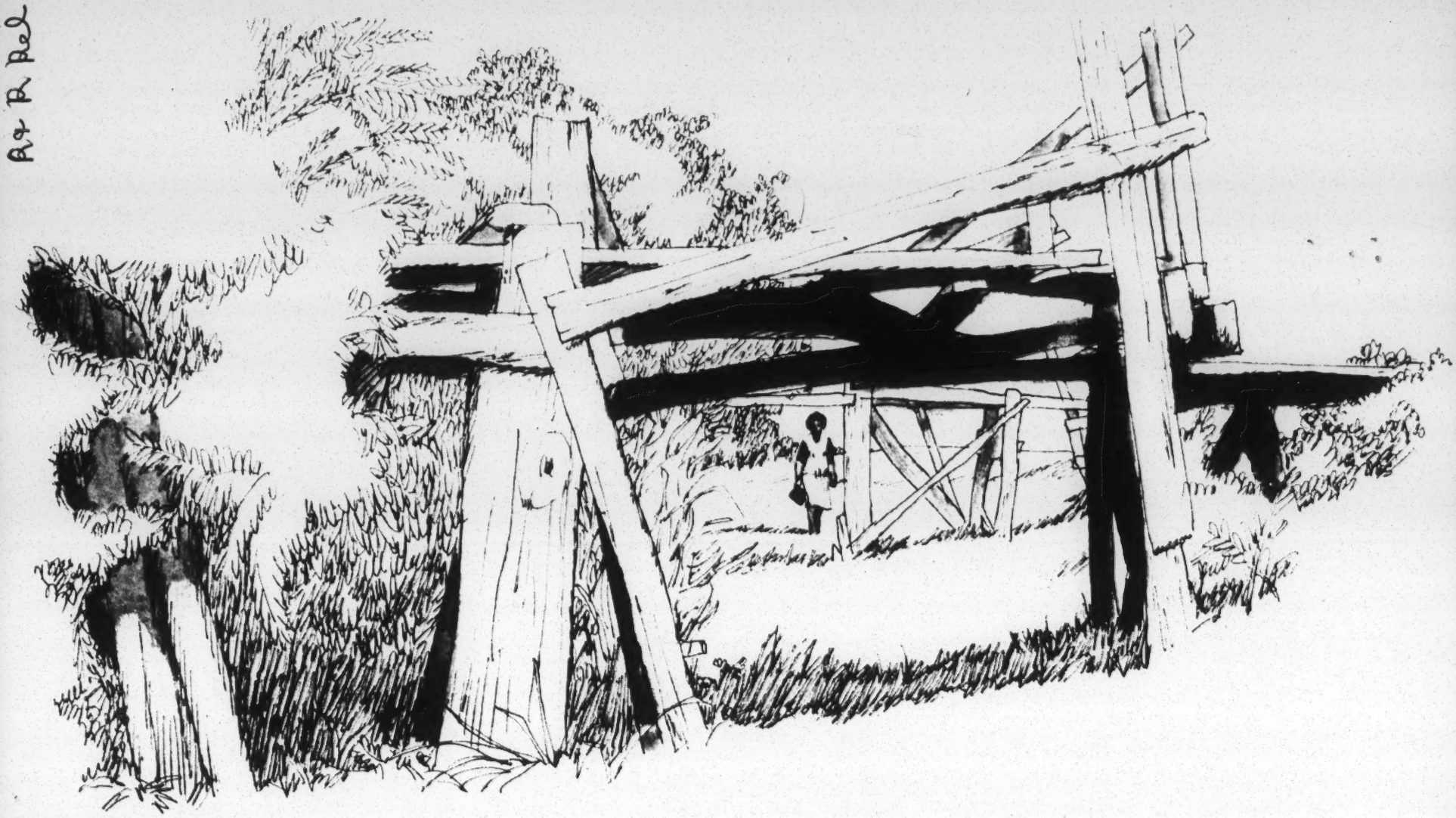

# The Negro in America today

BY ERNEST DUNBAR LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

IMAGINE THAT YOU are an American Negro. If you are really not a Negro, this is going to call for all the imagination you can muster. Since I am one, maybe I can help you make the adjustment.

Your ancestors have been in this country for a mighty long time, far longer than the three hundred years that most white folk you bump into believe to be the Negro's length of residence here. That is one of the little ironies of your life in America. Your children's schoolbooks tell them about Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Betsy Ross and Paul Revere. But they will probably never hear of the many heroes of your own race who have figured in this country's development from the very beginning. That is, unless you yourself provide them with the information.

Of course, since you've used the same textbooks, your own information is also scanty. But maybe you know that 30 Negroes accompanied the Spanish explorer Balboa when he discovered the Pacific, that a Spanish Negro called Estevanico blazed a route from Mexico through New Mexico and Arizona to the Northwest and that, in 1526, Negro slaves owned by the Spanish-frustrated Spain's attempts to establish a colony in what was to become South Carolina, by deserting the Spanish ranks to join the Indians.

Certainly, you know that Crispus Attucks, for whom your local Elks lodge or boys' club is named, was a Negro sailor who was shot down by British infantry in the "Boston Massacre," among the first Americans to die for this country's independence. But though you know about Betsy Ross, you may not know about Deborah Gannett, a woman of your race who masqueraded as a man and fought with distinction in a Massachusetts regiment during the Revolution.

It was not until 1619, when twenty of your ancestors were shipped into Virginia as slaves, that the long and unique struggle of your people in America began. The peremptory nature of your ancestors' arrival here had a lot to do with your present outlook.

You don't celebrate St. Patrick's Day or Bastille Day, your mother does not cook the dishes her mother brought over from the

# It's hard to tell an African why you can't come "home"

"old country," and you don't dress up now and then in the national costume of your former homeland or sing its songs. The roots you possess are sunk deep in the soil of America. The joyful and tragic songs you sing are fashioned from your experiences in America. Although other Americans belong to organizations such as the Sons of Italy, the Sons of Erin or the Japanese-American Association, you tend to fear that joining an organization whose members must be of African descent may be somehow racist, a negation of the long effort of your people to be integrated into American society.

When you visit the United Nations in New York, you see African delegates who look exactly like your Uncle Willie or Cousin Frank, but who perhaps speak French and whose last names are Diop or Diallo, not Johnson or Jones, the names you acquired in the New World. And if they ask you when you are coming "home," you may have difficulty in explaining why "home" is on these shores. Given a map of Africa, you couldn't pick out the spot from which your forebears were wrenched, if your life depended on it.

For better or for worse, America is wedded to you, and you to it, till death do you part. It is this that makes you different from all the other immigrants who are now called Americans.

You are aware that the term "Negro" is an imprecise one and tells little about the human being it designates. Negroes come in all varieties of colors and sizes. They are Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Catholics, Moslems, atheists and agnostics. They can be found on the rolls of the Democratic, Republican, Socialist and Communist parties. They live in Montana and Maine, Alabama and Alaska.

Some Negroes work in the White House. Others are having great difficulty getting any kind of work anywhere.

## INCOME

Today, almost a century after the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment, you and 19 million other Negroes are still struggling for rights and privileges that most other Americans take for granted. The Emancipation Proclamation did not say anything about buying a hamburger at a Southern lunch counter or a home in a Northern suburb. And though the U.S. Constitution's 15th Amendment is supposed to guarantee that the Negro citizen should not be denied that basic element of citizenship, the vote, thousands of black Americans live in areas where the 15th Amendment has yet to be recognized.

So you wince inwardly when you hear your white fellow citizens refer to the "free world," and you understand so well why few Negroes employ that phrase. But then this is only one of many split images of life in America—life as you know it and life as the majority group sees it. On some subjects, those images are unified, but on many, they are wide apart, like a picture out of focus.

Probably the most difficult image to focus properly is where you and your 19 million fellow Negroes stand today, 96 years after slavery was formally ended.

You've come a long way. You would agree on that. But *all* Americans have come a long way, so the question more properly is: Where do you stand today in relation to the rest of America?

You know that there are increased opportunities for Negroes in America today. A lot of restrictions that confronted your mother and father when they were growing up are happily now merely the subject of family joking. You are better educated than they were. Negroes are attending colleges and universities in the North and South in increasing numbers, 100,000 in Negro institutions alone. They are moving into professions and skills heretofore closed to members of your race. Pick up a Negro newspaper or magazine, and you may see a picture of a technician with a black skin working on a multistage rocket or a brown-skinned flight surgeon checking instruments electronically linked to a white-skinned astronaut.

Yet, despite the widened horizons and the increased opportunities, there is a mounting sense of frustration in your community, with tensions that threaten to boil over if the pace of advancement is not stepped up.

Why? Because of where you stand as compared to other Americans. Many Negroes have seen their income levels rise sharply, their modes of living change in line with their new prosperity. But for many more, getting a job and keeping it are problems of giant proportions.

As a Negro, your chances of being unemployed are about three times as great as they would be if you were white. That fact must be borne in mind when your progress is being considered. In 1939, the median income for Negro families was $489, or 37 per cent of that of white families. Negro wage earners made strides from World War II through the Korean conflict, but they have not shared proportionately in the country's economic advances of the past two decades.

On the contrary, since 1952, Negro income has slipped. In that year, the best yet for the Negro, the median income of Negro families was only 57 per cent of that of white families—$2,338 to $4,114 a year, respectively. The ratio has remained below this level for the past nine years.

When you consider that Negro families have an average of 4.4 members, compared to 3.6 for white families, and thus require more in the way of food, clothing and shelter, the gap in income becomes even more meaningful.

The grim figures for Negro income nationally are heavily influenced by the low income of Negroes in rural areas, most of which are in the South. Negro males 14 and older in the Northeast, North Central and Western states have a median money income about three fourths that of white males. But in the South, Negro males have only one third of the money income of their white counterparts.

## EMPLOYMENT

Discrimination in employment, bias in upgrading and poor education have contributed to the Negro's economic difficulties. Traditionally "last hired and first fired," Negroes must battle the bias of both employers and some unions. Though the race of which you are a member comprises about 11 per cent of the nation's working force, it constituted 21 per cent of the unemployed in the fall of 1961. In Chicago, where the total unemployment rate was 5.7 per cent, the Negro jobless rate was 17.3; in Washington, D.C., where Negroes made up 53.9 per cent of the population, they accounted for 71 per cent of the unemployed; in Detroit, 112,000 of the 185,000 people out of work were Negroes. The fact that Negroes are moving into occu-

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*Today's Negro youth may be far better educated than his parents and seek goals they never dreamed of. But he is sometimes caught in a dilemma: New jobs are open to him for which he cannot qualify, because he had believed it was fruitless to prepare. He strives for his own solutions.*

pations formerly closed to them does not alter the worsening plight of Negro workers as a whole. That is because the bulk of Negro labor is unskilled, and automation is cutting wide inroads into unskilled labor.

As a Negro, you've got a special kind of problem when it comes to advising your youngsters on the choice of a career. Should you encourage them to prepare themselves for fields in which the doors have long been shut to Negroes, in the hope that they will somehow break through the barriers? Or should you counsel them to stick to the "safe" occupations such as teaching, law or the ministry?

Even if your children do not pursue professional careers, a rocky road awaits them in the crafts. Negro youths are excluded from apprentice training by racial bars in many of the nation's craft unions. Less than 1 per cent of the apprentices in the construction trades are Negroes. In the country's 32 major cities, a survey found only 100 Negro apprentices in all fields. To complete the vicious circle, Negro youths are denied on-the-job training by many employers.

Paradoxically, opportunities are beginning to open up for young Negroes in some fields, but qualified candidates are not available, because past discrimination discouraged them from taking the necessary training for what had seemed to be an unattainable goal. Edwin Berry, executive director of Chicago's Urban League, will tell you, "People call me up with a job. They want a Negro with certain qualifications for a job from which Negroes have always been excluded. *Now* they say, 'Get me a Negro.' It isn't done just like that!"

Perhaps the most militantly articulate battler against bias in labor is A. Philip Randolph, 72-year-old president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the only Negro vice-president of the AFL-CIO. Randolph says, "Discrimination in employment is the crisis of the Negro American today. With Negroes constituting the major portion of unskilled labor and with no way to get training in skills, Negroes are gradually being replaced with automation. Automation is building up a hard core of unemployables. And when the black worker is in trouble," says Randolph, "the community is in trouble. He can't keep his kids in school, he can't keep his home intact, and, as a result, the morale of the community breaks down."

A veteran in the Negro's long fight for full admission to union ranks, Randolph founded the Negro American Labor Council in 1960 to press for that goal within organized labor. Randolph makes it plain that he is less than happy with the attitude of the AFL-CIO and its leader, George Meany, who once demanded of him, "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negro members in America?"

"George is a gradualist," says Randolph, "and we Negroes don't want gradualism in this age of automation. It might have been OK ten years ago, but we don't want token-ism today. We've got to have complete integration."

He adds, "The only thing that will deliver the black workingman is his own effort. The leaders of organized labor have taken us for granted for so long they can't understand that the winds of a civil-rights revolution are blowing in the labor movement today."

## HOUSING

As a Negro, housing—or the lack of it—may trouble you even more than employment. The all-Negro ghetto in which you live is like countless others that surround the centers of the nation's cities. From them stem all-Negro schools, all-Negro hospitals and all-Negro churches. In the North, that makes for a segregation in fact that rivals the segregation defined by law in the South.

According to a report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, housing ". . . seems to be the one commodity in the American market that is not freely available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay." It is estimated that less than two per cent of new housing guaranteed by Federal Housing Authority (FHA) mortgages is available to Negroes. In the case of non-Government-financed housing, the percentage open to Negroes is even smaller.

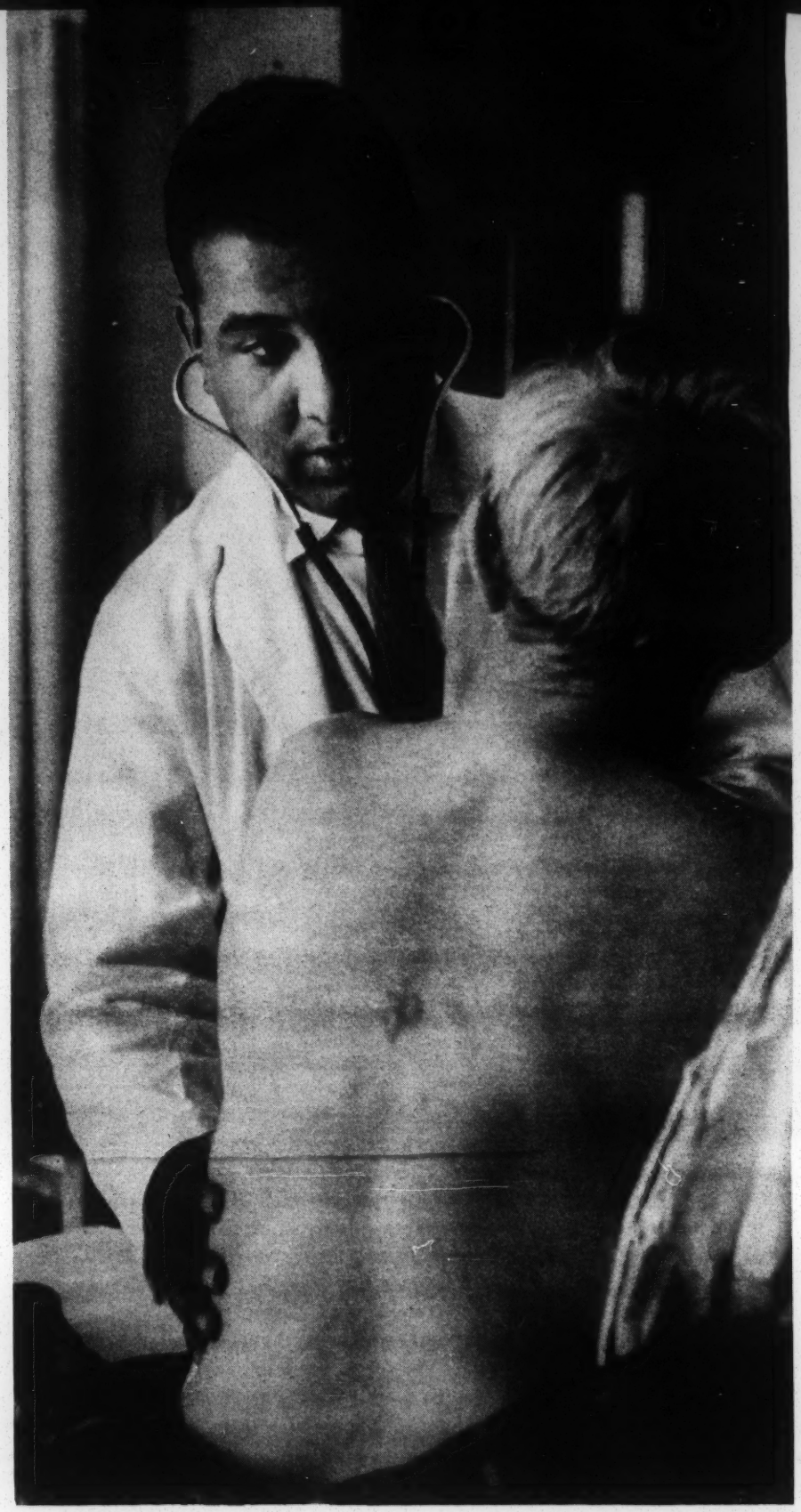
Since Government-insured or -guaranteed mortgages account for a major portion of all residential housing constructed in the U. S. since World War II, you are likely to view your own Government as one of the chief culprits in limiting your access to better housing.

As a Negro, you know better than to take those bank-mortgage advertisements and television commercials literally. For banks and other lending institutions are the Government's accomplices in closing the door to the Negro homeseeker. No matter what your qualifi-

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOM FEELINGS

# Progress and problems

*Dr. Price Cobbs, with son Price, daughter Renata and wife Vad, poses outside his home in Westlake, a San Francisco suburb.*



## *A San Francisco psychiatrist.*

*Dr. Cobbs: "We had assumed that discrimination incidents occurred only in so-called underprivileged areas. When somebody tossed a stone through our window, and when a kid called our children 'niggers,' we saw how wrong we were." The Cobbses thought of moving, but they were encouraged to stay by a few sympathetic neighbors. As a doctor—he is completing his residency at the University of California Medical Center, where the picture at right was taken—he has experienced almost no discrimination. "But I cannot deny that many white adults are edgy at first about being treated by a Negro," he says.*

cations, you will generally find it more difficult to obtain a home mortgage than a white person does. If you are trying to buy a home in an all-white area, your chances of getting a mortgage from a commercial lending institution are extremely slim.

While the Federal Government has thrown its weight behind the drive to eliminate racial segregation in schools and employment, its housing policies actually have contributed to the expansion of residential segregation in the nation's cities. Federal money has gone to guarantee mortgages for housing in suburbs that bar Negro buyers, and segregation is prevalent in the Government's own public-housing program. Over 80 per cent of Federally sponsored housing is segregated racially.

Trapped between Government-assisted discrimination and the bias of private builders and banking institutions, the Negro is squeezed more and more into ghettos. Whites fleeing to the suburbs have left the city to the Negro. The Negro population in the nation's 21 central cities has increased by nearly 2 million, or 50 per cent, in the last ten years, while the white population has declined by one million. But the increase in the number of Negroes in the cities has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in the housing available to them. The squeeze has produced an explosive situation that constantly threatens to erupt.

The Greenleigh Report, a 1960 study of aid to dependent children (ADC) in Cook County, reveals some stark insights into the results of deprivations suffered by Negroes in the nation's second largest city. While the Greenleigh study says Chicago "may be the most segregated city in the country, as far as housing is concerned," many of the conditions faced by the 900,000 Negroes there may be found in other communities. Perhaps they may be found in yours.

Chicago spends more than $4.4 million every month on its aid-to-dependent-children program. Of the 100,000 recipients of ADC assistance, 90 per cent are Negro. Since the Federal Government puts up more than half of the funds for the Illinois ADC program, the position of the Negro in Chicago has significance for every taxpayer.

The study points out that, of the job orders placed with private employment agencies in Chicago in 1958, 98 per cent barred non-whites. Yet rents paid by Negro families for poorer housing exceeded considerably those paid by white families, in effect placing a "color

*Bryant and his wife Elizabeth live in a home he designed in Woodlawn, an all-Negro Atlanta suburb.*

## *An Atlanta mathematician*

*Charles Bryant commutes daily between two worlds of the New South: his job at Lockheed Aircraft's Marietta, Ga., plant and his home. At Lockheed (right), where he has worked for five years, he heads a section of five whites. Bryant and his wife, who is a schoolteacher, spend most of their leisure entertaining friends at their home. In sympathy with Negroes who, until recently, were boycotting Atlanta merchants, he postponed buying the major furnishings for his house. "It got so you were ashamed for your friends to see you downtown," Bryant says.*

tax" on the Negro wage earners. White families paid an average monthly rent of $64.84, while the monthly rent of Negro families averaged $82.77. "This rent differential, a result of discrimination in housing, costs Illinois taxpayers at least $3.4 million a year in Cook County (Chicago) alone," the report says.

The study concludes that discrimination in employment has "a greater direct and indirect impact on the ADC program than almost any other single factor, because it results in desertion, divorce and unwed parenthood, with all their social and economic costs. It has an important causal relationship to unemployment."

## SCHOOLS, SEGREGATION

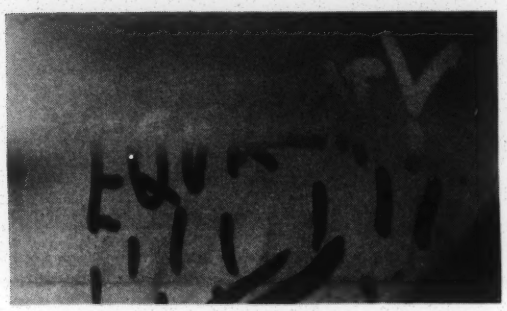
Perhaps the school-desegregation struggle in the South has attracted more attention and stirred more emotions than any other issue involving the Negro in the past two decades. As a Negro, you were concerned with this issue long before the 1954 Supreme Court decision, which brought the problem of equal educational opportunity to the attention of the nation as a whole. You remember the long struggles in the courts, some of which dated as far back as the 1930's.

When the Supreme Court finally declared compulsory segregation in public education to be unconstitutional, you also remember, you were filled with expectation. But today, seven years after that decision, only 7.3 per cent of Negroes in the 17 Southern and border states are attending classes with whites. (Aside from the border states and the District of Columbia, no Southern state has as much as 2 per cent of its Negro pupils in classes with white children.)

Out of a total of 2,805 biracial school districts in the Southern and border states, 1,894 have not even *begun* to comply with the Supreme Court ruling, according to the 1961 report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Among them is Clarendon County, S. C., one of the five areas involved in the original 1954 decision.

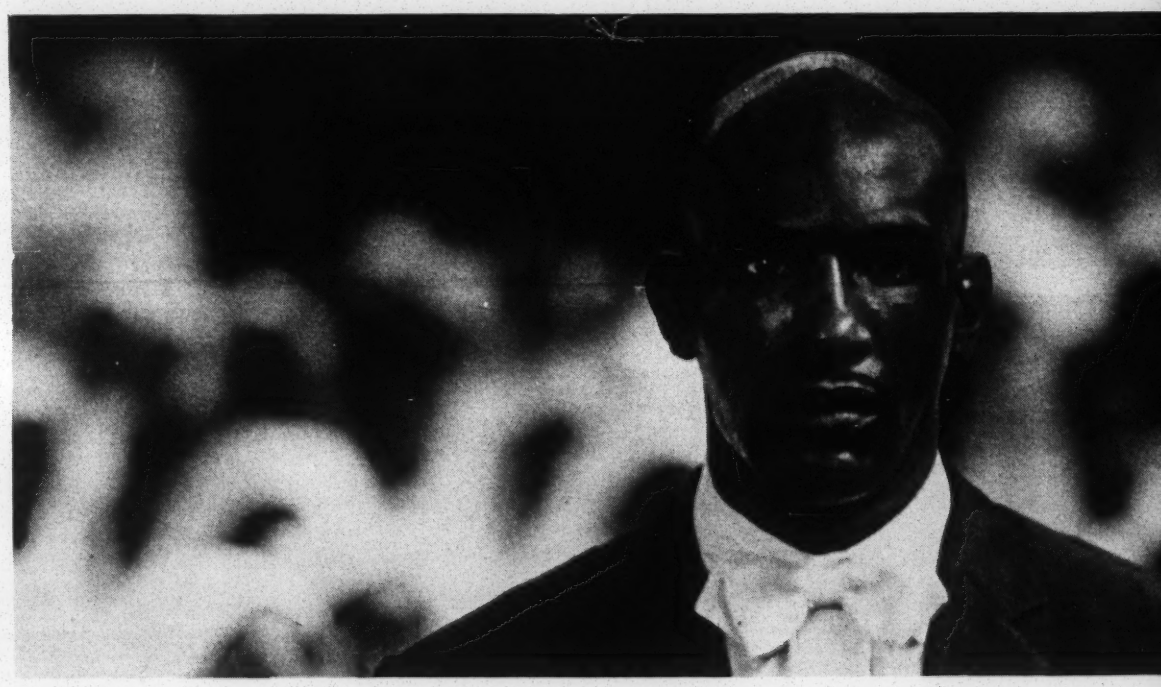
The cold figures of integrated attendance do not reveal the emotional stress or adjustment problems that may affect the few Negro children admitted to white schools. Last November, an Atlanta couple withdrew their daughter from a previously all-white high school to which she had been admitted, with two other Negroes, in August. Though the girl had been making "A's" and "B's" in her courses,

*Negro "Freedom Rider" seeking service in Baltimore, Md., café is asked to leave by police officer and waitress. Latter holds copy of state trespass law.*



# Protest...

*A word (above) scrawled on the frosted window of a "Freedom Ride" bus, an attempt to eat in a Baltimore café and the Black Muslim movement are symbols of Negro discontent. While most Negro groups are fighting to remove the barriers to full integration, Muslims champion complete racial separation. The Muslims forecast the doom of America and "the white devils." They want "some states for our own."*



*Muslim usher at a Harlem rally is a member of "Fruit of Islam," a specially trained guards unit.*

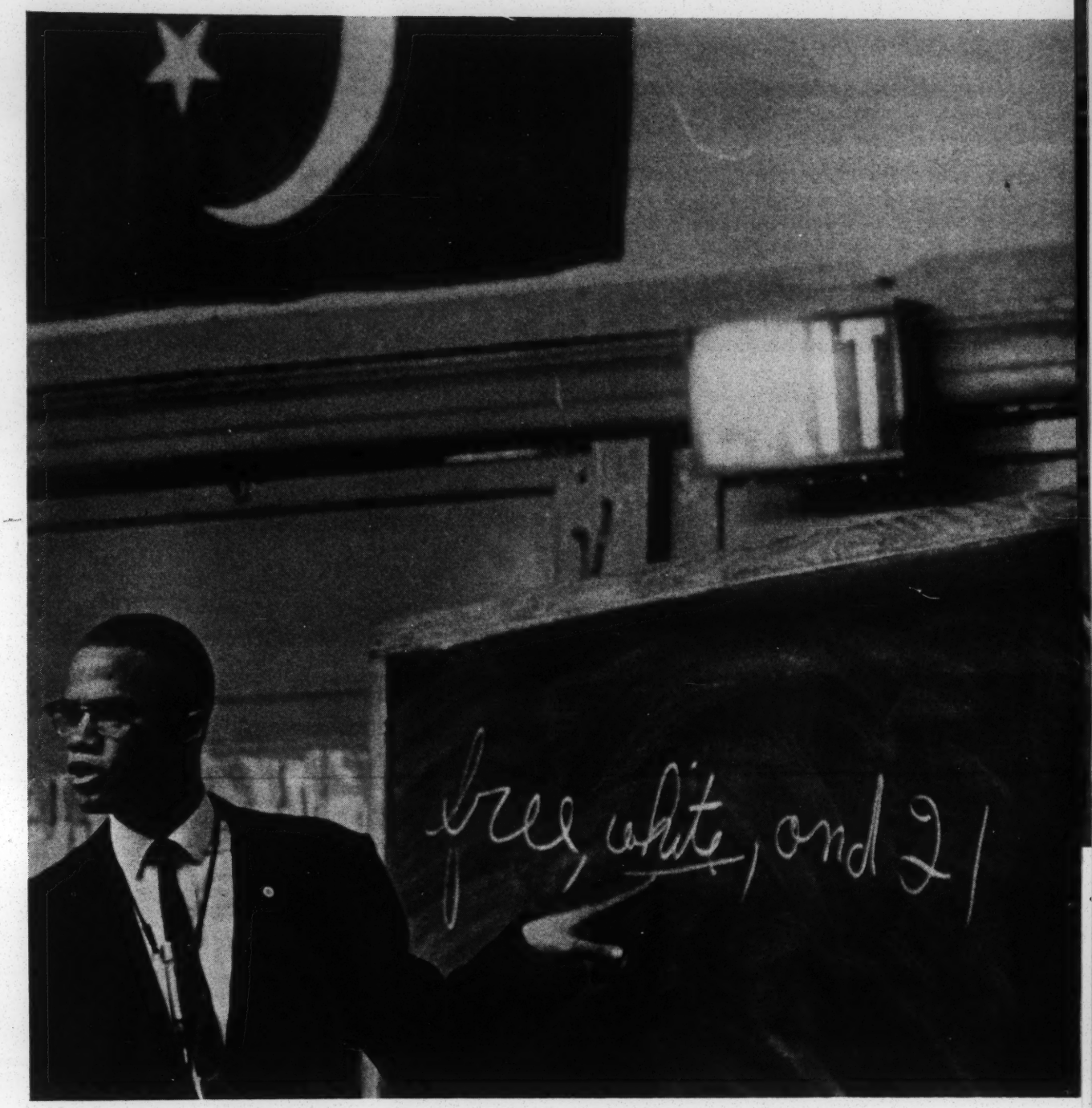
her parents said she sometimes studied as much as ten hours a night and had become nervous and suffered from insomnia. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged that, by admitting only nine of 130 Negro students who applied for transfers to white schools, Atlanta's pupil-placement plan subjected those few who were accepted to undue pressures as "display pieces and guinea pigs." A school administrator contended that the high school involved was one that had higher standards than many of the city's high schools, with more than 90 per cent of its graduates going to college. He added that the girl's parents told him she had encountered no hostility from students there.

Some student pioneers have received warm support from sympathetic teachers. The parent of a first-grader, one of 18 admitted to formerly all-white schools in Dallas last fall, will tell you, "His teachers seem to be extraordinarily nice to him. Often, when my wife or I go to pick him up, one of the teachers has her arm around him, talking to him. There have been no threats and no unpleasantness." For this Dallas parent, his six-year-old's integration meant some changes in his own behavior. "My wife and I decided to stop mentioning color or anything about race around him," he says.

In recent months, a new term—"resegregation"—has emerged to describe a process that is further slowing the already creeping pace of public-school integration. Resegregation occurs as desegregated schools change from all-white to all-Negro, often as whites leave a desegregated school district and move to other areas, and Negroes move in. School desegregation in Washington, D.C., Baltimore and St. Louis has been virtually negated by this condition.

Negroes have now expanded their attack to come to grips with the other axis of the problem: segregated schools in the North. If your child attends public school in one of the major cities of the North or West, the overwhelming majority of his fellow students are likely to be Negroes also, as is every member of the school staff from the principal to the janitor.

New York City has 95 public elementary schools with Negro or Puerto Rican enrollments exceeding 90 per cent. In Chicago, 87 per cent of the Negro elementary-school pupils attend virtually all-Negro




*New York Muslim, "Malcolm X," tells "temple" audience to be a man in the U. S. one must be white.*

schools; Los Angeles has 43 elementary schools with at least 85 per cent Negro enrollment; Philadelphia has 38 such schools that are more than 99 per cent Negro, and 45 per cent of Detroit's Negro public-school pupils attend schools in which Negroes make up more than 80 per cent of the enrollment.

While segregated schools outside the South stem chiefly from segregated neighborhoods, some school officials have come under fire for administrative policies that increase such segregation. A Federal court recently found the New Rochelle, N. Y., school board guilty of deliberately gerrymandering school-zone lines to confine Negro pupils to a predominantly Negro elementary school. The ruling is destined to have wide repercussions in other Northern cities. Already, Negro parents in Philadelphia, Chicago and Englewood, N. J., have brought suits against school officials to alleviate alleged discriminatory school policies in those cities.

If you are a Negro parent, you know that the question of the *quality* of the education dispensed in your child's predominantly Negro school is another sore point in your community. Crowded classrooms, poor library facilities, a high proportion of substitute and inexperienced teachers, outmoded curricula, all serve to increase the handicaps your child and others like him must face. An NAACP survey reported that only 2 per cent of Chicago's predominantly white schools and 19 per cent of its mixed schools were on double shifts, but that 81 per cent of children on double shifts were Negro.

## THE ARMED FORCES

It is in the nation's armed forces that the American Negro has made his greatest advances. Indeed, the Negro serviceman has achieved a degree of equality on the base that is considerably ahead of that in the society beyond its gates. President Truman's Executive Order 9981, issued in 1948, said: "... There shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services. . . ." With some notable exceptions, this policy of racial equality has been put into practice.

The number of Negro officers in the services is expanding, although at a slow rate. Today, 3 per cent of Army officers are Ne-

groes, as compared to .99 per cent at the end of World War II; 1.1 per cent of officers in the Air Force are Negroes; in the Navy and Marine Corps, which had no Negro officers at the beginning of World War II, .1 per cent of the officers are Negroes. At present, 34 of the 8,543 cadets in the Army, Naval and Air Force academies are Negroes.

The Air Force lists the nation's sole Negro general officer, Maj. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., the fourth Negro to graduate from West Point and son of the first and only other Negro to gain a general's star, Brig. Gen. B. O. Davis, Sr., U. S. Army, now retired.

James C. Evans, a Negro, is counselor to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, and his duties include "monitoring" the progress of integration in the armed forces. If you ask him what the chances are for the promotion of another Negro to general's rank, he will tell you that it's not too distant in the Army or Air Force, but that the prospects are not as bright in the Navy, where no Negro ranks above lieutenant commander. "It takes 27 years to produce an admiral," says Evans, "and we just haven't been in the business that long."

The National Guard, military reserve units and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps still contain significant pockets of resistance to the Federal policy of integration, primarily in the Southern states.

## SPORTS

Another area in which your people have made indisputable progress is in the sports arena. Perhaps the most spectacular example is baseball. Since 1947, when Brooklyn's Branch Rickey brought Jackie Robinson to the Dodgers to break the color bar in baseball, Negro diamond stars have come into their own. Out of a total of 450 players in both major leagues during the 1961 season, 80 were Negroes.

In the National League, which has a third again as many Negroes as the American League, Negro players have almost dominated the game. Eight of the ten National Leaguers receiving the Most Valuable Player Award in the past decade have been Negroes, and a Negro was selected as Rookie of the Year in nine of the past 13 years. Recently, Robinson became the first of his race to enter baseball's Hall of Fame, while San Francisco's Willie Mays became the sport's highest-paid player today, at a salary of $90,000.

In professional football, Negroes are more than holding their own. Of the 504 players in the National Football League in 1961, 83 were Negroes, including seven on the Dallas team.

With the exception of golf, which has been slowest in lowering racial bars, Negroes have made their mark in all other major sports.

## VOTING & JUSTICE

A crucial part of your position as a Negro in America is your access to the right to vote, to justice in the nation's courts and to fair treatment from police. The evidence shows you still have a long way to go.

The report of the 1961 U. S. Civil Rights Commission reveals that Negroes are prevented from voting—by outright denial or through fear of physical harm or economic reprisal—in 100 counties in eight Southern states. The report further points out that Negroes "have no real opportunity to serve on a grand or petit jury" in many communities. "A real understanding of the administration of justice in the United States cannot be had," the report goes on, without the knowledge that "Negroes generally do not have fair representation in the agencies of justice. . ." and are the most frequent targets of police brutality in many regions of the country.

Although the obstacles still confronting Negro Americans are formidable, you know many that have overcome racial barriers to win better jobs, more money and a higher standard of living. Fletcher Martin, Louisville-born Negro reporter on the Chicago *Sun Times*, says, "Being a Southern-reared Negro, I am both intrigued and delighted to look out of my office window at the numerous Negroes who have pleasure craft out on Lake Michigan. They certainly don't have them in Jackson, Mississippi!"

Sometimes, the Negro's new affluence has come as a by-product of segregation. Perhaps the wealthiest Negro community in America is to be found in Atlanta, Ga. There, cut off heretofore from many of the services available to whites, Negroes have developed multimillion-dollar banking and insurance firms to meet their own needs.

## THE LEADERS, THE LED

Despite its gains, the Negro community in America today is seething with impatience at the rate of its progress—impatience of which the "sit-ins" and "Freedom Riders" are manifestations.

The organization that feels these pressures most keenly is perhaps the 53-year-old National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If you are not one of the NAACP's 371,060 dues-paying members, you, like most of the other 19 million Negroes in America, probably share its goals. Long damned by white Southerners as a "radical" organization, the NAACP now finds itself under attack by a growing section of Negro opinion, which charges that it is "moving too slowly," that it favors court suits over more direct action such as "sit-ins" and that it is dominated by middle-class intellectuals who are out of touch with Negro masses and youth. Moreover, its civil-rights preserve is being encroached upon by newer groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a number of newly founded student movements.

Roy Wilkins, the association's Minnesota-reared executive secretary, denies this. "The general proposition that the NAACP has law books under one arm and the Supreme Court under the other is a myth," he'll tell you. "Sit-ins? We had sit-ins as long ago as 1929!"

While giving the student protest groups credit for some gains, Wilkins maintains, "The youth bring the fire and drive that's necessary, but it is the adults who do most of the organizing, planning and financing that are the backbone of this fight."

Wilkins says those who accuse the NAACP of being "legalistic" are often "those who want to act 'nonlegally'." He argues that the groundwork for the Negro's present advancement, including the right to unsegregated interstate travel, was laid by the NAACP in its many court battles.

Wilkins, too, is dissatisfied with the rate of the Negro's progress, but he acknowledges that there *has* been progress. "A couple of years ago," he says, "three Negro engineers at a General Electric plant complained that they would have to apply for a transfer because they couldn't get the kind of homes they wanted in the area where the plant was located. Twenty years ago, the problem would have been getting Negro engineers *into* G.E.!

"I have infinite good faith in the good sense of the American Negro," Wilkins adds. "He has managed to survive in a society that has erected every bear trap it could, which has hurt him psychologically with constant demeaning, year after year, decade after decade. But, despite job discrimination and other economic disadvantages, he has managed to send his kids to school, to get them an education. He made friends as he went along—he's a hell of a diplomat, you know. He might have made them by a little 'Uncle Tom-ing,' but he made them, and he survived."

Nevertheless, there are many Negroes within the ranks of the NAACP itself who feel that it is not militant enough about combatting the grievances that affect you and other Negroes in your day-to-day activities.

Many of these individuals are young college students and residents of the South. Perhaps typical of this group is Charles Black, a senior at Atlanta's Negro Morehouse College and one of the leaders of a student organization called the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, whose sit-in demonstrations led to the desegregation of eating facilities of 13 Atlanta drug, department and dime-store firms in 1961.

Like most of the students taking part in demonstrations, Black

*Diane Garrott, 21, went to work as a Trans World Airlines hostess in June, 1961—one of the first Negroes to hold such a job on a major U. S. airline. Until an ear infection recently grounded her, she symbolized a new breach in the color bar that surrounds "glamour jobs." Pioneering runs in her family. Diane's father, an attorney, was California's first Negro state policeman. Her grandfather was the first Negro police captain in Los Angeles. Her granduncle was California's first Negro dentist. Miss Garrott had no racial incidents in the air, but did not fly into the South.*

# Pioneers...

*In professional tournament golf, 38-year-old Charlie Sifford (left) is attracting wide attention. He is the first Negro to be given tournament player's status by the Professional Golfers' Association. Reared in a poor Southern family, Sifford was bitten by the golf bug at 10, played his first games with gnarled sticks. At 15, he was breaking 70. He turned pro in 1952; with financial help from interested Negroes, he won or placed in several important tourneys. Despite the PGA's dropping of the color bar, Sifford's future in pro tournament golf is uncertain. Reasons: his age and the reluctance of many Southern clubs to invite him.*

is a member of the NAACP, but he says, "The NAACP's officers don't seem to like direct-action programs. Their lawyers are usually available if we ask for them, but we try to avoid that. Take this restaurant thing, for instance. It might have taken ten years if we'd tried to push this through the national body."

The cleavage between the student groups and the NAACP is also one between youth and its elders. "We decided to work on these problems with our own organization, because then we don't have to answer to anybody," Black explains. "The older folk in the NAACP have become set in their ways. Litigation is necessary, but it is not the *only* way. I hate to use the word 'conservative,' but they don't do things the way we would."

One of the elders who agrees is Edward Warren, president of the NAACP's Los Angeles adult branch. "The current wave of sit-ins was not started by the NAACP," Warren asserts. "We saw them going, and then said, 'I'm your leader. Where are you going?' The students themselves just got tired of the situation, in city after city."

Warren says, "The old-guard philosophy of the elite leadership of the association does not appeal to the masses," but he concedes that the NAACP is still the organization to which most Negroes in trouble turn. In recent months, the NAACP, CORE and the Martin Luther King forces have moved to consolidate their efforts, with the NAACP contributing legal and financial assistance to CORE and to King's demonstrations.

There is one organization in your community that strives not for integration, but for total separation of the races—the militant Black Muslims. The Muslims demand that "some states" (they never say which or how many) be set aside for exclusive—and independent—occupation by all America's Negroes.

To the Black Muslims, all whites are "devils." Muslim leaders will tell you that white America is headed for the rocks and that you had better separate from it or go down with the ship. An estimated 100,000 Negro Americans have accepted this view and joined the Black Muslim movement. Muslim "temples" are located in more than 60 cities across the nation, North, South, East and West.

The Muslims are a rigidly disciplined group that draws adherents from the most underprivileged sections of America's Negro ghettos. They welcome those who have been ignored or rejected by other Negro groups. The Muslims give their converts a new frame of reference: the glorification of the black man and a total rejection of America's social system.

Muslims also reject the term "Negro" (they say they are "black men"), alcohol, tobacco, pork and all kinds of self-indulgence. Every Black Muslim exchanges "the name given him by his former slavemaster" for the surname "X" as a symbol of his new identity and his break with a society he despises.

The Muslims are especially critical of Negroes who preach nonviolence. "Malcolm X," head of Harlem's Muslims, told a Muslim audience, "Everybody defends himself when attacked but us—we are not supposed to fight back. Martin Luther King is like Novocain. The white man is hurting you, and King is going around telling you not to fight back. He's doing their job for them!"

Although Negro leaders privately condemn the racist and separatist aspect of the Muslim movement, few are willing to take a public stand against them, for they are aware of the desperation that spawned the movement.

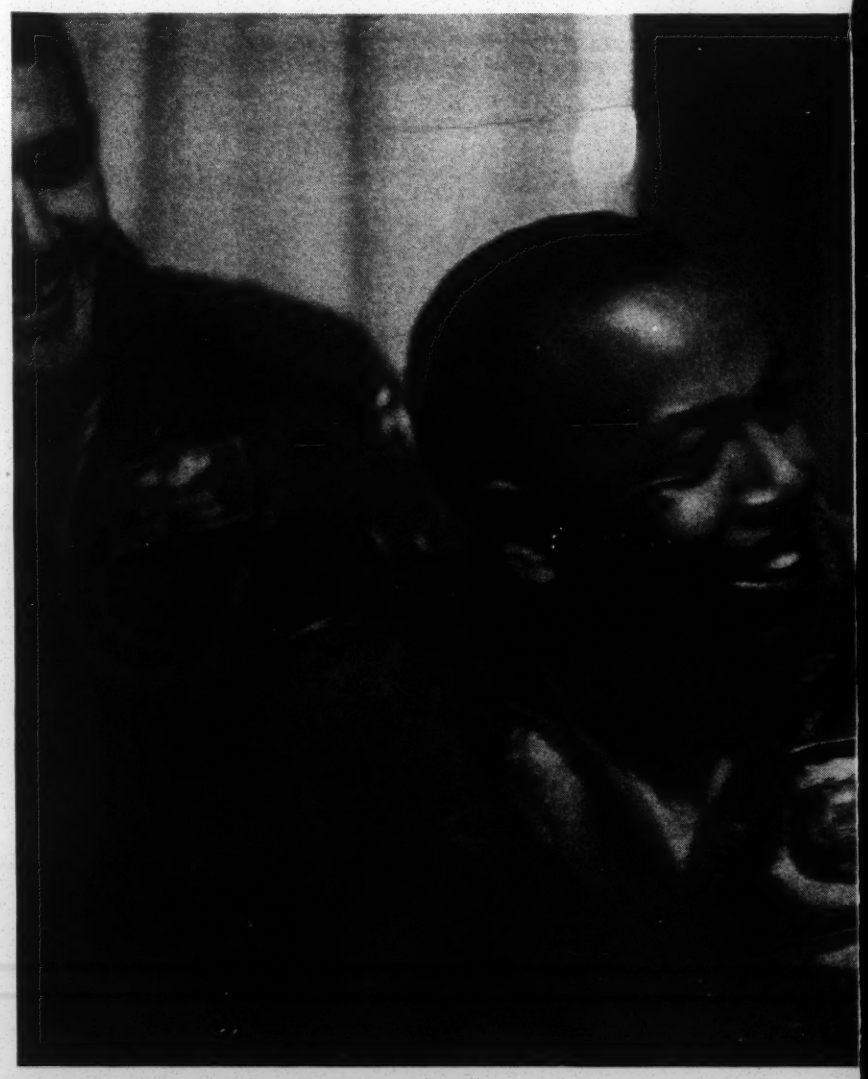
In the midst of the American Negro's growing dissatisfaction with his rate of advancement, Negro leaders are being forced to make new appraisals of their own people. The economic improvement of urban Negroes has brought insistent demands for the end of Jim Crow in all sectors of their existence, in areas that used to be peripheral to Negro life.

A. P. Tureaud, veteran attorney for the NAACP in New Orleans,

*Levell pilots his F-100 in an early-morning patrol over his German base.*

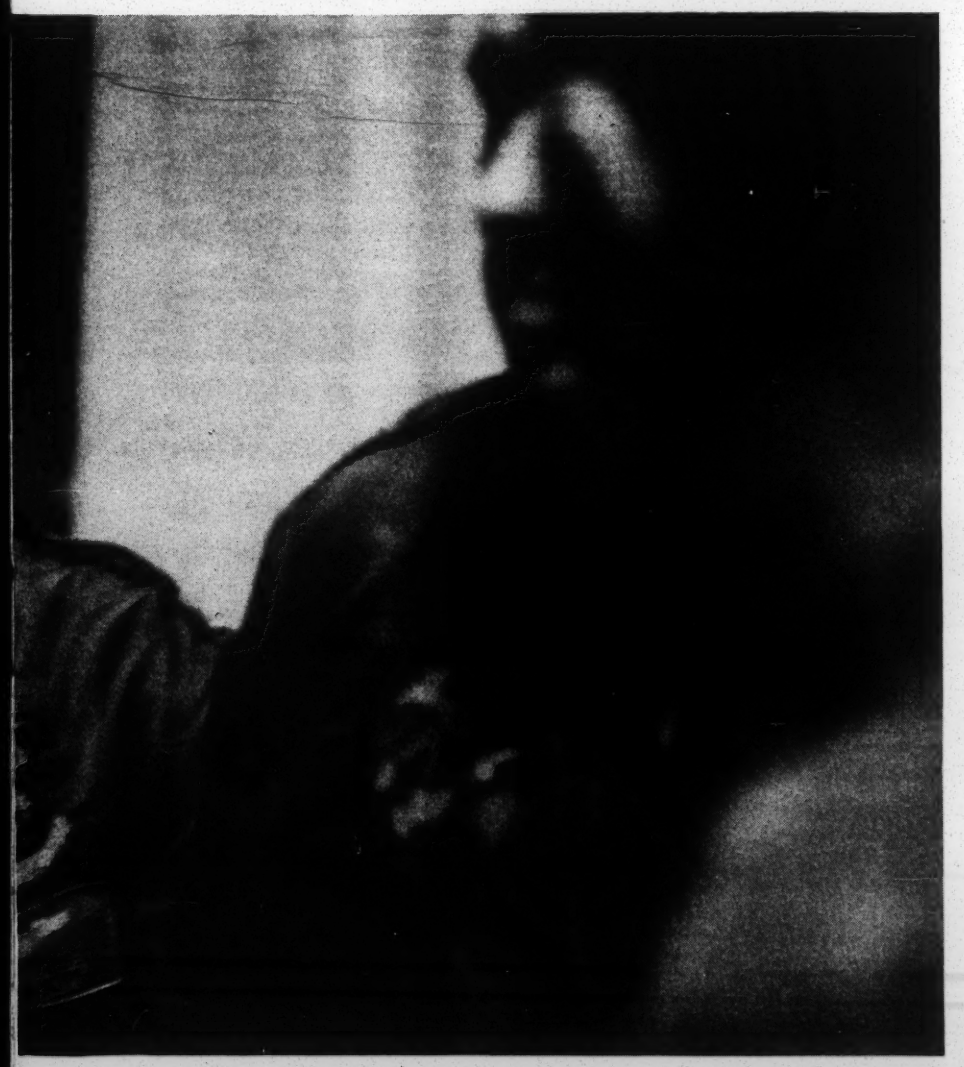
# Mission...

*As a "bomb commander" in the U. S. Air Forces Europe (USAFE) strike force, Capt. Edward Levell, Jr., has one primary job: to deliver a retaliatory punch to a preselected target within minutes if an attack comes. Like his buddies in the Germany-based 417th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Levell spends most of his time aloft or on grueling, around-the-clock alert duty, a dash away from his waiting F-100* Super Sabre. *His wife Kitty and their five sons live at the base, but Levell's duties often keep him from them. "During one six-week period, we only saw him for five hours," says Mrs. Levell, "but you get used to it." To Alabama-reared Eddie Levell, "the Air Force is an exciting life. I'm in it to stay." Levell spends many hours perfecting his flying and bombing techniques, although he has logged 2,000 hours and holds a coveted "select crew" rating. He says of his mission, "I'm a professional soldier. I'm not concerned with saving the plane or myself. My concern is delivering the weapon. That's why I'm here. When the bell rings, I go."*



*At a weekly "beer call" in officers' club, Levell enjoys a joke with fellow pilots. He commands a flight of seven planes in a squadron of four flights.*

*On 24-hour alert duty, Eddie Levell drinks one of the many cups of coffee he will consume while waiting. He eats and sleeps in flight gear while on alert.*



*Eddie's broken German amuses his wife Kitty, left, as they talk to visiting singing troupe.*

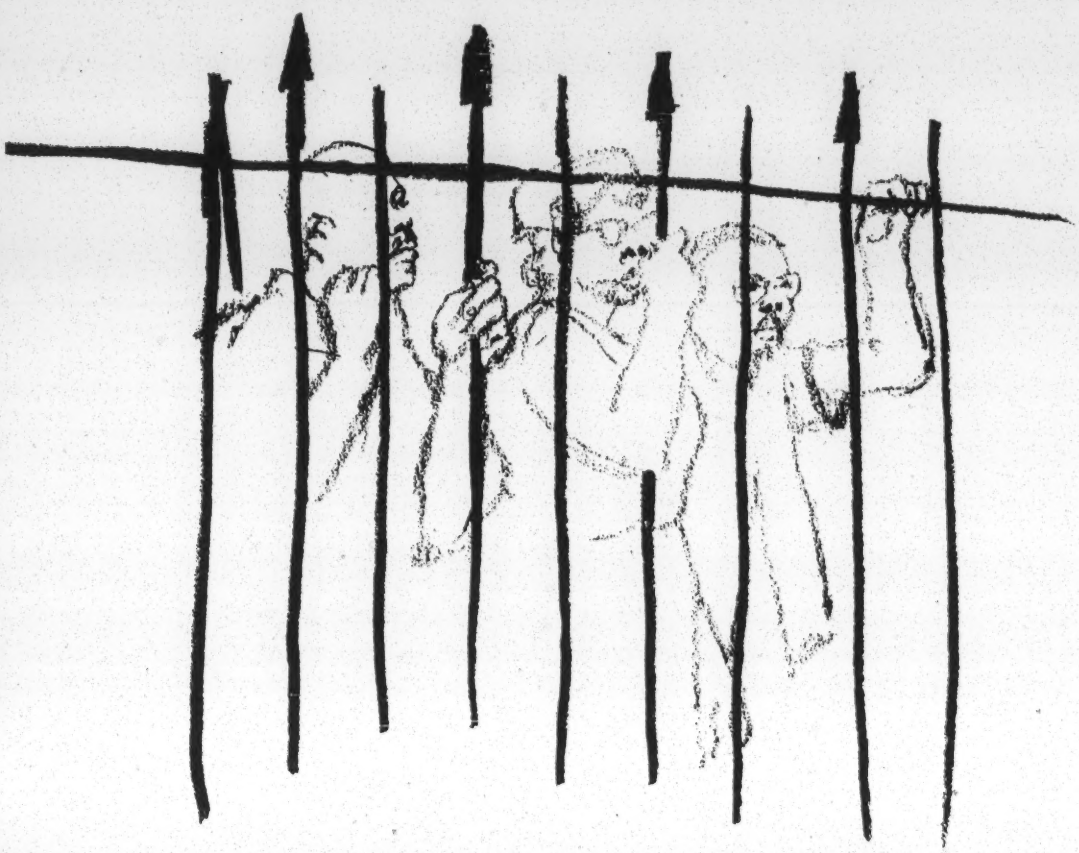
*On a day off, Levell referees football game between sixth-graders, sons of Air Force personnel. He played varsity football at Tuskegee.*

# Famous Negroes have a problem

says he once took up the complaints of Negroes who were barred from municipally owned New Orleans golf courses with the association's former chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall, now a Federal judge.

Marshall, engulfed in school-desegregation suits and sit-in cases, snorted: "*Golf!* I'm not interested in Negroes playing golf!" "But, Thurgood," Tureaud replied, "you've got to tend to the *whole* Negro, golfers and everybody else, not just the students."

Within your own community, you are often more critical than white people of Negro crime, illegitimacy and civic irresponsibility, although you know well the social and economic facts of life.



A highly placed Negro in the Federal Government says, "When I look in the paper and see there's been a rape or a mugging, and the suspect is a Negro, I'm embarrassed. Some Negroes say, 'To hell with it. It's not *me*.' But I'm afraid it *is* 'me.' " A Negro social worker in Chicago says, "Twenty-five per cent of the Negroes in this city are on some form of relief. It is not a fact of which we are proud."

For the Negro who achieves prominence, success often poses poignantly thorny problems. Such Negroes are idolized by other members of the race and are often trapped between the desire to be themselves and the role they are asked to play as idols. Some reject the special role; others do not.

Singer Barbara McNair, the first Negro woman to have a regularly sponsored television program, will tell you, "Those of us who are in special positions should be especially careful, because we are symbols. We should be good, not bad symbols.

"I'm a relaxed person. When I travel on a plane, I would wear slacks if I were white. Because I'm a Negro, I don't. People would say, 'Ah, HAH! That's a Negro for you!' "

Talk to Judge James B. Parsons of Chicago, first Negro to be appointed to a Federal district-court bench, and he will point out another aspect of this conflict in roles. "My job is to sit on the bench and not know the color of the people who come before me," he says. "I know I run the risk of being misunderstood by Negroes who want to see a sword-in-hand Negro out there fighting for civil rights, but my job involves being incapable of noticing a person's skin color. I'm a natural optimist. Perhaps it is because I did not come from the Deep South. I haven't had the experiences which make me bitter, and perhaps this is best. It helps me to see not just the oppressed Negro, but the oppressed Negro as part of a damnable ethnic system that permeates the Chicago area. It's hard to be an Italian in some Chicago neighborhoods."

Not all Negroes have acquired Judge Parsons's detachment. James L. Hicks, editor of Harlem's weekly *Amsterdam News*, says, "I've been fooled and frustrated about racial things so many, many times by white people that I can't help it—most of the time when a white man promises me something racially good, I simply place him on probation. If he does what he says he's going to do, I am happy to have found another one who kept his word with a Negro. If he runs out on his word, I dismiss it by saying, 'That's exactly what I expected.' But I'm never left waiting at the church, because I simply don't get dressed and run to the altar every time a white person says he loves me.

"In short, when it comes to dealing with the white man on racial lines, I follow the Harlem proverb, 'Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall not be disappointed.' "

When you talk to some of the Negroes working for access to housing in the suburbs, they will admit there are some wealthy Negroes who would not move to the suburbs if they could. "They find it more congenial in the ghetto where, although segregated, they may have lavish homes," said one. "Moreover, for the Negro politician or businessman, his sources of power or money lie in the Negro community, and he would be cutting his own throat if he moved away from it. Besides, it's more trouble to get to and from the suburbs."

A Northern Negro newspaperman, however, sees suburbia as a welcome form of escape from constant preoccupation with "The Problem." "Man, sometimes I just get tired of talking to Negroes," he says. Many other Negroes reflect this feeling.

As you try to figure out what your position is in America today, you will concede that you have made some rather large strides, but you will know that, from where you sit, the millennium is nowhere in sight. If you are United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, your son may still be turned away from a tennis club when it is discovered that he is a Negro; if you are Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Carl Rowan, you may have difficulty getting service in a Kansas City nightclub; and though you are Municipal Judge James C. Flanigan of Denver, you may still be refused admission to a local golf course.

After more than three hundred years in America, your people are still climbing a slope named Hope toward a summit named Equality. There are still many crevasses and a lot of climbing ahead.

Unlike America's other ethnic groups, the Negro has not been able to "join" the American people by dint of education and income. His skin is still his prison. But the outcome of the American democratic experiment depends largely on whether all its citizens, regardless of color, can avail themselves of America's opportunities. In that sense, your struggle is America's too.

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# Reorganization in the Casbah

**By Nicholas von Hoffman, Supervisor of the Woodlawn Project for the Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois**

PEOPLE'S thoughts are captives of their vocabularies. When we use the expression "community organization" we are automatically accepting certain shaky assumptions. We are implying that there are communities which are not organized, that every community ought to be "organized," and that community organizing is a profession apart from others, like law or engineering. Personally I believe that all three propositions are either false or highly misleading.

So far as I know there are no disorganized communities. The two words cancel each other out. The word "community" sums up a host of organized relationships. I don't want to get involved in fine distinctions, or I will be like the sociologists who don't even agree on what a society is. When I talk about organized relationships I mean nothing fancier than relations between people that are recognized by all, that are frequent, and that anybody who knows the community can reasonably anticipate as he moves about from person to person. Wherever you have that, you have a community of some kind. And you have that wherever people are making their homes. It's the difference between a hotel and a boardinghouse. The one doesn't have a crisscross of common relationships and practices; the other does, and is a little community.

You may say that I am splitting hairs. You might concede that there may not be disorganized communities but there certainly are disorganized geographic districts, especially in big cities where a lot of people live without community—that is, without organization. On the surface the statement seems plausible, but a little reflection should make you doubt it. The instances on record of even a small number of people living closely together in a state of semi-anarchy are very rare. I don't know of one.

Skid Row, which is a place where people go because they want to escape social and legal control, turns out to be a kind of "anticommunity." An "anticommunity" is a community founded on values and interests that are the reverse of the dominant world enclosing it. Even the Bohemian sections of big cities are not peopled by disorganized individuals. They have their own communities too.

According to the ancients the act of creation was bringing order out of chaos. It has been left to men to reorganize from time to time. Organizing of every sort is actually reorganizing. Let's not arrogate to our-

selves, even in our thinking, powers and responsibilities that belong to the gods. In saying that organizing is in reality reorganizing, I am not trifling with a petty distinction. Many people who talk about community organization define it as organizing a "disorganized" mass of people who seem to be detached islets in the moving river of society.

Such thinking quickly jumps to the assertion that "such and such a place cannot be organized because the people are too disorganized." We have all heard the remark, and we have seen sensible people nod their heads in agreement. The speaker could be right, but there are no such places, and we are not called to organize anyhow; our work is reorganization.

After having invented the impossible fiction of a "disorganized community" some sociologists have set out to prove it empirically. Of course they were successful, and the myth of the disorganized lower-class Negro, Puerto Rican, or Southern white community became an established fact. The repercussions of having demonstrated the validity of a false proposition have been enormous. Government policies in education, welfare, housing, and law enforcement have been based on it. Since it is a fundamental tenet that disorganized communities cannot be organized, tiny committees of professionals with time to meet for lunch were judged the optimum organizational activity possible. Many men who might have accomplished real good did not try, since it had been demonstrated that results were all but impossible.

### Lower-Class Negro Community

I want to stick with the lower-class Negro community because the future of its people will largely shape the future of our cities themselves. Also, by looking into these districts we can find out a lot about the organization and reorganization of people in general. For the same difficulties arise in many white areas, but since their problems are less intense the underlying similarities are less in evidence.

Lower-class Negro sections have their share of natural community. Political groups flourish in them. Churches that have not had their incentive sapped by debilitating denominational subsidies develop organization and substance. Throughout, a web of gambling organizations provides a fine communications network. There are such trade associations as the organization of beauticians, barbers, and saloon keepers. Sometimes the organizations are formal and elaborate; sometimes they are informal and simple. There are the clubs, lodges, fraternities, and sororities. Blocks and buildings have their small groups that usually revolve around some outstanding local figure who may be simply a resident but is also frequently a flat janitor, a barber, or a building manager. Among these and more groupings are types of organization that the outside world recognizes. I speak of churches in the major denominations, PTA's, social agencies, and such miscellaneous associations as the League of Women Voters. They are in the community but aloof from it. Their contacts are unbelievably sparse and their penetration is al-

most nil. The isolation of the "respectable" organizations confirms the disorganized-community hypothesis in the minds of their staff people. From their vantage point, the neighborhood does indeed look like demoralized anarchy.

Usually the groups that suffer from being cut off are what I like to think of as "branch office" organizations. The local PTA or major-denomination church or social agency is a replica of a form and program devised elsewhere under other circumstances. You might call it a standard brand pushed into a specialized market that has no call for what is being offered. But the branch office has no power to change the "line." It must sell what the central warehouse sends it. I have watched this happen even when the people in the branch office knew. better. The subordinates in many local social agencies will laugh behind their bosses' backs. The underlings are usually less well paid, less part of and less interested in the downtown world, where programs and policies are conceived. Being closer to the community they are less prone to let theory wipe out fact.

There are purely political reasons why, for example, a local YMCA in a lower-class Negro neighborhood will carry out a perfectly pointless program year after year. The people who own the Y's don't want any trouble. But I have also seen churches and social agencies fail to exploit rich opportunities out of dogmatic stubbornness. Mediocre, doctrinaire professionalism has littered the poor sections of our cities with immobile, unadaptable, institutional dinosaurs. These beasts can neither feed themselves nor support their own weight. They violate the law of the survival of the fittest, thanks to a large vested interest in failure. The failure to attract support from the beneficiaries or to get results can't possibly be disguised. Failure is used to demonstrate how bad things are and how badly the services are needed. Thus, repeated failures supervised by qualified professionals assure the annual subsidy.

An enormous amount of rationalizing is needed to keep such a system going. The mess in the community surrounding the branch offices is too awful to be covered up. So the justification is that, inadequate as they are, the branch office staff are the only hope. For evidence the branch office managers hold up the people's nonexistent "disorganization" again. Those who are told about it must believe what they hear. They couldn't know better. Their ignorance has made them terrified of the lower-class Negro community. With heads stuffed full of lurid tales of rape and narcotics, they are gullible setups for swallowing any wild story. The phantasmagorias that are soberly passed on to philanthropic administrators and benefactors as research are the more credible because their tellers are convinced that they are true.

### A Person with a Following

The interval between the crazy notion of a disorganized community and a leaderless one is short. No comment about lower-class Negro communities finds more utterance than the bromide about lack of leadership.

No people has ever been without

leaders. They may not have been smart or good at bringing home the bacon to their followers, but leaders there always are aplenty. Well, what is a leader? This definition may be simple-minded—namely, that a leader is a person with a following—but it is useful for understanding. If you will go along with the definition, then you will see that a lower-class Negro area is swarming with leaders.

The leaders are not well-educated white collar types. Some leaders are on ADC, but the going theory is that a woman on ADC must be a slob. That word is never spoken. Adjustment, dependency, aspirational level are the words used, but they mean slob. All kinds of irrelevant reasons are used to knock people off the leadership lists. None of them have anything to do with whether or not Jones or Smith has a following. The practice of not recognizing popularly chosen leadership is as old as politics, but it can be a dangerous game. The Negro population affords a good example.

The white world has picked out the Negro leaders it cares to recognize. It complains that there are too few of them, not realizing that only a certain number of people will consent to be lackeys, or Uncle Toms and Aunt Tomasitas, as they are called by the millions of Negroes they do not lead. Being a puppet, even at good wages, is a hard job. Since the leaders the whites have chosen for the Negroes are either detested by their supposed followers or unknown to them, they are never able to get Negroes to obey orders. The whites are displeased by their quislings' inability to get Negroes, particularly lower-class ones, to behave. They complain that the Negro leadership is untrained. Massive adult education is prescribed, and the Uncle Toms are marched off to school to learn leadership skills. After being put through the leadership-training spaghetti machine (the product is an extremely thin pasta with a hollow center) the leaders return, as ineffectual as ever.

"Community organization" now intrudes itself into our line of vision. The "community organizers" are also representatives of the repudiated name brands. They run smack into the same insolubilities. In short order the "community organization" develops into a professional luncheon circle. There is talk about indigenous leadership, adult education, urbanization, and acculturation. Recently some effort in the direction of housing has been included. The results are so scanty that a whole rationale has been developed to demonstrate that results aren't important. The thinking is that doing, not getting, counts. The atmosphere changes to the therapeutic climate of the outpatient clinic. Words like "process" and "experience" are loudly spoken.

The profit to the individual and the society, we are told, is invisible but even more worth-while than palpable accomplishment. Potential leaders are having experiences that will stand them and us in good stead at an unspecified future date. The naked emperor is walking the streets again while his ravished subjects praise his "experiential" robes. In the meantime truth grows uglier, and we begin to cast about for other ideas.

Let's go back to the lower-class

Negro area for instructional material. I have already said that it, the prime example of a disorganized community, does not and cannot exist. I should now like to argue that its nonexistent leadership is actually alive and kicking. The leaders are the men and women running the organized groups that the experts have empirically demonstrated don't exist.

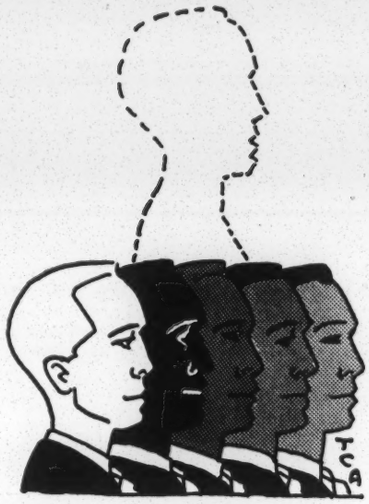
These undiscovered leaders are inconveniently realistic in their judgments. When you find them, which is very easy, they point to a system which they say is the cause of most of the community's and the people's woe. The system is summed up by words like "Jim Crow" and "discrimination." The true leadership is remorseless in crying that the great money and power interests maintain, and profit by, the system. The leadership persists in espousing causes and policies that will blow up storms of peppery controversy.

We have come to the heart of the matter. The leadership is calling into question the conduct and arrangement of society. The leaders are demanding great and deep changes.

### Business of Politics

To me their demands place the whole discussion in the domain of politics. The arrangement of society and the conduct of the state are, more than anything else, the proper business of politics. Community and politics, as the words are usually used, are things apart—but are they?

"Every state is a community of some kind," says Aristotle, who adds that "he who by nature and not by mere human accident is without a state is either a bad man or above humanity." Obviously, that is a far cry from the narrow partisan cheering that we customarily call politics. Serious political thinkers, beginning with the Greeks, have passed over electioneering as a minor part of man's political activities. They begin their thinking about the family, property, education, and the other aspects of society that some of us pass over as "nonpolitical." The moderns, from Montesquieu through Marx and Ortega y Gasset, do the same.



*Community*

In democratic societies, particularly, most politics is nonpartisan. Official actions of party and government usually ratify decisions already arrived at in a variety of other ways. That is not a cynical allusion to the "back room boys" but a recognition that the form and substance of popular government is closely determined by the society that erects and maintains it.

The unrecognized leader in a

lower-class Negro community is absolutely right when he insists on keeping political considerations paramount. He knows that programs to curtail high school "dropouts" are worthless when high school students are barred by discriminatory hiring practices from employment. He knows that conservation and rehabilitation programs cannot improve housing because the people do not have the income to afford the improvements. He knows PTA's are laughable objects because they are the creatures of school systems that deliberately fail to educate his children.

Because he knows these things he shrugs his shoulders at what the standard brands offer. The church with its business-as-usual routine offers him little—not even a sympathetic voice. The recreational social agency gives second-rate athletic and social distractions that are not appreciated when present nor missed when absent. The relief worker is an adjunct of an unfriendly government. To the unrecognized actual leaders, these services are barbiturates. They anesthetize against the pain inflicted by a system of society and government that leaders and followers loathe and execrate.

It may bother some people to learn that innocent health and education and general welfare programs are looked at this way. That is because they are not thinking politically. The unrecognized leadership is thinking politically. The political mind looks broadly, sees interlocking factors as they operate on the totality, and asks: Where is all this going? Do we want to go there? Political understanding quickly arrives at some very uncomplimentary judgments about the standardized programs. To many unrecognized leaders the major objection is not to the programs' inadequacy but results from a belief that their purpose is to keep the leaders and their people in subjection.

Never is such a state of affairs more obvious than in lower-class Negro neighborhoods where the leadership is engaged in active resistance to the reigning policies. The refusal to co-operate, which outsiders term apathy, and the outright resistance, which is called unurbanized or antisocial behavior, are two of the weapons used in a struggle that local leadership views as political. The outside world prefers to talk as though the problem were medical. By that I mean that the lower-class Negro neighborhood is talked about the way doctors talk about pathology. The people are converted into patients who are to be passive while they are operated on and cured. When the "patients" fight back we misread their reactions and declare that their opposition is another symptom of what ails them. I am not exaggerating, as anyone who has heard the experts talk about "social engineering" and "social planning" will verify.

### The Ripening of Casbahs

The root of the difficulty is that the true leadership has never been able to force recognition from people outside the leadership's home base. The result is that in an odd way the leaders are winning the battle but not gaining the victory. What I have in mind when I say that is not very pleasant. I mean that in the big-city slum or near-slum districts the domi-

nant society is being driven out. The ultimate was reached last summer when the New York police were assailed by pop bottles hurled from the roof tops by an unfriendly populace. In such sections, law and order, education, social work, the good and the bad manifestations of the ruling world, are in full retreat and are very close to being driven out entirely. Heretofore we have had national enclaves, voluntary and involuntary ghettoes, in our big cities; now we are menaced by the ripening of casbahs where our writs do not run, where outsiders dare not go, and where a dangerously separate world is coming into existence.

It is in this sense that I mean that unrecognized leadership is winning the battle. The leaders are chasing the nonindigenous world out of the casbahs and assuming local control. I wish I could say this was a sturdy example of self-government, but it is not. Anyone familiar with certain sections of New York and Chicago will quickly agree. The power of the state has been successfully challenged, and what should be a source of support and strength for the state's democratic institutions is changing into the very reverse.

For the local leaders the victory is very unprofitable. They have chased their oppressors' chosen representatives perhaps, but they have not defeated oppression. They have broken up every attempt to impose policies and arrangements on them, but they have not been able to create and put in force their own.

Why not? I answer, because their leadership has not been recognized. And why hasn't it been? I don't think it is either fair or accurate to lay all the blame on the people whom we have picked as our go-betweens. It is true that social workers, city planners, clergymen, and other professionals whom we have made our delegates have been astoundingly dense and morbidly taken up with academic will-o'-the-wisps, but their inadequacies do not explain the present mess.

I repeat that all the blame cannot fairly be put on the outside professionals. Some know better and do what they do only because it is a condition of employment. Many of the rest do merit scorn. I have witnessed rice Christianity in our slums that would result in an American missionary abroad being expelled from the country. At a recent church-sponsored meeting I was astonished to hear a discussion of social services as a device for hooking new members. It is a cause of personal rejoicing to me that men here and the world over hurl such "assistance" back in the faces of the spiritual cannibals who offer food in exchange for souls. I say the same to those who use social services to inculcate so-called "middle-class" values in people denied middle-class opportunities and income. I cannot get over our practicing a colonialism on our own fellow citizens we dare not inflict on the Stone Age aborigines of the central Australian desert.

The casbah's leaders can only fight guerilla warfare. Their resistance has been very, in fact spectacularly, effective, but it has been resistance and resistance only. The nature and extent of their power and organization has precluded their forcing recognition and mounting an affirmative drive.

While there is almost a unanimity of opinion in the casbahs—I continue to use this example because it makes things dramatically clear—the forms of organization have been good for little more than resistance. The leaders of a thousand small groupings are not in touch with one another. No vehicle exists to mass power for activities beyond each small district. No single leader or grouping is by himself or itself strong enough to demand and get recognition.

I cannot imagine a worse situation. The outside forces have been defeated and driven out for all intents and purposes, but the victorious leaders are not organized in a manner that permits them to follow up their essentially defensive or negative triumph with positive action. I wish I could say that we can take this state of affairs to mean that we have reached an impasse. Impasses are static, but humans aren't or at least they aren't for long. The communities we are speaking of continue their rebellious course, but after the big success of establishing the fact that they will either rule themselves or not be ruled at all, more guerilla warfare is needless. It is destructive and commits the people to a downward devolution to nowhere. It releases more and more personal desperation in destructive spasms that yield no good result. So it has always been in politics when the people who have the power can't or won't assume office. In the instance we are talking about, the leaders with the power can't assume office.

They can't, that is, unless there is a great reorganization. They must pool their power to form an instrument for taking charge in an affirmative sense. By coming together in larger and wider unity they can consecrate leaders of sufficient power and backing to force recognition. Moreover, a larger and wider union permits the leaders to conceive and promulgate specific concrete and affirmative programs.

### Unfinished Revolution

We are looking at an unfinished revolution. For practical purposes, the old regime's power has been broken. It sits outside the revolutionary district's borders with a titular control which it considers still in effect by sending occasional excursions into the casbah. Within, the revolutionaries, who have made almost a clean sweep, do not realize the extent of their accomplishments, nor do they have the faintest idea how to follow up what they have done.

I hope no one will make the mistake of thinking that what I have been describing is novel. It is a political dilemma that has recurred one way or another since history has been recorded. There have been times when the incipient revolutionaries have been stamped out, and the fundamentally unstable situation has been taken care of by drastic purge. Sometimes the outcome has been brighter. A new and legitimate power has been created by internal reorganization.

How has that come about? For instance why haven't the local, unrecognized leaders in the casbahs pushed on to the next step? For the most part they have never thought of it, they don't know how, and besides no single one of them has the

resources to do what needs doing. Nor is *their* situation new to human experience. New forms and patterns of action have often come about only when an outside element has been added to the political chemistry. Many revolutions, be they violent or nonviolent, are traceable to outsiders.

Moses, whatever his blood pedigree, grew up an Egyptian. Lenin was a worker no more than Clement Atlee, and the Frenchmen who were the schoolmasters of the American Revolution were certainly not provincial colonists. The outsider is often the final and indispensable catalyst for change.

If we explore the many probable reasons for the outsider's playing this part in politics, we will have to roam too far afield. Suffice it to say that outsiders are customarily less likely to fail to see the forest for the trees. Their fresh viewpoint opens men's eyes to new formations, new tactics, to the road that goes toward the constitution of a new order.

The outsider is the reorganizer. Haven't we all sat at a chessboard looking pessimistically at our pieces when a friend has walked up, glanced at the chessmen, and made a simple move that seemed like revelation? Usually the move is obvious in retrospect. The friend has reorganized our thinking for us. He added nothing more than a new way of looking at old facts. Newton wasn't the only man in Europe who knew about Kepler's spherical orbits; but he was the only man to see a new way of thinking about them. Mao Tse-tung wasn't the only revolutionary in China, but he was the only revolutionary who could reorder the ways of looking at the facts of China to make a revolution. The same can be said of Ghandi.

Reorganizing of the sort I am speaking about can go and has gone under a variety of names, from Calvinism to community organization. The choice of names is pretty much dictated by the propaganda necessities of the moment. What remains constant is the purely political nature of the activity.

### Politics of Change

All politics is arduous and difficult, but the politics of change, which is really what we are talking about, is the most difficult of all. The material is the most volatile, the most uncertain, and the most likely to run off in ways the originators never dreamed could happen. Robespierre, officiating at what he knows are the asininities of the goddess of reason, is a warning against believing change is easily managed. The best change and the best revolution is orderly because order preserves the best of the old, to which it adds the best of the new. The best revolutions are orderly because there is less likelihood of provoking a counterrevolution. The New Deal set the seal on an orderly revolution and thereby tamed the counterrevolutionary furor to an irreducible minimum, to wit, Taft-Hartley.

But the politics of change, whether seen as orderly revolution or as armed upheaval, is not choosing abrupt change over a more desirable evolutionary change. The unwarranted introduction of the evolutionary idea into social and political thinking has been a deceiving curse. Societies do not evolve. They do not

obey unconscious laws of their own nature. They are the deliberate creations of men. They change when men decide to change them. The changes are not always wise, or even understood by the changers, but what happens is the outcome of conscious, purposeful action. That the actors are sometimes wholly mistaken about the end product is no ground for modifying this statement.

Men often speak as though we had a choice between swift action and more gradual evolutionary change. The idea is invoked when debate over putative change gets too fierce. The case made in regard to the American Casbah is resisted with the argument that it is better to await the day of evolutionary ameliorations of the system. Such talk is nonsense.

People are always looking for the soft way out of making hard decisions. Eyewash about evolution and education is the language they hope will spare them conflict. I hope you will not entertain the false hope of expecting vital change to emerge without angry conflict. Let us look at two great orderly revolutions instituted by the English-speaking peoples. I refer to the great Reform Act of 1832 in England and the Supreme Court decision of 1954 in the United States. The one opened the door to modern representative government; the other permitted us to walk through it. In both cases the previous fifty years had been given over to arguments purporting to demonstrate that the change could come gradually through education and the mystery of unwilled metamorphosis. You may call it progress or evolution. In the end nothing of the sort happened. A decision had to be made, and in both instances it was bitterly resisted in some quarters.

Looking back after the deed is done, chroniclers have pronounced change gradual. They observe that people were not ready and that it took many years to educate and prepare them for the moment of change. In truth, the gap in time between an idea's being proposed and its being carried out is more plausibly explained as the time needed to gather the power to force the decision.

The evolutionary idea is a happy ex post facto rationalization. It allows people to say, "See, we were really going to do it all the time." Inasmuch as the losing side can use it to save face, it helps to heal wounds that are best speedily closed. But, regardless of how convenient the apology may be, we must not confuse it with the real ways change occurs.

### Quarterly Reorganization

Now I think we can try out a definition for "community organization." For me, it is the age-old political activity of helping to reorganize a society so that it can change to meet the wishes of its people in a manner that is not without conflict but that is orderly. I stuck in the sloppy clause about conflict lest anyone harbor a vestige of hope that he can get off without it. Actually, the qualification is unnecessary, since conflict is the measure of change. Change cannot exist without conflict, and where conflict is disclaimed there has been no change. It must be so because no change can come about by which all profit as individuals. Change creates new winners and new losers in a society. The winners

cheer and the losers groan, although all may benefit indirectly if the change is one that enriches the society.

Some people carry on as if to say that no community should be without its "community organization." If you are prone to concur with this analysis, you will agree that such organizational activity is scarcely wanted everywhere.

Our reorganization or orderly revolution is obviously to be saved for special cases. It should be reserved for communities and peoples who find the apparatus available to them inadequate. Such drastic measures, must have urgent cause. Every community has its problems. Some will never be solved, some cannot be in this generation, and some are of the minor sort that can be taken care of with the means at hand if the people affected so desire. In such communities the people are doing well enough taking care of themselves. Our interference would be officious. We would have nothing to offer, and the odds are that our contribution would be a net minus. Our object is to make democratic self-rule work, and where it is working we should leave it alone. Given half a chance, men run their own business best.

Our attention should fasten on the places where the democratic system has never been introduced or has broken down. It takes no research or scholarly beard-pulling to spot them. They are brutally and crudely evident. We belong there, working at the reorganization which men must manufacture to provide themselves with the tools essential to self-government.

### Should the Professional Do the Job?

Who should do the kinds of political activity we have been talking about? Is this work that ought to be restricted to the professionals? The Industrial Areas Foundation has sometimes been criticized for using nonprofessionals as staff members and censured for helping to build powerful organizations totally controlled by nonprofessionals. Do such people have the knowledge and judgment commensurate with the power they exercise?

Democracy is a system of government that abolishes a professional ruling group. It transfers the responsibility for the state to every citizen individually. If for any reason too many citizens cannot or will not do their duty, the system must fall to pieces. Perhaps the least important duty a citizen has in a democracy is voting. The ballot box is the last resort of a citizenry that has not been looking after its affairs closely enough. Electing the good men or throwing out the rascals cannot take the place of a people's careful and thoughtful day-to-day management and supervision of the work of running a society and a state.

Some of our people cannot do their duty as citizens because they are deliberately stopped. Another portion of our people will not because their private lives have obliterated their public selves. Probably both groups deserve our attention, and it may be that by the time the last chapter of American history is completed we shall repent not applying ourselves to the second group. Justice conveys the greater claim to

the first, who would enjoy their rights and do their duty if they were allowed. A profession that enjoys others' rights and does others' duties is not a profession in reality, but a paid ruling class. The reasons may seem good and sufficient, but every time we resort to professionals, we are usurping the citizens' indispensable place in a democracy. Democracy is a faith which holds that in the long run people have the judgment and wisdom to exercise power in their own name.

Does it make sense to speak of professionals? Exclude those who happen to be paid for their political work. They are professional as some golfers are pros and some amateurs. What I have in mind is the person who goes to school and graduates into a profession, laying claim to a scientific body of knowledge and a suitcase full of skills and techniques. No such political profession exists. None ever will.

A few courses in leadership training and popularized sociology equips one for nothing. Such credentials can't be taken seriously and are laughed at everywhere except in schools and other sheltered places where the young and tender collect. I won't expatiate on the proper training for politics. That subject is also one that has occupied the best minds, and having nothing worth-while to add, I limit myself to reminding you that the Greeks doubted that anybody but men of years and experience could understand it.

You do not have to be a Greek philosopher to see that academic qualifications won't get you into the ball park. The Industrial Areas Foundation, which operates on the assumptions stated in this paper, is asked by many people and many organizations to come and help. The requests are made because IAF has a reputation for performance. Of course we aren't always successful—nothing like it—but our efforts do bear fruit often. The price for remaining in the field of political or social action is relevance. Nothing succeeds like it and nothing substitutes for it.

You may take those observations as the amoral words of power politics. They are not so intended. Politics is a serious business of supreme importance. Listen to Aristotle: "If all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces the rest, aims at good in a higher degree than any other, and at the highest good." The highest good is not to be managed by failure: the highest good must be attended by success.

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R+R Rel.

# BOY: An Experience in the Search for Identity

## A Dramatic Sketch

by Malcolm Boyd

NOTES: BOY is also distributed by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga., which is handling Chaplain Boyd's three one-act plays, STUDY IN COLOR. It is included on the second reel of the tape recordings of the original productions done in Detroit in the fall of 1962 which are also available from the Society. Groups desiring to include BOY in their production of STUDY IN COLOR may do so at no additional royalty charge from that stipulated in the royalty agreement for STUDY IN COLOR. Where BOY is produced independently, there is a $5.00 royalty fee when an admissions charge is made or an offering received.

Needed for the production of BOY are two white masks and one black mask, and a shoe shine bo . JOHN is played by a white actor wearing a black mask, a khaki shirt with rolled-up sleeves, etc. MAN is played by a Negro actor wearing a white mask and a bus ness suit.

Additional copies of this script are available for 25¢ each from the Episcopal Society at the above address.

(John is standing alone on stage. He wears a black mask. A man, wearing a white mask, enters and walks toward him.)

JOHN: May I shine your shoes, sir?

MAN: My shoes? oh, why, yes, boy. Get to work, boy. Shine 'em up.

JOHN: Yes, sir. (He kneels down by his shoe box; he works a few moments on the shoes in silence.)

It's a very nice day today, sir.

MAN: Yes. It is. (Pause) You makin' out, boy? How you makin' out, boy?

JOHN: (deliberate laughter) Yes, sir. Yes, sir. Would you like a real shiny surface on your shoes, sir?

MAN: (laughs) I'll bet you been makin' out, boy. Yes, I'll just bet you been makin' out. (Pause) With a white woman, boy?

JOHN: (Frightened) No, sir. Oh, no, sir. I just do my work, sir, and try to mind my own business, sir. I ain't lookin' for no trouble, sir.

MAN: You know what we'll do to you if you go lookin' for trouble, don't you, black boy? (Laughs) Ah .. ah. You're smart. Keepin' out of trouble. You just

stay smart, black boy. You listenin' to me?

JOHN: Yes, sir. I sure am, sir. I don't want to get into no trouble, sir.

MAN: That's right. Just don't you go gettin' into no trouble, black boy. Damn it, boy, spit on that shoe. Spit on it, spit on it ... make it shine, make it shine like your face, black boy.

JOHN: Yes, sir. (Spits on shoe; furiously shines the shoe) Is that right, sir? Is that the way you want it, sir?

MAN: (Playing with him) It don't shine yet, black boy, like your face. Spit on it. Spit on it, damn it. Where's your spit?

(John spits on the shoe, again; he shines it furiously)

You ain't gonna get nowhere in this white man's world if you're so damned lazy, black boy ... if you won't spit. If you won't spit. What's your spit worth, anyway? Hmm? Answer me, goddam it, answer me when I speak to you, boy!

JOHN: Yes, sir. I'm sorry, sir. You're right, sir. I'm sorry, sir.

MAN: What's your spit worth, black boy?

JOHN: Nothin', sir. Nothin' at all, sir.

MAN: What isn't worth nothin' at all, boy?

JOHN: (After a pause) My spit, sir. My spir ain't worth nothin' at all, sir.

MAN: (Laughs loudly) Goddammit, you're right. You're right. You're a smart black boy. Your spit ain't worth nothin' at all. (Tosses him a coin which, as he meant it to do, falls on the ground) Pick it up, boy. (Pause) Pick it up.

JOHN: (reaches for the coin) Thank you, sir. Thank you, sir.

MAN: (Starts to walk away) That's all right. That's all right, black boy. (He stops, then turns back to address John.) That's a pretty good shine, yes sir, man, that shoe shines like your black face now, nigger. (Laughs; he goes out)

John is left alone on the stage. He quietly kneels down and sorts out the pieces of equipment in his shoeshine box. He takes out a white mask. He holds it in his hands for a long moment. Then he looks furtively around; he stands up; he walks first in one direction, then in another, looking to see if anyone is coming. Then, suddenly, he puts on the white mask.

JOHN: (He places his foot forward and speaks to an imaginary shoeshine boy) Nigger! Shine my shoes, nigger. (Pause; he laughs) No, dammit, Spit on the shoe, black boy. Spit. Spit. How much is your spit worth, anyway, boy? Who do you think you are, nigger? You think you're a big shot, nigger? You think you're so goddam important, migger? (There is a long silence. He has withdrawn his foot. Now, slowly, he puts his foot back in place for the imaginary shoeshine boy. He still wears the white mask.) Would you please give my shoes a shine, sir? Why, yes ... a good black shine will be fine. (Pause) It's a nice day, isn't it? (Pause) My wife and I thought we might go to the show at the movie house tonight. Have you ... have you seen that movie yet, sir ... you and your wife? You have? Did you like it? I see. Well, yes, as a matter of fact, I had heard that criticism of it. (Pause) What do you think of the election? How's it going? (Pause; then a friendly laugh) I guess we agree, sir, on politics. Yes, we certainly do. Well, thank you so much for the shine, sir. Thank you so much. (Reaches out with a coin, accidently drops it, then quickly kneels down to pick it up and hand it to the other man.) Oh, pardon me. Pardon me. Here. Here it is. I'm very sorry, that was clumsy of me. Well, goodbye. Goodbye ... (He starts to walk away. He stops and turns) Say, there's a new eating place that's very nice. If you and your wife are going out for a meal, it's just a block and a half up from the theatre. The Rainbow. Have you heard of it? You might like it. Your wife might like it. Yes. Good food, very reasonable, good service, it seems. Yes. Well, goodbye. Goodbye. (He continues to walk away. Then, suddenly, he stops; slowly he removes the white mask. He looks down at it, holding it in his hands for a long moment; then he walks back to the shoeshinebox and places the mask inside it. He stands up, seemingly struggling within himself terribly for a moment. He removes his Negro mask. Slowly, he moves forward, and, speaking directly to the audience, he is talking to himself.)

Who am I? Who am I really? Who am I? Who am I?

(He goes back to his shoeshine box. Kneeling over it, he cries. When he stops, he puts on his black mask.)

VOICE OF THE WHITE MAN is heard, angrily, demandingly: Boy! Boy! Come here, boy! Boy!

VOICE OF A WOMAN is heard, loudly, and angrily, shouting; Boy! Do you hear me? Come here, boy!

OTHER VOICES are heard, shouting, angrily: Boy! Boy! Come here, boy! Do you hear me, boy!??

(Suddenly the crescendo of voices comes to an abrupt conclusion. John stands with a quiet, but firm, dignity. In the stark silence, he speaks.)

JOHN: (Slowly, wonderingly) I am not a boy. (With a growing realization, not so much of who he is, as of who he is not; the words are to be read as if they were followed by a comma, and the audience must complete the final, uncompleted phrase.) I am not boy

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Malcolm Boyd

Race & Race Rel.

# ROLES OF CITIZEN AND SOCIOLOGIST IN RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH*

by J. Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College

## Introduction

The challenge to legally enforced racial segregation in the South and the consequent changes that are ensuing have involved sociologists in a number of different ways. They have carried out basic research on such topics as social correlates of attitudes toward desegregation, Negro leadership in the protest movement, roles of religious leaders in desegregation, the relation of demographic factors and prointegration activity, and value conflicts in feelings about segregation.[1] The South has provided a laboratory for testing hypotheses about the structure of race relations and the factors associated with changes in such relations. Sociologists have also acted as expert witnesses in court cases dealing with desegregation, and as consultants and as directors of surveys for organizations devoted to influencing race relations. In addition to their work in basic research and in practical application, sociologists are also found as active participants in partisan race relations organizations.

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* A paper to be presented to the 57th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D. C., August 30, 1962. A grant from Randolph-Macon Woman's College helped to make preparation of this paper possible and is gratefully acknowledge.

1. Examples of such research include: E. Q. Campbell, "Moral Discomfort and Racial Segregation," SOCIAL FORCES, 39 (March, 1961), 258-262; E. Q. Campbell and T. F. Pettigrew, CHRISTIANS IN RACIAL CRISIS: A STUDY OF LITTLE ROCK'S MINISTRY, Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959; A. L. Coleman, "Social Scientists' Predictions about Desegregation," SOCIAL FORCES, 38 (March, 1961), 258-262; L. M. Killian and C. U. Smith, "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," SOCIAL FORCES, 38 (March, 1960), 253-257; N. I. Lustig, "The Relationship between Demographic Characteristics and Prointegration Vote of White Precincts in a Metropolitan Southern County," SOCIAL FORCES, 40 (March, 1962), 205-208; M. M. Tumin, DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

The matter of race relations appears logically to be a point at which research, application of sociological findings, and citizen activities of sociologists might merge. Whether this merging of interests is any greater for sociologists than for those in other fields, however, can be determined only by research. Nevertheless, for those sociologists who do engage in these multiple activities, the question has been raised of how compatible such activities are. Some sociologists have wondered how a person emotionally involved and committed to a partisan position on such a socially controversial issue as racial segregation can, at the same time, carry out valid and reliable research in the area. Concern has also been expressed about the image of the discipline given by sociologists who are active partisans in the segregation-desegregation issue.

This paper deals, in a tentative way, with an answer to the question of the compatibility of roles in race relations activities. It offers a modus operandi that the author has found useful as he has attempted to carry out all three activities: in basic research in a study of the relation between racial segregation and race awareness in young children;[2] in applied sociology as a race relations consultant, an expert witness in court cases on desegregation, and as a surveyor of problem situations for racial organizations;[3] and, finally, in partisan activity as a member of regional, state, and local race relations organizations.

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2. Publications and papers include: "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children," SOCIAL FORCES, 37 (December, 1958), 132-137; "Racial Acceptance and Preference in Nursery School Children," MERRILL-PALMER QUARTERLY OF BEHAVIOR AND DEVELOPMENT, October 1962 (in press); "Racial Identification in Young Children in a Segregated Community," a paper to be presented to the American Catholic Sociological Association, Washington, D. C., September 1, 1962.

3. Surveys have been made of a strike of students over desegregation in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in 1955, for the NAACP; of lunch counter sit-ins for the Southern Regional Council in 1960 ("Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas," SPECIAL REPORTS OF THE SRC, May, 1960) of Southern educators, for the Potomac Institute (SCHOOL DESEGREGATION — HELP NEEDED? Washington, D. C.: the Potomac Institute, 1962).

Clarification of Role Requirements

A first step in the reconciliation of these activities calls for a decision on what the basic task of the sociologist is. Although there is general consensus among sociologists that the fundamental job of the sociologist is to add to the knowledge of the structure and function of human groups, there continues to be disagreement on whether or not his job stops there. This matter was discussed, for example, last year at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at a session on the responsibilities of sociologists, and it was also an issue in the presidential address at that same meeting.[4] Comparable discussions have taken place in related disciplines as well. The Society for Applied Anthropology devoted most of its Spring, 1958 issue of HUMAN ORGANIZATION to presentations made at a symposium entitled, "Values in Action," which dealt with problems of the roles of anthropologists in applied fields. And the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues sponsored a symposium entitled, "The Role of Social Sciences in Desegregation," the results of which were published in August of 1958. A recurring issue in these symposia is whether or not the social scientist has the obligation not only to contribute to his discipline as a scientist, but also whether through his discipline he should seek to implement values in his society. Thus, R. Nevitt Sanford speaks of a major role of the social scientist to be that of a social reformer,[5] but Conrad Arensberg states that social scientists have no other end or purpose as scientists than devotion to science itself.[6] Robert

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4. Everett Hughes chaired the session, "The Responsibilities of Social Scientists," at which sociologists Robert Bierstedt and Alfred McClung Lee spoke. President Alvin W. Gouldner spoke on "The Conception of a Value-Free Social Science as an Ideology."

5. "Foreword," THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN DESEGREGATION, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai-B'rith, August, 1958, p. 2.

6. "Values in Action: a Comment," HUMAN ORGANIZATION, 17 (Spring, 1958), p. 25.

Bierstedt believes that normative judgments are outside the realm of science,[7] while Robert Redfield states that value deductions are, in fact, drawn by social scientists from their science,[8] and Gouldner believes that the concept of a "value-free" sociology is a myth.[9]

Without pretending to resolve this lack of agreement about the task of the social scientist, the author has found it sufficient in his own activities to start with the point of general agreement, namely, that whatever else he might do, it is the job of the sociologist to seek to increase the amount of valid and reliable knowledge about human groups. In his role as conductor of basic research and builder of sound theory, the sociologist is committed to the goals and values of all science: the development of generalizations of increasing validity and reliability, through methods that seek to minimize bias and maximize objectivity, stressing thoroughness, open-mindedness, and caution throughout the process. The author agrees with Bierstedt that in the long run probably the greatest public service a sociologist can make is the development of sound knowledge about society.[10]

But it is also clear that success in the development of such knowledge is leading to an increasing number of invitations to the sociologist to apply sociological findings to practical problems. This is what is happening in the area of race relations. The values held by the particular sociologist

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7. "Social Science and Public Service," a paper given at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, St. Louis, 1961.

8. "Values in Action: a Comment," HUMAN ORGANIZATION, 17 (Spring, 1958), p. 21.

9. "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," SOCIAL PROBLEMS, 9 (Winter, 1962), 199-213. (Presidential address given at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1961.)

10. op. cit.

may lead him to engage in applied sociology or to reject opportunities to do so. Whatever his choice, however, it can be assumed to be based on nonscientific predilections, just as was his decision to enter the field of sociology in the first place. In his role as consultant, the sociologist is required to help solve immediate and practical problems in line with the goals of the organization for which he is working. However, it is assumed that in so far as he acts as a sociological consultant, he suggests the means to particular ends, and cannot on a scientific basis propose the ends themselves. Of course, in choosing to act as a consultant for an organization, the sociologist can indirectly choose the ends for which he wishes to work. Fundamental in the author's assumptions about roles is that the sociological task of the development of systematic knowledge neither demands nor forbids that the sociologist apply his discipline to the area of practical problems. Furthermore, the roles of basic research and practical application have nothing directly to do with the sociologists's choice to take part in partisan activities. The decision to take an active citizen role in race relations, or to refrain from doing so, is a nonrational, nonscientific, moral choice.

## Limitations and Contributions of Multiple-Role Activity

With these assumptions as a basis of clarification, the author has found it possible to continue three lines of activity in a controversial area with the realization that there are separate and distinct role requirements in each activity. But this multiple-role engagement has brought problems. Because of partisan activities and consequent public "labelling," some avenues of basic research have been closed. Thus, when the author wanted to pursue his research on the race awareness of nursery school children into public kindergarten and the early elementary grades of Lynchburg, Virginia, the supervisor of instruction did not allow it, in part because of the author's public activity on behalf of

can still be alert to sociological aspects of group structure and function. Intimate participation in community and state partisan organizations have revealed to the author new notions about prointegration leadership and segregation opposition, and such participation has opened some doors, particularly with prointegrationists, that might otherwise have remained closed. A warning of sociologists like Alfred McClung Lee and Alvin W. Gouldner is applicable here, namely, that sociologists should guard against rigidity and professionalization. New insights are constantly required to further the discipline, and they can come from many directions. Engaging in the application of sociology and in citizen activities can loosen rigidity and provide stimulation -- as long as the role requirement of each activity is kept clearly in mind, and if it is remembered that effectiveness in applied sociology and in citizen activity are dependent upon the development of sound theory of human groups.

The sociologist would do well to study the interrelationships of roles entered into by sociologists to see what their mutual contributions and limitations might be. The area of race relations in the South provides a suitable setting for such research.

St. Jude
November, 1962
R & R Rel.

# Three Races

**by Bob Senser**

**During an episode** in the classic novel "Huckleberry Finn," Huck, a white boy of the old South, tells a woman about an accident on a Mississippi steamboat. "Good gracious!" the woman exclaims. "Anybody hurt?"

"No'm," says Huck. "Killed a nigger."

"Well, it's lucky," the lady says, "because sometimes people do get hurt."

When psychologist John Dollard was in a Southern community in 1935 collecting material for his book "Caste and Class in a Southern Town," he heard a speaker tell a courtroom audience (half-Negro, half-white) about the virtues of the Southern people—that is, the "good old Anglo-Saxon stock of which our state is composed."

In 1960, after the Democrats adopted a convention platform pledging action to protect the civil rights of Negroes, Governor Ross Barnett went home to Mississippi grumbling. "The platform is horrible," he told reporters. "I don't see how the people of the South can accept it."

To most modern ears, the casual implication that Negroes are not really people sounds callous. After all, for a century the Federal government has considered the Negro as a full person, not as three-fifths of one, as the Constitution previously provided. Most whites today would readily accept Negroes as persons—"but not our kind of persons," many would add.

In a blank for "color or races," the 1960 U.S. Census form asked whether a person was "White, Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, part Hawaiian, Aleut, Eskimo (etc.)." After reading this, William A. Wisdom, a New York University graduate student, wrote the Census Bureau director a letter lecturing him on the difficulties of the seemingly easy question. In his own case Mr. Wisdom rejected the obvious classification of White and stated he would have to call himself a "pinkish-gray part of American Caucasoids with probable Negroid and Mongoloid elements."

From one viewpoint, Mr. Wisdom was quibbling. Yet as a student of anthropology, he knew that the question of race is far more elusive than most people realize. Scientists have seen mankind as being divided into as few as two races and into as many as 30 or more. "It is all quite arbitrary," says Father Sylvester Sieber, S.V.D., an anthropologist. "You can make as many as 5,000 different measurements of the human body, and depending on which measurements you select, you can make your own racial classifications."

Most scientists today hold that there are three primary races—the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Negro, or what are popularly known as the "white," the "yellow," and the "black" races. The quotation marks indicate an uneasiness with the preciseness of the popular terms. Make a color comparison between a white man's skin and a white shirt, and the looseness of "white" becomes apparent. Even the so-called white person has a light brown color to his skin. Only the albino lacks coloring, and the albino exists in all three racial groups.

(Despite the looseness of the term "white," it is used here in the meaning it has in ordinary language. It is pointless to try to reform the American idiom. The attitude behind the idiom is more important.)

Moreover, skin color by itself is no sure index of racial type. Many people of India, for example, are as dark as the darkest Africans, but are considered Caucasians because of other anatomical characteristics.

The other characteristics include hair coloring and texture, shape of nose, slope of forehead, body hairiness (Caucasians have the most), shape of head, and thickness of lips. These are among the most common of the physical traits measured by scientists today. The importance attached to a given trait may fade as new studies are made. Years ago, when it was thought that the larger the brain, the greater the intelligence, the largest cranial capacity was claimed for the white race—until the skulls of Eskimos were found to be larger yet.

Anatomical differences among the races must be weighed against the much greater amount of *sameness* in the human race. Careful research has uncovered no consistent racial differences in longevity, size, weight, strength, or sensory acuity. Nor do the internal organs of human beings bear any racial characteristics. As a result, anthropologists point out that race is only skin deep.

Consider blood, which often is used to denote racial and familial kinship. I once heard the late Archbishop William D. O'Brien of Chicago tell a

*Mr. Senser's article forms a part of his book,* "Primer on Interracial Justice" *(Helicon Press).*

St. Jude
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R & R Rel

# One Man *A Study in Racial Prejudice*

Negro audience: "You know, I have a secret to tell you. I have colored blood." He paused, and then added: "Yes, it's colored. Red, just like yours."

Contrary to a common impression, there is no such thing as "Negro blood." Blood carries no racial identity. Though there are different blood "types," these cut across racial lines. Blood for transfusion must be carefully selected so that the donor's blood type blends with the recipient's type, but in this medical process racial identity is so unimportant that a transfusion from a Negro could save a white man's life, whereas a transfusion from another white (with the wrong blood type) could cause shock and even death.

One could go on and on with the physical likenesses and differences discovered in biological sciences. But this is in large part artificial and meaningless because it assumes that scientific category determines a person's race. It does not. Custom does. The scientific categories do not jibe with American custom. Or putting it the other way round, American custom does not follow the scientific categories of race.

In the United States a person known to have even a single Negro ancestor, however remote he may have been, is considered a Negro. As Gunnar Myrdal writes in his monumental study, "An American Dilemma": "Everybody having a *known* trace of 'Negro blood' in his veins—no matter how far back it was acquired—is classified as a Negro. No amount of white ancestry, except one hundred per cent, will permit entrance to the white race."

A man may have brown and straight hair, blue eyes, a light skin, a Roman nose, and other characteristics that by all biological standards would qualify him as Caucasian. Yet because of remote Negro ancestry that may have left little or no visible trace, his wife, his friends, his work associates, and others will usually classify him as Negro. And generally he will do so himself.

This American custom is puzzling to many Africans. They can not fathom how persons like Ralph Bunche, Adam Clayton Powell, and Philippa Schuyler can possibly be called Negroes. After Miss Schuyler gave a piano recital in Abidjan, one dark-skinned member of the audience commented: "What is this nonsense about Philippa Schuyler being a black? She's whiter than our Lebanese traders." And of course Miss Schuyler is also whiter than many U.S. citizens of Italian and Mexican origin, people who are classed as members of the white race.

**Race relations** experts often point out that there are many thousands (perhaps hundreds of thousands) of Negroes who pass as whites. Even the experts are creatures of U.S. habit, for the opposite point is much more significant: millions of persons with predominantly Caucasian characteristics are passing as Negroes. White as they are, they suffer most of the disabilities associated with being black-skinned.

This American custom is not just a point of academic interest or a fascinating oddity for the Sunday feature pages. It is basic to an understanding of the U.S. racial problem. All the generalizations about Negroes — that Negroes are more prone to this or to that than are whites—must take into account that the Americans called "Negroes" are largely of mixed racial origin. Two criminologists, Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorckle, point up the practical meaning of this fact:

"Since race is a matter of degree, one should not say 'Negro,' 'Chinese,' or 'White,' but *how much* Negro, *how much* Chinese, etc. Pursuing the implications of this fact could lead to some startling conclusions about race and criminality. For example: The probability that Negroids commit a proportionately higher percentage of crimes than do whites in this country has led some to assume the existence of a racially selective trait [an innate tendency] for Negro criminality.

"But the overwhelming majority of Negroes in this country have at least some white parentage in their background. It has been estimated that not more than 25 per cent of the persons called Negroes in this country are of unmixed Negro extraction. Consequently, in order to assess the operation of the genetic Negro crime factor, it is necessary to observe the crime rates among the 'racially pure' Negroes of primitive Africa, where, according to the theory, we would expect the criminality to be highest because the racial factor is less diluted. But every index reveals that the extent of criminality among the few still primitive Negroes of Africa is negligible, and very much less than that of the racially mixed Negroes of America. Apparently, then—and contrary to expectation—the Negro crime rate '*rises*' when pure

Negro racial characteristics are mixed with white racial factors."

Criminality, of course, has nothing at all to do with racial biology, white, Negro, or mixed. But how people look on race, how they treat those who are classified in a different racial group, can create social conditions that increase the temptation to steal, cheat, and commit other crimes. Why should it be so difficult for Catholics to understand that social conditions have a great influence on a person's behavior? Catholics have gone to enormous sacrifice to establish an educational system —Catholic grade schools, high schools, colleges, and universities — precisely because they place so much importance on a proper environment.

Yet the tendency to blame nature rather than nurture exists even on relatively unimportant levels. In the play *No Time for Sergeants* a hillbilly is amazed when he hears a college-educated Northern Negro speak. "Why," says the hillbilly, "he talks mo' white than Ah do." I have personally observed the disbelief of whites who for the first time heard a Puerto Rican Negro speak with a thick Spanish accent and a Dublin-reared Negro speak with an Irish brogue. In both instances the whites thought the Negroes were "putting on airs," when in fact the accents of the two men reflected those of the society in which they were reared.

Most of us do not realize how much U.S. Negroes have assimilated the American way of life. We do not realize that despite the difference in education, income, and housing, the typical Negro is much more like the typical white than (say) an American Negro is like an African Congolese or an American white is like a Rumanian.

Negroes here do not have African names, nor do they speak an African language; they adopted the white man's names, his language, and even his religions. Bit by bit in the past 150 years, they absorbed the culture of the white majority. They drive the same cars, see the same TV shows, buy the same deep freezes, use the same school textbooks. Even the Negro magazine *Ebony* is amazingly like *Life*.

Despite all the efforts to blame nature, racial barriers are man-made. The Negroes themselves have surmounted the artificial wall of segregation to a greater extent than they generally recognize.

**Both those** who are for and those who are against segregation see the social and economic differences that still exist between Negroes and whites. Negroes are still suffering the after-effects of slavery, which destroyed family ties and turned Negro women into breeders for the slave market. Negroes are still suffering the disabilities of the South's school system, where a Negro who wanted to go beyond the eighth grade was often considered "uppity." Negroes are suffering from the current effects of discrimination in employment, housing, and education.

Those who oppose segregation see these and other disabilities as the reason to *eliminate* segregation. Those who favor segregation see the disabilities as the reason to enforce segregation.

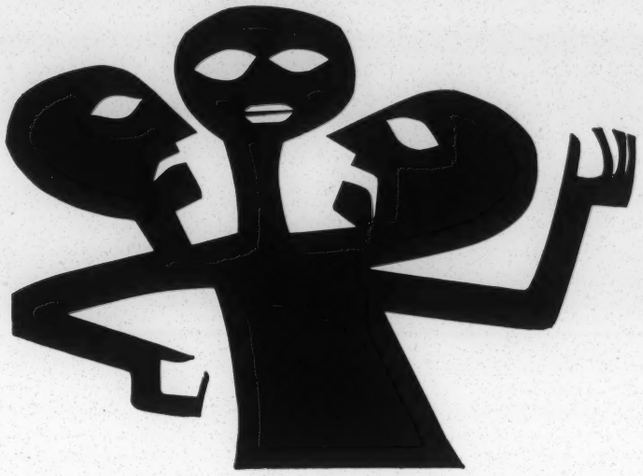
Let me try to put the segregationist's argument in the most telling way. "All right," he may say, "Negroes have had a tough row to hoe, I grant that. Also, I know that they have improved themselves, and I hope that they continue to do so. But there are great differences between the two races. Negroes are far behind whites. That's a plain fact, and I can't help but be governed accordingly."

This is a fair summary of a common attitude, an attitude shared even by many who do not openly espouse the cause of segregation. This attitude, as already suggested, perpetuates a vicious circle. Second-class citizenship promotes conditions that keep people in second-class citizenship. Life in a ghetto reinforces a psychology of distrust (even among Negroes) that sustains ghettoes.

"What you say may be true," somebody might retort, "but that is unfortunate. They are not up to the standards of white society, and therefore they should stay by themselves."

Such an objector would resist the charge that he is guilty of racism. The word does have a derogatory content, stirring up images of the KKK, lynching, and violent hatred. Let me substitute another term, one with a more neutral connotation — "groupism." Groupism is the habit of looking at Negroes (and other "different" people) as a group and treating them as a group.

Groupism builds on two related mental processes. One moves from the specific to the general—"This American tourist is boorish; therefore Americans are boorish." The second mental process shifts into reverse gear. It moves



from the general to the specific—"Americans are boorish; this tourist is an American and therefore boorish." The dual process is used in all expressions of groupism, whether about Mexicans, Jews, Arabs, Catholics, Sioux Indians, or Negroes.

The advocate of groupism usually spares his own group. So when a white man commits a heinous crime, other white men do not say, "Vicious, these Caucasians—how can such people be treated as equals?" but the smallest incidents are used as evidence when one of *"them"* is involved. A Negro staggers into a bus, and so "Those people are drunkards." Negro teen agers misbehave in a theater, and so "Negro boys and girls are hoodlums." A Negro is lecherous, and so "Negroes have no morals." And so on. Each specific instance balloons to a general statement about a whole group of people.

Thus the punishment for a misdeed or crime may be visited on persons completely unconnected with it. In one-fourth of the lynchings of Negroes in the South between 1889 and 1933 the victim was not even accused of a crime; the person lynched simply provided a convenient substitute outlet for the fury of a white mob.

In such cases the injustice is clear. It is not so clear when Negroes are rejected as a result of statistics indicating racial differences.

"Negro students in this community have IQs averaging 15 points below those of whites." But how can such an average possibly justify segregating *this* Negro whose IQ is, say, 15 or 20 points above the white average? "Negro workers have a higher absentee rate than whites." But how can such a rate justify rejecting *this* Negro applicant who was not absent at all at her previous job? "Negroes have a poorer record of maintaining their property." But how can such a record justify excluding *this* Negro family who kept a house perfectly for ten years?

Groupism refuses to judge people as individuals; the whole philosophy collapses when it does. You can set up all the "standards" that you wish—moral, educational, religious, civic, geographic, cultural. There is a simple test of whether your real interest lies in high standards or in racial exclusion. The test is: What happens to Negroes who *do* meet the standards? Moreover, what happens to the white people who *fail* to meet them? The questions strike to the heart of racial segregation.

Three Southern judges of the U.S. circuit court of appeals dealt with this issue in 1957 in a decision affecting Louisiana's school segregation laws. The court was presented with stacks of statistics showing what the judges called an "alleged disparity" between Negroes and whites in IQ ratings, school progress, incidence of certain diseases, and percentage of illegitimate births. The judges declared:

"This represents an effort to justify a classification of students by race on the grounds that one race possesses a higher percentage of undesirable traits, attributes, or conditions. Strangely enough, there seems never to have been any effort to classify the students of Orleans [County] according to the degree to which they possess these traits. That is, there seems to have been no attempt to deny schooling to, or to segregate from other children, those of illegitimate birth or having social diseases or having below average intelligence quotients of learning ability."

It would be all right, concluded the judges, to classify students according to their proficiency or health traits, but to do so on the basis of race alone would be "arbitrary" and unconstitutional. Louisiana, however, did not change its segregation to base it on the standards over which it professed concern.

Father George H. Dunne, a Jesuit who long has fought segregation, once wrote: "The same person who will fight tooth and nail to prevent a Negro from living in his neighborhood will not hesitate to employ a Negro maid or a Negro cook. If he believes that Negroes are lacking in moral integrity, why does he permit a Negro maid to take care of his children? If he believes that Negroes are physically unclean, why does he permit the Negro cook to handle his food?"

The apparent answer, "racial prejudice," is too much of a cliche. Hatred and dislike toward Negroes are widespread, of course. A degree of prejudice probably exists in almost all of us, whatever our race, thanks to environment and personal weaknesses. But it is a mistake—and prejudice of a different sort—automatically to ascribe racial prejudice to every person who will accept a Negro as a maid but not as a neighbor.

What influences racial attitudes and actions more than plain prejudice is another social and moral phenomenon —the concern for status. Each of us

operates highly sensitive antennae tuned in on what other people think of us. Their regard for us is determined in part by the kind of company we keep. If I have dinner at the White House regularly, or if a Bing Crosby drops by my house whenever he is in town, or if I can easily get an appointment with a Cardinal, then my friends will tend to look on me with respect. If I associate with people of low social status, such as ex-convicts and Skid Row alcoholics, however, then my own standing will be low too. Though I need not make a hobby of collecting Big Names as acquaintances, the least I must do to maintain a decent status is to avoid associating with persons bearing some type of social stigma. Since I want recognition from others, my ordinary tendency would be to shun people who in society's eyes count for little.

In 1796 a report to a special meeting of the American Philosophical Society attributed the Negro's color to leprosy. Although few people believed this falsehood, slavery and segregation have in the past two centuries created the image that Negroes are social lepers. Like inmates of prisons and mental hospitals, they bear a stigma that gives them a low status in the world's eyes. Status, by definition, lumps together people who are considered alike, and therefore status rubs off on one's friends and associates. Few people like being stigmatized.

The U.S. does not have Europe's class cleavages between workers and employers, but it does have status differences, the biggest being the one separating Negroes from their fellow citizens.

White is more than a race; it is a social status. Especially in the South the status of white determines all of one's social relations. The status is so crucial that official records on race often become the subject of lengthy litigation. In one such case (during which a woman futilely challenged New Orleans' action changing the records of her father's ancestry from "white" to "Negro"), a Louisiana state court declared:

> We feel that nothing can possibly be of more importance than for a person to be absolutely certain as to his genealogy and particularly as to his race. We know that a white person has an absolute right to be known as white and a colored person has the same right to be known as colored, and we know that in this area nothing can cause greater distress and humiliation to those who believe themselves to be of one race and then to find that they have in their veins bloods of another.

The officially discovered "Negro blood" doesn't change the person. It does change his status, and hence means he loses friends fearful of their own social position.

According to psychologist Gardner Murphy, the need for status is the "primary root" of racial discrimination. This explanation clarifies many seemingly irrational attitudes and actions. Take the experience of four officials from Ghana who, like other dark-skinned African visitor, found that they were frequently barred from U.S. restaurants when they were dressed in American clothes, but always admitted when they wore their colorful tribal robes.

"Irrational," charged the *Milwaukee Journal*, and of course the discrepancy is that, in a fundamental sense. But it does not seem surprising in this context: Ghana's robed visitors, black as they are, do not pose a threat to a community's status system; they can easily be accepted as honored guests from a distant place, visibly different people who set no precedent for the local Negroes across the tracks.

Few people question and even fewer defy a status system. Most simply go along with a community's current norms. "Look," a relative once told me, "I'm no crusader." Another friend of mine distributed literature on interracial justice in his school and was publicly reprimanded by his principal with these words: "You can't rock the boat."

But more and more people, Negroes and whites, are willing to crusade for desegregation. Today those crusading for desegregation far outnumber those crusading against it, and they have provided the breakthrough necessary for changing the status system. Men like Father John LaFarge, S.J., founder of the Catholic Interracial Council movement, have braved scorn and pressure as they labored to awaken the public conscience. Now even in a Southern city like Louisville, according to an Urban League official, "It is no longer fashionable to be publicly in favor of segregation."

The strategic position of the two sides in a racial controversy changes as progress occurs. Before integration, its proponents are the ones rocking the boat, but after integration the opponents must assume this unpopular role.

So (to alter the imagery) the tide has changed. Yet it is wrong to assume that we can depend on being carried forward inevitably to ever-increasing progress, but public opinion about race and racism can still retrogress unless it is more deeply rooted in the personal convictions of a much larger number of people. **END**

R+RR

NOTES ON

# NEGROES and LEADERSHIP

by Mary Dolan

ABOUT EIGHT YEARS AGO I sat in a Negro's living room in the Deep South with a small group and listened to Thurgood Marshall muse aloud about his student-clients in school segregation cases. As legal counsel for the NAACP, he had seen at first hand the suffering endured by these students, some of them young and immature—at least, young when the suits were begun. He cited several specific instances of student-clients who had suffered breakdowns as a result of the strain, parents who had lost jobs and been exposed to ridicule, threats, and crushing pressures, subtle and not-so-subtle.

> If we, who can scarcely be considered a white nation, persist in thinking of ourselves as one, we condemn ourselves, with the truly white nations, to sterility and decay, whereas if we could accept ourselves *as we are,* we might bring new life to the Western achievements, and transform them. The price of this transformation is the unconditional freedom of the Negro.
>
> —James Baldwin, "Letter from a Region in My Mind," Nov. 17, 1962, *The New Yorker*

He gave a mirthless laugh as he observed how little, by comparison, he had contributed to the school desegregation battle, and he wondered whether, were their situations reversed, he himself would measure up as well as these often simple, poorly-schooled, modestly - circumstanced men and women and their children.

It seems to be currently popular to speak of the failure of Negro leadership, as, say, Louis Lomax does in his new book *The Negro Revolt* (Harper & Brothers, $4.50). Several years ago when Lomax first expounded his thesis in a magazine article, it at least had the merit of a certain freshness and originality, and his tendency to slip flamboyantly beyond facts was not so marked. He developed much the same theme in a Friendship House lecture in November, 1961, but here he strayed considerably further from factual moorings, and added a scathing denunciation of all of Christianity, too. By 1963 the idea seems pretty "old hat."

I think of Marshall and other Negro leaders I have known when I read Lomax and when I hear others decry the failure of Negro leadership. (Father Andrew Greeley has been stating a similar theme in a number of recent articles in Catholic periodicals.) I just can't buy it. Rather, I am amazed at how well most Negro leaders represent the diversified Negro community. I submit that Negro leadership speaks more truly for the Negro masses than does any comparable leadership. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that there is no comparable leadership. What other minority group has a middle class whose members culturally long ago entered the full stream of American society, who are fifth- and sixth-generation residents in Northern cities, yet are lumped together by the white majority in our race-conscious society with the newest, un-urbanized, uneducated migrant from Southern plantations?

> More and more Negroes are willing and able to move into suburbs and other communities heretofore reserved for whites. Because of their education, income, attitudes, and way of life, the Joneses (a Negro couple who moved into a previously all-white suburb) could never feel at home in a Negro slum. Those who argue that the Joneses belong among their "own kind" miss the point: in Skokie they *are* among their own kind.
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> —Robert Senser, *Primer on Interracial Justice*

This is the fundamental frustration of racial segregation. Until those Negroes who have met all rational, objective standards of worth are able to reap the rewards of worth, are able to move freely in American society, solutions for problems of poor Negroes are blocked.

Nor are the poorer, less educated

Negroes (the lower class, if you will, Negroes) that I have known been as uninterested in walk-ins, sit-ins, wade-ins as Father Greeley seems to think they are. This was brought home to me sharply a number of years ago when at Friendship House we ceased distributing used clothing. The decision to do so was not easily made. We thought long and hard before reaching the conclusion that Friendship House's efforts should be concentrated on programs that reach out from the Negro ghetto, that help more and more whites experience—if only fleetingly, at first—interracial associations, that provide a platform for more and more Negroes to express their concern, their frustrations in Jim-Crow America.

All well and good. But how would the people who came to Friendship House for used clothing take the decision? I, for one, expected them to be irate and bitterly opposed, and I dreaded the first encounter with a would-be clothing room customer. When it came, I did the only thing I could think to do: stated our hope of reaching out to change the pattern of racial discrimination. To my surprise, the response was immediate; this woman (I had talked to her a number of times before when she came asking for clothes) was both approving and enthusiastic. I thought she might have been an exception, but this experience was repeated over and over again. I then realized that I had underestimated the capacity and the need of this group of Negroes to identify with the longer-range goals of human dignity and recognition. Indeed, I found that they and I were meeting and exchanging in a much more meaningful way than we had in the past when our exchange was inevitably tinged by the paternalistic touch of the "hand out."

> There has been a great deal of talk about the "new Negro." I hope there will not be a great lot more and that social scientists will not succumb to the term and try to elevate it into a concept. It is, or so it would seem to me, after all rather condescending to herald the young man or woman acting responsibly in defense of his or her own dignity as a "new Negro." It is patronizing of him and belittling of the labor and ideals of the old Negroes. What should one expect? Should social scientists or liberals be as surprised as is the tradition-minded South to observe educated people asking to be treated as such?
>
> —Leslie W. Dunbar, "Reflection on the Latest Reform of the South," Fall '61 *Phylon*

Furthermore, I submit that the middle class Negroes and the leaders of Negro organizations best serve not only their own middle class but their deprived Negro brothers by continuing to focus major attention on the goals of equal opportunity and not being sidetracked into concentrating on Negro uplift.

One final personal reminiscence will, I think, make my point clear.

Some years ago I led a "buzz group" discussion, which followed a talk by an articulate, personable Negro. The participants in the discussion were students at a white, Chicago high school and their parents. They had a solution to the problem of Chicago's unskilled and destitute Negroes: let the speaker of the evening and his like teach them urban ways and give them jobs. But wasn't this, I urged, a job requiring social agencies and community welfare funds? Oh, no, the Negroes who had achieved should be willing to sacrifice for their needier brothers.

It so happened that the area in which this group lived was then being "invaded" by white rural migrants—hillbillies, as they described them. I seized upon this parallel. Did they, I asked, think they themselves should sacrifice for their needier brothers? Without hesitation they asserted that they did not intend to make such a sacrifice. Seemingly oblivious to the contradiction this was to the program they wanted middle class Negroes to undertake, they went on to explain that they did not have financial and other resources to help these white hillbillies—and furthermore the hillbillies didn't want to be helped!

Surely, indifference to the poor and needy is a common human failing. It is distressing, therefore, to see this indifference, of which whites are at least as guilty, decried as particularly a Negro failing or the responsibility to do something about need made a special Negro responsibility. ■

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# Participation

*The Pius XII Society is a Chicago organization devoted to promoting understanding and interest in the liturgy. A recent issue of their Newsletter ($1.00 a year, 67 East Division Street, Chicago 10, Illinois) suggests a specific format for congregational participation in the Mass. It is reprinted here by permission.*

WE HAVE NOTICED that some of churches find themselves having to drop programs of congregational participation in the Mass because of a lack of response from the congregation. We have also noticed a similarity of approach to participation in churches where the program has proven successful; therefore, we offer the following suggestions:

Preparation and assistance must be given to the congregation for the program to be successful. A congregation cannot be expected to recite Latin prayers from beginning to end, without a leader, without preparation, and without understanding.

The problem can be partially overcome by the use of sermons to instruct the congregation, the use of missals and hymnals, and the use of lay lectors. The use of Latin (at a recited Mass) is confined to the short responses, Kyrie, Sanctus, Pater Noster, Agnus Dei, and Domine non sum dignus. A paraphrase prayer in English is used in place of the Gloria, the Apostle's Creed in English is substituted for the Credo. An English entrance hymn replaces the prayers at the foot of the altar.

It is our opinion that if these above items are included in a program of participation, there will be little chance of failure; at least, we have not heard of a parish using the above approaches consistently whose participation program did fail. It is necessary to use these various ideas in a participation program, not only because it makes the program work, but because it is important that the participation be well done, a worship pleasing to God. ■

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R & R Rel.

## WELFARE CONSULTANT IS HOPEFUL

# 'Future Of Negro In North Carolina Is Bright'

By Jay Jenkins

Observer Raleigh Bureau

RALEIGH — A man who has been most intimately associated with efforts to improve the lot of Negroes in North Carolina is encouraged about the future.

He is John R. Larkins, Negro consultant to the N.C. Department of Public Welfare, the only Negro who serves on the staff of a southern state at the policy - making level.

"I am encouraged," said Larkins. "I feel that the future of the Negro in North Carolina is bright because of the efforts of so many white and colored individuals and organizations.

"We have also been fortunate to have leaders in government, industry and education who have helped to develop a climate conducive to this progress and social change."

LARKINS was quick to add, "We still are not where we want to be." The encouragement comes from the advances he has seen in his 20 years on the job.

When Gov. Terry Sanford recently named the "Good Neighbor Council" to improve opportunities for Negroes, he adopted a thesis Larkins has enlarged upon for years.

"Economics is the major problem among Negroes," Larkins said. "Inadequate income is reflected in disorganized communities, in crime, delinquency and illegitimacy."

Sanford said the same thing in different language as he appointed the biracial council.

A slender, energetic man of 48, Larkins combines the approach of the scholar (he holds advanced degrees in social work) with the adroitness of a politician.

HE IS THE author of numerous publications about the Negro in North Carolina, each based on scientific research and a reverent regard for facts.

"I make the studies," said Larkins. "The people take the action."

A native of Wilmington, Larkins set fixed goals when he took office in 1942. All except one have been achieved, wholly or in large part.

Switzerland says so."

There still is no home for unwed Negro mothers. Larkins brightened, however, and said, "The Interdenominational Ushers Association of N.C. now is purchasing property in Franklin County, and when it's paid for, we'll have the home."

ALTHOUGH he gives credit to everyone but himself, Larkins played an important role in achieving the other goals during the past two decades:

—Facilities were provided for delinquent Negro girls and those for delinquent boys were expanded. The Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, aided by white women's clubs, was instrumental in obtaining the facility for girls at Kinston. Quarters for Negro boys were expanded at Morrison Training School.

—North Carolina made the first attempt to do something tangible, principally through educational techniques, to prevent and reduce the number of Negro children born out of wedlock.

—Negroes now have an institution for mentally retarded children at Goldsboro. Negroes also are in responsible staff positions there.

—Additional day nurseries for Negro children have been set up in local communities. These are considered especially important by Larkins because of the number of Negro mothers who must work. Many are forced to leave children and the community.

—In 20 years, the number of Negroes employed in social work has tripled, to around 100. More are needed and could be placed, Larkins said, if trained workers were available.

In virtually every one of the above categories, a documented study of the needs by Larkins preceded action. Once the study had been made, he moved into local communities, contacting individual leaders and appropriate civic clubs.

LARKINS carries a heavy speaking schedule. He interprets the current project and enlists support for it. As a Negro working with Negroes, he has been able to obtain results more quickly.

Always Larkins returns to the question of job opportunity for his people, mainly because most of the Negro problems stem from the lack of such opportunity.

Buttressing his case with statistics, the results of painstaking research, Larkins said:

"To the mass of North Carolina Negroes, the job means largely four types of work: common labor, personal service, domestic service and agricultural pursuits."

Gov. Sanford in a speech translated what that means for the state's per capita income standing: Excluding the Negro, North Carolina would rank 32nd instead of 42nd among the states.

What Larkins has been trying to show, calmly and objectively, is that a better life for the Negro will mean a better life for everyone, and that an economic surge at the bottom will have a beneficial effect at the top.

"I am convinced that what the Negro wants is an opportunity," Larkins said.

"I THINK the progress he has made over the last 25 years, when he has been handicapped, indicates that if we remove obstructions to jobs and other artificial barriers, he can really go places."

Larkins' interests range over the whole spectrum of Negro life. His unpublicized and unofficial activities include helping Negro students get into college, advising them and seeking scholarships.

Although attached to welfare, he works with and through numerous other state departments.

Tar Heel governors frequently have consulted him, a not unmixed blessing since some Negro groups tend to blame him when their suggestions are not followed on appointments and the like.

Serving as a bridge between two races is not an easy task. His critics often forget that his role is advisory and one which requires artful diplomacy.

Some of his Negro colleagues have complained that Larkins is not militant enough on civil rights (although the record, from the standpoint of solid results, speaks for itself).

AS A research sociologist, Larkins greets the complaint philosophically:

"You need a quarter first, to get on the bus. Then you can worry about where you'll be seated."

Larkins is a prodigious worker, who brings to his job a sense of mission. At the same time he is dispelling myths with facts, and reconciling the theoretical with the practical.

And always he is sounding the theme that better jobs for Negroes will mean a livelier economy for the state, less crime and disease, fewer delinquents and happier human relationships.

More than one million North Carolinians are Negroes, or one in every four persons in the state. That alone is calculated to make the burden Larkins cheerfully shoulders one of the heavier responsibilities in this commonwealth.

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, January 31, 1963

WINSTON-SALEM SENTINEL - March 19, 1959
Thursday Evening
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

*Larkins' Contention*

# Negroes' Poverty Costly

By LUIX OVERBEA
Staff Reporter

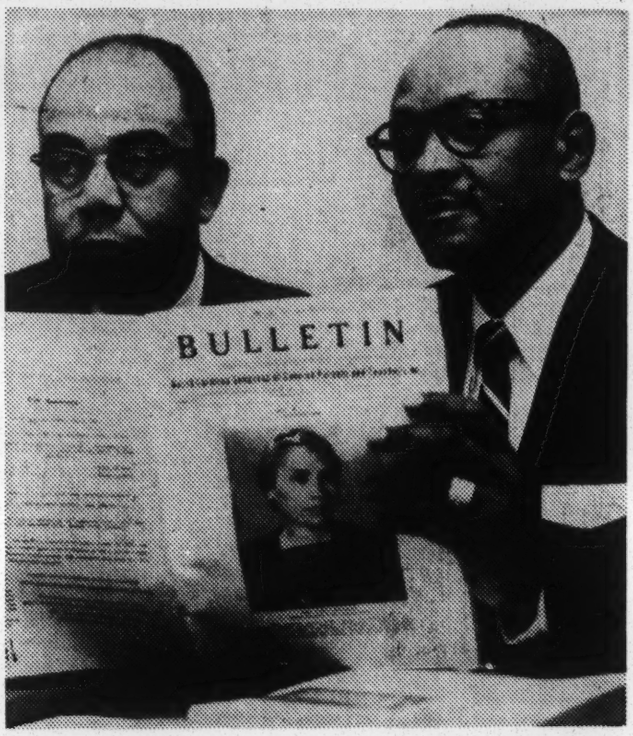
Taxpayers and the general public in North Carolina are paying for the poverty of the state's Negroes, John R. Larkins, Negro consultant to the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, said today.

Larkins is in Winston-Salem as the guest of two Parent-Teacher Assns. He will speak at 7:30 p.m. today at the Paisley Junior High School PTA banquet. He adressed the PTA of Carver Consolidated School Tuesday.

A native of Wilmington, Larkins speaks in a fast, clipped manner.

"The job squeeze on Negroes in North Carolina is creating a big welfare problem," he said. "The people are paying for this problem.

"Private industry in this state follows the so-called pattern in most instances. This pattern calls for hiring Negroes in the most undesirable, but lowest paying jobs. To often, trained Negroes do not get positions for which they are qualified."




Staff Photo by Tom Pitts

JOHN R. LARKINS (right) consults with H. B. Goodson, Paisley PTA president.

### Welfare Funds

Because of the economic situation, Larkins said, Negroes receive a greater proportion of state welfare funds than their percentage in the total population. These conditions also breed crime, slums, juvenile delinquency and displaced children.

Larkins' job as consultant is what he calls a "research sociologist." He explained:

"My job is first, gathering information about the Negro in North Carolina; second, compiling and analyzing the facts; and third, informing the general public, particularly the Negro public, and state officials of these facts."

He has worked in an advisory capacity with such groups as the North Carolina Board of Correction and Training, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, the Southern Regional Council and the North Carolina Recreation Commission.

His most recent study, published last year, is "The Negro in North Carolina — 1945-55." Other works are "A Study of Negro Parolees," "The Contributions of Sociology to Social Work," "The Employment of Negroes in Public Welfare in Eleven Southern States."

"I make the studies; the people take the action," he said.

There is no perfect blueprint or easy way to solve these problems, he said, but it is time that they are recognized and met.

"A broad program of education and social action is needed," Larkins said. "The general public and persons in positions of influence must feel the need of doing something about the low economic status of Negroes. Employers must become more willing to hire qualified workers.

"Economics is the major problem among Negroes. Inadequate income is reflected in disorganized communities of crime, delinquency and illegitimacy."

In the state welfare department's 1956-58 biennial report, Larkins noted his interest in finding licensed boarding homes for children and the aged, day care setups for children and programs to reduce the number of children born out of wedlock.

Larkins helped with a housing study in Northampton County and a family life study in Edgecombe County. Through his advice, programs to reduce the number of children born out of wedlock were begun in Jones, Edgecombe, Northampton, Pender, Duplin and Cabarrus counties.

B+R Rel

# Desegregation

*In the eight and a half years that have elapsed since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision banning segregation in the public schools, a civil rights revolution has taken place. For a closer scrutiny of the changing attitude of some liberals toward desegregation, we turn to* MURRAY FRIEDMAN, *who holds a doctorate in American political and social history from Georgetown University and who has been an intergroup-relations official for eight years.*

# THE WHITE LIBERAL'S RETREAT

BY MURRAY FRIEDMAN

IN THE forties and fifties, liberals, intellectuals, and many middle-class whites came to believe that the elimination of segregation was the central domestic problem in our country. There was general agreement outside the South that once this was accomplished a host of social, political, and economic problems involving the Negro would disappear and he would finally be able to take his place as an equal partner in American life. When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision in 1954 banning segregation in the public schools, a high-water mark in the alliance of the liberal white and the Negro was reached. The decision set in motion the civil rights revolution we are experiencing today, in which the Negro, aided by a sympathetic white community, has been seeking entry into areas of American life previously closed to him.

In the eight and a half years that have elapsed, a reaction to desegregation and to militant efforts by Negroes to achieve it has emerged among many of those who greeted the High Court decision so enthusiastically. These second thoughts have developed as a result of the pain and turmoil involved in making what proved to be difficult social adjustments. In some measure, too, historical anxieties about and antipathy to the Negro have reasserted themselves. Such a retreat or pullback on the part of liberal whites (including many conservatives who are liberal on race issues) has important consequences for civil rights progress.

One of the indications of this retreat appeared following the wave of resistance that swept through the South after the 1954 decision. Northern liberals expected opposition, but when violence developed in Little Rock, Clinton, and other parts of the South and public schools were closed, they were startled by the extent of the upheaval. Gallup Polls have shown, as Charles Stember has noted in his recent study, *Education and Attitude Change*, a shift in attitude in 1957 among better-educated whites. Increasingly, they have been willing to accept a slower and smaller amount of desegregation in the South.

This mood was reflected by President Eisenhower at press conferences, where he sidestepped expressing an opinion on the decision itself and cautioned that change must first come about in the hearts and minds of men. It is found in the hesitation of the Kennedy Administration (which has been far better on civil rights than its predecessor) to introduce new civil rights legislation and in the efforts of the President to find a national consensus on racial issues.

While Northern opinion has firmly rejected violence and outright defiance of federal court decisions on desegregation, as demonstrated in Mississippi, it has accepted token integration, the device Southerners have skillfully fashioned to avoid the consequences of integration. Apart from indignant Negroes who have reacted with sit-ins and other direct-action efforts, few voices have been raised against token integration, in spite of the fact that less than 8 percent of Negro children in the South are attending desegregated schools, less than one percent if we exclude border areas such as Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. Northern opinion was satisfied with progress made when Atlanta, Dallas, and a few more cities admitted a handful of Negro children to white public schools for the first time without violence.

This new understanding of Southern adjust-

ment problems on the part of white supporters of integration also results from certain changes that have taken place in the North. The heavy exodus of Negroes from the South since World War II has, to a large degree, shifted the center of the race problem to the metropolitan areas of the North and West. The Negro is no longer an abstraction to the white liberal but a concrete reality — in many instances, a potential or actual next-door neighbor, a classmate of his child's, a coworker at office or workbench. This confrontation very often points up the gap between the worlds of the Negro and the liberal white.

The white lives in a middle-class society marked by an emphasis and overemphasis on education, aspiration, and advancement. The world of the Negro frequently is the urban slum. It is a world of slum housing and slum living, where violence, family dislocation, and blunted hopes are the norms. (There is, of course, a middle-class Negro community, and it is growing, but most whites have little or no experience with it.) Contact with it produces shock and disgust, as in the description by Marya Mannes of the West Seventies in New York, where she grew up. There are still some nice people there, she writes, but they are lost in a "brown sea of squalor."

Liberal whites are, consequently, caught in the dilemma of believing in equal rights for Negroes and even of working for them, while at the same time attempting to escape from the real and fancied disadvantages of desegregation. In recent years, they have helped put on the books of many cities and states laws banning discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, yet they themselves have been moving to the farthest reaches of the cities and to the suburbs. They have pushed up the enrollment at private and parochial schools, shut their eyes to the widespread practice of gerrymandering of school district lines to avoid integration, and helped to create pressures for separating slow from rapid learners in the public schools, a process which often results in keeping middle-class white children apart from Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters.

I do not want to oversimplify this situation. The movement out of the older areas of cities has always been a form of advancement for Americans. And the pressure for separating slow from rapid learners represents in no small measure concern among middle-class whites that educational excellence be encouraged. Liberals are genuinely worried about what the introduction of unprepared slum children will do to their schools. They are fearful that physical commingling of middle-class children with culturally deprived youngsters will depress the level of the schools serving the former while the latter, unable to keep up because of inadequate preparation and background, will become even more embittered and hostile. The result is that many liberals, while opposed to color lines, are helping to make these lines stronger and tighter.

It would be easy to dismiss liberal whites as possessing double standards and being as prejudiced as those they criticize, which some, in fact, are; nearer the truth, however, is the fact that they have been confronted with a series of extraordinarily complex problems growing out of the need to adjust to a modern urban society large numbers of rural Negroes from the South suffering from inferior, segregated educations and other deprivations. The belief of the liberal whites in interracial justice, while morally sound, does not provide a useful guide for dealing with this situation.

To add to his dilemma, the liberal white is increasingly uneasy about the nature and consequences of the Negro revolt. Out of the bitterness and want that have been the lot of the Negro in our society has come a civil rights revolution whose explosive power worries and even frightens those people who traditionally have been sympathetic to the Negro. The N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League were fashioned early in the century by a coalition of whites and Negroes to change old and create new law on civil rights and help adapt the Negro to his new urban environment. These essentially middle-class techniques of social action are now labeled too slow by newer Negro (and some white) "direct actionists," who have turned to sit-ins and boycotts in the North as well as in the South, "buy Black" campaigns, and strident demands by Negro leaders that Negroes be elected or appointed to office on a frankly racial basis. There has also been a growth in the Negro nationalist movement.

Liberals are increasingly resentful of these demands. In testimony before a congressional committee investigating alleged discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans in unions recently, David Dubinsky cried, "I'll be damned if I will support the idea of the professional Negro, the professional Jew, the professional Italian that a man should be a union officer because of his race, color, or creed. He should be an officer on his merits, ability, character." Quite so. But ethnic and religious considerations have long been a factor in public life, partly for practical reasons but also as a means of providing upward mobility for minorities. It is rather late in the game for liberals to hold up this yardstick rigidly to the Negro.

White leaders who have not or who are thought not to have adjusted to the new tempo of racial change have come under bitter attack. (The

Chicago *Daily Defender* recently called Dean McSwain of Northwestern University, chairman of the Chicago Mayor's Committee on School Board nominations, "a well-known Negro hater" and charged his committee was "composed of men and women who are little removed from the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council mentality" because they had proposed no Negroes for school board vacancies.) These harsh criticisms, which many white liberals see as making little or no distinction between friends and enemies, have angered many of them.

Involved also in the disenchantment of some liberals with the new Negro is the realization that they are being thrust aside from positions of leadership in the civil rights effort. Having controlled this fight for so long and dictated much of its strategy, the liberals resent being pushed out. Jewish civil rights groups, for example, have always felt a special interest in the Negro. Jews were active in the creation of the N.A.A.C.P.; for many years it has had Jewish presidents. More and more, Negroes are going it alone. Newer, completely Negro-led groups, such as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and A. Philip Randolph's Negro Labor Council have charged or indicated by their actions that white civil rights groups and the more conservative Negro organizations have been moving too slowly or not moving at all. This has produced considerable friction within the civil rights coalition, as evidenced in the bitter debates between Randolph and George Meany of the AFL-CIO. The N.A.A.C.P. has recently added to the tension by leveling charges of racial discrimination against the Jewish leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The attacks upon Jewish civil rights leadership have been still another element in the growing estrangement of liberals from the Negro. A middle-class group with special status fears growing out of their own experiences with discrimination, Jews are worried about Negroes' moving into their neighborhoods, which are often the first to be broken in the Negro advance. They are caught between their belief in interracial justice and a desire to join the middle-class exodus to the suburbs, a desire which has been heightened by evidence of Negro anti-Semitism and the rise of the "black nationalist" movements. Jews, however, continue to remain in the forefront of the civil rights fight; they are often found in the leadership of efforts to stabilize mixed neighborhoods and are usually the first to welcome newly moved-in Negro families.

In the final analysis, a liberal, white, middle-class society wants to have change, but without trouble. And this an aroused Negro community cannot provide, as was demonstrated in the freedom rides crisis. When the first riders went into Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama, in May, 1961, and were initially greeted by violence, there was strong sympathy for them. As the rides continued, however, the public mood shifted to apprehension.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy called for a cooling-off period. The head of the St. Louis Catholic Interracial Council, a veteran of more than twenty years in civil rights work, announced his opposition to the efforts of outsiders to bring about racial change while supporting sit-ins. "Whatever is used that increases racial tension," he concluded, "is not good, per se." By June 21, the Gallup Poll reported that 63 percent of those aware of the rides disapproved of them.

In his concern about avoiding social turmoil in race relations, the liberal white stands in danger of trying to contain the civil rights revolution. He cannot do this, nor would it be wise to do so if he could. It is a revolt well within the American tradition of social protest. Negro militancy, while it undoubtedly presents certain dangers, has accomplished the white liberal's goal of bringing about civil rights advances. Within a year after the first rides, barriers to racially integrated travel in the South largely disappeared. Important social change is rarely accomplished without conflict; moreover, such change in the South has always required pressures from other parts of the country. If the pent-up bitterness of the Negro community is not relieved by the type of gains symbolized in the accomplishments of the freedom rides or the equally successful boycotts to obtain jobs organized by Negro ministers in many Northern cities, it might easily burst out in new and socially irresponsible directions, perhaps in the further growth of the racist, Negro nationalist movements.

Another area of difficulty lies in the rift that has been developed between the white intellectual and the Negro. To no group is the Negro more indebted. It was the sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and liberal thinkers and writers who, beginning in the thirties, attacked the myth of the inferiority of Negroes and helped gain wide acceptance for the belief that Negroes should be accorded equal rights and opportunities. One of the major grounds on which the U.S. Supreme Court rested its decision on desegregation was the evidence of social scientists that public school segregation created in the minds of Negro children feelings of inferiority and denied them equal protection of the laws. It is significant that the Supreme Court has increasingly come under attack from critics outside the South for the reason-

ing used in its desegregation decision, although few challenge the end result of the decision. Lawyers have taken the High Court to task for basing itself "upon the quicksands of social psychology."

SINCE 1954, there have been indications of a change in the way in which the Negro and racial problems are viewed by intellectuals. There has even been an attempt to make racism scientifically respectable. One group has emerged which includes Carleton Putnam, a businessman and historian; Henry E. Garrett, former head of the Department of Psychology at Columbia and a past president of the American Psychological Association; and Nathaniel Weyl, author of *The Negro in American Civilization*, who argue that Negroes are inferior biologically and in innate ability to whites. They cite various studies which show that the I.Q. of Negro children is below that of white youngsters, the discrepancy becoming greater with advancing years, and point to the high rate of Negro crime and social disorganization. They attribute this to differences in brain structure between African Negroes and whites rather than to environmental shortcomings, deprivation, and discrimination.

While theories on racial differences have been repudiated by most social scientists, the appearance of these ideas and the seriousness with which they have been treated by some scholars and liberal thinkers are significant. Commenting on an article by Professor Garrett comparing Negro and white I.Q.'s in the Summer, 1961, issue of *Perspectives in Biology*, Professor D. J. Ingle, head of the Department of Physiology at the University of Chicago, writes, "There are reasons for thinking that racial differences in intelligence may be real." And in a review of Weyl's book, Nathan Glazer, who collaborated with David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*, while critical of Weyl's reliance on African brain-size data and on other points, concludes that he "is clearly free of any prejudice and deserves credit for having raised for public discussion crucial aspects of the Negro question which receive little discussion in academic and liberal circles, and which are usually left in the hands of bigots and incompetents. . . . What are we to make of the high rates of [Negro] crime and delinquency, illegitimacy, family break-up and school dropout?"

That there are intelligence and behavioral differences between Negroes and whites, taken as groups, is of course true. Most social scientists attribute these differences to the special historical experience of the Negro. The important thing is that these differences are not fixed, as the racial-difference theorists believe. We know that in New York's Demonstration Guidance project and Higher Horizons programs, conducted in slum schools, dramatic successes have been achieved in raising I.Q.'s and improving the behavior of Negro and Puerto Rican children. These programs point to the importance of making up for cultural shortcomings and stimulating the motivation of children to learn and behave rather than investigating African brain size.

The question that Glazer poses has been a source of growing concern to liberal thinkers (and to some Negro leaders) since 1954. John Fischer, in a widely discussed article, several months ago called upon Negro leaders to look up from the civil rights fight they are waging and give attention to remedying the behavioral and cultural shortcomings of the Negro. This emphasis has led to efforts such as Dr. Shepard's in St. Louis, to upgrade Negro slum children before they are thrown into the more difficult world of the middle-class white, and to the dramatic successes achieved by New York's Demonstration Guidance project and Higher Horizons programs. These efforts are a reflection of growth in the liberal's understanding of the full dimensions of the race problem.

There is some indication, however, that the effort, as Fischer puts it, to bring about "changes in the habits, character and ambitions of a lot of Negroes" is causing some liberals to accept postponement of pupil desegregation, especially in slum areas, although they continue to accept the goal of integration. In his important and well-received book *Slums and Suburbs*, James Conant, while sharply attacking discrimination against the Negro, nevertheless sees no need to try to eliminate public school segregation that results from housing patterns and is not enforced by law. "I think it would be far better for those who are agitating for the deliberate mixing of children," he writes, "to accept *de facto* segregated schools as a consequence of a present housing situation and to work for the improvement of slum schools whether Negro or white." He would have the community turn its attention to pouring money and social services into these schools and into slum areas in order to bring its citizens up to the level of a middle-class society.

Few would deny that this needs to be done, and in massive proportions, but one can measure the distance the pendulum has swung when it is suggested that public school desegregation be dropped out of the process of dealing with the race problem in Northern cities. It has always been a cardinal tenet of the liberal belief that segregation plays a major role in contributing to the social dynamite stored up in the Negro slum because of the second-class citizenship it automatically confers upon the Negro.

How desegregation should take place and with what safeguards, so as to protect educational excellence and maintain sound educational practice, are, of course, valid questions with which we must wrestle. But the public schools, which shape the thinking and attitudes of children and transmit our goals and values, should not be divorced from the effort to bring about an integrated society.

While the statement that there has been a pullback on the part of liberal whites will shock many of those who sincerely want to help Negroes obtain full citizenship, the phenomenon is nothing new in American history. It occurred following Civil War Reconstruction, when many of the Negro's staunchest allies retreated or withdrew completely from the civil rights battle. It has been difficult to sustain the effort to bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life in the face of the strains this creates — his cultural and economic shortcomings and the open and covert opposition to integration that exists in all parts of the country. For hostility to according the Negro social equality has been almost as powerful a force in American life as has been the effort to secure these rights for him. On a trip through the United States in 1831, Tocqueville wrote, "The prejudice of race appears to be stronger in the states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists; and nowhere is it as intolerant as in those states where servitude has never been known."

One other historical parallel may help to illuminate the process I am describing and to account for, particularly, the appearance of racist theories. In the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there emerged a racist philosophy among certain intellectuals that coincided with the influx into the country of large numbers of impoverished immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. The counterparts of Putnam, Weyl, and Garrett — who, incidentally, came to dominate intellectual thought on racial issues down to the 1930s — also felt there are innate mental and behavioral differences between these new and older racial groups, the inhabitants of Southern and Eastern Europe possessing characteristics that would make them a burden to the community. It is not hard to see that the appearance of many Negroes in the cities of the North and West, the immigrants of our own day, has produced a similar reaction among many, including sympathetic, whites.

I do not mean to imply that all the moral fervor has gone out of the white liberal's crusade on behalf of the Negro. Many whites have taken part in freedom rides and sit-ins. A pilot experiment has been completed in Philadelphia in which 175 college and graduate students from campuses around the country spent part of their summer vacation tutoring primarily Negro youngsters to overcome school difficulties.

Nevertheless, an issue or series of issues has developed between many liberals and the Negro, the heart of which seems to be this: many liberals are hinting to a restless Negro group that they postpone their most urgent demands because many Negroes are not yet ready to be integrated into a white middle-class society and the social costs, in terms of conflict, may be too high. One writer in the liberal *New Leader* suggests a new Negro strategy of disengagement to repair the damaged communication lines between whites and Negroes. In other words, to the Negro demand for "now," to which the Deep South has replied "never," many liberal whites are increasingly responding "later." But the Negro will accept nothing short of first-class citizenship, now. It will call for a great deal of patience and understanding among those who make up the civil rights coalition if racial progress is not to be seriously jeopardized.

*Reprinted by permission of the author from* Atlantic Monthly, *January, 1963.*

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**NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF JEWISH INFORMATION**
**AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS • 15 EAST 84 STREET, NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500**

Richard Cohen, Director,
Department of Public Relations

LWD ✓
SB

For Immediate Release

NEW YORK -- A stinging rebuke was dealt this week to the editor of "Commentary" for his article in the February issue of the magazine on "My Negro Problem -- and Ours."

Writing in "Congress bi-Weekly" for Feb. 18, Shad and Justine Wise Polier branded the article by Norman Podhoretz as "a rationalization of the witch's brew of fear turned to hatred, characteristic of those who require scapegoats in life in order to feel strong or to justify their own failures."

"Congress bi-Weekly" is published by the American Jewish Congress, of which Mr. Polier is national governing council chairman and Mrs. Polier honorary women's division president. "Commentary" is published by the American Jewish Committee, which in a footnote disclaimed responsibility for the article by the editor of its magazine.

"Podhoretz speaks of being repeatedly beaten up, robbed, terrorized and humiliated by Negroes during his childhood in Brooklyn," the Poliers wrote. "He indulges in a lengthy description of his own treatment, his persecution at the hands of Negro children.

"To what extent this tale is true, enlarged by fantasy, or based on the failure to grow up and the drive to justify his own unresolved fears, it is not possible to say. However, it is clear that very early the writer was super-sensitive to any hurt to himself while being woefully insensitive to what was happening to others."

The Polier article continued:

"There is no reference to what anyone who has grown up in the Thirties must know about the unemployment among Negroes, the lack of opportunity to move forward even if educated, the discrimination in housing, in education, in employment, the daily hurts imposed in a world that treated Negroes as less than equals in every area. Instead, one finds only...self-pity and...resentment..."

In their "Congress bi-Weekly" article, Mr. and Mrs. Polier said it was "tragic" that "as Negroes have their Black Muslims among the hurt and frustrated Negroes, so Jews should have a Podhoretz --

equally reflecting the damage and hurts of childhood fear, envy and hatred which have come to enslave him.

"The extent of that enslavement is finally revealed in Podhoretz's statement that 'In thinking about the Jews I have often wondered whether their survival as a distinct group was worth one hair on the head of a single infant,' and in the question, 'Did the Jews have to survive so that six million people should one day be burned in the ovens of Auschwitz?'

"With these two sentences," the "Congress bi-Weekly" article continued, "the writer reveals his own moral bankruptcy." The Poliers added:

"Conformity achieved through the bulldozing of all differences and the surrender of individual and group contributions to human development is apparently not too high a price -- in Podhoretz's value scale -- to pay for individual physical comfort and survival. Individual physical survival is thus to be purchased at all costs, and the concept of loving oneself not in the terms of narcissism but in terms of self-respect and the ideal of loving one's neighbor and the stranger, the great themes of Judaeo-Christian ethics, are to be cast aside.

"Only a man forgetting the mortality of all men and the immortal value of the human spirit could so degrade the meaning of life."

The Polier article closed with a quotation from a Rosh Hashanah prayer by Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum of Jackson, Miss., read 48 hours before the beginning of mob violence on the University of Mississippi campus resulting from the admission of James Meredith:

> All men are brothers, whatever the color of their skin. Our state is part of these United States. We cry out in dismay that Mississippi should set itself up against the nation, that statesmanship has surrendered to political opportunism. O Lord, we are small in number, yet we can remain great because of the legacy our fathers have bequeathed to us. May we stride into the future, sustained by the truth of Torah. Give us the strength to declare that we are American and will abide by our nation's laws.

"Adherence to such ideals rooted in a great heritage," the Polier article concluded, "has made the survival of the Jewish people meaningful to Jews as men, and to those lands in which the Jews have lived."

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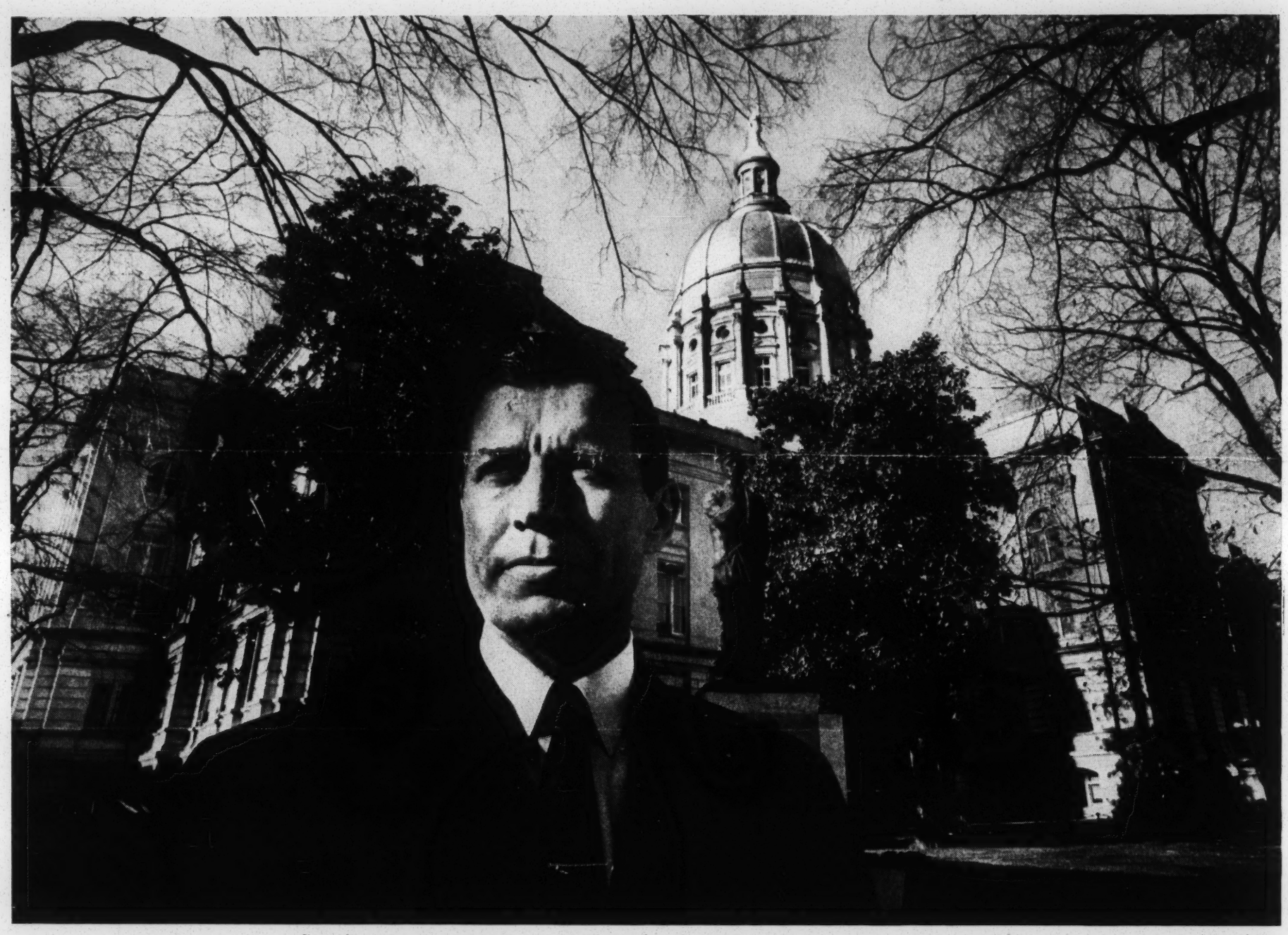
The Sat Eve Post 2-16-63

R + R R



RETREAT OF THE REDNECKS

# *Progress goes marching through* GEORGIA



*Gov. Carl Sanders typifies new political breed. Wide-angle lens makes State Capitol seem to lean away from him.*

*By Ben Hibbs*

Three years ago Georgia stood at the crossroads. A Federal court had ordered the Atlanta schools to integrate, and throughout the state there was deep resentment, with much inflammatory talk about massive resistance, school closings, violence if necessary.

During the preceding 20 years Georgia had piled up a striking record of progress and modernization. Industry had surged in from the North, jobs had multiplied, average family income had risen sharply, people were living better. Education was improving, and the illiteracy rate was dropping. Atlanta had become a gem among cities, and most of the large towns were booming mightily.

And yet in the winter of 1960 there was an air of apprehension in the state. Everyone knew that the Atlanta court order was only the beginning, and, with the threat of social strife hanging there like a storm cloud, cooler heads wondered whether Georgia's fine, straight march ahead was to be halted in its tracks.

Would Atlanta be another Little Rock? Would there be, in Georgia, another Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the public schools had been closed down tight—and remain closed to this day? Already there were signs that industry, which likes to operate in an atmosphere of peace and order, was beginning to look askance at Georgia. Several national companies had reported difficulty in persuading their branch-plant executives, particularly those with children, to move into the state.

The fact that in the end Georgia faced up to its problem and refused to turn back to the nineteenth century is one of the remarkable and encouraging events of our

# *"The changes are convulsive."*

time. Today the state is moving forward at an even more rapid pace—in industrialization, in education, on the racial front, and politically. Last summer it threw out its ancient county-unit voting system, which had long given the balance of power to the rural backwaters—and to the Gene Talmadges they produced. By its example Georgia may very well point the way ahead to some of the other states in the Deep South.

Georgia's new attitude is typified perfectly by a comment made to me by Gov. Carl E. Sanders when I asked him to define "a moderate." "In my case," he replied, "'moderate' means that I am a segregationist but not a damned fool."

Then he added: "I am a southerner by birth and at heart, and I believe sincerely in our traditional separation of the races. On the other hand, I am for progress. I am determined that during my administration this state will move ahead—fast. And I know that we can't have real progress in the midst of social upheavals. Consequently while I am governor we are going to obey the laws, we are not going to resist Federal court orders with violence, and we are not going to close any schools. We have seen some pretty sorry examples of that kind of folly in the South, and I want none of it in Georgia."

Sanders, a 37-year-old Augusta attorney, was elected governor last autumn after trouncing Marvin S. Griffin in the September Democratic primary. A slim, neatly dressed man who speaks fluently but without flamboyance, Sanders was a B-17 bomber pilot at age 19 in World War II. He holds a law degree from the University of Georgia, conducts a successful practice in Augusta and has served in both houses of the state legislature.

## "A segregationist, but"

In Georgia the governor serves one four-year term, and although he cannot succeed himself he can run for the same office again after standing aside for one or more terms. Griffin, Sanders' opponent in the primary, had occupied the governor's chair from 1955 to 1959, and his administration was riddled with financial scandals. His attempted comeback in 1962 raised the old ghost of corruption in the State House, and Sanders pounded hard on the issue of clean government. He also hammered away on his favorite theme of progress. The state had pushed forward rapidly under Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver, whose term was drawing to a close, and Sanders insisted that nothing must check this march to better things.

And of course the race problem was an issue—although to lesser degree, apparently, than most people thought. Griffin is a forthright segregationist, as undiluted as high-proof bourbon. Sanders made it clear that he is "a segregationist but ——"

"This 'segregationist but' credo," said Ralph McGill, famed columnist and publisher of the Atlanta *Constitution*, "is a dichotomy that often crops up in the statements of the new breed of southern politician. And that little word 'but' and what follows can be charged with future meaning for the South."

Many of the political soothsayers gave Griffin the edge in the primary. What they overlooked was that Georgia had indeed turned a corner. Most of the voters still wish the old racial status quo could remain, and they deeply resent what they regard as northern interference in their affairs. Yet, almost suddenly, the economic motive has become more important to the majority of Georgians than the perennial battle over Negro rights. Sanders sensed this, and he won. He was unopposed in the November election.

In Georgia, perhaps more clearly than in any other state, it is possible to see with the naked eye the almost convulsive changes which are occurring in this nation's way of life. The revolution in agriculture, the exodus from the land, the urbanization of the people, the industrialization of our economy, the rising standard of living for the rank and file—all these trends are proceeding at an accelerated pace in Georgia.

Georgia is a big, sprawling state, endowed with great natural beauty in many of its areas but ugly and neglected in others. From the mountains of the north—an extension of the Great Smokies—the terrain slopes away through rolling farm country and lovely wooded hills to the broad croplands and lush pastures of the southern coastal plain. Deep, slow streams, some of them navigable in their lower reaches, flow southward to the Gulf and east to the Atlantic Ocean. Georgia's climate is benign, good hunting and fishing abound, and the outdoor life can be enjoyed most of the year.

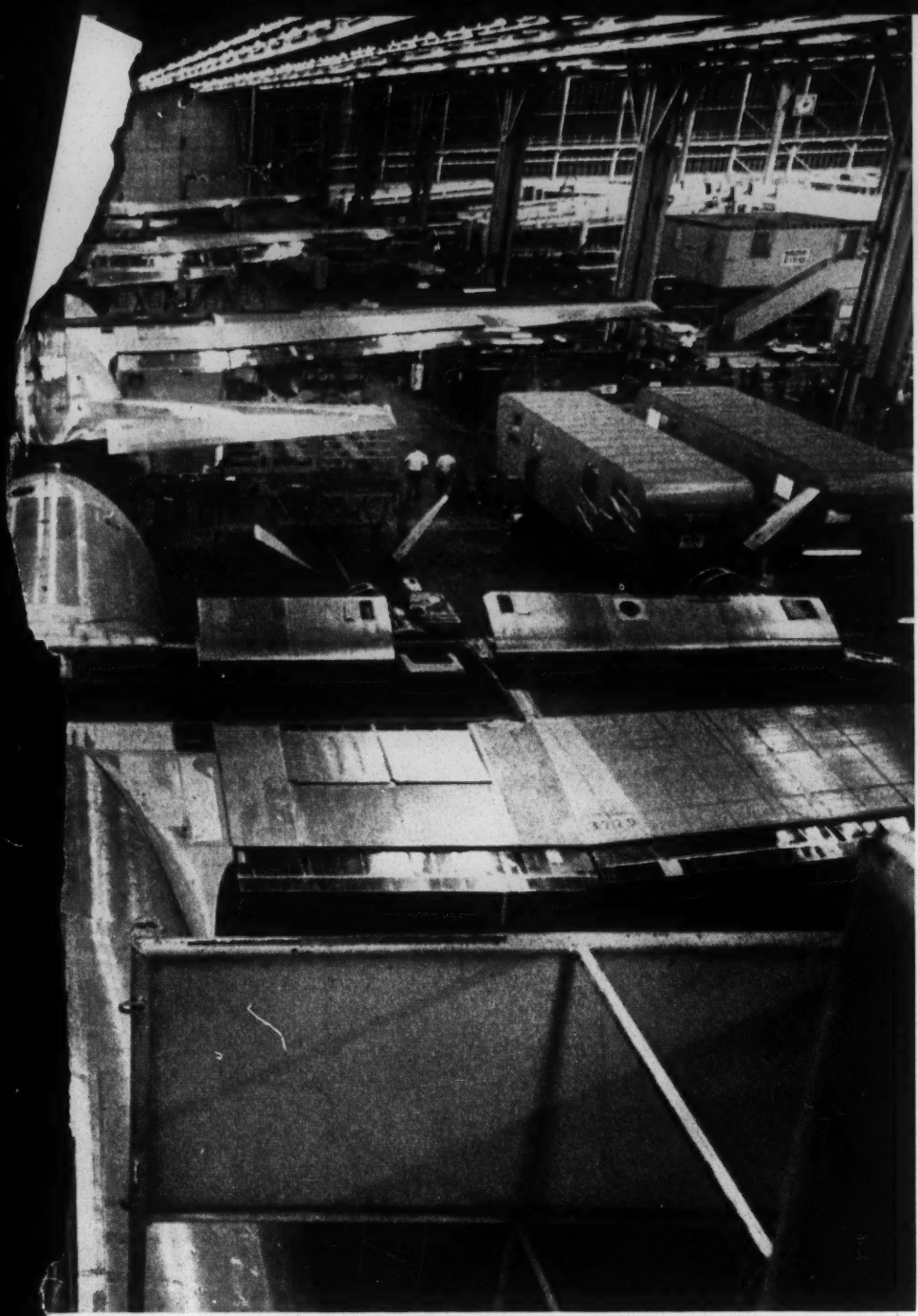
From the time of the Civil War until the 1930's Georgia was a rural southern state—with all that implies. Its economy was based on cotton; a half century ago its compresses turned out 2,000,000 bales a year. With the exception of some tobacco, there was little other commercial farming worthy of the name. Textiles were the only industry of any consequence. Forty-acre, one-mule farms, eroding and declining in fertility, were the order of the day. On the larger places the ancient sharecropping system still had its stranglehold on the land. Forestry was a hit-and-run business, with the little peckerwood sawmills stripping the countryside and leaving desolation behind.

Fifty years ago two thirds of the population lived on the land, and most of the rural people of both races were bone-poor. Diet and sanitation were bad, and the health quotient was low. Schools were poor, and the roads for the most part were mere gashes in the red earth. The courthouse gangs ruled the political roost and all too frequently remained in power through appeals to ignorance and bias and hatred.

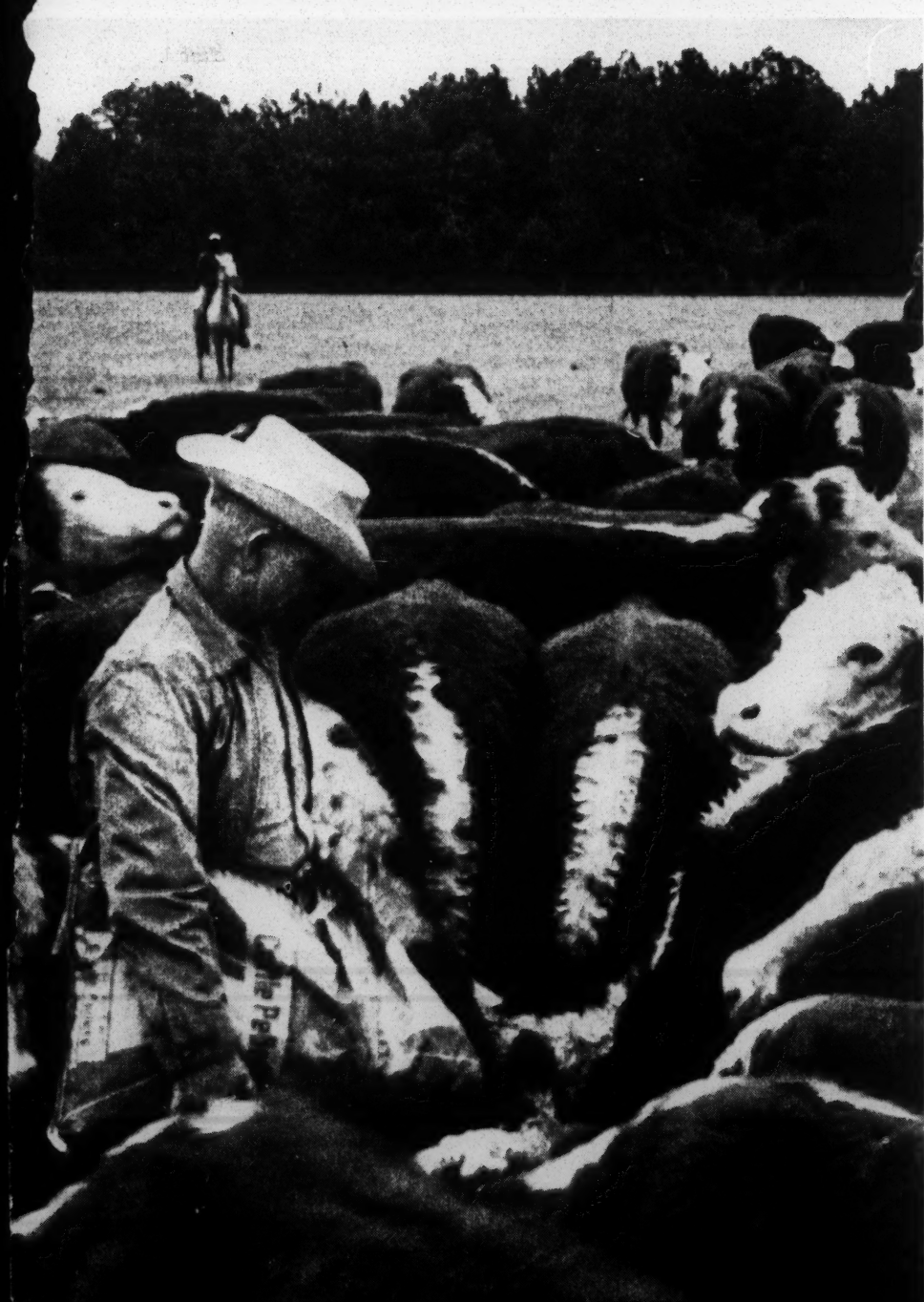
"Don't talk to me about the good old days," one elderly Atlanta businessman said to me. "I lived in those times, and they weren't good at all—for most folks."

Then came the day when Georgia's one-crop economy began its precipitous decline. Cotton fell upon evil days in the Southeast and moved west. Hundreds of thousands of people knew no other way of farming, no other way of life. The flight from the land began. Abandoned cotton

*These Herefords roam David Wainer's Valdosta ranch, reclaimed from devastated forests and worn-out farms.*



*Lockheed, turning out planes in this plant at Marietta, employs 15,000 workers in a state which industry once shunned and where Cotton ruled.*



fields grew up to weeds, and little frame dwellings along the rural roads stood vacant and sagging—melancholy symbols of an era that was gone.

Even as late as 1940 there were still 1,500,000 people living on Georgia farms. Today all but 400,000—one tenth of the state's population—have fled to the towns and cities; and many of those who remain on farms earn most of their livelihood in the factories of nearby towns. Of Georgia's approximately 100,000 farms, moreover, 65 percent are listed as part-time farming operations.

And yet the state's agricultural income has leaped from $150,000,000 in 1940 to almost $800,000,000 in 1961. What happened was that the gospel of diversification, hybridization, better fertilization, mechanization—in short, more and better cash crops produced more efficiently—finally began to take hold. Cotton and tobacco are still grown in Georgia, but they are now only two of many cash crops. Peanuts, hybrid corn, hogs, cattle, dairy products, truck crops, pecans, peaches run into important money.

## Big business in birds

The most spectacular success story of all is poultry. Georgia tops the nation in chicken production, having showed a hundredfold increase since 1940. Gainesville, a lively town in the foothills of the north Georgia mountains, claims to be, and probably is, the broiler capital of the world. Its packing plants process around 230,000,000 broilers a year, turning out everything from the whole bird to quick-frozen chicken pie. Chickens and eggs together yielded an income of $242,208,000 for the state as a whole in 1961—close to one third of the total farm take.

Gradually Georgia's idle croplands are being returned to grass—to support the rapidly growing cattle industry—and to fast-growing pine trees, which have become one of the big-money crops. Farmers are being taught scientific forestry for perpetual yield, and today many a farm realizes more money from its timber than it garnered from cotton in the old days.

One of the finest examples of regrassing and retimbering I have ever seen is the ranch of David S. Wainer near Valdosta in south Georgia. In 1939 Wainer began assembling worn-out farms and devastated woodlands and now has a ranch of 2,381 acres. He built 83,000 feet of terraces to stop erosion, covered the depleted land with fast-spreading grasses, and set out 600,000 trees.

Today the Wainer ranch is a beautiful piece of countryside. More than 300 polled Hereford cattle roam the pastures, 200 acres are in corn and tobacco, and the woodlands are ready to begin harvesting on a perpetual basis. Wainer expects his experiment to start yielding a substantial profit in 1963. "Many authorities predict," he said to me, "that this southeastern coastal plain some day will be the top cattle country of the nation."

The agricultural revolution is by no means at an end in Georgia. The consolidation of small farms into larger holdings goes on apace. People are still leaving the farms in droves for city jobs. But there are still many small, submarginal farms in Georgia. Rural poverty, and the ignorance that always attends it, still exist in some of the little backwaters. The poor whites, or rednecks, as they are often called in Georgia, are still there, although in much smaller numbers. All but 10 percent of the Negroes have gone to the cities along with the white folks. Meantime, coincident with the revolution in farming, manufacturing came to the towns and cities, attended by a vast upsurge in wholesaling and general business.

Today Georgia makes hundreds of products for all manner of human needs, from furniture and fertilizers to ballpoint pens and brassieres. The value of Georgia's manufactured products in 1939 stood at $677,000,000, and by 1960 the figure had risen to $5,756,000,000. In one brief generation the state had become a major manufacturing area, and the trend continues at an increasing pace.

While all this was occurring on the economic and sociological front, Georgia clung to its traditional ways politically and in racial matters. Then, three years ago, things began to happen. The turning point, many leading Georgians will tell you, came early in that apprehensive year of 1960 with hearings on integration of public schools.

In the midst of the uproar which followed the Atlanta integration order, the legislature—it is called the General Assembly in Georgia—decided to set up a commission and sound out public opinion at the grass roots. John A. Sibley, attorney and banker, regarded by many as Atlanta's most distinguished citizen, was persuaded to head the commission, a thankless job which invited brickbats from all directions. Sibley was 72 at the time and entitled, perhaps, to the serenity of advancing years, but he took on the task with quiet aplomb.

"I did it because I felt it should be done," he said to me simply when I visited him in his Atlanta office. Then he went on with a smile, "We can cope with our problems down here when we go about it intelligently. Incidentally, I am told that the North now has almost as many Negroes as we do in the South. You people have your ways, and we have ours, and I often wonder whether you handle the situation any better than we do."

Sibley and his commission held hearings in Georgia's 10 congressional districts and listened to the firebrands and the calm citizens with patience, humor, and good sense. In the end the commission turned in a report which rocked the state. The net of the findings was that, come what might, most people did not want their schools closed. Nor did they want violence. A sharp minority report took issue with Sibley's conclusions, however, and again some of the politicians began to yell bloody murder.

"This is always the pattern," said Eugene Patterson, able young editor of the historic Atlanta Constitution. "The politicians stir up the people, and away we go. If they would quit yapping and show some restraint, we southerners could handle, with peace and order, the inevitable

*Atlanta: fed by expressways, hell-bent for culture.*

*"The state is learning to play by the new*

changes that are coming. Most folks nowadays simply don't want this kind of trouble."

The first school integration in Georgia came, not in Atlanta, but at the University of Georgia, in Athens, during the winter of 1961. An embryonic riot, which might have grown into a holocaust as damaging as the recent affair in Mississippi, was squelched by state troopers before it got out of control.

In the fall of 1961 the Atlanta public schools were integrated without incident, and much of the credit goes to Mayor William B. Hartsfield, now retired, who mounted a campaign of citizen education. Week after week Bill Hartsfield answered the yammering of the politicians with the clear voice of reason. By the autumn of 1962 about 40 Negro children were attending previously all-white schools in Atlanta. Thus far this is the only public-school integration in the state.

At a higher level, Georgia Tech, Emory University and Georgia State College—all at Atlanta—have now been integrated peacefully, and Agnes Scott College, an old and aristocratic girls' school in nearby Decatur, has announced that it will accept colored students next fall.

Public transportation and various other public facilities are now integrated in Atlanta and in some other Georgia towns. The city's baseball team, the Atlanta Crackers, which won the Little World Series in 1962, has both white and colored players. In some of the factories of Atlanta and other industrial towns I saw Negroes and whites working side by side and in some cases using the same washrooms and eating facilities. Here and there I saw Negro foremen supervising white workers. In Atlanta, which has more good eating places than most northern cities of equal or larger size, Negroes now dine at several of the better restaurants without causing even a ripple of interest among the white patrons.

Many Georgia Negroes own and operate prosperous businesses, and on the southwestern outskirts of Atlanta I saw a large district of handsome Negro homes in the $30,000 to $50,000 class. Residential areas are still tightly segregated throughout most of Georgia, just as they are in northern cities.

Two months ago, in fact, race relations in Atlanta ran, quite literally, into a roadblock. To thwart—at least symbolically—the efforts of some real-estate men to move Negroes into a white residential section, the city's Board of Aldermen on December 17 ordered barricades erected on two streets running between Negro and white residential areas. Sixteen city streets had been quietly desegregated during the preceding year, but now an issue was created, and the two-foot, 10-inch-high barriers have become known as "Atlanta's Berlin Wall." As this is written a suit by the Negro All-Citizens Committee to have the "wall" removed is pending in court. Moderates hope the matter will not spark a reversal in Atlanta's—and the state's—generally impressive record in bettering race relations.

In all Georgia cities and many of the smaller places Negroes now vote as a matter of course. A young Negro attorney, LeRoy Johnson—a Democrat—was elected to the State Senate from one of the Atlanta districts in November. His Republican opponent was a Negro. It is the first time the color line has been broken in the General Assembly since 1907.

In Albany, where there were disturbances last year when Negro leaders attempted to effect the integration of public facilities, I talked with Mayor Asa D. Kelley Jr. Mayor Kelley, an attorney, is a restrained and moderate man, troubled and perhaps a bit resentful that his town was chosen as a target for the seething new forces at work in the South. "When the Negroes came to me with their plan," he said, "I advised them to wait for a court order. They refused and went ahead, and we enforced our long-standing city ordinances against such demonstrations. Now the matter is in the courts, and if and when the order comes down to integrate we'll do our best to conform."

Last summer two Negro churches were burned in southwest Georgia by roughnecks out for some excitement. In the rural counties of southern Georgia, where the colored population runs as high as 75 percent—it is about 29 percent in the state as a whole—segregation is still flint-hard and will be for a long time to come.

Doubtless there will be unhappy incidents from time to time in Georgia, but, by and large, the state is learning to play by the new rules with peace and order. Lately numerous political leaders have begun to soft-pedal their statements.

Perhaps the foremost architect of this changing attitude is Ralph McGill, who was the editor of the *Constitution* for many years before he became publisher. Short of stature but a towering figure journalistically, McGill writes an eloquent and courageous front-page column, which is also syndicated throughout the nation.

Although a southerner, McGill is no "segregationist, but ——". He believes passionately in the cause of Negro rights, and he wages the battle hard day after day. As a result he is both loved and hated throughout the state and the South. He and his wife, who died last spring, and his son have been subjected to barrages of vicious phone calls. His mailbox was blown up with a small bomb, and one night a shot fired from the street blasted through a window of his home.

When Carl Sanders won his race for the governorship in September, the Augusta *Courier*, a little weekly newspaper published by a shrill racist named Roy V. Harris, headlined the result with a streamer in red ink: McGill's Race Mixing Philosophy Won Sweeping Victory Sept. 12th. On an inside page was a cartoon showing the sun rising over the Georgia landscape, and on the sun's disk was a sinister caricature of Ralph McGill's face. McGill regards this attack as a delightful tribute and has a framed copy of the paper hanging on the wall of his office. "I'm going to will it to my son," he said to me, laughing.

## Muscle for city voters

This has been a year of decision in Georgia in more ways than one. In the spring of 1962 the United States Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision which in effect said that apportionment of voting strength must be more fairly arranged in the states to give our exploding urban areas an equitable ratio of political power. In many states, citizens moved immediately to implement the decision through localized court action. It was one such suit that brought the old county-unit voting system tumbling down in Georgia and gave genuine franchise to the cities.

The State Senate was quickly reapportioned, and reapportionment of the House probably will follow. Equally important, candidates for state offices and Congress could now win or lose by the actual will of the people, solely on the basis of the popular vote. Politicians of the new young breed threw their hats in the air and scrambled to get into various races.

Charles L. Weltner, a 34-year-old Atlanta attorney—a cool customer and a progressive of the Sanders stripe—entered the congressional primary in the Fifth District, which includes Atlanta proper, and licked Congressman James C. Davis, an old-guard Democrat who had served eight terms—and who would have won again under the county-unit system. Ironically, Carl Sanders, who had delayed his decision to run for governor until it was obvious that the old system was on its way out, would have won even under the county-unit plan.

A lot of the impetus for change in Georgia has come from Atlanta, and, as everyone who lives there will tell you, it is a fabulous city. The population of the five-county metropolitan area has leaped 40 percent in the past dozen years and now stands at well over a million. The city's better residential areas are as beautiful as any I have ever seen, and in the midtown area many handsome new office buildings produce an impressive skyline. Subdivisions, dotted with gigantic new shopping centers, push out and out. Atlanta has long been the largest wholesaling and distribution center of the Southeast, and it has now become the leading manufacturing city of that area, with about 1,800 industrial plants in the metropolitan area.

The city was lucky in the fact that much of its industrial growth came late—after the planners had learned that everything doesn't have to be in the middle of town. Atlanta now has 25 pockets of industrial plants on the outskirts of the city proper, and a good many of these are impressive industrial parks, landscaped, green and beflowered. Much of the city's manufacturing is "clean industry," and there are few smokestacks.

Atlanta is also a city hell-bent for culture—perhaps more so than any other city in the South. It has its own symphony of professional quality, a host of other musical activities, numerous art groups and museums and firm plans to create a full-fledged art school. The Metropolitan Opera comes to Atlanta for a week each spring, Broadway shows hit Atlanta regularly, and little-theater groups are active. The city is also a center of higher education, with the previously-named institutions, a wide variety of trade schools, and a complex of five outstanding Negro colleges.

If it was once true that Atlanta was an island of progress in a backward state, this is no longer so. Every town I visited had at least one spanking new public-school building—usually huge and ultra-modern. Much emphasis is now being placed on more and better vocational education, to teach the skills that all this new industry demands. Many of the larger and medium-size towns such as Augusta, Macon, Athens, Gainesville, Columbus, Albany, Valdosta, Waycross and others are showing a lot of foot—with new industry flooding in. Savannah, an old seacoast city steeped in southern traditions, has improved its port facilities and is getting some new industry, but it is not pushing ahead as fast as Atlanta.

Many private firms in the cities are trying hard to see that industry is spread evenly over the state. Among the most effective of these are the railroads and the Georgia Power Company. Another is the Citizens and Southern National Bank, which has 52 branches in the state. Mills Lane, a volatile citizen who sometimes

*rules of integration."*

wears colorful sport shirts to the office, heads this sprawling financial empire and takes the long view that the state as a whole must move forward as a piece. He has a hard-hitting industrial department that has helped bring scores of new plants to many Georgia towns.

Despite all this I suspect that many of the little rural villages are fated to dry up and blow away—at least so far as retail business is concerned. Already the business streets of a lot of them present a dreary spectacle indeed, with half the stores and shops boarded up. Many of the people who live in these crossroads places now drive from 10 to 40 miles over Georgia's good highways to factory jobs in other towns—and do their buying in the larger places where they work.

### Georgians want to learn

Georgia's factory labor, at least a dozen plant managers said, is highly productive. Several said their man-hour production was better than in their companies' northern plants. Although most of the workers are relatively unskilled when recruited, I heard much testimony about how easy they are to train.

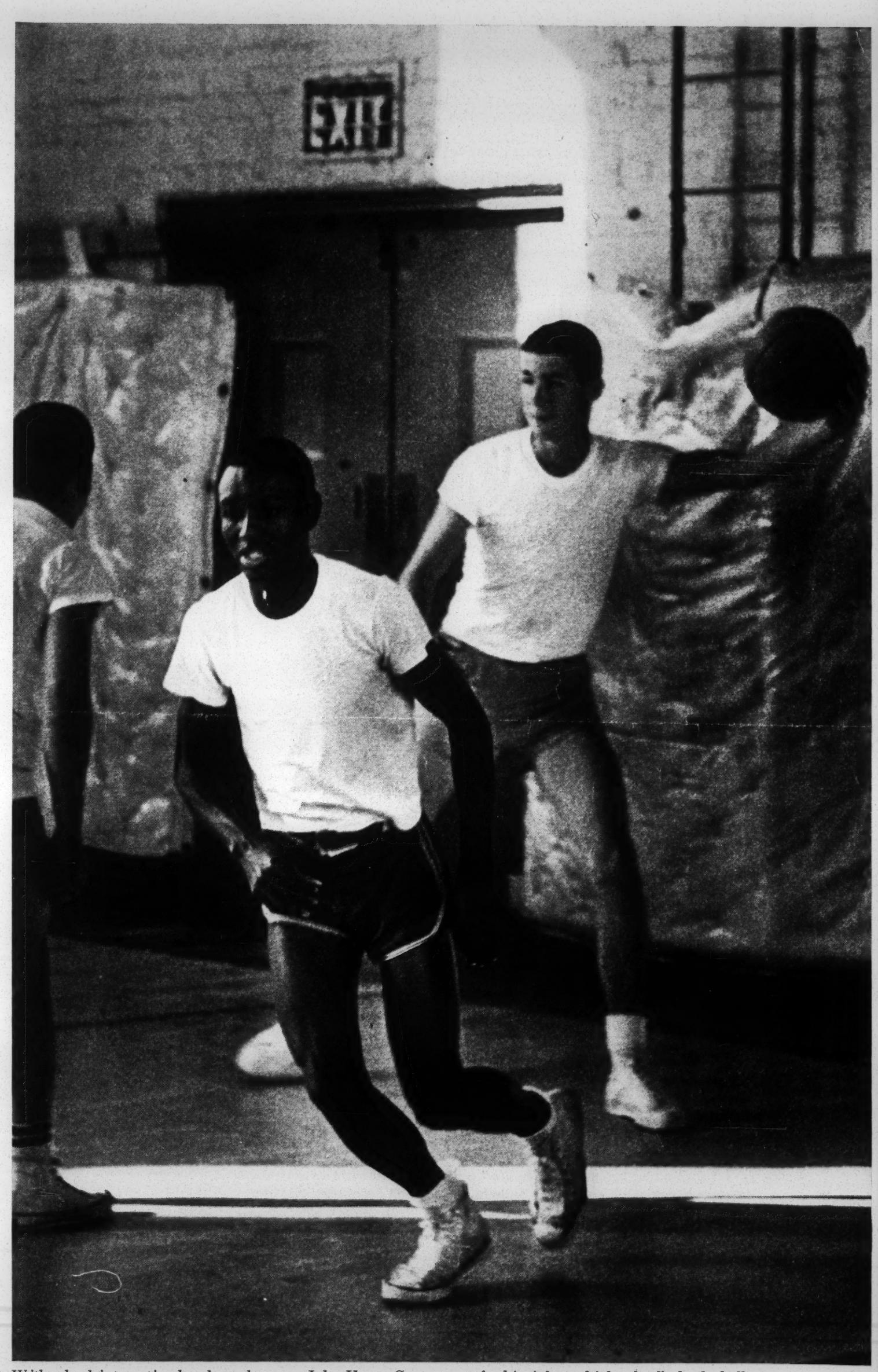
"These people want to learn," said W. A. Pulver, president of Lockheed-Georgia, which, with 15,000 workers in its vast plant at Marietta, is the largest private industrial employer in the Southeast. Lockheed makes military cargo airplanes at its Georgia plant, and also plush little jet-powered private planes priced at $1,400,000.

Unions have not made as much headway in the South as elsewhere and, generally speaking, are less militant. The Georgia factory worker fresh off the farm is apt to be an independent character, who is usually proud of his job and his company. Georgia has one of those controversial Right-to-Work laws, which in effect says that a man doesn't have to join a union to hold his job, and employers from the North like this too.

In many plants, although by no means all of them, white labor is preferred, and the Negro still gets the short end of the stick—precisely as in the North. A notable exception is Scripto, an old Atlanta firm which makes mechanical pencils, ballpoint pens and cigarette lighters by the millions. When I visited Scripto recently, it had 1,320 employees, and 950 were Negroes, 850 of them Negro women.

"Negro women do better on our type of assembly line than most white workers," said James V. Carmichael, president of the firm. "This is no sociological experiment with us. It's just good business."

Median family income in Georgia stood at $4,208 in 1960, well below the national average of $5,660 but far above Mississippi's $2,884. As in most southern states, the general level of education also falls below the national average, and the illiteracy rate is higher. Georgia still needs more jobs, and it needs to keep more of its talented young people at home instead of sending them north. In fact, the state still has some distance to go on several fronts. But it is catching up. Georgia has turned the corner. **THE END**




*With school integration barely under way, John Henry Carter stars for his Atlanta high school's basketball team.*

✓ ML - see page 3. back cover quote?
MA ✓
SB ✓
R+R Rel.

RACIAL RELATIONS OR HUMAN RELATIONS: WHICH DO WE WANT?

by

The Reverend Charles M. Jones
Community Church
Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 24, 1963

I am glad you are having a Human Relations Institute rather than a Race Relations Institute. I am convinced institutes to improve racial relations are primarily valuable as they reduce tension between the races, but "improved racial relations" are not an ultimate solution to the problem of Negro and white people living together. We would have no racial problems if we could let color be incidental in our considerations and humanity be primary.

I am aware of the danger of shifting the emphasis from "racial relations" to "human relations." "Human" is a more general term than "racial" and it is easy to get lost in generalities and miss close-at-hand particularities in this shift of emphasis, especially when these particularities are difficult and painful ones.

This human tendency to approve of general truths but be blind to the particular application was illustrated recently in a state-wide meeting of members of an international service club when an international officer, an oriental Indian, addressed the gathering on the general theme of "Brotherhood." From newspaper reports this was a good talk and it received well-deserved applause. Yet here was a man of color speaking to an all-white audience on brotherhood under conditions that would prevent an American man of color from hearing his talk unless he listened from the kitchen where he cooked or as he served as a waiter at the tables! This is not to suggest that either the speaker or the listeners were insincere on this occasion, it is to point out how easy it is to escape particularities in generalities.

Race is Irrelevant in "Human" Relationships.

It is my belief that any ultimate solution of the race problem will be one that counts race or color as totally irrelevant in human relations and I trust as we continue we shall deal not simply with generalities we can all applaud but with particularities even though they be difficult and painful ones.

Of course, one will not accept this approach unless he believes Negroes and white persons alike are human beings. As one who is a Christian (or perhaps more accurately, attempts to be) I think we must begin with this conviction, -- Negroes and whites, each and all are children of the One God, each and all are made in God's image, each and all more valuable than anything else in God's creation, each and all fallible and imperfect but redeemable, each and all made to love not only God but one another.

The Relationship of Justice - "The Right to Have."

Believing this, let us proceed to ask what a "human" relationship ought to be. The relationship of justice is a good starting point. Surely every human being has a right to justice and an obligation to give justice in his relationships with other human beings. Dr. Kyle Haselden, in a book "The

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Racial Problem in Christian Perspective" has a chapter entitled "The Right to Have" in which is this quotation from Emil Brunner, "The sphere of justice embraces all that 'belongs,' all that is a man's due, all that he has a right to." And Dr. Haselden adds, "Justice is the relationship that ought to exist between person and person or between persons regarding a 'something,' a thing or a condition."

What then are the "things" or "conditions" we human beings have a right to? The list is long and we know them well, -- schools, property, jobs and promotions, eating places, swimming pools -- these and more are the things any human being ought to have, not because he is white nor because he is black, but because he is human. Then there are intangible things like justice in the courts and respect.

When we ask just how "human" are the relationships between our races we can with some truthfulness say they are not as bad here as elsewhere in the South. We might. With something like the words of the Pharisee we might pray, "O Lord, we thank thee that we are not like other Southern States." The notion is abroad that this was wrong for the Pharisee to pray this way, to be thankful he wasn't as bad as someone else. Wrong or not, I am thankful I can try to be a human being in North Carolina instead of Mississippi. I am thankful our governor will ask for the hiring and promotion of persons on a "human" basis and not a racial basis. I am thankful the University of North Carolina has been more "human" in its reception of Negro students than has the University of Mississippi. But the danger is (and that was the trouble with the Pharisee) our relatively better "human" relationships may make us over-estimate our goodness and thus make us complacent and become proud. The danger is having said with truthfulness and genuineness "O Lord, we thank thee we are not like Mississippi", we will not have the insight and grace to further say, "O Lord, we have fallen far short of what we ought to be and do in "human relationships of justice."

As a matter of fact, we do over-estimate our goodness in offering education on a "human" rather than "racial" consideration. With only 16 school districts out of 173 desegregated, with only 900 children out of 340,000 (.265 percent) Negro children in desegregated schools we stand third from the bottom of all Southern states which have any desegregation at all! Virginia has nearly twice as large a percent of her Negro children in this "human" relationship than North Carolina. Here we North Carolinians have had more peace but less progress than Virginia. It is not our "humanity" but our "race" that determines where we can buy homes, rent rooms or purchase meals. Even in publicly-owned facilities like swimming pools and parks, where we are taxed on the basis of humanity (and income), usage is determined not by one's being a member of the human race but by being a Negro or a foreign visitor. We have much improved in granting people the right to be employed and promoted on a "human" rather than "racial" basis. It is my belief that there will soon exist, if they do not now exist, more employers willing to employ without regard to race than there exist Negroes qualified to apply for them as "human beings" along with all others. This area is rapidly becoming "humanized."

How fares North Carolina in the more intangible realms, the right to vote and the right to justice? I believe we may have some few places where subtle and perhaps illegal means are used to cut off a person from this right by reason of race. Such inhumanity must be ferreted out and remedied but there is more freedom here than is used.

Just decisions in our courts as regards guilt or innocence and fair penalties for guilt are, I believe, more often made in our State than many other Southern states. Even so, it seems more difficult to get a conviction of prominent white people for crimes against less prominent Negroes than it is to get the conviction of less prominent Negroes for crimes against white people. There is reason to believe that here in Greensboro you hold a judge in such high respect you have had him speak to you in the Institute of Human Relations. In my own town of Chapel Hill we have a judge who makes his decisions seeing only human beings before him and not Negro or white human beings.

There is one respect in which our local court (I do not know about yours) fails human beings in our town, and that is in the right to have respect. A young Negro, thirty years of age, is sometimes addressed or spoken to as "boy." He is often, perhaps always, addressed by his first name, "Sam," "John" or whatever it may be. I have heard elderly Negro women addressed as "Susie," or "Mamie" or whatever their first name might be. I have never heard a white human being, a woman, sixty years of ages addressed other than "Mrs." I have often longed for a young Negro, thirty years of age, to say, "Sir, I may have done wrong, but I am thirty years old. I am a man, not a boy." How I have wished some elderly Negro woman would upon being called "Susie" by judge or lawyer, say, "Sir, I may have done wrong, but I am old enough to be your mother. My name is Mrs. Susie Smith." I must admit, however, I do not know if I would have that courage in a similar situation.

One further fact should be pointed out as we consider the right of human beings to have. Most of the advancement made in North Carolina has come not by a willing and glad bestowal of these rights but by hard-won and expensive law suits, by picketing and boycotting. It is also important to point out that the winning of this progress was by "human beings" and not simply by "Negro human beings."

Is it not plain when we look not at other states and what they have failed to do but at what a good "human relationship" ought to be, we North Carolinians have more reason to be penitent and humble than proud, dedicated and courageous than satisfied?

Christians unite with Jews in accepting the command of God as passed to us through the prophet Amos: "Let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." As justifiedly thankful as we may be, our present task is to let the trickle of justice that is ours become a mighty stream.

Human Beings Have "The Right To Belong."

In Dr. Haselden's book, previously referred to, there is a chapter with the title "The Right To Belong." This, too, is a right human beings should both enjoy and grant. The Bible says, "For God hath made of one blood all nations on the face of the earth" and "God is no respecter of persons." From our Judaic-Christian faith we have been taught to speak of "one family under God" or "the family of mankind." If these be more than slogans they mean that human beings "belong to one another." Dr. Haselden points out that it is discrimination that denies "the right to have", but it is segregation that denies the "right to belong." "Segregation," he writes, "breaks the union of those who ought to be united."

It is at this point Christianity has failed us most, or better put,

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Christians have failed Christianity most. It is our religion which should have stirred our consciences to see that human beings, colored ones as well as white ones should be granted the "right to have." But had it done that, it would have not been enough. Not only do things belong to people, but people belong to people. So we go to the heart of the matter when we seek not simply better relationships between the races so that Negroes can have more things and better conditions , but to change men's minds and move their hearts so that in the "belongingness" of life we see not "Negro human beings" nor "white human beings" but simply "human beings."

Look at the great change that would take place if "the right to belong" were seen as a "human" and not a "racial" relationship. Descendants of Crispus Attucks, the human being who happened to be black and was killed in the Boston Massacre in 1770 would be invited to "belong" to the Sons or Daughters of the American Revolution. Negro veterans of wars would as "human beings" be invited to join the American Legion. Barbers, restauranteurs, merchants, not Negroes or whites, would belong to the Merchants Association.* Negro doctors would be seen first of all as "human" and not "Negro" and enjoy all the privileges and pleasures of the North Carolina Medical Association; young matrons, with color counted as irrelevant, would be asked to join the Junior Service League. Negro human beings instead of being gingerly welcomed and seated at worship in "white" churches would be gladly received and eagerly sought for as members, not because they were Negroes (as sometimes happens) but because they are human. What a revolution would take place in our "belongingness" if we could get good human relations.

Let us go further and insist that the right to belong applies not only to groups, but to more personal relationships. The oft-skirted and much feared topic of inter-racial marriage needs to be faced honestly in this perspective. It is indeed a sensitive and touchy subject, but it is so only because we do not see each other as human beings, children of the One God, all members of the family of God. The highest and most sacred relationship one human being can have with another is that of marriage which is both first and last a union of love. This ought not be denied by law nor frowned upon by neighbors when human beings with different skin colors are concerned. Because of the long and tragic segregation of the races we have grown fearful of facing the fact that it is inhuman to deny this personal right to belong to one another across racial lines.

No doubt, inter-racial marriages face legal and sociological problems. But two human beings, one white and one black, break only human laws and not God's laws when they marry. Though men may fear, deplore and condemn such marriages, I am convinced they are blessed in the sight of God. Now this is not to advocate the solution of the race problem by racial inter-marriages. Marriages formed to solve problems are seldom successful, whether the problem be the race problem, alcoholism or anything else. Marriage is for love not for reformation. The race problem will not be solved by racial intermarriages but the "right to belong" in this highest and most sacred relationship man knows will be a blessed part of the solution. If only we could see one another as "human beings" rather than "racial beings", all the necessity for pussyfooting, hush-hushing, deploring and fearing of this human relationship would cease.

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* Since delivering this talk at least one Junior Chamber of Commerce has under consideration the change of its constitution whereby membership will be no longer on a racial basis.)

Lest these last remarks drive out of your minds the full import of what I have tried to say, let me summarize. We do have a tremendous racial problem in our country and in North Carolina. Its ultimate and best solution will not be by "improving race relations," but by establishing good "human relationships" wherein race is a totally irrelevant factor. If we can see each other as fellow human beings we might then grant the right to have and the right to belong each to the other.

We will not solve all the problems of the world but we will take care of the race problem.

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Kyle Haselden, "The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective"
Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959

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ADDRESS OF

# Governor Bert Combs

at

## Chicago Conference for Brotherhood

PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO

FEBRUARY 24, 1963

Gov. Bert T. Combs displays the Brotherhood Award presented to him by the Chicago Conference for Brotherhood on the evening he addressed the group. The Governor was honored for the creation of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, sponsorship of governors' conferences on human rights, and enactment of a merit system for State employees forbidding racial discrimination. At left is Dr. Charles D. Proctor, chairman of the Chicago group and at right is Frank Stanley, Sr., publisher of the Louisville Defender, who introduced Combs at the Conference meeting.

TO MAKE BROTHERHOOD WEEK more than a mere festive occasion, we must be guided by the tenets which make up Christian brotherhood. It is not sufficient merely to talk about tolerance and charity and brotherhood. Unless we live by those principles, our voices are no more than sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

Equality and cooperation are the lamps of civilization. As civilized people, then, we Americans must accept the challenge and lead the way by lighting the torch of freedom for oppressed people, both at home and all over the world, so that every human being will glisten with a new light glowing from a living brotherhood of individual merit and private initiative. Only in this manner will our nation become equipped to take its rightful place in the vanguard of the present world liberation movement. And only in this manner can America truly become a contributing part of the world's great revolutionary and liberating forces which are more powerful than atomic fission.

The whole universe knows first-hand that while America attempts to provide food, comfort and protection for most of the distant peoples of the world, it still refuses to provide here at home the most vital of all constitutional rights -- first-class citizenship for everyone. But the time has come when the opponents of decency and right must recognize the inevitability of change. We stand at the dawn of a new day, on a new path toward full citizenship and personal dignity. At the beginning of our great nation, Americans assumed a mortgage on their freedom -- but after almost two centuries, we are in the throes of bankruptcy because we are behind in our payments to the United States Constitution.

World Wars I and II were interest installments. The Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, and all of America's great achievements, scientifically and technologically, were but interest payments. But we are still behind on the principal . . . in spite of our tremendous bank account of friendly harmony without conformity. It is now time for everybody, every state to pay up.

And the most delinquent of all are those who still persist in opposing law and order. No longer can America carry the total burden of freedom without reforming or dispossessing those delinquents. No longer can we be silent about those who would control our house and yet not contribute to its upkeep.

Government, be it at the national level or the state level, should heed the admonition of Washington, who said, "Happily, the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

In this day and time, freedom has become more than an academic word. It is no longer sufficient merely to talk and write of the ingredients of the good life and the dignity of man. In this grave hour in which you and I are privileged to live, fraught paradoxically with great peril and great promise, the value and durability of full citizenship rights are to be found more in our actions than our words, in our collective efforts and individual beliefs.

Freedom is many things to many people. However, in the final analysis, it is a matter of choice. It is a choice between right and wrong, between good and evil, doing or not doing, and in going forward or backward. We make progress in proportion to our ability to make the right choices in the marketplace of life.

A world unfinished and broken must be made whole. If American freedom is to live, then all segregation must die. There is no more important or basic advance that our country needs than complete liberation of all of our citizens, and the granting of their privilege "of freedom to be free."

Tonight, I particularly salute my Negro fellow citizens, both in my own state and across the nation on this the Centennial of their Emancipation from slavery. As Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the birth state of the Great Emancipator, I believe that while President Lincoln began a noble task 100 years ago, it still remains unfinished.

Our state and nation will never realize their full potential until every man is privileged to enjoy all the great privileges of democracy. It is time now for those of us in states like Kentucky, as well as all others, to supply modern extensions to the Emancipation Proclamation.

In the words of Lincoln, "The dogmas of the quiet past are not sufficient for these troublesome times. As our case is new, so must we think anew."

We must see to it that there are no second-class citizens in America. We must not only do this because it is morally right, but we must subdue all forces that would destroy by violence and master by fear the mind, souls, and bodies of the underprivileged. I submit that America and every one of our fifty states is richer today for the advancement the Negro has won. And our society is more mature for what it has had to learn in granting him, all too slowly, his freedom. But yet the task ahead poses significant challenges.

As we embark upon the second century following the Emancipation, we observe that there are more forces working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history. And we of the South are happy to report that there are fewer resistant states than ever before, with the number dwindling to only a few. Much of the credit for this progress must go to the Negro himself, because he has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to work with his white neighbors for their common benefit, in addition to the ability to rise from slavery and become an educated contributor to himself and the community.

The Negro must be given credit for having met the patriotic demands made upon him by his nation, all of which have required equal sacrifice in time of war and emergency, while at the same time the Negro was receiving unequal rewards.

In the South, our progress is slow and often painful, but it is steady and appears to be inevitable. But the problem of segregation is not limited to the South alone. For, indeed, the problem of racial segregation which pits the Negro at the bottom of everything is a national, not a sectional, one. For there is no northern city without

its tensions and shame. This does not excuse the South, but rather points up the fact that nowhere in our nation is the Negro yet truly free. In the North, the issue is not one of resistance to law. It is de facto rather than de jure, and it is in the North that the last battle for equal rights may be fought in America. I refer to the hidden agreements that bar the minority citizen from housing outside the ghetto; the employment practices that often hold him in menial status, regardless of his capabilities; and the over-burdened neighborhood schools which deprive him of an adequate education, despite his ambition -- these are the subtle forms of denial, the most difficult to eliminate.

The American Negro, while he seeks and has largely found identification with the main stream of American life, has suffered more than any other Americans from occupational and technological dislocations. And yet it is our nation that is the greatest sufferer, because without the spirit of brotherhood there can be no real solution of our economic, social or personal difficulties.

Most of society's ills can be remedied only by the acceptance of responsibility and mutual cooperation to solve common problems. It is important in seeking to effect a living brotherhood of men that we begin by planting the seed wherever we are all over the nation. Because, as you and I know, there are always those among us who pay only lip service to civil rights, tolerance and brotherhood.

Brotherhood needs constant working-at all over America. There is much the Negro can do for himself. In Kentucky, for instance, in the 1960 presidential election, only 59 per cent of the citizens of voting age cast a vote. The average for the United States was 64 per cent. Illinois did remarkably well, comparatively, with 76 per cent of the voting-age residents casting their ballot.

But that is not the whole picture.

A large percentage of our citizens of voting age do not take the trouble to register. It is unfortunately true that in some communities, where Negroes are unhampered by voting restrictions, they do not take full advantage of the privilege to vote. In Louisville, for example, 44 per cent of the white population was registered to vote last fall, but only 28.6 per cent of the Negro population was registered.

We sometimes get the erroneous impression that only groups and organizations can correct social injustice. We forget that one dedicated person can sometimes move a mountain. William Jennings Bryan said, "The humblest citizen of all the land when clad in the armor of righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of error."

I do not mean that we as individuals will always succeed in these endeavors, but I suggest this thought. It is better to be an outstanding failure than a mediocre do-nothing. In large part, it is the character of the effort, the trying itself, that determines the greatness of the individual. People who do not try anything difficult are the real failures. Life for them is the roll call of what might have been -- a parade of untried opportunities.

We are more likely to succeed in our efforts to correct injustices if we deal from strength rather than from weakness. Americans, more than most people, respect strength. The American Negro can move faster toward economic and social equality by making himself strong at his polling place.

While President Lincoln by proclamation released the Negro from civil bondage, he left a great responsibility to the Americans who followed him. That responsibility -- resting upon all of us -- is to free ourselves of the bonds of prejudice which deny to the Negro his full citizenship rights.

Let us always remember that democracy is never static. It is a constantly moving force that challenges us continuously to reach new and higher levels of achievement each day. There are many ways to meet the challenge of leadership in interracial matters. But I suggest quite simply that we begin anew in our own hearts and minds to strive to treat every man as an individual and never judge anyone in a general sense. Let us become more thoroughly aware of the very patterns of prejudice that yet exist on our jobs, in public accommodation, churches, in our neighborhood and nation, and resolve to use our every influence to eradicate them.

Let us be willing to state intelligently and firmly at all times our own personal opposition to bigotry in all of its varied forms. Let us never acquiesce in discrimination. Let each of us in this audience tonight make the choice for complete freedom, not only for ourselves, but also for our fellow citizens and human brothers all over the world. Making this choice will become easier if we realize that as the spiritual inheritors of all of civilization's past, we are not only the trustees of its glorious present, but we are the architects for its boundless future.

As the late Elmer Davis once said, "Civilization is not what our ancestors have built, but our capacity to build intellectually and spiritually, as well as architecturally." Therefore, the solution to the problems of brotherhood rests squarely on our own shoulders and our willingness to work full-time in quest of human dignity.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
# COMMERCE
Luther H. Hodges, Secretary Washington 25, D. C.

Office of the Secretary

R & RR

For A.M. Release on Tuesday, February 26, 1963

Address by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges Prepared For Delivery at Second Annual Brotherhood Award Dinner, Memphis Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Chisca Hotel, Memphis, Tenn., 8:30 P.M. Monday, February 25, 1963.

It is a pleasure to join with you tonight in thanking Edward Meeman for his many outstanding contributions to the cause of human brotherhood.

You have already heard many things about his constructive leadership as editor of the Press Scimitar and about his dedicated community service activities which have contributed so much to the social and economic progress of this Mid-South region and to the very substantial progress you have made here in Memphis in the crucial area of better human relations.

I want to compliment the people of Memphis for the highly constructive approach they have taken on this difficult problem of race relations. You have demonstrated how much can be accomplished in a relatively short time when responsible leaders of both races work together in good faith to serve the best interests of all of the citizens of the community.

As a Southerner, I congratulate you on the honorable beginning you have made toward meaningful brotherhood in a highly sensitive area of human relations.

Tennessee has enjoyed progressive leadership in many areas of national policy in the past. An example is Mr. Meeman's strong, life-long commitment to the cause of freer trade among the nations of the world--a cause which, I feel is closely related to our national goal of an expanding international brotherhood of free men.

Mr. Meeman was one of the most vigorous supporters of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962--that bold new instrument of the liberal trade philosophy of another great Tennesseean, Cordell Hull, who fashioned the first reciprocal trade act in 1934.

He is also a valued member of the Memphis Regional Export Expansion Council, which is helping the Department of Commerce in its national effort to expand the sale of U. S. products abroad. I am looking forward to meeting with him and with the other members of this council at breakfast tomorrow to discuss ways of putting more steam behind this vital effort.

It is essential that we increase our exports from the Mid-South and from every other part of our nation. We must sell more abroad to strengthen our domestic economic growth. But most importantly, we must increase our export earnings to offset the continuing deficit in our balance of international payments--which is serious indeed.

Since 1957 our total payments to other countries have exceeded our receipts by several billions of dollars a year. In 1960 we were running in the red in our international accounts to the tune of nearly $4 billion a year. The result has been a heavy drain on our gold reserves and a massive build-up of dollar claims on our gold by foreign banks, individuals, and governments.

In two years, through a variety of measures, we have cut this annual deficit nearly in half--to $2.2 billion in 1962. But this reduced deficit is still much too much--so far as I am concerned, $2.2 billion too much. To maintain our financial position in the world--and maintain our position of political leadership in the free world--we must bring our international accounts into balance.

Our balance of payments deficits result largely from our country's heavy moral commitment to the ideal of a world brotherhood of freedom, prosperity, and peace--an ideal implicit in our great Judaic-Christian religious heritage.

Over the years we have continued to enjoy a substantial surplus of exports over imports in our merchandise trade with other nations. But these export earnings have been more than offset by our overseas military expenditures to help safeguard freedom, by our foreign aid expenditures, and by our U. S. private investment in the economic development of other countries.

All of these expenditures, we presently feel, are indispensable to the creation of the kind of world in which free men can live together as brothers with a decent standard of living for all. We are minimizing the dollar outflows through various means, but we cannot in wisdom eliminate them altogether.

The only practical solution is to increase our exports. If our exports were at least 10 percent larger than they are, we would go a long way toward eliminating the annual deficit in our international accounts.

But the required $2 billion or more increase in our exports will not be achieved easily. Competition in world markets is getting keener. And there has been a slowdown in the rate of economic growth in Europe, our largest regional market, so there is a slackening of European demand for imports from the U.S., and we have the uncertainty caused by General De Gaulle's outbursts.

We have to run just to stand still on our export surplus. Last year our sales abroad totaled nearly $21 billion--up about $1 billion from 1961. But our surplus of exports over imports was down about $1 billion because our imports increased even more rapidly as a result of the expansion of our domestic economy.

Nevertheless, there is plenty of room for improvement in our export performance. The United States exports only about 4 percent of its total production of goods. Yet our chief world trade competitors, the six countries of the European Economic Community--the Common Market countries--export 12 percent of their total production.

More American companies must get into the export field, and all of our exporters must work on these export markets as aggressively and as imaginatively as they sell in our domestic market.

To help our exporters and potential exporters, the Department of Commerce has developed an extensive program of trade missions, trade centers, trade fair exhibitions, and specialized export services designed to bring American sellers and foreign purchasers together. You can find out about all of these export services through our Commerce Department Field Office here in Memphis.

The great thrust of this export expansion drive must come from private business and private initiative, but the Department of Commerce stands ready to do everything it can to help U. S. companies enter the export market and succeed in that market.

The Trade Expansion Act, adopted overwhelmingly by the Congress, is designed to open broader markets for U. S. goods, both in Western Europe and in the other countries of the world that account for about two thirds of our total exports. But it can do much more than this; it can help to bind the free nations closer together through expanding, mutually profitable, international trade.

I have always believed that trade among friendly nations promotes greater understanding and strong ties of mutual interest among the peoples of these nations. I feel this even more strongly today when trade and understanding are vital to our efforts to create a prosperous, dynamic, international economic community.

Such a community is essential. It is essential that we have an international atmosphere of increasingly free trade and investment so that enterprising men everywhere will be able to search out new economic opportunities and develop them wherever they may exist. We must have an international community which recognizes both the value and dignity of the individual and the constructive power of individual enterprise.

I am certain we cannot find lasting peace and prosperity in a world which throws up barriers to enterprise in trade or investment. We cannot create a strong community of interests if nations or regional blocs become self-centered and adopt policies of "beggar thy neighbor."

I am confident, therefore, that, despite such incidents as General De Gaulle's recent dash of cold water on the prospects for an outward-looking European Economic Community, the postwar trend toward more liberal trade policies in the world will continue.

History requires that Europe look beyond its borders and join with the United States in shaping a viable, prosperous world community of free peoples.

This trend toward closer cooperation and more meaningful brotherhood in the world must be matched by a keener awareness of our responsibilities to our fellow men at home.

That great Southerner, my fellow North Carolinian, Clarence H. Poe, pointed out more than 50 years ago that "the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man."

"'Every man whose earning power is below par,' he said, 'is a burden on the community; he drags down the whole level of life, and every other man in the community is poorer by reason of his inefficiency, whether he be white man or Negro . . . .'

"This wise observation is as pertinent today as it was when it was made in 1910. It reminds us that what is done to the least of these, our brethren, is a matter of concern to all of us--as practical men as well as humanitarians.

"Let me cite a few examples of how these shortfalls in earning power and economic opportunity affect our communities, our national economy, and even our capacity to compete in markets of the world.

"More than four million of our fellow Americans are currently unemployed for a variety of reasons. A prime reason is our slow rate of economic growth and the under-utilization of our industrial capacity. But there are other causes of unemployment that are just as serious, and some of them may be even more difficult to remedy.

"Last year, young people under 25 accounted for more than one third of ou total unemployment, although they represent only one fifth of our total labor force. Many of these young people are being frustrated by the slow growth in the number of available jobs. But many thousands of them are looking for work without success because they lack adequate education and marketable skills. . . .

Hundreds of thousands of young men and women drop out of school each year before they finish high school. It is estimated that there will be 7-1/2 million such drop-outs during the current decade.

Yet surveys show that the unemployment rate for young people who fail to complete their high school training is twice the rate for high school graduates.

In our present labor force, more than three million workers have not even completed the fifth grade. And among unskilled laborers the rate of unemployment is more than twice the rate for the labor force as a whole.

"The shortfall in earning power among Negro workers is especially large--due both to inadequate education and to the pressures which tend to confine nonwhites to unskilled and low skilled occupations.

"On the average, nearly a million nonwhite workers were without jobs last year. And, again, the rate of unemployment for nonwhite workers was more than twice that for white workers. . . .

Together, these figures describe a serious unemployment problem which will not readily yield to our efforts to step up our national rate of economic growth.

If we achieve our national goal of a full employment economy, civilian employment will rise from about 67 million to more than 80 million in 1970. But there will be no increase at all in jobs for unskilled laborers, as we continue to mechanize and automate!

Stepping up production and our rate of growth will not provide jobs for those who lack useful skills or for those who are barred by custom or prejudice from employment for which they may be fitted.

"Instead of benefiting as a nation from the energies and innate abilities of these potential workers, we will have to bear the social and economic costs of their idleness, their frustration, and in many cases their bitterness and hostility to their communities and everyone around them.

"To avoid this social alienation and this waste of valuable human resources, we must step up our efforts to improve our educational system and, equally important, to strengthen the motivations for self improvement.

"This is a challenge to all of us, as private individuals, as businessmen, as public officials, as people who care about their fellow men and women. . . ."

Our economy falls short of its potential when earning power and consumer buying power are inadequate to maintain a higher rate of growth.

Our economic efficiency and our ability to compete in world markets are threatened when a slack economy causes labor to strive to obtain full employment by drastically restricting the normal hours of work, or when it causes business to seek through higher prices full capacity profits on less than capacity production.

Even full employment itself can lower our productivity if we obtain that full employment by adding unskilled and inefficient workers to our payrolls and production lines.

The development of our human resources is, thus, a matter of concern to each of us. And in view of our domestic and international responsibilities, and our world competition, it is a matter of pressing national interest.

Our most urgent domestic economic business is, of course, the need to lighten the heavy Federal tax burden which is depressing our rate of economic growth.

The President's tax program includes reductions of corporate income taxes to provide both the incentive and the means for greater business investment to create additional jobs. But business profits after taxes could be at least 15 percent higher today if consumption and investment demand were adequate to employ our existing work force and our idle productive facilities.

For this reason, the initial emphasis in the President's three-stage program of tax reduction and reform is on reductions in the excessive individual income tax rates that were instituted in wartime to restrict consumer spending.

Our economists estimate that each $1 put into private consumption as a result of a tax cut will generate $2 to $2.50 of increased production of goods and services. This means, for example, that a $5 billion tax cut, when this "multiplier" effect has time to exert itself fully, would increase our gross national product by $10 to $12 billion a year.

This will help to bring down the rate of unemployment by creating new jobs for those whose unemployment is due, not to lack of marketable skills, but to inadequate consumer demand. Further lowering of our jobless rate will depend heavily upon our ability to upgrade our present labor force and to do a better job of preparing the more than one million new workers entering the labor force each year.

To do this, we must improve our public schools and stimulate our students to develop their abilities to the fullest.

We must expand our community junior colleges and our special facilities for vocational and technical training.

We must also expand our senior colleges and universities. Our ablest young people also must be better prepared to deal with the complex problems of this technological age.

We must improve and expand our industry training programs and our public manpower development programs. Workers on the job must be upgraded and there must be adequate retraining programs for those whose skills are outmoded by automation and structural changes in our economy.

And we must strive unceasingly to remove those barriers in every industry and every community which deny Americans the opportunity to obtain the best educations and the best jobs of which they are capable.

To further these efforts, the President has proposed a comprehensive program of Federal assistance for education and vocational training. This program emphasizes the special areas of need--the expansion of our community college programs, for example, and the improvement of teacher training and teaching research, the expansion of vocational education, the improvement of our public libraries, and the expansion of our adult education and adult literacy programs.

But the greatest responsibility for doing all of these things falls upon our States and our local communities. The development of our human resources is a matter of national concern, but the obligation to see that this development takes place rests upon each of us in his capacity as a citizen of a community and a State, as well as a citizen of these United States.

"This challenge to us as Southerners is especially great. We live in a region that has enormous natural and human resources. But we are not realizing the full benefits of these resources for ourselves or for the nation.

"We have made great economic progress in the South in the last few decades. This is reflected in the rapid increase in Southern per capita incomes.

"Since 1929, when it was only half the national average, per capita income in the South has increased by almost 400 percent. This compares with a 200 percent increase for the nation as a whole.

"But we cannot let this dramatic progress blind us to the fact that per capita income in the South is still only 75 percent of the national average.

"Today, our national economy is operating at about $35 billion below capacity. Our consumer demand and investment demand are this much below what is necessary for full utilization of our available manpower and productive facilities.

"Yet, if per capita income in the South were raised to the level of the rest of the nation, this would generate enough additional spending and investment to restore this country to full employment.

//The whole country suffers when any part lags in the development of its natural resources, in the education of its youth, or in the earning power of its people.

//The South has made substantial progress in its agriculture. The region, you know, has more cropland than all of the rest of the nation. But we are still hampered by generations of inadequate conservation which permitted the depletion of our soils. Southern farmers have had to pay more than half of the nation's fertilizer bill to overcome these deficiencies, and they have had to do it out of about one quarter of our total national farm income.

//The South has about three quarters of the nation's commercial forest land, and we have made striking progress in developing this great resource. But we have to overcome generations of chronic overcutting and inadequate fire protection and restocking which reduced our total timber stand to less than one third of the national total.

//Southern industrial progress in recent years has been a source of justifiable pride for us all. The trend of modern technology is running in the South's direction--emphasizing wood pulp, petrochemicals, petroleum, and other Southern products as basic industrial raw materials.

//The South has all of the nation's reserves of natural sulfur and bauxite. It has 65 percent of the nation's petroleum; 75 percent of its natural gas, phosphate, and titanium; half of the nation's clay and coal; and it ranks very high in the rare-earth metals that are so important in this space age.

//Yet, value added per worker in manufacturing in the South lags behind the value added per worker in the nation as a whole. And this shows up in the comparable lag in incomes of Southern families headed by a year-round, full-time worker.

//This lag underscores the vital importance of improving the education and technical skills of our people--to raise their productivity and their earning power, and consequently the level of per capita income in the South.

//We have made great progress in our public schools. But we can and we must do more. We have further to go than other parts of the country to lift the educational level of our people to the standards imposed by a modern technological society.

//The latest Census figures show that the median number of years of schooling completed by Southerners is a full year below the national average and more than two years below the level of the Western States. Our school expenditures are only 71 percent of the national average--$265 per pupil, compared with $375 for the nation as a whole.

//We must invest more in education to overcome our deficiencies in classroom space, in teachers' salaries, and in teaching equipment--to improve the quality as well as the quantity of our educational effort.

//We also must be concerned about the quality of the employment opportunities we make available to the young people we educate at such great cost.

//I want to be very frank about this last point:

"We cannot continue to waste the talents of our Negro citizens if we ever hope to raise the South to its full economic potential.

"We cannot afford to employ in menial jobs educated Negro men and women who are qualified for better jobs.

"We cannot let the talents of a Negro engineer be wasted in sweeping floors, in sorting mail, or in digging ditches. We cannot use trained stenographers as maids. We cannot make trained electricians rake yards, or use as construction laborers men who have the training to be draftsmen.

"One of the reasons our per capita income is so low is the widespread underemployment of Negroes in our labor force. Less than half of our Negro families are headed by persons with full-time, year, year-round jobs.

"Too many Negro men and women are confined to jobs which produce little for themselves or for those who employ them--to jobs which in other parts of the country have been eliminated by machines, with a resulting rise in the average productivity and average incomes of the people in those areas.

"The right to seek a job in keeping with one's ability--and have a reasonable prospect of finding such a job--is fundamental to my concept of freedom and equality of opportunity in a free enterprise economy and a free society.

"For the South, this matter of better job opportunities for our Negro citizens is an economic necessity, as well as a duty imposed by our sense of fairness and right.

"With constructive local leadership such as you have been showing here in Memphis and with growing public awareness of the importance of developing our region's human resources to the fullest, we can make great progress in this area of better job opportunities in the next few years.

"The South has a great opportunity to demonstrate to the nation and to the world both its capacity for orderly change and the extent of its faith in its future.

"Those of us who know the South and love the South and its people cannot doubt that this region has a great destiny to lead both in our national economic growth and in the development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood.

"Challenging opportunities produce growth, and I am confident that the South has only begun its growth to greatness in our times."

~~Thank you, and my best wishes to you all.~~

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Commentary
Feb. 1963

R + A R

# MY NEGRO PROBLEM—AND OURS

*NORMAN PODHORETZ*

*If we—and . . . I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively conscious blacks, who must, like lovers, insist on, or create, the consciousness of the others—do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world.*

—James Baldwin

TWO IDEAS puzzled me deeply as a child growing up in Brooklyn during the 1930's in what today would be called an integrated neighborhood. One of them was that all Jews were rich; the other was that all Negroes were persecuted. These ideas had appeared in print; therefore they must be true. My own experience and the evidence of my senses told me they were not true, but that only confirmed what a day-dreaming boy in the provinces—for the lower-class neighborhoods of New York belong as surely to the provinces as any rural town in North Dakota—discovers very early: *his* experience is unreal and the evidence of his senses is not to be trusted. Yet even a boy with a head full of fantasies incongruously synthesized out of Hollywood movies and English novels cannot altogether deny the reality of his own experience—especially when there is so much deprivation in that experience. Nor can he altogether gainsay the evidence of his own senses—especially such evidence of the senses as comes from being repeatedly beaten up, robbed, and in general hated, terrorized, and humiliated.

And so for a long time I was puzzled to think that Jews were supposed to be rich when the only Jews I knew were poor, and that Negroes were supposed to be persecuted when it was the Negroes who were doing the only persecuting I knew about—and doing it, moreover, to *me*. During the early years of the war, when my older sister joined a left-wing youth organization, I remember my astonishment at hearing her passionately denounce my father for thinking that Jews were worse off than Negroes. To me, at the age of twelve, it seemed very clear that Negroes were better off than Jews—indeed, than *all* whites. A city boy's world is contained within three or four square blocks, and in my world it was the whites, the Italians and Jews, who feared the Negroes, not the other way around. The Negroes were tougher than we were, more ruthless, and on the whole they were better athletes. What could it mean, then, to say that they were badly off and that we were more fortunate? Yet my sister's opinions, like print, were sacred, and when she told me about exploitation and economic forces I believed her. I believed her, but I was still afraid of Negroes. And I still hated them with all my heart.

It had not always been so—that much I can recall from early childhood. When did it start, this fear and this hatred? There was a kindergarten in the local public school, and given the character of the

NORMAN PODHORETZ is Editor of COMMENTARY. The views he expresses in this article are strictly his own and are not to be identified either with the magazine or the sponsoring organization.

neighborhood, at least half of the children in my class must have been Negroes. Yet I have no memory of being aware of color differences at that age, and I know from observing my own children that they attribute no significance to such differences even when they begin noticing them. I think there was a day—first grade? second grade?—when my best friend Carl hit me on the way home from school and announced that he wouldn't play with me any more because I had killed Jesus. When I ran home to my mother crying for an explanation, she told me not to pay any attention to such foolishness, and then in Yiddish she cursed the *goyim* and the *schwartzes,* the *schwartzes* and the *goyim.* Carl, it turned out, was a *schwartze,* and so was added a third to the categories into which people were mysteriously divided.

SOMETIMES I wonder whether this is a true memory at all. It is blazingly vivid, but perhaps it never happened: can anyone really remember back to the age of six? There is no uncertainty in my mind, however, about the years that followed. Carl and I hardly ever spoke, though we met in school every day up through the eighth or ninth grade. There would be embarrassed moments of catching his eye or of his catching mine—for whatever it was that had attracted us to one another as very small children remained alive in spite of the fantastic barrier of hostility that had grown up between us, suddenly and out of nowhere. Nevertheless, friendship would have been impossible, and even if it had been possible, it would have been unthinkable. About that, there was nothing anyone could do by the time we were eight years old.

*Item:* The orphanage across the street is torn down, a city housing project begins to rise in its place, and on the marvelous vacant lot next to the old orphanage they are building a playground. Much excitement and anticipation as Opening Day draws near. Mayor LaGuardia himself comes to dedicate this great gesture of public benevolence. He speaks of neighborliness and borrowing cups of sugar, and of the playground he says that children of all races, colors, and creeds will learn to live together in harmony. A week later, some of us are swatting flies on the playground's inadequate little ball field. A gang of Negro kids, pretty much our own age, enter from the other side and order us out of the park. We refuse, proudly and indignantly, with superb masculine fervor. There is a fight, they win, and we retreat, half whimpering, half with bravado. My first nauseating experience of cowardice. And my first appalled realization that there are people in the world who do not seem to be afraid of anything, who act as though they have nothing to lose. Thereafter the playground becomes a battleground, sometimes quiet, sometimes the scene of athletic competition between Them and Us. But rocks are thrown as often as baseballs. Gradually we abandon the place and use the streets instead. The streets are safer, though we do not admit this to ourselves. We are not, after all, sissies—that most dreaded epithet of an American boyhood.

*Item:* I am standing alone in front of the building in which I live. It is late afternoon and getting dark. That day in school the teacher had asked a surly Negro boy named Quentin a question he was unable to answer. As usual I had waved my arm eagerly ("Be a good boy, get good marks, be smart, go to college, become a doctor") and, the right answer bursting from my lips, I was held up lovingly by the teacher as an example to the class. I had seen Quentin's face—a very dark, very cruel, very Oriental-looking face—harden, and there had been enough threat in his eyes to make me run all the way home for fear that he might catch me outside.

Now, standing idly in front of my own house, I see him approaching from the project accompanied by his little brother who is carrying a baseball bat and wearing a grin of malicious anticipation. As in a nightmare, I am trapped. The surround-

ings are secure and familiar, but terror is suddenly present and there is no one around to help. I am locked to the spot. I will not cry out or run away like a sissy, and I stand there, my heart wild, my throat clogged. He walks up, hurls the familiar epithet ("Hey, mo'f——r"), and to my surprise only pushes me. It is a violent push, but not a punch. A push is not as serious as a punch. Maybe I can still back out without entirely losing my dignity. Maybe I can still say, "Hey, c'mon Quentin, whaddya wanna do *that* for. I dint do nothin' to *you,*" and walk away, not too rapidly. Instead, before I can stop myself, I push him back—a token gesture—and I say, "Cut that out, I don't wanna fight, I ain't got nothin' to fight about." As I turn to walk back into the building, the corner of my eye catches the motion of the bat his little brother has handed him. I try to duck, but the bat crashes colored lights into my head.

The next thing I know, my mother and sister are standing over me, both of them hysterical. My sister—she who was later to join the "progressive" youth organization—is shouting for the police and screaming imprecations at those dirty little black bastards. They take me upstairs, the doctor comes, the police come. I tell them that the boy who did it was a stranger, that he had been trying to get money from me. They do not believe me, but I am too scared to give them Quentin's name. When I return to school a few days later, Quentin avoids my eyes. He knows that I have not squealed, and he is ashamed. I try to feel proud, but in my heart I know that it was fear of what his friends might do to me that had kept me silent, and not the code of the street.

*Item:* There is an athletic meet in which the whole of our junior high school is participating. I am in one of the seventh-grade rapid-advance classes, and "segregation" has now set in with a vengeance. In the last three or four years of the elementary school from which we have just graduated, each grade had been divided into three classes, according to "intelligence." (In the earlier grades the divisions had either been arbitrary or else unrecognized by us as having anything to do with brains.) These divisions by IQ, or however it was arranged, had resulted in a preponderance of Jews in the "1" classes and a corresponding preponderance of Negroes in the "3's," with the Italians split unevenly along the spectrum. At least a few Negroes had always made the "1's," just as there had always been a few Jewish kids among the "3's" and more among the "2's" (where Italians dominated). But the junior high's rapid-advance class of which I am now a member is overwhelmingly Jewish and entirely white—except for a shy lonely Negro girl with light skin and reddish hair.

The athletic meet takes place in a city-owned stadium far from the school. It is an important event to which a whole day is given over. The winners are to get those precious little medallions stamped with the New York City emblem that can be screwed into a belt and that prove the wearer to be a distinguished personage. I am a fast runner, and so I am assigned the position of anchor man on my class's team in the relay race. There are three other seventh-grade teams in the race, two of them all Negro, as ours is all white. One of the all-Negro teams is very tall—their anchor man waiting silently next to me on the line looks years older than I am, and I do not recognize him. He is the first to get the baton and crosses the finishing line in a walk. Our team comes in second, but a few minutes later we are declared the winners, for it has been discovered that the anchor man on the first-place team is not a member of the class. We are awarded the medallions, and the following day our home-room teacher makes a speech about how proud she is of us for being superior athletes as well as superior students. We want to believe that we deserve the praise, but we know that we could not have won even if the other class had not cheated.

That afternoon, walking home, I am waylaid and surrounded by five Negroes, among whom is the anchor man of the disqualified team. "Gimme my medal, mo'f——r," he grunts. I do not have it with me and I tell him so. "Anyway, it ain't yours," I say foolishly. He calls me a liar on both counts and pushes me up against the wall on which we sometimes play handball. "Gimme my mo'f——n' medal," he says again. I repeat that I have left it home. "Le's search the li'l mo'f——r," one of them suggests, "he prolly got it *hid* in his mo'f——n' *pants.*" My panic is now unmanageable. (How many times had I been surrounded like this and asked in soft tones, "Len' me a nickle, boy." How many times had I been called a liar for pleading poverty and pushed around, or searched, or beaten up, unless there happened to be someone in the marauding gang like Carl who liked me across that enormous divide of hatred and who would therefore say, "Aaah, c'mon, le's git someone else, *this* boy ain't got no money on 'im.") I scream at them through tears of rage and self-contempt, "Keep your f——n' filthy lousy black hands offa me! I swear I'll get the cops." This is all they need to hear, and the five of them set upon me. They bang me around, mostly in the stomach and on the arms and shoulders, and when several adults loitering near the candy store down the block notice what is going on and begin to shout, they run off and away.

I do not tell my parents about the incident. My team-mates, who have also been waylaid, each by a gang led by his opposite number from the disqualified team, have had their medallions taken from them, and they never squeal either. For days, I walk home in terror, expecting to be caught again, but nothing happens. The medallion is put away into a drawer, never to be worn by anyone.

OBVIOUSLY experiences like these have always been a common feature of childhood life in working-class and immigrant neighborhoods, and Negroes do not necessarily figure in them. Wherever, and in whatever combination, they have lived together in the cities, kids of different groups have been at war, beating up and being beaten up: micks against kikes against wops against spicks against polacks. And even relatively homogeneous areas have not been spared the warring of the young: one block against another, one gang (called in my day, in a pathetic effort at gentility, an "S.A.C.," or social-athletic club) against another. But the Negro-white conflict had—and no doubt still has—a special intensity and was conducted with a ferocity unmatched by intramural white battling.

In my own neighborhood, a good deal of animosity existed between the Italian kids (most of whose parents were immigrants from Sicily) and the Jewish kids (who came largely from East European immigrant families). Yet everyone had friends, sometimes close friends, in the other "camp," and we often visited one another's strange-smelling houses, if not for meals, then for glasses of milk, and occasionally for some special event like a wedding or a wake. If it happened that we divided into warring factions and did battle, it would invariably be half-hearted and soon patched up. Our parents, to be sure, had nothing to do with one another and were mutually suspicious and hostile. But we, the kids, who all spoke Yiddish or Italian at home, were Americans, or New Yorkers, or Brooklyn boys: we shared a culture, the culture of the street, and at least for a while this culture proved to be more powerful than the opposing cultures of the home.

Why, *why* should it have been so different as between the Negroes and us? How was it borne in upon us so early, white and black alike, that we were enemies beyond any possibility of reconciliation? Why did we hate one another so?

I suppose if I tried, I could answer those questions more or less adequately from the perspective of what I have since

learned. I could draw upon James Baldwin—what better witness is there?—to describe the sense of entrapment that poisons the soul of the Negro with hatred for the white man whom he knows to be his jailer. On the other side, if I wanted to understand how the white man comes to hate the Negro, I could call upon the psychologists who have spoken of the guilt that white Americans feel toward Negroes and that turns into hatred for lack of acknowledging itself as guilt. These are plausible answers and certainly there is truth in them. Yet when I think back upon my own experience of the Negro and his of me, I find myself troubled and puzzled, much as I was as a child when I heard that all Jews were rich and all Negroes persecuted. How could the Negroes in my neighborhood have regarded the whites across the street and around the corner as jailers? On the whole, the whites were not so poor as the Negroes, but they were quite poor enough, and the years were years of Depression. As for white hatred of the Negro, how could guilt have had anything to do with it? What share had these Italian and Jewish immigrants in the enslavement of the Negro? What share had they—downtrodden people themselves breaking their own necks to eke out a living—in the exploitation of the Negro?

No, I cannot believe that we hated each other back there in Brooklyn because they thought of us as jailers and we felt guilty toward them. But does it matter, given the fact that we all went through an unrepresentative confrontation? I think it matters profoundly, for if we managed the job of hating each other so well without benefit of the aids to hatred that are supposedly at the root of this madness everywhere else, it must mean that the madness is not yet properly understood. I am far from pretending that I understand it, but I would insist that no view of the problem will begin to approach the truth unless it can account for a case like the one I have been trying to describe. Are the elements of any such view available to us?

At least two, I would say, are. One of them is a point we frequently come upon in the work of James Baldwin, and the other is a related point always stressed by psychologists who have studied the mechanisms of prejudice. Baldwin tells us that one of the reasons Negroes hate the white man is that the white man refuses to *look* at him: the Negro knows that in white eyes all Negroes are alike; they are faceless and therefore not altogether human. The psychologists, in their turn, tell us that the white man hates the Negro because he tends to project those wild impulses that he fears in himself onto an alien group which he then punishes with his contempt. What Baldwin does *not* tell us, however, is that the principle of facelessness is a two-way street and can operate in both directions with no difficulty at all. Thus, in my neighborhood in Brooklyn, *I* was as faceless to the Negroes as they were to me, and if they hated me because I never looked at them, I must also have hated them for never looking at *me*. To the Negroes, my white skin was enough to define me as the enemy, and in a war it is only the uniform that counts and not the person.

So with the mechanism of projection that the psychologists talk about: it too works in both directions at once. There is no question that the psychologists are right about what the Negro represents symbolically to the white man. For me as a child the life lived on the other side of the playground and down the block on Ralph Avenue seemed the very embodiment of the values of the street—free, independent, reckless, brave, masculine, erotic. I put the word "erotic" last, though it is usually stressed above all others, because in fact it came last, in consciousness as in importance. What mainly counted for me about Negro kids of my own age was that they were "bad boys." There were plenty of bad boys among the whites—this was, after all, a neighborhood with a long tra-

dition of crime as a career open to aspiring talents—but the Negroes were *really* bad, bad in a way that beckoned to one, and made one feel inadequate. *We* all went home every day for a lunch of spinach-and-potatoes; *they* roamed around during lunch hour, munching on candy bars. In winter *we* had to wear itchy woolen hats and mittens and cumbersome galoshes; *they* were bare-headed and loose as they pleased. *We* rarely played hookey, or got into serious trouble in school, for all our street-corner bravado; *they* were defiant, forever staying out (to do what delicious things?), forever making disturbances in class and in the halls, forever being sent to the principal and returning uncowed. But most important of all, they were *tough;* beautifully, enviably tough, not giving a damn for anyone or anything. To hell with the teacher, the truant officer, the cop; to hell with the whole of the adult world that held *us* in its grip and that we never had the courage to rebel against except sporadically and in petty ways.

This is what I saw and envied and feared in the Negro: this is what finally made him faceless to me, though some of it, of course, was actually there. (The psychologists also tell us that the alien group which becomes the object of a projection will tend to respond by trying to live up to what is expected of them.) But what, on his side, did the Negro see in me that made me faceless to *him?* Did he envy me my lunches of spinach-and-potatoes and my itchy woolen caps and my prudent behavior in the face of authority, as I envied him his noon-time candy bars and his bare head in winter and his magnificent rebelliousness? Did those lunches and caps spell for him the prospect of power and riches in the future? Did they mean that there were possibilities open to me that were denied to him? Very likely they did. But if so, one also supposes that he feared the impulses within himself toward submission to authority no less powerfully than I feared the impulses in myself toward defiance. If I represented the jailer to him, it was not because I was oppressing him or keeping him down: it was because I symbolized for him the dangerous and probably pointless temptation toward greater repression, just as he symbolized for me the equally perilous tug toward greater freedom. I personally was to be rewarded for this repression with a new and better life in the future, but how many of my friends paid an even higher price and were given only gall in return.

WE HAVE it on the authority of James Baldwin that all Negroes hate whites. I am trying to suggest that on their side all whites—all American whites, that is—are sick in their feelings about Negroes. There are Negroes, no doubt, who would say that Baldwin is wrong, but I suspect them of being less honest than he is, just as I suspect whites of self-deception who tell me they have no special feeling toward Negroes. Special feelings about color are a contagion to which white Americans seem susceptible even when there is nothing in their background to account for the susceptibility. Thus everywhere we look today in the North, we find the curious phenomenon of white middle-class liberals with no previous personal experience of Negroes—people to whom Negroes have always been faceless in virtue rather than faceless in vice—discovering that their abstract commitment to the cause of Negro rights will not stand the test of a direct confrontation. We find such people fleeing in droves to the suburbs as the Negro population in the inner city grows; and when they stay in the city we find them sending their children to private school rather than to the "integrated" public school in the neighborhood. We find them resisting the demand that gerrymandered school districts be re-zoned for the purpose of overcoming de facto segregation; we find them judiciously considering whether the Negroes (for their own good, of course) are not perhaps pushing too hard; we find them clucking their tongues over Negro militancy; we find them speculating on the

question of whether there may not, after all, be something in the theory that the races are biologically different; we find them saying that it will take a very long time for Negroes to achieve full equality, no matter what anyone does; we find them deploring the rise of black nationalism and expressing the solemn hope that the leaders of the Negro community will discover ways of containing the impatience and incipient violence within the Negro ghettos.*

But that is by no means the whole story; there is also the phenomenon of what Kenneth Rexroth once called "crow-jimism." There are the broken-down white boys like Vivaldo Moore in Baldwin's *Another Country* who go to Harlem in search of sex or simply to brush up against something that looks like primitive vitality, and who are so often punished by the Negroes they meet for crimes that they would have been the last ever to commit and of which they themselves have been as sorry victims as any of the Negroes who take it out on them. There are the writers and intellectuals and artists who romanticize Negroes and pander to them, assuming a guilt that is not properly theirs. And there are all the white liberals who permit Negroes to blackmail them into adopting a double standard of moral judgment, and who lend themselves—again assuming the responsibility for crimes they never committed—to cunning and contemptuous exploitation by Negroes they employ or try to befriend.

AND WHAT about me? What kind of feelings do I have about Negroes today? What happened to me, from Brooklyn, who grew up fearing and envying and hating Negroes? Now that Brooklyn is behind me, do I fear them and envy them and hate them still? The answer is yes, but not in the same proportions and certainly not in the same way. I now live on the upper west side of Manhattan, where there are many Negroes and many Puerto Ricans, and there are nights when I experience the old apprehensiveness again, and there are streets that I avoid when I am walking in the dark, as there were streets that I avoided when I was a child. I find that I am not afraid of Puerto Ricans, but I cannot restrain my nervousness whenever I pass a group of Negroes standing in front of a bar or sauntering down the street. I know now, as I did not know when I was a child, that power is on my side, that the police are working for me and not for them. And knowing this I feel ashamed and guilty, like the good liberal I have grown up to be. Yet the twinges of fear and the resentment they bring and the self-contempt they arouse are not to be gainsaid.

But envy? Why envy? And hatred? Why hatred? Here again the intensities have lessened and everything has been complicated and qualified by the guilts and the resulting over-compensations that are the heritage of the enlightened middle-class world of which I am now a member. Yet just as in childhood I envied Negroes for what seemed to me their superior masculinity, so I envy them today for what seems to me their superior physical grace and beauty. I have come to value physical grace very highly, and I am now capable of aching with all my being when I watch a Negro couple on the dance floor, or a Negro playing baseball or basketball. They are on the kind of terms with their own bodies that I should like to be on with mine, and for that precious quality they seem blessed to me.

The hatred I still feel for Negroes is the hardest of all the old feelings to face or admit, and it is the most hidden and the most overlarded by the conscious attitudes into which I have succeeded in willing myself. It no longer has, as for me it once did, any cause or justification (except, perhaps, that I am constantly being denied my right to an honest expression of the things I earned the right as a child to feel). How, then, do I know that this

* For an account of developments like these, see "The White Liberal's Retreat" by Murray Friedman in the January 1963 *Atlantic Monthly*.

hatred has never entirely disappeared? I know it from the insane rage that can stir in me at the thought of Negro anti-Semitism; I know it from the disgusting prurience that can stir in me at the sight of a mixed couple; and I know it from the violence that can stir in me whenever I encounter that special brand of paranoid touchiness to which many Negroes are prone.

THIS, then, is where I am; it is not exactly where I think all other white liberals are, but it cannot be so very far away either. And it is because I am convinced that we white Americans are—for whatever reason, it no longer matters—so twisted and sick in our feelings about Negroes that I despair of the present push toward integration. If the pace of progress were not a factor here, there would perhaps be no cause for despair: time and the law and even the international political situation are on the side of the Negroes, and ultimately, therefore, victory—of a sort, anyway—must come. But from everything we have learned from observers who ought to know, pace has become as important to the Negroes as substance. They want equality and they want it *now,* and the white world is yielding to their demand only as much and as fast as it is absolutely being compelled to do. The Negroes know this in the most concrete terms imaginable, and it is thus becoming increasingly difficult to buy them off with rhetoric and promises and pious assurances of support. And so within the Negro community we find more and more people declaring—as Harold R. Isaacs recently put it in these pages*—that they want *out:* people who say that integration will never come, or that it will take a hundred or a thousand years to come, or that it will come at too high a price in suffering and struggle for the pallid and sodden life of the American middle class that at the very best it may bring.

The most numerous, influential, and dangerous movement that has grown out of Negro despair with the goal of integration is, of course, the Black Muslims. This movement, whatever else we may say about it, must be credited with one enduring achievement: it inspired James Baldwin to write an essay† which deserves to be placed among the classics of our language. Everything Baldwin has ever been trying to tell us is distilled here into a statement of overwhelming persuasiveness and prophetic magnificence. Baldwin's message is and always has been simple. It is this: "Color is not a human or personal reality; it is a political reality." And Baldwin's demand is correspondingly simple: color must be forgotten, lest we all be smited with a vengeance "that does not really depend on, and cannot really be executed by, any person or organization, and that cannot be prevented by any police force or army: historical vengeance, a cosmic vengeance based on the law that we recognize when we say, 'Whatever goes up must come down.' " The Black Muslims Baldwin portrays as a sign and a warning to the intransigent white world. They come to proclaim how deep is the Negro's disaffection with the white world and all its works, and Baldwin implies that no American Negro can fail to respond somewhere in his being to their message: that the white man is the devil, that Allah has doomed him to destruction, and that the black man is about to inherit the earth. Baldwin of course knows that this nightmare inversion of the racism from which the black man has suffered can neither win nor even point to the neighborhood in which victory might be located. For in his view the neighborhood of victory lies in exactly the opposite direction: the transcendence of color through love.

Yet the tragic fact is that love is not the

* "Integration and the Negro Mood," December 1962.

† Originally published last November in the *New Yorker* under the title "Letter From a Region in My Mind," it has just been reprinted (along with a new introduction) by Dial Press under the title *The Fire Next Time* (128 pp., $3.50).

answer to hate—not in the world of politics, at any rate. Color is indeed a political rather than a human or a personal reality and if politics (which is to say power) has made it into a human and a personal reality, then only politics (which is to say power) can unmake it once again. But the way of politics is slow and bitter, and as impatience on the one side is matched by a setting of the jaw on the other, we move closer and closer to an explosion and blood may yet run in the streets.

Will this madness in which we are all caught never find a resting-place? Is there never to be an end to it? In thinking about the Jews I have often wondered whether their survival as a distinct group was worth one hair on the head of a single infant. Did the Jews have to survive so that six million innocent people should one day be burned in the ovens of Auschwitz? It is a terrible question and no one, not God himself, could ever answer it to my satisfaction. And when I think about the Negroes in America and about the image of integration as a state in which the Negroes would take their rightful place as another of the protected minorities in a pluralistic society, I wonder whether they really believe in their hearts that such a state can actually be attained, and if so *why* they should wish to survive as a distinct group. I think I know why the Jews once wished to survive (though I am less certain as to why we still do): they not only believed that God had given them no choice, but they were tied to a memory of past glory and a dream of imminent redemption. What does the American Negro have that might correspond to this? His past is a stigma, his color is a stigma, and his vision of the future is the hope of erasing the stigma by making color irrelevant, by making it disappear as a fact of consciousness.

I share this hope, but I cannot see how it will ever be realized unless color does *in fact* disappear: and that means not integration, it means assimilation, it means —let the brutal word come out—miscegenation. The Black Muslims, like their racist counterparts in the white world, accuse the "so-called Negro leaders" of secretly pursuing miscegenation as a goal. The racists are wrong, but I wish they were right, for I believe that the wholesale merging of the two races is the most desirable alternative for everyone concerned. I am not claiming that this alternative can be pursued programmatically or that it is immediately feasible as a solution; obviously there are even greater barriers to its achievement than to the achievement of integration. What I am saying, however, is that in my opinion the Negro problem can be solved in this country in no other way.

I HAVE told the story of my own twisted feelings about Negroes here, and of how they conflict with the moral convictions I have since developed, in order to assert that such feelings must be acknowledged as honestly as possible so that they can be controlled and ultimately disregarded in favor of the convictions. It is *wrong* for a man to suffer because of the color of his skin. Beside that clichéd proposition of liberal thought, what argument can stand and be respected? If the arguments are the arguments of feeling, they must be made to yield; and one's own soul is not the worst place to begin working a huge social transformation. Not so long ago, it used to be asked of white liberals, "Would you like your sister to marry one?" When I was a boy and my sister was still unmarried, I would certainly have said no to that question. But now I am a man, my sister is already married, and I have daughters. If I were to be asked today whether I would like a daughter of mine "to marry one," I would have to answer: "No, I wouldn't *like* it at all. I would rail and rave and rant and tear my hair. And then I hope I would have the courage to curse myself for raving and ranting, and to give her my blessing. How dare I withhold it at the behest of the child I once was and against the man I now have a duty to be?"

attached: Are Negro Militant White Militant Enough?

Current 2/63 R&R Rel.

# MAN'S RELATIONS TO MAN

## WHAT WILL NEGRO INTEGRATION BE LIKE?

*What will it mean to be a Negro in an integrated America, asks the author of* Scratches on Our Minds, No Peace for Asia, *and* Emergent Americans: A Report on "Crossroads Africa." *Mr. Isaacs is on the staff of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (See also* Current, *September 1962, page 48.)*

**Harold R. Isaacs**

"American Negroes have been rediscovering Africa. In doing so, they are not regaining their identity as long-lost Africans but reshaping their identity as Americans. . . . Like so many other people who have become members of the American society, Negroes must still blend their unique character as a group with the common character they share as Americans.

"Between these two identifications there has been up to now a deep and mutually deforming split. Negroes have had to fight fiercely for the most elementary part of their share of the common American holding—their equality of rights as citizens. The exclusions and denials that were their lot for so long dominated the shaping of their unique character while laming, as with a shriveled limb, the common American identity itself. Now this system of exclusion is coming to an end, or is at least being sweepingly revised. The Negro group identity based upon it is becoming obsolete, and some kind of new group identity must somehow take shape out of the old elements and the new circumstances. Like the restoration of sight or the use of a paralyzed limb, this change in Negroes must at the same time profoundly alter the American organism of which they will now become a more normally functioning part. . . .

" 'New Negro' . . . is a recurring term meaning essentially a newly militant, newly self-assertive Negro who will no longer submit to the humiliations of the past. There have been such Negroes in every generation, and there is nothing really 'new' about them at all. What is new is that today's 'New Negroes' are appearing in a situation where for the first time the odds are with them; their newness, their militancy, and their self-assertion are bound at last to pay off. . . . These are the people who believe that there is a self-respecting status for them to win in the American society and that they are at last winning it. Because they believe this is so, the young Negro novelist Julian Mayfield, who does not believe it, has called these Negroes in sad and bitter words, 'the last defenders of the American dream.'

"Victory comes in sight, but it comes late and it comes slowly. It comes, moreover, not because the democratic creed, much less the Christian, is triumphing at last but because the white world is forced to change its ways out of fear for itself. . . . The victory approaches so late and for so many 'wrong reasons' that for many it begins to bear the visage of defeat. More, it comes here and not there, for some but not for others, enough to end forever the old submission but not enough to assure a new freedom. The changes bring on resistance from the racists, and racist resistance brings on fresh episodes of violence, and the fresh violence strains to breaking the

patience of people already strained beyond all reasonableness. Every gain is partial, and some hand is always there to try to take away what some other hand has 'given.' A reluctant or timid white liberalism clings to 'gradualism' in a situation where slowness has become failure.

**If you can't get in, get out**

"The longer the process stretches out, the more stubborn the resistance within pockets of the white society, the more the issue gets wrapped up in the nation's embattlement for survival as a power in the world, the greater the disarray and disorientation, the greater the cynicism rising hard and ugly, especially among young Negroes who emerge to find the fruit of the struggle rotten. Instead of a relieving sense of achievement with every advance, in some a new kind of despair rises side by side with hope, often in the breast of the same person, bringing with it a new uprush of alienation: if I am really never going to get *in*, a man says to himself, then let me get the hell *out*."

The "Black Muslims" [see *Current*, September 1960, page 31; May 1961, pages 9, 19; and July 1962, page 37] represent the current most extreme form of wanting *out*. Their leader, Elijah Muhammad, "appeals essentially to racial pride and separateness. His passionately violent indictment of the white world carries the ring of truth to almost any listening Negro, and his defiant rejection of the white society brings an involuntary inward assenting response from many otherwise not at all ready to accept the melancholy suggestion that their road to regeneration lies in black racism and in a total flight from the social reality.

"But there are Negroes who are no longer caught on the deep undersides of the society who do not have to flee quite so far from reality in order to express their moods of despair and their impulse to escape. One finds them among the newly arriving youth, often schooled now up to the higher degrees, but no longer schooled in that peculiar quality of endurance that their elders acquired as a matter of course; or youths from whom the new opportunities demand more than they can give as individuals standing on their own, who cannot bear the frustrations of failure or rejection which might no longer be due to the fact that they are Negroes. From among these comes a new fringe of pseudo-radicals who retreat either into beat apathy or into a new brand of racial nationalism which gives them the chance to dream either of migrating to the new Africa or, preferably, of waiting right here to welcome the triumphant onrush of the newly rising tide of color in the world.

"But a certain despair visibly rises now not only among some youthful newcomers but also, far more poignantly, in older men weary of having to continue a struggle that they thought, for a brief time in the 1950's, might really at last be coming to an end. Here, spread thinly but meaningfully along several layers of the population, one comes upon the feeling that effective integration for Negroes in the American society is unlikely, impossible, or even no longer desirable. Many of the individuals who share this mood also begin to feel, like the Black Muslims, that they want *out*. . . .

"The goal of 'integration,' like 'freedom' for the anti-colonialists, stands like a great shining blur down at the far end of the struggle road, drawing and inspiring all who fight for it, but becoming not clearer but blurrier the closer one gets to it. . . .

"There is of course a view held in a . . . matter-of-fact way by many, that the Negro will simply blend into the society as all sorts of other groups of people have done in the past, surviving only as a strand or a cast in the common design. This is not a radical miscegenationist view but an acceptance of a process already long under way. The extent of physical

blending that has already taken place, combined with three centuries of total absorption and involvement in the American culture, has made for total assimilation of another kind which is not a matter for a more remote future but is already part of our lives now. What Negroes have wanted and needed was not to cease being Negroes, but to cease being 'Negroes,' i.e., the possessors of an identity marked by their skin and their features which automatically and inescapably condemned them to total disability for life. They want to shed this crippling identity and to become free to move out as individuals onto the great common ground where all other Americans move, to cease having to struggle for simple access to the most elementary rights due them as members of the American society, to begin to discover at last what else besides repression life might hold for them, and what they might hold for it.

"This is what Negroes have meant and mean now by integration. It simply means being included in everything that everybody else is included in. The rest would be up to the free interplay of society, group, and individual, for this is what the American society ideally offers and must finally offer in fact to all its members: free scope for individuals to develop by their own gifts and for groups to exist within the society by their own vitality and by the needs they serve. This is the open society, this is pluralism.

**Will group identity survive?**

"But an integrated open society implies total freedom of movement across all lines. Successful integration of this kind unquestionably threatens the existence of closed parochial groups; the open society is the foe of all tribes. The groups that cherish their separateness do not fear it idly. The attractive power of the society at large is enormous for members of minority or excluded groups who feel stifled in their physical or psychological ghettos and whose struggle to be free is precisely the struggle to move beyond the narrownesses of the group to some larger coherence. Every despised and rejected group produces its own defensively ingrown values and institutions in which some of its members are glad to live their entire lives but which others find to be intolerable shackles. . . . Negroes now, like Jews, have to discover how much of the cement that holds them together as a group has been pounded out of the stuff of their oppression over the centuries. Will the cracking of their bonds also crack their group ties? Or is there something else that gives vitality and power of survival to their group existence? . . .

"What will a new Negro American group identity base itself upon? Upon some surviving measure of rejection under which every recognizably Negro face will remain a badge of apartness? Or some new distinction coming up out of the new place and new share in the community at large in the years to come? Upon the shared history and folk tradition of the long time of oppression, and if so, how maintained from generation to generation? On institutions that will survive the process of integration and preserve their separateness, and if so, which ones, and surviving on what basis? On color and physical characteristics, and if so, what color and what characteristics? On some new form of mutually prideful association with contemporary Africa or involvement in the shaping of a modern African culture? Or in the contrary circumstances of new alienation, on some African alternative as a way out of American hopelessness? Or some new racial mystique, like *négritude,* summoned up by black French Caribbean poets as a desperate counter to the powerful mystiques of whiteness? It is questions like these that wait for Negro Americans just beyond their ghetto gates.

"These questions suggest only some small part of the complex turmoil that is only beginning now as Negroes in greater and greater numbers shed the burdens of *nobodiness* and take on the new demands and new burdens of what Martin Luther King calls *somebodiness*. All the elements of group identity, e.g., name, color, nationality, origins, will have to acquire new shape and new content. All the choices—alienation, assimilation, integration—will have to be redefined. Out of the recombining of all of these elements in a new environment, a new Negro group identity will begin to be formed, and so too will the new shape of the American society." ("Integration and the Negro Mood," *Commentary*, December 1962)

## ARE LIBERAL WHITES MILITANT ENOUGH?

*Realization that integration comes at a price, particularly in the schools, has alienated many Northerners from the civil rights movement, according to the Philadelphia area director of the American Jewish Committee and chairman of the Philadelphia metropolitan area chapter of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.*

**Murray Friedman**

"In the Forties and Fifties, liberals, intellectuals, and many middle-class whites came to believe that the elimination of segregation was the central domestic problem in our country. There was general agreement outside the South that once this was accomplished a host of social, political, and economic problems involving the Negro would disappear and he would finally be able to take his place as an equal partner in American life. When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision in 1954 banning segregation in the public schools, a high-water mark in the alliance of the liberal white and the Negro was reached. The decision set in motion the civil rights revolution we are experiencing today, in which the Negro, aided by a sympathetic white community, has been seeking entry into areas of American life previously closed to him. . . .

"[But] while Northern opinion has firmly rejected violence and outright defiance of federal court decisions on desegregation, as demonstrated in Mississippi, it has accepted token integration, the device Southerners have skillfully fashioned to avoid the consequences of integration. Apart from indignant Negroes who have reacted with sit-ins and other direct-action efforts, few voices have been raised against token integration, in spite of the fact that less than 8 per cent of Negro children in the South are attending desegregated schools, less than one per cent if we exclude border areas such as Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. Northern opinion was satisfied with progress made when Atlanta, Dallas, and a few more cities admitted a handful of Negro children to white public schools for the first time without violence.

"This new understanding of Southern adjustment problems on the part of white supporters of integration also results from certain changes that have taken place in the North. The heavy exodus of Negroes from the South since World War II has, to a large degree, shifted the center of the race problem to the metropolitan areas of the North and West. The Negro is no longer an abstraction to the white liberal but a concrete reality—in many instances, a potential or actual next-door neighbor, a classmate of his child's, a coworker at office or workbench. This confrontation very often points up the gap between the worlds of the Negro and the liberal white.

"The white lives in a middle-class society marked by an emphasis and overemphasis on education, aspiration, and advancement. The world of the Negro frequently is the urban slum. It is a world of slum housing and slum living, where violence, family dislocation, and blunted hopes are the norms. (There is, of course, a middle-class Negro community, and it is growing, but most whites have little or no experience with it.)

"Liberal whites are, consequently, caught in the dilemma of believing in equal rights for Negroes and even of working for them, while at the same time attempting to escape from the real and fancied disadvantages of desegregation. In recent years, they have helped put on the books of many cities and states laws banning discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, yet they themselves have been moving to the farthest reaches of the cities and to the suburbs. They have pushed up the enrollment at private and parochial schools, shut their eyes to the widespread practice of gerrymandering of school district lines to avoid integration, and helped to create pressures for separating slow from rapid learners. . . . They are fearful that physical commingling of middle-class children with culturally deprived youngsters will depress the level of the schools serving the former while the latter, unable to keep up because of inadequate preparation and background, will become even more embittered and hostile. The result is that many liberals, while opposed to color lines, are helping to make these lines stronger and tighter.

"It would be easy to dismiss liberal whites as possessing double standards and being as prejudiced as those they criticize, which some, in fact, are; nearer the truth, however, is the fact that they have been confronted with a series of extraordinarily complex problems growing out of the need to adjust to a modern urban society large numbers of rural Negroes from the South suffering from inferior, segregated educations and other deprivations. The belief of the liberal whites in interracial justice, while morally sound, does not provide a useful guide for dealing with this situation.

"To add to his dilemma, the liberal white is increasingly uneasy about the nature and consequences of the Negro revolt. Out of the bitterness and want that have been the lot of the Negro in our society has come a civil rights revolution whose explosive power worries and even frightens those people who traditionally have been sympathetic to the Negro. . . .

**Can turmoil be avoided?**

"In his concern about avoiding social turmoil in race relations, the liberal white stands in danger of trying to contain the civil rights revolution. He cannot do this, nor would it be wise to do so if he could. . . .

"I do not mean to imply that all the moral fervor has gone out of the white liberal's crusade on behalf of the Negro. Many whites have taken part in freedom rides and sit-ins. . . .

"Nevertheless, an issue or series of issues has developed between many liberals and the Negro, the heart of which seems to be this: many liberals are hinting to a restless Negro group that they postpone their most urgent demands because many Negroes are not yet ready to be integrated into a white middle-class society and the social costs, in terms of conflict, may be too high. . . . In other words, to the Negro demand for 'now,' to which the Deep South has replied 'never,' many liberal whites are increasingly responding 'later.' But the Negro will accept nothing short of first-class citizenship, now. It will call for a great deal of patience and understanding among those who make up the civil rights coalition if racial progress is not to be seriously jeopardized." ("The White Liberal's Retreat," *Atlantic*, January 1963)

# MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

## GIVING CONGRESSMEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE

*Mr. Lippmann offers one way of limiting the House Rules Committee's practice of bottling up bills it does not like and preventing them from being voted on by the full House.*

**Walter Lippmann**

"In any legislative body, especially in a very big one like the House of Representatives, there must be some kind of authority to determine the order of business. . . .

"The really substantial issue is where the power to determine the order of business shall be lodged. . . . In my view, the Administration—any administration—should have the right of priority in bringing its measures, as approved by the proper committees, to a vote. There is no good reason that I can see why the Committee on Rules should interpose itself between the Administration and the committees of the House on the one hand and the House itself on the other.

"The Administration should, I believe, have the right of priority even when the other party controls the House. This is in no sense a surrender to the Executive Branch. The Administration measure will still be approved by the committee of the House and by the committee of the Senate, by the House as a whole and by the Senate as a whole. The House will not have yielded to the President any right to legislate. It will have conceded to him only the right to have Congress accept or reject his legislative proposals." (*The Washington Post,* Jan. 8, 1963)

## CAN THE PEOPLE CONTROL THEIR PLANNERS?

*Administrative planning is essentially the same as legislation and requires democratic safeguards, according to an associate professor of law at Yale University Law School. Mr. Reich demonstrates how this might work in the administration of publicly owned forest land.*

**Charles A. Reich**

The authority over our nationally owned forests which Congress has delegated to the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service and to the Interior Department's National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management is so vague and sweeping that it amounts to virtually complete power to determine forever the character and use of our forest heritage. Judicial review of agency decisions is almost impossible. Decisions are made without effective check or review beyond the Secretary of Agriculture or of Interior. The agencies give no general notice of pending decisions and provide no general opportunity for the public to be heard. There is no procedure by which the public can initiate proposals.

"One problem common to many groups of professional managers in government is the tendency to lean heavily toward one of the various conflicting elements of the public that they serve." Foresters tend to think about forests "in terms of productivity. A leading forester once spoke of the Adirondack wilderness as an area condemned to 'economic waste,'

# EDITORIALS

Saturday Post 3/2/63

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## The Post and integration

In recent months we have received many letters from our readers asking us to state our position on integration. We have been accused with considerable vehemence of being pro-Negro, perhaps because we have felt it necessary to deal at great length and depth with the problem of the Negro in America.

Let us put it as frankly as possible. Of course we are pro-Negro. We are also pro-white, pro-Jew, pro-Catholic and pro-Protestant. We believe, as we have frequently said, that the promise of American democracy will never be fulfilled so long as any citizen is deprived of his rights because of his race or religion. Private relationships are matters of conscience, but every American is entitled to full enjoyment of the benefits of citizenship.

We do not suggest that integration is easy. We know very well that there are many forms of discrimination in the North as well as the South. But there is a difference. The Negro in the North is not as frequently reminded of any "inferior" status. He can eat in the restaurants and drink from the fountains and not be publicly humiliated because of his color.

Even if we were not convinced of the moral necessity for ending segregation, we would favor it for another reason, one that is every bit as compelling. We are a nation of laws, and it is the law. Southern governors such as George Wallace of Alabama (p. 11) may delude themselves into believing that they can interpose the authority of a state, but the supreme law is the Federal law. That point was settled a hundred years ago.

There is a third reason, more practical than either of the others, for favoring peaceful integration. It is the utter futility and the self-destructive waste of attempting to check the relentless march of history. Governors Orval Faubus and Ross Barnett proved the point. They swore eternal opposition to the law of the land, but Little Rock today is integrated, James Meredith is attending the University of Mississippi, and all that Faubus and Barnett have to show for their obstruction is bloodshed, suffering and the shame that was heaped upon their states. Gov. George Wallace, Bull Connor and other diehards in Alabama should profit by these examples. It is time we stopped fighting the last century's battles here at home and closed ranks against the common enemy abroad, Communism.

As editors of a national magazine, we at *The Post* have a very special responsibility to report on the progress of major events in this nation and the world at large. The emergence of the Negro is one of the most profound developments in American history. His rise from economic and political bondage in this nation and his momentous migration to the North and West are stories that compare in importance with the great westward migration of the 19th century, the two world wars and that great American tragedy, the Civil War. School integration, sit-ins and freedom rides are so much a part of the fabric of our times that responsible editors could not conceivably ignore them. The migration of the Negro is staggering in its social, economic and political ramifications for the entire nation. Negroes used to vote—when they *could* vote—Republican. Some experts, such as Theodore H. White, in his book *The Making of the President*, contend now that this new Negro population in the Northeast actually swung the 1960 election to Democrat John F. Kennedy.

It is essential that all of us understand these things and place them in proper historical perspective. *The Post* has covered the story of the American Negro with responsible, illuminating reports. The first and most memorable of these was a five-part series by John Bartlow Martin, THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS NEVER (June 15–July 13, 1957). In recent months we have described the strategy of the Negro youth's new march on Dixie (Sept. 8, 1962). In November we devoted 13 pages to the dramatic, costly desegregation at the University of Mississippi (Nov. 10, 1962). We have published articles on the Negro aristocracy and the Negro hate group, the Black Muslims. Recently we published a SPEAKING OUT by Carl T. Rowan, Negro Assistant Secretary of State, on THE TRAVESTY OF INTEGRATION.

This week *The Post* is proud to publish a moving and penetrating report on the mood of Birmingham by Joe David Brown (pages 11–19). Birmingham faces the prospect of forced integration. Alabama is the only remaining state where not a single Negro has yet been integrated. Birmingham, as the piece makes clear, is an explosive situation, the next great arena in the integration struggle. It is this kind of dramatic, incisive reporting that is the role of *The Post* in our rapidly changing era.

**A Further Outlook**

R+RR

# Even Shoeshine Boy Has the Dream

*By John Howard Griffin*

*The following article is reprinted by permission from the Texas Observer, Austin, Tex.*

TWO YEARS AGO when I completed a journey through the Deep South during which I lived as a Negro for a number of weeks, I sank into the despair of a Negro. This came not so much from the subhuman existence that is the Negroes' lot as from the hopelessness of its ever getting better.

Communication, a dialogue of some sort, had to be established between the two groups of citizens before there could be hope for improvement. Discrimination long ago destroyed such communication. A Negro who spoke simple truths about justice or inalienable rights was not tolerated. Since most white Southerners lived under the illusion that they alone understood their "nigras" and were thoroughly imprisoned in a culture that said the "system" was for the good of those whom it suppressed, what chance for any true communication?

This "system" is a complex of customs and traditions that have all the force of law, plus the actual Jim Crow ordinances. The system says in effect that the Negro is a citizen of this country, but a special kind of citizen, that he should pay taxes and defend his country but that he should *not* vote, have equal protection under the law, equality of educational or job opportunities, and that he should *not* have access to public eating places, parks, hotels, libraries, concert halls, and even hospitals.

*John Howard Griffin was born in Dallas in 1920. He lives in Mansfield, near Fort Worth. He has published two novels, "The Devil Rides Outside'" and "Nuni."*

*He has written, referring to Oct. 29, 1959: "For years the idea had haunted me, and that night it returned more insistently than ever. If a white man became a Negro in the Deep South, what adjustments would he have to make?"*

*To find out, he disguised himself as a Negro and traveled through the South. His book on his experiences, "Black Like Me," was published by Houghton-Mifflin in 1961 and Signet paperbacks last year.*

## Understood by Negroes

EVERY NEGRO understands this system, but although it is part of the Southern whites' "way of life," few of them have taken a close hard now; they are part of the mockery. A cracker is a cracker. The "good" ones are just less bad than the bad, bad crackers. They won't join the mob, but they belong to that mob that sees the Negro individual as nothing but the stereotype that talks to him about "your people" and "your problems" and tells him how much it admires "the Negro race"; and some say they are pro-Negro instead of saying they are pro-humanity. And all of this shows that one way or another a cracker is a cracker, more or less, and they'll never realize *in time*. They won't learn really to love before Negroes learn really to hate.

The new, new Negroes, the ones today, are products of this painful disillusion. They see that gradualism as practiced by Southern whites is going to stretch on into eternity. They see that their children and grand-children will have no more hope than they unless they do something about it now. no inside finish and one toilet for a hundred students. Separate, not equal, but better than before. They say, why don't you look at these good things we are doing for you? Why don't you look at both sides of the question?

Negroes laugh and say that our tax dollars helped pay for that; we'd give more tax dollars if you allowed us to earn fairly; our tax dollars also go to support State Sovereignty Commissions, to pay for psuedo-scientific state-sponsored books that seek to prove we are intrinsically inferior and should be deprived of our rights of citizenship; our tax dollars also go to support public beaches and parks that we are not allowed to enjoy. Our tax dollars, Sir, are used to pay for the rope that lynches us. Now why don't *you* look at both sides of the question? We have been shouting: "Whatever you do against me you do against yourself, against this country. And I cannot carry the load forever. You cannot ex-

found only one person, a professor of sociology, who had even heard of the McComb depredations. The real substance of such scandals simply does not make the local newspapers and therefore usually is not picked up by the wire services; or if it is, many newspapers choose not to run it. Newspapers are reluctant to deal with real controversy or indeed, with anything that might offend popular prejudice and therefore cause them to lose subscribers or advertising revenue.

## Lag in Communication

THIS LAG IN communication means that we are at least two versions behind "the New Negro." He is not the "race man" protesting through Hip—not the hipster. That came and went. He is not the loud flash out to impress the white. Not any more. He is the informed, polite, rock-hard, no-nonsense man who says that by-damn again. The word has spread. The shine boy has the dream, too.

Southern white men—white men in East Texas—will react against this, too, will deny it. They know Negroes, see them every day, and although they are more "sullen" perhaps, they are otherwise no different; they don't have these complex personalities, these dreams. White men must realize that they do not know what goes on in Negroes' homes at night, what they say and think and discuss. Complex as the situation is, in a sense it is desolatingly clear. Even a concerned, sympathetic white knows practically nothing about Negroes or their real problems because he seldom stops looking upon a Negro as one of the Negroes. A Negro snatches a purse and this is all Negroes. A white man rapes and murders, but he is an individual white.

On the other hand, Negroes cannot believe any longer that white men are bide their time while we "good whites" think of something else to help them, some new ingredient for the soup.

James Baldwin admirably expressed the Negroes' growing disgust when he remarked, "All of Africa's going to be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee." Or again, consider the difficulty of establishing any kind of rapport between Negroes and whites on a local level when a Negro tells a white, as Baldwin did recently, that a white man should not ask, "Do you want your daughter to marry a Negro? A white man, Baldwin says, should specify that he means daughters he has had by his white wife, "Because, Gentlemen, we've been marrying your daughters for generations."

## A Sobering Schism

ANOTHER POINT of misunderstanding that I encounter more and more frequently is a "good white's" bewilderment that when he smiles and acts "brotherly," a Negro does not fall on his shoulders grateful to have a Great White Buddy. In many Negroes' experience, a white man who is immediately and overtly friendly usually wants something—for a Negro to share his wife or his girl friend or to get him a date with a Negro woman. Even worse, Negroes are offended to see that they are being "loved" because of their pigment, a racial discrimination as offensive as any other.

There is a sobering schism now in Negro leadership. Young Negroes are revolting against the established leadership. Two years ago, the Black Muslim movement could make no headway in the South, because Southern Negroes still had some illusions. Today, the advocates of nonviolent resistance are losing ground to the black racists. This can be attributed to one cause—Negroes' loss of hope that white men will ever throw off the chains of racism; that they will ever do the right thing.

A year ago, on a national radio program, I condemned the Black Muslim movement as an evil that perpetrated the very racism from which the Negro in America has suffered so terribly. This year, with the rapid growth of such hate-movements all over the United States, the same holds true; but we must look to causes, frankly face the fact that we are driving many Negroes to desperation, and admit that they resisted a long, long time before

*a Negro and traveled through the South. His book on his experiences, "Black Like Me," was published by Houghton-Mifflin in 1961 and Signet paperbacks last year.*

portunities, and that he should *not* have access to public eating places, parks, hotels, libraries, concert halls, and even hospitals.

### Understood by Negroes

EVERY NEGRO understands this system, but although it is part of the Southern whites' "way of life," few of them have taken a close hard look at it. The Negroes have lived it, but contrary to the beliefs of many whites, Negroes have never accepted it. They have a remarkable record for resisting subversion, for manifesting a deep love of country; but this is a love of what the country is supposed to be, the American dream—not what it is where racism is practiced.

A Negro has his secrets. He has had to "accommodate" or else suffer reprisals. He has had to climb his mountain of yes-yes-yes and grin at the white man. He has seen the perpetration of the Southern myths that say he is happy, carefree, contented with life as Southern whites have arranged it for him. He knows that these myths are a great lie which white men have had to invent in order to live with their conscience.

When I lived as a Negro we yes-yes-yessed and grinned, but when we went home for the evening we wept and said how could the white man twist his mind enough to think this death of our manhood, our hopes, our dignity—this slavery—was for our own good. The only way to accept it was to lose hope, to despair, to stop thinking and feeling and just exist. Not to give a damn. Not to give a damn for your own people or whites or anybody else—just try to make it, keep the bread on the table. Try to keep from hating. Try to keep from having your belly twisted into knots all the time.

Living under the "system," only the shallowest optimist could resist the temptation to despair; but Negroes could resist temptation to hate Southern whites, and this for two reasons.

First, Negroes understood that Southern whites were as helplessly entrapped by the system as Southern Negroes and that the whites were as devastated by it as the Negroes. Anything that dwarfed and deprived a Negro child also dwarfed and deprived a white child. This was another of the Negroes' secrets, something most white men did not know.

Second, Negroes believed that their misery came from the "white trash" and that the white trash, though powerful, were a minority as oppressive and painful to the "good whites" as to the Negroes. Negroes retained faith in the "good whites," who could be counted on to behave correctly and to swing their weight in favor of justice when a showdown came. Did they not quietly tell the Negroes of their disapproval of the racist bullies, of their shame?

### A Great Many Changes

BUT ALL OF THIS has changed, is now changing. The changes are so drastic that those who knew something about the South 10 years ago, or even two years ago, are misinformed if they rely on that information today.

Negroes, particularly young Negroes, have lost their illusions about the "good whites." They have seen "good whites" equivocate endlessly and finally grow silent in times of crisis when issues were bare and words of protest on sanity would have sounded with clarion clarity. A "good white's" quiet words aimed sympathetically at a Negro's ears don't mean anything

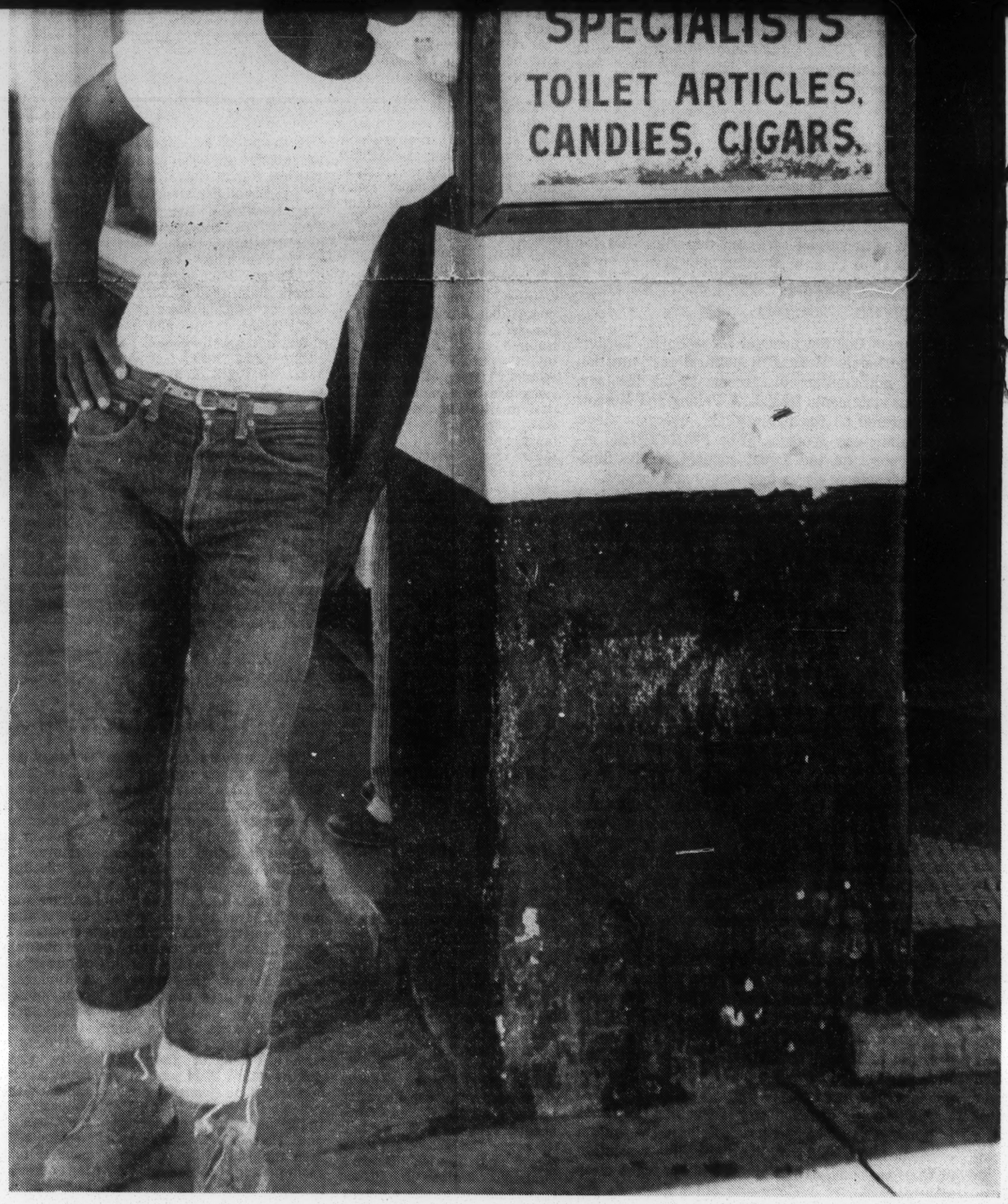


*Photo by Russell Lee of Austin, Tex.*

They see that their actions and reactions are judged not as those of humans defrauded of their rights to grow as humans, but as "nigger reactions"—smart-alecky, cocky, disrespectful.

These American Negroes have learned to be bitter. They see that America is not America, that we have cheated and beaten the American Dream to death. They are sure that if we had time this dream could come to be something great again, but daily events, daily abuses of justice, daily compromises of principles tell them that time is running out, and they say now that since they were born with rights, they will not go on being patient while the system defrauds them of those rights.

Most Southern whites see it differently, of course. They hastily construct slightly better school buildings with brick veneer and with pect me to go on fighting to protect America's freedoms abroad and not fight for them at home." You do not hear.

Perhaps the greatest source of frustration is the fact that more and more we have two groups of citizens with two different sets of knowledge and information. Negroes are fully aware of the many current instances of rank injustice and violations of civil rights, but the non-Negro masses are not aware of them. Uninformed, the national conscience cannot manifest itself.

For example, I have spent most of last fall on a national lecture tour. The McComb, Miss., scandals, which have shaken the Negroes, are almost wholly unknown to the non-Negro population. In speaking to thousands of interested and concerned whites, I this is something worth dying for and none of your soft white-man words are going to fool us ever again.

How many whites realize this? Few, as far as I can tell. To most, the Negro is still the handkerchief-head, the Uncle Tom, or perhaps the hipster. A Negro's actions, his demands, are therefore misinterpreted. They bewilder and frighten many non-Negroes. This new Negro is going to do exactly what a proud white man would do in his place—either stand up and die or else get the rights that are being withheld from him, so that his children won't have to take the garbage they've always taken, so that his children won't have to despair. This new Negro says: "Nothing's worth that. I'm going to be a man." You call him "nigger" when he shines your shoes in a barber shop and he'll never show up for work there simply unaware. Five years ago, Negroes saw Little Rock. Last year they saw Oxford. They saw that they were identical in pattern. Five years have produced nothing.

They are not edified by Southern moderates or liberals who are scarcely better informed than the masses. Moderates are calling for such rare items as justice and compassion as though they were ingredients in a soup—a bit of one here, a bit of another there; and when some little something is accomplished we think the soup is beginning to smell and taste as though it were cooked by Christ and Thomas Jefferson—a real, American nourishment.

But since we whites are not obliged to eat it, we don't realize that to the Negroes it is a thin swill. We further err in thinking that they should be overwhelmingly grateful to us for it and men will ever throw off the chains of racism; that they will ever do the right thing.

A year ago, on a national radio program, I condemned the Black Muslim movement as an evil that perpetrated the very racism from which the Negro in America has suffered so terribly. This year, with the rapid growth of such hate-movements all over the United States, the same holds true; but we must look to causes, frankly face the fact that we are driving many Negroes to desperation, and admit that they resisted a long, long time before they decided to withdraw from further participation in the American Dream.

This withdrawal is not yet a stampede, but it is one of the large lines of the movement, one that we are doing little to help correct. We are still telling Negroes that they must "earn" their rights. This makes no sense when they see that Ph.D.'s are denied, because of pigmentation, rights that we unhesitatingly accord even the most degraded white. We are still talking about Americanism and the great principles of democracy even as we witness the spread of regionalism and sectionalism and the growth of prejudice throughout the Nation.

This was nicely summed up in a letter from a minister of God addressed to "Ralph (Rastus) McGill" recently. The minister said: "I am a Mississippian first, a Southerner second, an American third." Presumably, he was a Christian fourth. To borrow a phrase from P. D. East, this Christian is ass-backwards in his values.

### Danger Greater Than Ever

AT THE CONCLUSION of my book, "Black Like Me," fearing intergroup violence, I wrote: "If some spark does set the keg afire, it will be a senseless tragedy of ignorant against ignorant—a holocaust that will drag down the innocent and right thinking masses of human beings. Then we will all pay for not having cried justice long ago."

I wish I could say that fear is now obsolete. No, the danger of a racial holocaust is greater now than it was then. The true issues are evaded in newspapers and other mass communications media. States still seriously claim that they have the right to do wrong. There is still a vast confusion in the public's mind about the contradistinction between inalienable rights and human positive law. Few realize that our problem is not one of race, but of racism, anti-Americanism, and that this problem affects every American regardless of pigmentation.

How can the necessary communication, the dialogue, be established? Can it ever be established as long as truths offend the whites? The Negroes? How can these two blocks of humanity keep from crashing into one another?

I have pondered this until I dream of it at night. In one of the dreams I drew up a 265-point program. As I finished typing it, a delegation of men from the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Councils along with one distinguished woman from a venerable-lineage society called on me. We discussed humanity and justice. The woman finally spat out in distaste: "But they breed just like animals." In my dream I answered: "And just how do you breed, Madam?" Then I presented my 265-point program. They were indignant. A well informed Southern governor said: "Two hundred and sixty five points! Who do you think you are? Why, Son, even God handed down only ten commandments, and the great Bill of Rights only contained ten points." And in my dream, I told him. "If you'll live by either or both, I'll throw away my 265."

# WASHINGTON-U.S.A.

The New Leader
3/18/63 R + R Relations
~~International~~
(Washington DC)

# A Colonial Portrait

*By Karl E. Meyer*

TWO ANTI-COLONIAL rituals take place annually in North America. At the United Nations, Portugal is condemned for its repression in Angola, and in Washington an American President appeals (as Kennedy did last month) for an end to foreign rule in the capital. It is a prudent wager that the sun will set on Portuguese Africa before Congress ever gives self-government to the only city in the United States with a Negro majority.

The story is long and melancholy and familiar to almost everyone who lives in Washington. The Constitution gives Congress the exclusive authority to arrange the government of the District of Columbia. But this need not preclude home rule, and indeed until the 1870s the people of Washington elected a mayor and city council. At that point, Congress decided the capital was not ready for democracy—because, after the Civil War, Negroes had won the right to vote.

The struggle for the principles of the Declaration of Independence has its vast ironies in Washington —beginning with the fact that the Declaration itself is enshrined in a stately marble building located on the site of an old slave market. In recent years, social and economic barriers to equality have been eroded. Yet, perversely, every step forward in desegregation makes it more difficult to wrest the final victory of political self-rule.

In the 1920s, *apartheid* was almost as rigidly enforced in Washington as it is in South Africa today. In a city consecrated to democracy, a Negro could not eat in a downtown restaurant, stay at a luxury hotel, join the local bar association or press club, or become an apprentice in a buildings-trade craft union. This ugly edifice of discrimination has been chipped away fragment by fragment, and by now most of the walls are nominally down. The Negro, however, still cannot become a union bricklayer or electrician; some labor leaders and real estate dealers remain among the most devoted disciples of Jefferson Davis.

The biggest victory came after the 1954 Supreme Court school decision. Nearly a century after the Civil War, the school system of Abraham Lincoln's city expunged the color bar. One consequence of this belated change was to make Washington more attractive to Negroes. In 1950, 35.5 per cent of the city's 802,178 inhabitants were colored; by 1960, the percentage swelled to 53.9 per cent of its 763,956 persons. Since Negroes generally have large families, this increase has had a disproportionate impact on school enrollment. In 1950, the schools were about evenly divided between the races; 11 years later, 81.5 per cent of the public school students were Negro.

The significance of the increase is various. The segregated schools camouflaged the chasm between the races; pupils from wretched homes are understandably less bookish. When the systems were merged, and Negroes from the old ghetto schools were for the first time able to attend the less flagrantly inadequate white schools, the result was an overall lowering of academic standards. Concerned white parents then joined the exodus to the suburbs, where it is almost impossible for a Negro to buy a home in a lily-white section, assuming he has the money to try it.

Here the vectors cross, because Dixiecrat members of Congress who opposed school desegregation in Washington now want to extract political profit by keeping the schools a Horrible Example. It is an old saw in the capital that General Lee never captured the city in the Civil War but that Confederates have ruled it since. By tradition and the seniority system, either the Senate or the House District of Columbia Committee is invariably in Dixiecrat hands. When he was alive and spitting, the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi explained with amiable candor why he was happy to become chairman

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of the Senate District Committee: "I wanted this position so I could keep Washington a segregated city."

Thanks to the courts and Presidential orders, and to local conscience, Negroes are now halfway to equality in Washington. And thanks to the House District Committee, headed by Congressman John L. McMillan of South Carolina, the final victory—an end to colonialism—is more elusive than ever. Three successive Presidents have asked for local self-government; both political parties have pledged support; five times the Senate has passed home-rule bills. But Governor General McMillan, the Viceroy of Washington, has made sure that no bills emerge from his committee. Indeed, Congressman McMillan likes his colonial prerogatives, and has an abiding interest in such local affairs as police department promotions, car-dealer licenses and the welfare of parking-lot operators who have made an art out of fleecing commuters and shoppers.

How useful and important Confederate control of Washington can be was illustrated by an incident a few years ago when a notorious Louisiana racist hired a photographer to stir up a few staged fist-fights between white and Negro youngsters in the capital. The idea was to drive home the wickedness of "mixin' and minglin'." Thus the Dixiecrats are sitting pretty. They can starve the Washington school system of funds, harass it by investigations and then condemn the very results they have helped to bring about.

When President Kennedy last month once more asked Congress to liberate Washington, one hopeful change had already occurred. After a half-century of agitation, a constitutional amendment was recently ratified that gave Washington residents the right to vote for President. But it is easier to amend the Constitution than to breach the walls of the impregnable House District Committee. It would take the kind of fight normally uncongenial to the President's temper to give Washington self-government. The White House would be opposed not only in Congress but also by local business interests represented in the Board of Trade. The worthies of the Board talk privately about that ultimate of horrors—a Negro Mayor.

THOUGH IT IS nominally a "local" matter, the implications of Washington's racial problem are in every respect national. What is happening in the capital is only a more drastic version of what is happening in most large American cities. Everywhere there is the same drift to the suburbs by whites, leaving the downtown as a black core—a phenomenon now known as the "doughnut and the hole." This point is forcefully made in an excellent new book about the Negroes in Washington, *Dusk at the Mountains,* by Haynes Johnson, a Washington *Star* reporter. Johnson, who is white, also observes, accurately: "From almost my first day in Washingon, I had been struck by the presence of the Negro question. It was perplexing—this awareness of color—so much a part of the city and yet so far removed from the reality of the white man's daily life. But one could not escape it."

Crime statistics here rouse the most mordant discussion among whites. No big city in America has a higher rate of petty street assaults, and each new batch of crime figures is more distressing than the last. It must be unflinchingly noted that the problem will get worse before it gets better. Yet shocked comments usually draw the easy moral and avoid the deeper responsibility.

For generations, Negroes in Washington have been "kept in their place" by custom, Congress and the courts. They have been systematically plundered by landlords and merchants who make them pay once for being black and twice for being ignorant. They have been a faceless community, dimly known to whites mainly as domestic servants and delivery boys.

The fraternal spirit of major craft unions is not even skin deep. Thus when the winds of change came to Washington, they did not blow away the shackles but only the covering of dust. The "tension" that results springs in good part from the hostile discovery that the chains exist. Negro spokesmen are as concerned as are the whites about the violent expressions of this hostility. Last November, Negroes took the lead in censuring their own community for a near race riot that made a shambles of a high school football game.

How the prosperous and comfortable whites of Washington respond to the mood of the majority race will be as much a moral test for America as anything that happens in foreign affairs. The next time someone in Congress lectures Fidel Castro on his failure to hold elections, it would be wholly refreshing if someone else got up to ask Congressman McMillan who elected him Viceroy of Washington, the Formosa of the Confederacy.

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# MISCEGENATION

## *Commentary on a Commentary*

*by Albert Bermel*

In a recent article in *Commentary* (February, 1963) called "My Negro Problem – And Ours" Norman Podhoretz, the editor of the magazine, admits that he has hated and feared Negroes since his boyhood in Brooklyn. Now, at last, he feels free to speak out after "constantly being denied my right to an honest expression of the things I earned the right as a child to feel." It appears that once in class young Podhoretz had noticed a Negro boy named Quentin staring at him resentfully when he Podhoretz, correctly answered a question that Quentin had been unable or unwilling to cope with. Later Quentin's brother, equally a Negro, swung a baseball bat outside Podhoretz's house. "I try to duck," writes Mr. Podhoretz, to whom the experience is so vivid that it calls for the present tense, "but the bat crashes colored lights into my head."

In spite of these and other childhood ordeals Mr. Podhoretz can feel some satisfaction at having become "the good liberal I have grown up to be." Yet his life is still darkened by a hatred-fear of Negroes, which he dwells on passionately. The young Negroes he knew pelted him with such abbreviations as "m – f – r" and "m – f – n'." "They were *tough;* beautifully, enviably tough, not giving a damn for anyone or anything." Today Mr. Podhoretz not only hates and fears Negroes: he envies them. He envies them their cavalier behavior, as he sees it, their athleticism, erotic qualities and bodily grace ("I am now capable of aching with all my being when I watch a Negro couple on the dance floor, or a Negro playing baseball or basketball. . . .") The envy of today and the humiliations of yesterday add up to a partial explanation of Mr. Podhoretz's feelings of stress; a battery of psychologists, anthropologists, economists and sociologists could work up an exciting symposium disputing over these and additional causes of the Podhoretz hatred. No doubt, too, there are many people – among them people who have grown up to be bad liberals – who have already been shocked by Mr. Podhoretz's painful and painstaking confession. They may cite it as another instance of what Murray Friedman called "The White Liberal's Retreat" in the January, 1963 issue of *The Atlantic* although, as if to refute them in advance, Mr. Podhoretz refers to this article with what reads like approval. They may claim that Mr. Podhoretz is yet another self-styled intellectual who is intent on proving that he has feelings and not just thoughts; that he thinks he is, in fact, practically nothing but nerve-endings. They may imply that the article is hate propaganda masquerading as honest emotion. They may see his piece as one more descent from the ivory tower of ideals into the swamps of this Beatnik-ridden, anti-rational, back-to-the-intuitions age. They may throw up their hands and say that Mr. Podhoretz and his article are despicable, totally unworthy of a "progressive" Jew.

Personally, though, I am in sympathy with Mr. Podhoretz. He writes, "I am trying to suggest that . . . all whites – all American whites, that is – are sick in their feelings about Negroes." And, both more and less emphatically, he says, "I suspect whites of self-deception when they tell me they have no special feeling toward Negroes."

I cannot speak for all American whites nor even, honestly, for one American white; I am an American white (White?) by naturalization, not by birth, and grew up in what was considered by me, at least, to be one of the roughest boroughs in London. As a member of the only Jewish family in a lower-class Christian neighborhood, and the only Jew in my elementary school, I had more than once to fight for my health, if not my life. But since nobody plays baseball in London, the worst damage I underwent was inflicted by a cricket stump and, admittedly, cricket stumps are not quite as swingable and heavy as baseball bats. Most of the Christians I came into conflict with certainly frightened me, but not because they were Christians. Some of my best friends were Christians. They frightened me because they were bullies. Still, I never met any Negroes at that time, and I definitely don't remember any boys with very dark, very cruel, very Oriental-looking faces – some of the boys were pretty good-looking, as boys go – so once again I am unqualified to pronounce on Mr. Podhoretz's hates and fears. For that reason, I believe that he is right to ventilate them. We all have our hates and we rarely understand them.

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My sister, for example, a sober and unruffled soul in almost every other respect, has hated butterflies ever since a moth deliberately flew into her left eye many years ago. (Wounds in the left eye are, as we are told by Dr. Hermes in Voltaire's *Zadig*, incurable.) And my wife, who will face up to somebody as intimidating as a landlord, or a salesman of soap made by the blind, screams at the sight of a mouse. A boyhood friend of mine (Christian again) who had not grown up in the proximity of Negroes and thus never enjoyed the privilege of hating them, would go cold and damp if somebody as much as mentioned lobsters, crabs or snails, even dead and edible specimens. International figures like Dwight Eisenhower and Konrad Adenauer are said to fear, if not hate, such groups as Intellectuals and the next Generation, respectively. Fred Schwarz hates (or fears) Communists. Marshal Voroshilov fears (or hates) American generals. Cats hate dogs. Dogs fear cats. Cowboys hate coyotes; the late Josef Stalin hated Fascist hyenas. Henry James was afraid of women. Dame Edith Sitwell hates all haters of Alexander Pope. One even hears of people who hate and fear in their sleep. We know that when a slumber did Wordsworth's spirit steal he had no human fear, but Wordsworth, on this as on other scores, was an exceptional man.

Neither are heroes and professional soldiers immune to fear. Hate and fear have been accounted as essential a part of the fighting man's equipment as his bayonet. So Mr. Podhoretz need not reproach himself for lack of courage. Indeed, he doesn't do so. We learn from his article that when the Negro boy Quentin pushed him in the shoulder, shortly before the baseball-bat incident, Podhoretz pushed right back.

### *A Baseball – batful*

Mr. Podhoretz can draw further reassurances from fiction, of which he is one of America's most penetrating critics. In literature, as in life, there are numberless honorable precedents for his discomforting emotions. Crevel, in *Cousine Bette*, says "I fear God, but even more than that I fear the hell of poverty." Raskolnikov fears retribution. Sganarelle, in *The Forced Marriage*, fears marriage. Chekhov's Three Sisters hate growing old. Fabrice in *La Chartreuse de Parme* has a horror of making anyone unhappy, while the hero of David Lytton's *The Goddam White Man* detests the goddam white man. And no wonder: fears and hates are the mainsprings of literature.

It now becomes necessary to explain that Mr. Podhoretz's article was a sort of reply to James Baldwin's essay, "The Fire Next Time." Mr. Baldwin had already shaken up the readers of *The New Yorker* with this rhetorical sweetmeat, in which he warned, as he repeatedly warned before, that if white Americans (like Mr. Podhoretz, perhaps) don't watch out they will catch a nation-sized baseball-batful from the Negro extremists. Podhoretz calls Baldwin's essay "a statement of overwhelming persuasiveness and prophetic magnificence" which "deserves to be placed among the classics of our language."

He next states that, in Baldwin's view, the victory over racial hatred in this country can be won only by "the transcendence of color through love," and then he proceeds to criticize this view. It is not through love, Mr. Podhoretz tells me, that racial hatred can be abolished. "The tragic fact is that love is not the answer to hate – not in the world of politics, at any rate. . . . The hope of erasing the stigma [of color] . . . means not integration, it means assimilation, it means – let the brutal word come out – miscegenation." There: it's out. And Mr. Podhoretz is decisive about it: "In my opinion the Negro problem can be solved in this country in no other way" than by miscegenation.

Now, this is a most ingenious solution to Mr. Podhoretz's Negro Problem –And Ours. Loveless marriages are not an uncommon phenomenon, but who ever proposed before that we should marry the people we hate? I have heard that in some cases marriage can blight love and turn it into hate. Perhaps marriage, an institution that is always turning up surprises, can blight hate and turn it into love. As a naturalized American who married for love and has found that the love has not merely lasted but increased, I am in no position to be dogmatic about this. But any promising experiment is worth attempting. Mr. Podhoretz too is married, so we cannot ask him to be the pioneer, the astronaut, as it were, of the hateful-marriage orbit. Whom can we ask? I would have been interested to see what resulted if my friend had wed himself into a good lobster family.

Mr. Podhoretz, then, has pointed the way *beyond* abolishing the barriers between black and white, or, as Bernard Shaw reminded us, brown and pink. Some day the barriers might be struck down between all classes of natural enemies – between men and animals, animals and insects, insects and men and (why not?) men and plants. In this age of biological marvels it is just about possible to imagine a pure white Southern girl grafted to a lily. The Podhoretz thesis, if carried through bravely, would allow us to eradicate all differences between species. We would no longer have to bother to tolerate and respect beings from other categories of life. There would be no need to. Distinctions between people and peoples, and individual characteristics of all kinds, which have been prized in the past, perhaps unwisely, would be gradually eliminated. A homogeneous peace would reign on earth and eventually throughout the universe. It could make a rewarding parlor game to speculate on the kind of creatures we would turn out to be.

Liberation March, 1963
Race & Race Relations

*"Safety is an illusion"*

# *The Artist's Struggle for Integrity*

James Baldwin

I REALLY don't like words like artist or integrity or courage or nobility. I have a kind of distrust of all those words because I don't really know what they mean, any more than I really know what such words as democracy or peace or peace-loving or war-like or integration mean. And yet one is compelled to recognize that all these imprecise words are attempts made by us all to get to something which is real and which lives behind the words. Whether I like it or not, for example, and no matter what I call myself, I suppose the only word for me, when the chips are down, is that I am an artist. There is such a thing. There is such a thing as integrity. Some people are noble. There is such a thing as courage. The terrible thing is that the reality behind these words depends ultimately on what the human being (meaning every single one of us) believes to be real. The terrible thing is that the reality behind all these words depends on choices one has got to make, for ever and ever and ever, every day.

I am not interested really in talking to you as an artist. It seems to me that the artist's struggle for his integrity must be considered as a kind of metaphor for the struggle which is universal and daily of all human beings on the face of this globe to get to become human beings. It is not your fault, it is not my fault, that I write. And I never would come before you in the position of a complainant for doing something that I must do. What we might get at this evening, if we are lucky, is what the importance of this effort is. However arrogant this may sound, I want to suggest two propositions. The first one is that the poets (by which I mean all artists) are finally the only people who know the truth about us. Soldiers don't. Statesmen don't. Priests don't. Union leaders don't. Only poets. That's my first proposition. We know about the Oedipus Complex not because of Freud but because of a poet who lived in Greece thousands of years ago. And what he said then about what it was like to be alive, is still true in spite of the fact that now we can get to Greece in something like five hours and then it would have taken I don't know how long a time.

The second proposition is really what I want to get at tonight. And it sounds mystical, I think, in a country like ours, and at a time like this when something awful is happening to a civilization, when it ceases to produce poets, and, what is even more crucial, when it ceases in any way whatever to believe in the report that only the poets can make. Conrad told us a long time ago (I think it was in *Victory*, but I might be wrong about that): "Woe to that man who does not put his trust in life." Henry James said, "Live, live all you can. It's a mistake not to." And Shakespeare said—and this is what I take to be the truth about everybody's life all of the time—"Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety." Art is here to prove, and to help one bear, the fact that all safety is an illusion. In this sense, all artists are divorced from and even necessarily opposed to any system whatever.

Let's trace it, just for kicks, for a minute. And I'll use myself. I won't say "me," but it's my story. The first thing an artist finds out when he is very, very young (when I say young I mean before he is 15, that is to say, before, properly speaking, he or she can walk or talk, before he or she has had enough experience to begin to assess his or her exprience)—and what occurs at that point in this hypothetical artist's life is a kind of silence—the first thing he finds out is that for reasons he cannot explain to himself or to others, he does not belong anywhere. Maybe you're on the football team, maybe you're a runner, maybe you belong to a church, you certainly belong to a family; and abruptly, in other people's eyes—this is very important—you begin to discover that you are moving and you can't stop this movement to what looks like the edge of the world. Now what is crucial, and one begins to understand it much much later, is that if you were this hypothetical artist, if you were in fact the dreamer that everybody says you are, if in fact you were wrong not to settle for the things that you cannot for some mysterious reason settle for, if this were so, the testimony in the eyes of other people would not exist. The crime of which you discover slowly you are guilty is not so much that you are aware, which is bad enough, but that other people see that you are and cannot bear to watch it, because it testifies to the fact that they are not. You're bearing witness helplessly to something which everybody knows and nobody wants to face, least of all the hypothetical misfit who has not learned how to walk or talk and doesn't know enough about experience to know what experience he has had.

Well, one survives that, no matter how. By and by your uncles and your parents and church stop praying for you. They realize it won't do a bit of good. They give you up, and you proceed a little further and your lovers put you down. They don't know what you're doing either and you can't tell them 'cause you don't

know. You survive this and in some terrible way, which I suppose no one can ever describe, you are compelled, you are corralled, you are bull-whipped into dealing with whatever it is that hurt you. And what is crucial here is that if it hurt you, that is not what's important. Everybody's hurt. What is important, what corrals you, what bull-whips you, what drives you, torments you, is that you must find some way of using this to connect you with everyone else alive. This is all you have to do it with. You must understand that your pain is trivial except in so far as you can use it to connect with other people's pain; and in so far as you can do that with your pain, you can be released from it, and then hopefully it works the other way around too; in so far as I can tell you what it is to suffer, perhaps I can help you to suffer less. Then, you make—oh fifteen years later, several thousand drinks later, two or three divorces, God knows how many broken friendships and an exile of one kind or another—some kind of breakthrough, which is your first articulation of who you are, that is to say, your first articulation of who you suspect we all are.

Let me put it another way. When I was very young (and, I am sure this is true of everybody here), I assumed that no one had ever been born who was only five-feet-six-inches tall, or been born poor, or been born ugly, or masturbated, or done all those things which were my private property when I was 15. No one had ever suffered the way I suffered. Then you discover, and I discovered this through Dostoevski, that it is common. *Everybody* did it. Not only did everybody do it, everybody's *doing* it. And all the time. It's a fantastic and terrifying liberation. The reason it is terrifying is because it makes you once and for all responsible to no one but yourself. Not to God the Father, not to Satan, not to anybody. Just you. If you think it's right, then you've got to do it. If you think it's wrong, then you mustn't do it. And not only do we all know how difficult it is, given what we are, to tell the difference between right and wrong, but the whole nature of life is so terrible that somebody's right is always somebody else's wrong. And these are the terrible choices one has always got to make.

All right, I said the cat survived all that, and—this is a very crucial thing—you know dirty socks can make you feel like nothing but a dirty sock. You walk into a room and somebody says, "what do you do?" And you sap "I write." And they say, "Yeah, but what do you *do?*" And you wonder, what *do* you do? And what's it for? Why don't you get a job? And somehow you can't and finally you learn this in the most terrible way because you try. You're in the position of someone on the edge of a field, and it's cold in the field, and there's a house over there, and there's fire in the house, and food and everything you need, everything you want, and you make all kinds of efforts to get into the house. And they would let you in; they would let you in. They're not being cruel. They recognize you as you come to the door, and they *can't* let you in. You get in, let us say, for five minutes and you can't stay. When I was much younger, people said to me, this is very serious and not just a confession, I'm not just being self-indulgent—"All right, you were working, now stop working. Forget it! Have a drink. Why are you so serious all the time? You can't write all the time, Jimmy. Relax." Have you ever had anyone tell you to relax?

All right, you get through all that and you make your first breakthrough, people have heard your name—and here comes the world again. The world you first encountered when you were 15. The world which has starved you, despised you. Here it comes again. This time it is bearing gifts. The phone didn't ring before—if you had a phone. Now it never stops ringing. Instead of people saying, "What do you do?", they say "Won't you do this?" And you become, or you could become, a Very Important Person. And then, and this is a confession, you find yourself in the position of a woman I don't know who sings a certain song in a certain choir and the song begins: "I said I wasn't gonna tell nobody but I couldn't keep it to myself." You've come full circle. Here you are again, with it all to do all over again, and you must decide all over again whether you want to be famous or whether you want to write. And the two things, in spite of all the evidence, have nothing whatever in common.

Now what is it at the point that the artist, since I must put it this way, begins to come of age, that he cannot keep to himself? This is the trickiest part of the whole argument. I was having lunch today with a very good friend of mine and a friend of his—and they're both artists. The friend of the friend is a man I admire very much but the other one is a cat I really dig. My friend is an actor and there's a role which we all know he ought to play. In fact, we all know—anyone who loves him—that he has no choice but to play it sooner or later and we all know that he's a little afraid to. And God knows he should be. But he knows he's got to do it. And his friend was saying to him—and I paraphrase it very awkwardly—you must remember that most people live in almost total darkness. It is true, said this friend, that we drink too much, we suffer from stagefright and you may get an ulcer or die of cancer, and it is true that it is all very very hard and gets harder all the time. And yet people, millions of people whom you will never see, who don't know you, never will know you, people who may try to kill you in the morning, live in a darkness which—if you have that funny terrible thing which every artist can recognize and no artist can define—you are responsible to those people, to lighten, and it does not matter what happens to you. You are being used in the way a crab is useful, the way sand certainly has some function. It is impersonal. This force which you didn't ask for, and this destiny which you must accept, is also your responsibility. And if you survive it, if you don't cheat, if you don't lie, it is not only, you know, your glory, your achievement, it is almost our only hope—because only an artist can tell, and only artists have told since we have heard of man, what it is like for anyone who gets to this planet to survive it. What it is like to die, or to have somebody

die, what it is like to be glad. Hymns don't do this, churches really cannot do it. The trouble is that although the artist can do it, the price that he has to pay himself and that you, the audience, must also pay, is a willingness to give up everything, to realize that although you spent twenty-seven years acquiring this house, this furniture, this position, although you spent forty years raising this child, these children, nothing, none of it belongs to you. You can only have it by letting it go. You can only take if you are prepared to give, and giving is not an investment. It is not a day at the bargain counter. It is a total risk of everything, of you and who you think you are, who you think you'd like to be, where you think you'd like to go—everything, and this forever, forever.

Now I, if I may put it this way, and all my tribe, if I may put it that way, find this very hard to do and it's very hard on my mother, on my sisters and my brothers and all my friends, and it's very hard on me and I may fail in the next two seconds. But then one has got to understand, that is I and all my tribe (I mean artists now), that it is hard for me. If I spend weeks and months avoiding my typewriter—and I do, sharpening pencils, trying to avoid going where I know I've got to go—then one has got to use this to learn humility. After all, there is a kind of saving egotism too, a cruel and dangerous but also saving egotism, about the artist's condition, which is this: I know that if I survive it, when the tears have stopped flowing or when the blood has dried, when the storm has settled, I do have a typewriter which is my torment but is also my work. If I can survive it, I can always go back there, and if I've not turned into a total liar, then I can use it and prepare myself in this way for the next inevitable and possibly fatal disaster. But if I find that hard to do—and I have a weapon which most people don't have—then one must understand how hard it is for almost anybody else to do it at all.

And this is where the whole question in my own private, personal case of being an American artist, of being not yet 65 years old, and of being an American Negro artist in 1963 in this most peculiar of countries begins to be a very frightening assignment. One is dealing all the time with the most inarticulate people that I, in any case, have ever encountered, and I don't hesitate to say the most inarticulate group of people we are ever likely to encounter, I or anybody else, for a very long time, at least in this century. Inarticulate and illiterate and they're very particular and difficult to describe away, unlettered in the language, which may sound a little florid but there's no other way that I can think of to say it, totally unlettered in the language of the heart, totally distrustful of whatever cannot be touched, panic-stricken at the very first hint of pain. A people determined to believe that they can make suffering obsolete. Who don't understand yet a very physiological fact that the pain which signals a toothache is a pain which saves your life. This is very frightening. It frightens me half to death, and I'm not talking now merely about race, and I'm certainly not talking merely about Southerners. I am talking really about two-thirds of my public and technical allies. People who believe that segregation is wrong. People who march on picket lines who yet have overlooked something else and are still under the illusion, I think, that what they've overlooked has something to do with social questions and in my particular case anyway that it has something to do with Negroes. I would like to live long enough—don't misunderstand me, but I would like to live long enough—to see that word or the use to which it's put struck from the American vocabulary. In effect, there is no Negro problem. The problem is that one is still in a kindergarten, an emotional kindergarten, and the Negro in this country operates as some weird kind of gorilla who suddenly is breaking up all the blackboards. I am tired not only of being told to wait, but of people's saying "What should I do?" They mean, "What should I do about the Negro problem; what should I do for you?" There is nothing you can do for me. There is nothing you can do for Negroes. It must be done for you. One is not attempting to save twenty-two million people. One is attempting to save an entire country, and that means an entire civilization, and the price for that is high. The price for that is to understand one's self. The price for that, for example, is to recognize that most of us, white and black, have arrived at a point where we do not know what to tell our children. Most of us have arrived at a point where we still believe and insist on and act on the principle, which is no longer valid, that this is such and such an optimum, that our choice is the lesser of two evils, and this is no longer true. Gonorrhea is not preferable to syphilis.

The time has come, it seems to me, to recognize that the framework in which we operate weighs on us too heavily to be borne and is about to kill us. It is time to ask very hard questions and to take very rude positions. And no matter at what price. It is time, for example, for one example, to recognize that the major effort of our country until today (and I am talking about Washington and all the way down to whoever heads the Women's Christian Temperance Union) is not to change a situation but to *seem* to have done it. It is spectacular for example, to have been forced ultimately to bring in the entire whatever-it-was—militia, U.S. Marshals—to get James Meredith into school, and from a certain point of view, which I do not at all share, I can see that one could say that no other country would have done it. It's escaped everybody's notice that no other country would have had to. It is easy to admire the sit-in students in the South, and nothing is more delightful than to talk to Martin Luther King, whom I very much admire. But it is too easy to admire a Christian minister, especially if you take no responsibility for what's happening to him or to those people that he tries to represent. It is hard to begin to understand that the drift in American life towards chaos is masked by all these smiling faces and all these do-good efforts.

photograph by
Harold Feinstein

(b) To provide funds for assistance to, and in cooperation with, States in study of causative factors in delinquency. For □; Against □.

(c) To strengthen and improve State and local programs for control, treatment, and rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents. For □; Against □.

5. Rural and urban services: The basic principles of equalization of education, recreation, and health services for children and youth, with the improvement of these services where needed, should be maintained in rural areas and in densely populated urban areas. Similar legislation should provide for children of migrant families. For □; Against □.

6. School and community services under the U.S. Government: The Federal Government should see that adequate funds are provided for school and community services in the District of Columbia and in oversea areas where the United States maintains armed forces. For □; Against □.

7. Pure foods and drugs: Federal legislation should provide for complete inspection of food, drug, and cosmetic establishments by the Food and Drug Administration. Legislation should require drug manufacturers to have adequate controls to insure the purity and safety of their products. New drugs and medical devices should be proved effective as well as safe before they are placed on the market. Distributors of dangerous habit-forming drugs should be required to keep records on production and sales of such drugs and to make these reports available for inspection. For □; against □.

LIBRARY SERVICES

Public library services should be extended to all people on an equitable basis. For □; Against □.

PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

1. National defense: In planning the strategy of the national security program, the role of the schools should be carefully considered, because the security of this country and the peace of the world today require a well-educated civilian population as well as a strong military force. A major part of the national security rests upon the ability to prepare young people for the discharge of their military and civic responsibilities. For □; Against □.

An adequate civilian reserve of manpower available for military service should be developed, and a standing miltiary force sufficient to deter aggressors should be maintained. Every effort should be made to meet the personnel needs of the Armed Forces with the least interruption of high school and post high school education of youtha—t the same time with fair consideration for the needs of out-of-school youth. For □; Against □.

2. International Relations:

(a) The United Nations should be supported as the best available instrument for world peace. Diligent efforts for international cooperation should be made through use of United Nations channels—to improve the economic, social, physical, and spiritual welfare of all children and youth. For □; Against □.

(b) The program of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) should be continued. For □; Against□.

(c) The national congress supports in principle the work of other specialized agencies—such as (1) the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). For □; Against□. (2) The World Health Organization (WHO). For □; Against □. (3) The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). For □; Against □. (4) the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations (TAO). For □; Against □.

(d) The national congress supports a broad program of cultural and educational exchange between the United States and other countries, and assistance by the Untied States in training of teachers and other professional and technical personnel for other countries. For □; Against □.

POSTAL RATES

The national congress will oppose increases in the special postal rates for the mailing of library books and educational materials, and for second-class mailings by nonprofit organizations. For □; Against □.

The following proposition is not part of the national legislation program:

We are in favor of any further extension of Federal aid to Education. For □; Against □.

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## An Appeal for Responsible Negro Leadership in the District of Columbia

R & R Rel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, April 8, 1963*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the responsibility for the improvement of conditions in the District of Columbia rests not only on Congress, its governing body, but on the people within the District as well. Unfortunately, there has been a trend of late to give too great a weight to statements, at times irresponsible, of certain individuals and groups who have proclaimed themselves the spokesmen for the Negro community.

As I have remarked in the past, it is my belief that there is much room for improvement in the living conditions and educational, employment, and social opportunities of the citizens of the District. At the same time, however, the increasing disrespect for the law cannot be tolerated. Past statements by some of the so-called spokesmen for the community at large have failed to contribute to increased citizen cooperation and individual responsibility so vital to such a diverse society as the District of Columbia.

It has been my feeling that these spokesmen have been out of touch with their own constituents—that their views do not reflect the views of the great majority of our citizens, regardless of race. In the Sunday Star of April 7, 1963, this feeling was borne out by a letter written by Bert Cumby, a respected and intelligent leader of the responsible Negro community in Washington, D.C. I would suggest that the spokesmen who wish to blame everything on the Negro, as well as those I have already mentioned who are willing to blame everything on society and the police, should read this letter carefully, both for its content and approach. This letter may well signify a turning point for the better for all of us living in and working in the District.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, Apr. 7, 1963]

THE NEGRO AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following views on crime in the Capital and its relation to the Negro community were submitted to the Star in the form of a letter by Bert Cumby, who had a distinguished Army career and is active in church and youth affairs here. As a lieutenant colonel, he was the first Negro instructor in the Army Intelligence School; interrogated prisoners of war during the Korean action and testified before the McClellan committee on POW Exchange Methods. He is a member of St. Stephen and Incarnation Episcopal Church and the National Council of Boy Scouts.)

There seems to be a growing concern within the Negro community over crime in the District, and some self-appointed spokesmen, through statements to the press, create the erroneous impression that they speak for all Negroes here.

This concern is not necessarily over the stated objectives of these persons, but rather over their careless and ill-prepared performances, reflecting certain civic interpretation and thought subsequently and unjustly charged to the Negro community.

Such performances and their impact on the Negro community call for some comment and observations. It is hoped that these observations will be noted with the same spirit in which they are presented, and with the maturity and objectivity befitting a vital segment of the Nation's population that recently celebrated its centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

ALARMING CRIME RATE

Every District of Columbia resident who can read a newspaper, listen to radio and view television, knows that crime here has reached alarming proportions, and every segment of the population, including the executive branch of the Federal Government, has expressed concern. The crime picture has been objectively presented to Congress and to the public. It has been supported by hard facts and information, and with cold statistics from the police department, the courts, and from institutions intimately concerned with the problem.

Instead of facing this unpleasant fact and offering practical recommendations for its solution, some seem to think the statistics are rigged and that crime here is normal, whatever that means. But the Negro community is not saying the statistics are rigged and I do not believe the Negro community regards crime in the District as normal. But the implications can be clearly drawn from the performances and statements by some alleged spokesmen for the Negro community.

Recently this writer attended a public meeting in Northwest Washington, at which crime in the District was discussed. When someone asked how it could be curbed, one speaker replied that crime in Washington is not as bad as it might seem. He said New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis had more crime than Washington. This may be true. But what does crime in those cities have to do with crime here?

HOME RULE NO SOLUTION

As to how crime can be curbed here, one speaker said get home rule. This writer is not against home rule. He has been a District of Columbia taxpayer for 22 years and has religiously shouldered every individual responsibility of citizenship, including 20 years of honorable military service in several parts of the world. But home rule without numerous other individual and group actions, will not solve crime in Washington any more than it will solve it in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis—all blessed with home rule and effective political organizations to support them.

The apparent failure on the part of some persons to face up to reality in this problem is reflected in their protestations. This writer is not against protest. The technique of protest is a constitutional right. But this writer does oppose the conference-type of protest where those protesting present a case as special representatives of the Negro com-

munity, of which I am a member, with erroneous information, poor preparation and without reliable and verified sources.

LEGAL BACKGROUND

The late and erudite Charles Houston who, with the able assistance of the brilliant Dr. James Nabritt of Howard University, laid the solid legal background for most civil rights the Negro enjoys today, once said that the Negro can not afford to plead his case, whether before a court of law or before public opinion, with faulty information. The life and times of this great Negro leader and legal mind, and that of Dr. Nabritt should be must reading for those who seem so eager to represent the Negro community. At this critical period in the historical development of the American Negro, responsible spokesmanship and leadership are absolutely essential to his continued progress, and vital to his survival.

Protests based on faulty information, unrelated facts, and emotionalism, make a painful contribution to the neutralization of Negro leadership everywhere. Documented instances of this kind are many. Several years ago a self-appointed spokesman for the Negroes here protested against police brutality. The Commissioners took the protest under study for possible action. After much publicity, time-consuming conferences and investigation, it was learned that the principal source of the information in the charges was an ex-convict with a long criminal record. Of course, the charges were withdrawn.

RECENT SHOOTING

Recently an alleged purse snatcher was shot by a policeman. Within hours after the incident and without complete facts, a telegram was dispatched to the Commissioners, the police department, a civil rights agency and the press, protesting "murder." The telegram accused the wrong policeman for the action. However, there is no record to indicate that a corrected copy of the telegram was forwarded to the original receivers.

It seems in this instance no thought or serious consideration was given to the record of the alleged offender, the offense, or the helplessness of the victim, a pregnant woman. This action clearly reflected an interest in the offender, and little or no sympathy with the victim. If the community at large interpreted this action as the attitude of the Negro community toward this matter, it is both unfortunate and erroneous. Perhaps the greatest disservice self-proclaimed Negro spokesmen have inflicted upon the Negro community is the utterly false impression that Negroes are indifferent to crime here. The fact is the Negro community is greatly concerned with crime here, and it has to be when statistics show that 70 or 80 percent of the victims are Negroes. Everything about crime in Washington that is repugnant to the white community is repugnant to the Negro community. It was repugnant when a defenseless woman was attacked while praying in church. It was repugnant when a Catholic priest was murdered by one whom he had helped. It was repugnant to the Negro community when a Jewish shopkeeper was brutally murdered and robbed.

THE GUILTY MUST PAY

It was repugnant when a pregnant mother was attacked while doing her laundry at home. It was repugnant to the Negro community when an aged musician was slain while walking home with groceries. It was repugnant when two men clubbed to death a 40-year-old man in his home. It was repugnant to the Negro community when seven Negro women were criminally assaulted in recent months. And, it is repugnant to the Negro community when these offenders are defended and the victims ignored. If we are to have a society of decency, of the rule of law and not the rule of the jungle, we must not only be against crime, but must demand that offenders pay for all crimes against society.

Persons without qualifications for operating a highly specialized agency such as the police department and other agencies of public safety, have suggested that District police undergo special training in discretion and proper use of their basic weapon. This writer is more concerned about the offender and potential offender, whose rebellion against constitutional authority contributes to his offenses, than about the trained police officer. This writer is more concerned about a weapon in the hands of an offender or potential offender than the weapon in the hands of the policeman.

Nothing reflects the above more dramatically than the fatal shooting of Pvt. Elmer L. Hunter, an intelligent young Negro police officer, by a man with a weapon concealed in an umbrella. This officer was exercising discretion, kindness, and respect for the individual in line of duty. Could this gunman have been under the impression that the policeman would not defend himself because of charges that police are trigger happy?

If there were outcries by the usual spokesmen in this case this writer failed to observe such. Is it that the policeman who shot the alleged purse snatcher was unjustified, and the offender who killed Private Hunter was justified. The useless murder of this Negro policeman was most repugnant to the Negro community, and this writer is proud to say he contributed to his widow's fund.

MEASURES COULD BE TAKEN NOW

Many reasons are advanced for crime here, one being job opportunity. This may have contributed, but to what extent is not known. There have been many suggestions as to how crime could be curbed, including more jobs for youngsters, more policemen and more police dogs on the streets. But implementation of these and other measures for curbing crime here will take time. Other actions can be taken within each segment of the community, and without delay. These actions don't require a Supreme Court decision, approval by congressional committees, or approval by the District Commissioners. They are submitted here in the interest of the Negro community.

No personality in the Negro community has a greater opportunity to serve his people than the Negro minister. He is not only a spiritual leader but a missionary. He enjoys confidence and support and is highly respected in his area. The Negro minister has done much to alert his followers to their need for full citizenship, and stimulating their desire for various aspects of civil rights. The Negro minister could impress upon his followers the necessity for exercising continuous control and discipline over their children.

He could stress that as important as church and school are to the daily lives of children, the home is the real training ground. He could accept the absolute necessity for providing their children with the best educational training and preparation available, they will never take their rightful place in competitive and integrated society. He could emphasize that with citizenshp goes a keen sense of individual conduct and responsibility. He could hammer home the ageless truth, that to demand respect from others one must first respect himself, and that the dignity of the individual starts with the individual.

NEGRO RADIO

Several local radio stations are for all practical purposes, "Negro stations." They are staffed with Negro personnel, their programs are aired to the Negro community, and their advertisers, for the most part, depend upon Negro trade. These outlets could render a vital service in fighting local crime. They could decrease their regular diets of terrifying sounds for a few educational programs.

They could substitute a crime doesn't pay series for programs which serve no useful purpose except to plug advertisers. They could produce programs for children, reflecting the better side of our youth, such as the large number of Negro children in the District High School Symphony which gave a remarkable performance recently at Roosevelt High. They could run a citizenship series, stressing the essential qualities of respectable citizenship. They could do what a highly respectable Negro publication did several years ago: run a series on conduct—good and bad. This does not seem to be suggesting too much of a communication facility that earns its profits from sources that depend largely on Negro business.

COMPLEX PROBLEMS

To those persons whose methods seem to reflect an emotional impulse rather than well-planned thought and action, the area of race relations is complex and delicate. In this area everything is not jet black or pasty white. There are no one-way streets. There is an area between the two shades—call it the gray area, where men of goodwill, of personal integrity and honesty, and of individual responsibility can meet on common ground, work together and produce good for the good of the community in which we live. And until such a relationship is firmly established on all levels, our purposes will be self-defeating and our ultimate goals postponed.

Before critics dismiss these observations as typical name-calling nonsense, the writer wishes to clearly state that as a member of the Negro community, he shares the very same aspiration of every other Negro regarding full citizenship, and he has not in the past and does not now, compromise on any of the fundamentals of this status. These comments are in the interest of responsible leadership—responsible Negro leadership.

BERT CUMBY.

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## The Employment Crisis Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, April 8, 1963*

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago American recently commended editorially on a speech of the President in Chicago, pointing to the problem which he dealt with and the words left unsaid in his original text. The importance of the problem, that of the maturing of the wartime baby boom and their entry into the labor market, deserves full attention and I commend the Chicago American's editorial, which follows, for turning the thoughts of its readers to this situation.

KENNEDY'S SOBER WARNING

In delivering his speech here Saturday on the Nation's unemployment problems, President Kennedy considerably toned down the grim warnings contained in his original script; he left out, for instance, any reference to "a decade of chronic troubles and recession" that would follow if jobs can't be provided for the tidal wave of new workers. What he did say, though, was sober enough, and the facts do not need any dressing up to be worrisome.

As Kennedy emphasized, the postwar baby flood is now surging through high school and college and is threatening to engulf the labor market. At the same time, advances

HAT. - Race & Race Relations
1963

ADDRESS BY

HONORABLE BERL I. BERNHARD
STAFF DIRECTOR, U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

AT

WAKEFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
APRIL 20, 1963

## SLOGANS, SEMANTICS, AND SHIBBOLETHS

At this time of year, young people all over our land are being alternately deafened and sedated by speakers who urge them to go out and conquer the world. The trouble with this is that the student has enough to worry about just to find his place in the world. On the other hand, some of this year's Spring crop of speakers may fare better than usual because -- in my opinion -- there's a good deal more idealism and adventure in today's teenagers than there has been for many generations.

My purpose is to talk to you about slogans, semantics and shibboleths. I couldn't do this with an ordinary adult audience because the slogans they live by, and the things they think they mean by them, have been calcified by time and habit. Consequently, far from coming here to talk down to you as children, I come to talk up to you. You belong to an honor society whose membership is based on academic accomplishment; therefore, I assume you are intelligent, while still young and flexible enough to use your intelligence. The real reasons that parents are driven to distraction by their children's innocent questions -- as

you shall find -- as I have found -- is that they can't answer many of them. Later on, when children realize that they will have to find the answers themselves, too many of them stop asking -- even of themselves.

If I accomplish anything here, I want it to be one thing: To implant the desire that you find your own answers by avoiding the slogans and shibboleths that many people accept without question. I have a certain orientation in this matter because of my immediate experience as Staff Director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. During this period of service, I have been attacked by some people for trying to wreck what they consider to be the American way of life. At the same time, I have been attacked by others who think that the program I serve is not doing enough to further the American way of life. I've learned the hard way that people frequently use exactly the same words with equal conviction to express totally contradictory ideas.

Examine, if you please, a phrase like the "American way of life" or "rugged American individualism." The American way of life to some people simply means continuing to live in the cozy security of their present neighborhood. To some, it means preserving a rigid caste system that denies the equal protection of the laws to minority citizens of the community. For those minority citizens so deprived of equal rights and opportunities, the American way of life is, for them, poverty, inequity, and bitterness. And what society and way of life do we talk about when we refer to "rugged American individualism?" Do we recall our history as revolutionists? Or the severe communal life of the

Pilgrim colonies? The lawlessness and vigilante justice of the early Western frontier? The days when fortunes were made by unrestrained exploitation of then abundant natural resources? Or just the carefree period before the income tax?

A well-worn phrase evokes a mental image for each of us and this image is created and conditioned by early teaching and prejudices and a thousand daily experiences. In addition to this, we happen to have a rather inexact language. It has been said that the English-speaking peoples of the world get along rather well together because each nation's representative can leave a conference believing that its words meant exactly what he wanted them to mean. On the other hand, it has been said that you can't ever get along with the French because their language is so precise that it's impossible for you or them to misunderstand its meaning.

If you want an example of how easily we can confuse ourselves, consider the word "fast." It's simple enough but it can simultaneously mean at least four quite different things. The word "fast" can mean motion, in the sense of being held fast, it can mean the absence of motion. In a religious sense, it can mean abstinence. And as a description of promiscuous behavior, it can mean somebody who does everything but abstain.

So much for semantics; what about our shibboleths? One of them, I submit, is the easy assumption that, barring instant destruction, we'll always enjoy an increasingly high standard of living. Yet the world population curve

For newsletter -



clearly indicates otherwise. By about 1800, after a million or so years of human development, there were about one billion people on this planet. But about 150 years later, there were nearly three billion people and the curve is going nearly straight up. Within the next 40 years in this country alone we are told we will have to duplicate every structure in the United States to house a population that will nearly double in that time.

Take one population statistic that's a good deal closer to home. You've heard, doubtless, that Negroes comprise over 54 percent of the population of the District of Columbia because their birth rate is so fantastically high. This is misleading; social studies have established that the fertility ratio of Negroes living in the District is about equal to that of white persons living in suburban Washington, where most white families with children live. Moreover, while the Negro population of the District is over 54 percent, for the metropolitan area as a whole, it is 24 percent -- about the same as it was in the time of Abraham Lincoln.

You've heard that the District's crime rate is the highest in the Nation and that this rate continues to soar. Here we have two untrue assumptions that have been taken as gospel by people who don't bother to question the source of their information. Instead of being first, Washington actually ranks thirteenth among America's 25 largest cities in the number of crimes per population thousand, according to FBI Uniform Crime Reporting statistics. Further, compared to a national crime increase of 7 percent for the calendar year 1962 over the year 1961, the crime rate in Washington increased only 4.9 percent.

These statistics are taken from a March 4, 1963, report of the FBI. This report also shows that in murder, non-negligent manslaughter, Atlanta is first with a 13.5% increase over 1961, and Washington is fourth, with an increase of 3.4%; forcible rape, Chicago is first, and Washington eighteenth, with an 18% decrease; robbery, Chicago is first again, and Washington sixth with a 16.6% increase; burglary -- breaking or entering, Los Angeles is first with a 6.4% increase, and Washington is sixteenth, with a 2.4% increase; larceny $50 and over, Los Angeles is first with a 6.5% increase, and Washington is eighteenth with a 8.2% increase; and auto theft, Chicago is first, and Washington is fourteenth, with a 5% increase. Only in aggravated assault is Washington first, with an increase of 1.7%. However, aggravated assaults increased in Los Angeles 2.6%, in Houston 12.9%, and in St. Louis 99.9%.

As an Urban League official in Detroit has said: "Although crime is as old as time, its visitation upon a community has no respect for race, age, sex, affluence, or geography. Its abatement or its increase will depend on the degree to which the total community is willing to assure equality of opportunities in housing, employment, education, distribution of welfare, and equality of treatment by law enforcement officers." Concerning housing, a Richmond, Virginia Times-Dispatch editorial last fall said: "There can be little doubt that there is a correlation between crime and quality of housing.... Crime rates for slum districts are high, whether the people who live there are white or Negro."

Another shibboleth of the prejudiced is the assumption that the Negro came to America as a slave and has risen somewhat above that estate only because of the liberal charity of whites. In fact, the Negro did not come to the United States as a slave but as a bondsman or indentured servant, bound over to a master for a period of time, after which he was to have his freedom. Such Negro freedmen lived in early American communities as master mechanics and skilled workmen of all kinds. It was only during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when slave labor became an attractive commodity for southern agriculture, that the social privileges of the free Negro were diminished and slavery became an American institution. And far from being the original home of the free, America lagged badly behind other nations in ending human slavery. The major European powers had sought to stamp out the slave trade entirely through the Treaty of London in 1841. Slavery was abolished in the newly-independent South American nations. Chile, Colombia, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, and Peru had all outlawed slavery by 1854. And after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862, how much have we done as a nation to move from the condition of slavery to the realization of full citizenship for all Americans? The fact is that, to the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the legally-free Negro was denied the franchise, excluded from public office, barred from juries, assigned to separate and inferior schools (as he still is in Virginia), herded into ghettos (as he still is in the District of Columbia), given menial jobs (as he is throughout this entire area), and segregated in his illness, his worship, and even in his death.

The wonder of it is that the American Negro survived at all or that he ever rose above the social role of laborer. In 1866, there were 4.5 million Negroes in the United States and an estimated 10 percent of them were literate. Today, there are 19 million Negroes and an estimated 93 percent are literate. Negroes are counted among the scholars, scientists, educators, business leaders, and high governmental officials of this country. Just a few days ago, a Negro Air Force Captain was selected as one of the trainees for the manned space program. The Negro has not only survived; he has raised himself to a level which is little short of astonishing, and he has done it against great social odds and with very little help from government. After Lincoln, you have to wait until Theodore Roosevelt before you can find an American President who took a significant interest in equal rights for all Americans. In the legislative area, you can count the Civil Rights Acts of 1866, 1875, 1957, and 1960. Judicially, the cupboard was largely bare until the Supreme Court decision of 1954 -- a decision which has yet to be implemented for many thousands of children who want a decent education.

In the field of civil rights, the shibboleths abound. It took a major court case to establish what most of us knew all the time -- that separate schools weren't equal. Now you may have heard that one-third of the total number of biracial school districts in the South have been desegregated and this is a heartening advance. Statistics don't lie; or do they? In terms of Negro children actually attending desegregated schools in the South, the actual

number is less than 8 percent, and less than one-half of one percent if we take only the States of the old Confederacy. The reason for this disparity is summed up in the phrase "token desegregation" -- the practice of admitting a few children and claiming that the law has been obeyed.

You may also have heard that Negroes have been getting along fine in their second-class citizenship status -- that they really don't want to assume civic obligations such as voting and only agitators say they do. But since a court action was concluded in 1961, the registration of Negroes in one Alabama county has tripled. In another Alabama county, Bullock -- one in which the Civil Rights Commission first exposed conspiracies to keep Negroes from voting -- Negro registration has risen from five to 1,000 in one year's time.

This is some of our American history in the struggle toward equal rights for all our citizens, and I urge you to study it further. It will be useful to you in two ways -- first as an intellectual exercise to establish how fact has been distorted by fancy and how emotion can be substituted for reason; and second, so that you may explore a serious flaw in our American life that badly needs your attention.

What I am encouraging you to do is to carry into your community life the same intellectual objectivity and curiosity to know the truth that has served you so well in academic training.

We are told that 90 percent of all of the scientists in man's history are living today. Technically, we are terribly swift in our progress. But like the sorcerer's apprentice, we are bound to create uncontrollable chaos for ourselves if we cannot close the gap between our technical and social progress.

Short of altruism -- far short of humanitarian idealism -- can we apply this intellectual effort to our selfish and selfishly worthy national interest? Can we clearly examine that ideal, that quality of character known by the vastly-abused word "patriotism"? I think that all of us vaguely believe that patriotism in some sense is a desirable personal attribute. But what is it, really? Giving lip service and hand-salute to the flag? Feeling the skin prickle when the band plays and the parade goes by? Samuel Johnson said "that man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon." Of those who would use it for personal gain, Dr. Johnson also said that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

Obviously, it has many meanings. To some, it means adherence to an ideology that seeks to subjugate men and nations. To others, it means preserving the status quo and sometimes a way of life that never was. To still others it is an active effort to turn back the clock, shut the mind to the present, and see the hobgoblin of cunning conspiracy whenever their narrow minds are confounded by complex events. Here indeed, in one well-worn word, is the place where slogans and shibboleths find their semantical haven.

I urge you to consider the thought that patriotism has a valid function in your life and that its meaning can only be found in one place -- the Constitution of the United States. The more you read this remarkable document, the more you realize the value of the birthright that has been left to us by that little band of 'subversive' revolutionists who created this Nation.

The ideal, the philosophy of equal opportunity for all Americans, is set forth as principle and objective in the Declaration of Independence. It is re-emphasized in the original Constitution, and it is reinforced by amendments which have been adopted by the States. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids the States from making or enforcing any law which abridges the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States. Nor, it says, shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. The Fifteenth Amendment says very clearly and simply that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. If anyone wants to study patriotism, that quality which we call Americanism, he will find it in the Constitution.

He will also find there the ideal of society that has yet to be realized in America. From the implementation of this ideal can come an enormous national strength -- the exercise of equal rights and equal opportunities to eliminate racial discord, greatly accelerate education, reduce crime and poverty, utilize valuable manpower, add hugely to our economic wealth, and build an impregnable moral fortress whose flying banners will inspire the entire world.

But this fortress can only be built if you, as individuals in your personal life and actions, and as active members of your community, lay the foundation for it. This responsibility is clearly yours and the burden will be a great one. But, if you assume it, I think you will find life a good deal more interesting than

if you devote it merely to the conspicuous consumption of consumer goods. If you do not assume the burden, if you do nothing about the corrosive social inequities in your community and your country, then you may yourself lose that freedom you are unwilling to extend to others.

But the definitive word for those who slumber mentally while national ideals become empty slogans comes to us across a century's time from the Great Emancipator, himself, Abraham Lincoln. He said:

> ...are you quite sure that the demon you have roused will not turn and rend you? ...familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.

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# WHAT THE AMERICAN NEGRO WANTS

## Interview With Roy Wilkins, Head of the NAACP

**After years of conflict over racial issues, how do Negroes feel about the progress they are making? What do they want?**

**For authoritative answers to such questions, "U. S. News & World Report" invited to its conference room Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.**

**In a 1955 interview, Mr. Wilkins told "U. S. News & World Report" readers what Negroes expected from the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in schools.**

**Now, in another exclusive interview, the NAACP leader tells what he feels the Negro has got—and what he hasn't got—and describes the mood of the American Negro today.**

**Q Mr. Wilkins, can you explain for us the direction policy is taking in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?**

**A** Our policy reflects the dominant mood of the Negro today. That mood is one of impatience with the pace of desegregation, or, as we say, impatience with the speed with which the Negro comes into the status of full citizenship. It is a very great impatience, I think, spurred by the resistance to implementing the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

**Q Would you say the Negro's impatience is growing?**

**A** I think it is. It's a mixture of impatience and cynicism. The Black Muslims, of course, are an outgrowth of this sentiment.

The Muslims' idea of black for black has always been around in one form or another. Some of you may recall the Garvey movement of the 1920s—a movement whose leaders claimed 2 million followers. Even if you cut that in half, it's a million, or about 10 per cent of the Negroes at that time. Other estimates had the total nearer 100,000.

The idea of us all getting together—putting our money together and building ourselves an economic structure and electing Negroes to office, running our own affairs, making ourselves rich instead of making the other man rich—has always had an appeal.

**Q Is that a form of apartheid—separateness?**

**A** You can call it a form of apartheid, but it didn't reach that kind of dignity in terms of a political-science concept. It was a gesture of desperation born of frustration. I wouldn't say it was apartheid in the sense that it was a conceived-of policy. You might call it counter-apartheid, perhaps.

Now the Muslims have come along and sharpened up the concept by giving it religious and cult overtones.

**Q How seriously do you regard the Muslims?**

**A** They aren't serious in numbers. They aren't serious, as yet, psychologically. The American Negro, whatever else he is, is pretty thoroughly American. He's under a lot of handicaps, and he feels terribly frustrated and down at times, but, if I know anything about him, he believes in this country and he believes some way he'll make it.

Along comes a man who says, "Give up Christianity, give up American citizenship, give up the idea of integration, give up the idea of association with white people, working with white people, talking to white people, or expecting any reason from white people, and cut off everything and come with us." The American Negro can't very well accept this philosophy, which goes counter to everything he's been working for and talking about—that is, integration into the American scene as an American citizen.

**Q Do the Muslims propose violence?**

**A** No. They want the U. S. Government to give them two or three States, and establish their own Negro country within the United States. But they don't name the States. They don't spell it out the way the Communists did in their heyday.

The Communists in the '30s and '40s drew maps showing counties in the South—the "black belt" counties—over which they wanted Negroes to have hegemony. They wanted the Government to get out and wanted, in effect, to have the land turned over to them.

The Muslims do not spell it out quite that way. Also, the Muslims are a well-disciplined group. They are well behaved. They do not believe or indulge in violence. They do not preach going out and throwing bombs or beating up anybody. They are well dressed, quietly dressed. The youngsters wear ivy-league-cut clothes.

**Q Are the Muslims young people for the most part?**

**A** I would say that most are under 40.

**Q Do they attract middle-class Negroes?**

**A** I don't know. They don't give out membership figures or breakdowns. They specialize in recruiting the frustrated and the disappointed—the people largely without hope. They recruit people in jail, people who feel that "the white people are all against us, the NAACP is crazy, and Adam Clayton Powell, even, is all wrong. What's he doing wasting his time in Congress? You never get anywhere there. You never get anywhere in the courts. What we black people have to do is stick together and build our own institutions."

**Q Where do you think they're going with all this?**

**A** I don't know.

**Q Mr. Wilkins, has your association officially expressed disapproval of the Muslims?**

**A** Oh, yes. Years ago. Of course, ideologically, we would have to disagree with them on integration. We believe in integration; they believe in separation. Aside from that, we

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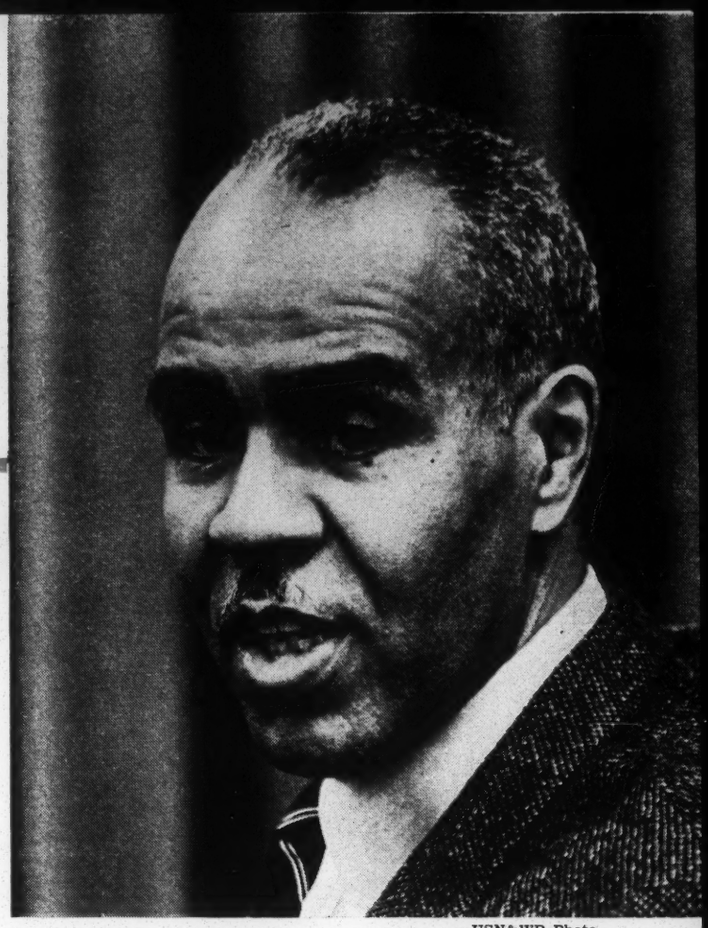
**Roy Wilkins** joined the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1931 and has been its executive secretary since 1955. Born in St. Louis, Mo., on Aug. 30, 1901, he grew up in St. Paul, Minn., then attended the University of Minnesota. From graduation in 1923 until joining the NAACP staff in 1931, Mr. Wilkins was managing editor of the "Call," a weekly newspaper for Negroes published in Kansas City, Mo.



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had to disassociate ourselves from a group that was anti-Semitic and antiwhite.

**Q Does the militancy of the Muslims compel the NAACP and other organizations for Negroes to be a little more militant?**

**A** I don't think so. You see, the Muslims don't concern themselves with problems of the day. They don't fight in Greenwood, Miss., for example, to get Negroes to register and vote. They don't even register and vote in Harlem, where they are. They say they're through with white civilization. You don't hear of them carrying on any civil-rights program.

**Q Why are Negroes so dissatisfied when the federal courts have consistently upheld their rights?**

**A** I think much of their dissatisfaction goes back to that 1954 school decision—the Brown v. Board of Education case. I feel that the Negro had the right to conceive of that decision as getting rid of the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes. That's what the decision said. The Negro was prepared for reasonable progress toward implementing the decision, provided it began and was in good faith.

**Q Hasn't that occurred?**

**A** No. Instead of that, resistance broke out—extreme resistance. Now the Negro sees—nine years after the Court decision, come this May 17—still more than 2 million Negro youngsters in segregated schools and school districts, having to fight every step of the way, county by county and school district by school district. Even where there is integration, it's only token. So some Negroes are coming to say: "Why do you put so much stock in the courts? Who cares what the Supreme Court says, because it doesn't have any effect on me, anyway?"

## DELAYS IN THE SOUTH—

**Q Does your statement apply to cities such as Washington, D. C., or New York or Philadelphia?**

**A** No. It applies to Virginia and similar States. Although Virginia is improving, it's still token. I'm talking about North Carolina and Florida, about South Carolina, which has only one student at Clemson, and about Georgia, which has a few in Georgia State, a few in Georgia Tech, one in Emory, two or three at the University of Georgia, and eight or nine kids in high school in Atlanta.

Louisiana has Negroes in Louisiana State University—one of the earliest to take them in, and they live in the dormitories there. Negroes are in several other State colleges and a few are in grade schools in New Orleans, and that ends integration in Louisiana.

Arkansas, if Governor Faubus had kept quiet, was going right along on its own. The State University there desegregated without a lawsuit. Fayetteville desegregated its high school in September, 1954, without a court order. But Arkansas, even so, has token integration.

West Texas and central Texas might be said to have token integration. East Texas has almost none.

So when we say token integration, that's what I'm talking about. I'm not talking of West Virginia, where all of the counties with biracial school districts now have integrated schools, nor of Missouri, which is 85 to 90 per cent integrated. Nor am I talking about Kentucky, where there is about 50 per cent integration in a slow, steady process.

**Q In Washington, D. C., there has been full integration since 1954, but there seems to be voluntary segregation. Is that another problem as you see it?**

**A** Yes. They speak of "resegregation." Well, you've had a large influx of Negroes into the capital, and now 53 per cent of the city's population is black.

**Q And 84 per cent of the school population is Negro, because so many white families have moved to the suburbs—**

**A** That's right. Yet, I believe it is true that more youngsters are getting a better education under the present system in Washington than did before the Supreme Court decision. It may be that some youngsters got a better education under the previous system than they would get under this system. But more kids are getting a better education now, because the lower and middle groups get better schools.

**Q Did you expect progress on school integration in the South to be faster than it has been?**

**A** I did indeed. I wasn't so naïve as to think the Court's decision would be self-enforcing. But I did believe that, with reasonable representations on the part of the Negro public as to what it wanted, and through conferences with school and public officials, plans would have been worked out for a steady implementation of the Court's ruling, even though at a relatively slow pace.

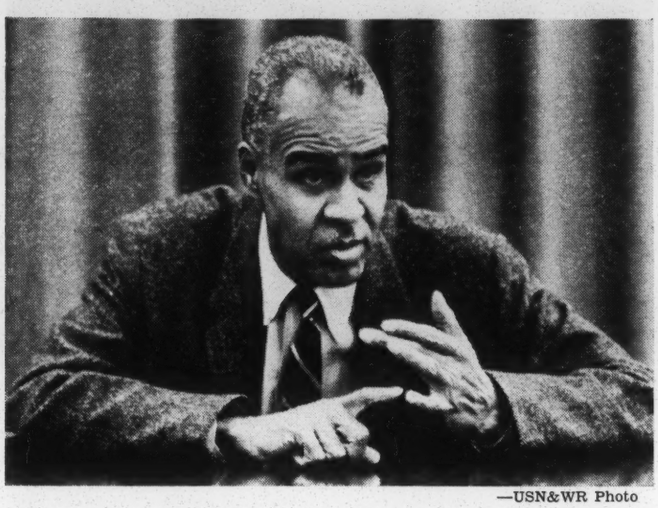
This has not happened. And this is the reason why some Negroes may lend an ear to appeals for less diplomacy and more action.

**Q Won't the vote help Negroes to get more action?**

**A** Most Negroes can't vote in the South. And voting takes a long time to change conditions, too, you know.

**Q It has been suggested that the Negro would have made more progress faster if, instead of aiming at integration of schools, he had aimed first at gaining the vote. Do you think that idea has any validity?**

**A** I have a standard answer to that—one which I think is very valid. That answer is: It doesn't really matter what



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**"The South is throwing away an opportunity. The Southern people should realize that the Negro is an asset and has value to them—that he's part and parcel of the South."**

area the Negro selects for attack, that area becomes the area of great resistance. And the white Southerners say, "Why didn't you pick something else?"

Actually, the NAACP began its campaign against disfranchisement in its first Supreme Court case in 1917, challenging the "grandfather clause." On our third try in the highest court, the white primary was declared unconstitutional in 1944.

Personally, I think we did right in moving on schools. I think education is basic. One of the tragedies right now lies in the consequences of the deprivation of educational opportunities for the Negroes who grew up in the South and have now emigrated to the North. I see great tragedy and heartache for those now entering a space age when they don't even have the education for the automotive age.

But suppose we Negroes had said "No" to the idea of attacking school segregation first and had said, "We'll go for voting first." Then the Southerners would trot out all the old arguments: "Do you think we're going to have a Negro mayor, or chief of police? Why, you're crazy. You should pick out something else."

So, say we pick out housing. Then they say: "We aren't going to have Negroes living next door to us. They'll ruin property values." Actually, it must be said that there is more integration of housing in neighborhoods of some Southern cities than in the North. Whites and Negroes have been living side by side for years in such places as Charleston, S. C., or even Sumter, S. C., in the State where the Civil War began. But on Long Island, N. Y., it causes white folks to have the heebie jeebies when a Negro moves in next door.

All right, so you don't pick housing, but instead you pick fair-employment practices. Then you run into the argument that you are trying to coerce employers, telling them whom to hire.

So the answer is that no matter what right the Negro picks to demand, it is called the thing he should not have picked.

**Q So what are the Negroes going to use to get action? The boycott?**

**A** They've been using the boycott for some time. In the NAACP we call it selective buying. We have a campaign on now in Jackson, Miss., and we've run successful campaigns in Savannah, Ga., in Macon, Ga., Durham, N.C., St. Petersburg, Fla., and a variety of other places—some you never even hear about.

**Q Have these boycotts proved effective?**

**A** They've been very effective.

**Q Will the use of boycotts spread?**

**A** I think it is spreading.

**Q How much economic power do Negroes have?**

**A** Well, the Negro market has been estimated at about 15 billions a year—about as large as our Canadian market. This is not to be sneezed at.

**Q Is this economic power growing?**

**A** It's growing and will grow more if we can get more and better jobs for Negroes. But the Negro unemployment rate is now more than twice the rate among whites. It's about 14 per cent among Negroes and less than 6 per cent among whites. And automation is pushing the Negro out of more and more jobs.

The South abandoned its plantation economy, went either to mechanized farms or diversified farming, or went industrial. The Negro was kicked off the land.

So where does he go then? He goes to a Southern city. But he can't get a job there, first of all because he's black, but also because he has no skills. He doesn't know any job but farm work, you see. So he drifts north.

**Q What happens when the Negro goes to a Northern city?**

**A** Sometimes he gets a job and sometimes he doesn't.

**Q When Negroes can't get jobs up North, why don't they go back to the South?**

**A** I would say one third of those who have left the South would go back tomorrow if conditions in the South were changed. They would like it down there if things were different. They're like a lot of white people in the North who don't like cold winters.

I got a letter from a man who is a member of the NAACP in a town in Louisiana. He is an electrician. A few years ago he went to Seattle. His daughters were ready to go to high school and he wanted them to have a good education.

Incidentally, in the past, Negroes not only went north for jobs, but also to get a better education for their children. A lot of them will endure a lot of things for that. They are enduring reprisals today to desegregate their schools in their South.

But this man didn't like Seattle. It was too cold. So he finally decided to leave and go back to Louisiana. There he went to see his old banker. When he told the banker he didn't like it up North the banker was delighted and told him, "You can have anything now."

This man got a loan from the banker, went back into the electrical business again, and now he's very happy.

I think the South is throwing away an opportunity. The Southern people should realize that the Negro is an asset and has value to them—that he's part and parcel of the South.

But the South is losing the Negro. You meet Negroes in the North who are successes in business or in good jobs. Why shouldn't a Negro be as good a policeman in Augusta, Ga., as in Ohio? Or as good a cashier in Jacksonville, Fla., as in New York City?

## EXPORTING RACE PROBLEMS—

**Q But the South doesn't have all the race problems—**

**A** No, it doesn't. The South has transplanted some of them—shoved them up North. It has become fashionable to say that this is no longer a Southern problem but a national problem. When the North points an accusing finger at the South, the South says back to the North: "Why don't you clean up your own back yard?" The North is no angel in this matter, but, in all fairness, it must be admitted

# . . . "I'm not anti-South. I'm just antidiscrimination"

that its back yard does contain many problems exported by the South.

Yet, in the North, there is a difference. It is still possible for a Negro in the North in many places to go to a desegregated school and get a good education. Even where Northern schools are segregated by residential patterns, it's often somewhat better than where schools are segregated by law.

The North, bad as it is, hypocritical as it is, still offers an improvement over the South.

No. I'm not anti-South. I'm just antidiscrimination.

I'll tell you, I think the South is more of a devil in this than appears on the surface. I'm not talking just about the outward treatment of the Negro. I'm talking about the lack of preparedness of Negroes who grew up in the South.

You see, most of the Negroes in the North are end products of the system in the South. For years, the South has cheated Negroes out of any kind of training for citizenship or any opportunity to advance their economic skills or their artisan skills. Now, you say, "These people are not good citizens." Why, they never had any opportunity!

## NEGRO CRIME AND JUSTICE—

**Q Does that account for the crime rate among Negroes?**

**A** It accounts for a great many things.

Now, I don't want to use deprivation as a blanket excuse, because I think people ought to have some restraints on their conduct, regardless of how much they suffer. Whether they kick you around or not, you ought to learn good from bad.

But I do say that this kind of treatment has weakened those restraints among Negroes, and made it easy for them to defy convention, to rob, to steal. Even the Southern system of jurisprudence encouraged this because it said, in effect: "Negroes will steal. If they steal just a little, we won't punish them. If a Negro steals from another Negro, that's no crime. If he kills another Negro, why, that's just a misdemeanor. But, if he kills a white man, why, that means electrocution." Well, that type of justice doesn't breed respect for law.

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**IN WASHINGTON, even with "resegregation," Mr. Wilkins says Negro children benefit from integration of the schools.**

**Q Is that situation changing?**

**A** I think it is. The Southern courts now are better. Some Southern judges are better. And there are more Negro lawyers.

**Q Mr. Wilkins, what about Negro family life?**

**A** I can see how some people would point a finger of scorn at some manifestations of Negro family life. But I think, by and large, they are not doing too badly. Personally, when I consider the terrible obstacles, I am proud of most of them.

**Q Are they disciplining their children?**

**A** I think they are disciplining their children, where they have a family life. But it's hard in those cases where there is no man in the family.

You see, Negro family life has been matriarchal from slavery days. This is a direct heritage of slavery—where there was no marriage, no family life, no holding of families together. And this had come down, you see, so that it has been the woman who ran the Negro family. And often it has been the woman who got employment. If a man couldn't get a job as a machinist, a woman could always get a job as a washwoman, a cook, or a domestic.

**Q Doesn't the Negro father take much interest in his family life?**

**A** He does if he is there. But so many Negro fathers are not at home. They drift off, or they are separated, or they are working in one place while the family lives in another.

This is a result of the system that makes it harder for a Negro to get a job. He often has to leave his family behind while he goes scouting around in some other town for a job. When he gets a job, he may send for his family, and settle down and rear his children. Or he may not. At least, it's harder for Negro men to keep their families together than it is for white men.

So, when you ask me about Negro family life, I have to tell you that, of course, there are a lot of Negro women on relief with illegitimate children, although they are not alone in this—white women also have such children. And there are a lot of juvenile delinquents.

But the vast, solid majority consists of fine Negro families —people who respect conventions, and who believe in rearing their children right and making sacrifices and working at whatever job they can get, buying homes, paying their debts, supporting churches. These are the backbone of the Negro community.

## FEARS OF INTERMARRIAGE—

**Q One thing that seems to disturb people is the idea that Negroes seek intermarriage with whites—**

**A** I don't know what may happen in the distant future, but I am confident that the Negroes have no goal of intermarriage. If they had, they would have been rushing to marry whites in New York, in Illinois, in Michigan and in all the other States—about 35 in all—where intermarriage is not forbidden by law. But, instead, you have a very few, an infinitesimal number of intermarriages. I think that is the best answer to this question.

Furthermore—women being far more canny at this marriage business than men—white women are not going to marry men who, they've been told since childhood, are inferior, can't earn a good living. The woman naturally wants somebody who's going to have social standing, whom she can introduce to her friends with pride, and whom her family will accept.

**Q What is the attitude of Negroes toward intermarriage?**

**A** It disturbs some Negroes, too. I know of a Negro

—USN&WR Photo

**"Negroes have been using the boycott for some time. We call it selective buying. The Negro market has been estimated at about 15 billions a year. This is not to be sneezed at."**

mother who was greatly disturbed because her boy was going with a white girl. Finally, the two mothers got together and talked about it. And it wasn't a question of one feeling that her family was better than the other one. They just felt that, in the first place, the kids were too young to understand what they were up against. The colored mother was more disturbed than the white mother. The youngsters finally broke off.

**Q Was this colored mother typical, would you say?**

**A** I would say "Yes." You'll find some Negroes who consider it to be a great thing to be allied with a white family. But they are in the minority.

**Q Is a white person who marries a Negro accepted in Negro circles?**

**A** I'm afraid that I have to admit that such a white person has a tough time. However, the acceptance depends on the sophistication of the groups concerned. Sometimes there is no resentment. Even the Japanese and Korean brides brought back by Negro soldiers had a hard time in Negro neighborhoods, in Negro social circles—to say nothing of the white circles.

**Q Why is that?**

**A** Well, the only thing I can say is that Negroes are just as conservative as American white people.

And then there is this: Among Negro women there is great competition for a good Negro husband—a man who can give some promise of making his way in the world and winning some prestige. Negro women, as women all over the world, are looking for security and prestige in marriage. Potential husbands of this caliber are scarce. So, when a white girl comes along and takes one of those Negro men away, that's one possible husband gone. This is one reason why intermarriage meets some hostility in the Negro community.

**Q There seems to be considerable interest in Africa among American Negroes. Do many American Negroes aspire to go to these new countries being formed in Africa?**

**A** Some have gone over. Some of them have gone on a purely patriotic basis, because they wanted to go. Some of them have gone on the old American urge to make a fast buck. They've gone to East and West Africa and attempted to set up businesses. Others are teachers, or members of technical teams.

But there is a very great emotional interest in Africa on the part of American Negroes. They are very proud of the new African states. This is one of the things that contribute to Negroes' unrest and dissatisfaction in this country. They read about and see pictures of and meet Negro ambassadors, prime ministers and business leaders from other countries.

They see pictures of Negroes working in oil refineries in the Congo and doing technical work and being locomotive engineers. And they remember that there are very few Negroes in such jobs here. Why, you can't even find one Negro locomotive engineer in this country.

**Q How about jobs in this country? Are Negroes making much progress toward getting better jobs?**

**A** They are not getting enough better jobs.

**Q Haven't Negroes made tremendous strides in the last 30 years?**

**A** Oh, yes. But, you see, their progress has to be measured against the accelerated progress of white people. I think the Negro's median wage is now slightly less than 50 per cent of the white median wage, whereas it used to be down around a third. So, although the Negro has improved his wage earnings, he is still far behind. The white wage has gone so far ahead of his.

Negroes are largely concentrated in the unskilled categories, and those unskilled categories are the ones that have lost out to automation first, naturally.

**Q Where is all this going to lead for the Negro?**

**A** It leads to a big problem, and the NAACP plans a conference soon on unemployment problems.

Now, the Government has initiated a retraining program for workers. It's small, but it's an indication of where you can go. Yet, already, the Negroes have run into trouble on this retraining business.

**Q How?**

**A** They and the retraining program got caught in a hassle between two candidates for Congress from the same district in Mississippi. One of them had tentatively endorsed a retraining program and, as soon as the other one found out about it, he came out against it, saying his opponent wanted to train Negroes to take over white jobs. The Federal Government didn't want to get caught in this fight, so it dropped the plan.

## HIRING NEGRO CLERKS—

**Q Many large companies in the North tell us they have trouble getting clerical help, for example. Are Negro girls getting such jobs in the North?**

**A** Yes, I think Negro girls are working in more and more of these offices. Here's an example: The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had no Negroes employed in its New York office until New York State passed its fair-employment law in 1945. Then Metropolitan did what the South should do. It said, "Well, it's the law." And the company began hiring Negroes for clerical work. Now they have Negroes in supervisory jobs.

In the early days—the late '40s—some of Metropolitan's Negro girl employes joined a swimming club that had a contract to swim in a pool in a hotel. When the hotel tried to bar the Negroes, the Metropolitan said: "We have a contract to use this pool, and either these Negro girls swim or we sue." That settled it, right there. Now, if somebody in the South would do something like that—

What we need, gentlemen, is a few men in the South with some guts who would simply sit down around a table and say: "Now, look, this is what's got to be done and let's do it. Let's do it without a lawsuit, without Bobby Kennedy coming down here and beating us over the head, without the

# . . . "Segregation conflict is not good for business"

NAACP driving us or the North pressuring us. We have said we'd do it if they didn't push us. So, let's do it."

**Q What kind of men are you talking about—officials, Governors?**

**A** I think the industrialists, the businessmen, the people who really run things. You will have to bring in the mayors and the Governors eventually, but these businessmen are the kind of people who decide things.

These are the kind of people who decided, for example, that in Little Rock they'd had enough. They were the ones who decided in Norfolk and Charlottesville, Va., that the schools were going to be desegregated. And it was these people in Tuscaloosa, Ala., who held a meeting and said, "If desegregation comes to Alabama, we're not going to have it like it was at Oxford."

Now, of course, there they face a formidable opponent in Alabama's Governor George Wallace. But at least they have made their wishes known in the business community, and my bet is that they are going to win. Segregation conflict is not good for business.

**Q Do you see this kind of thing spreading in the South?**

**A** No, I don't see it. But I wish for it. I think whatever solution is arrived at, in order to be effective it will have to have the approval of this kind of citizen.

## NEGRO AIM: NO COLOR LINE—

**Q What does the Negro regard as the solution? What does he really want?**

**A** Generally, the Negro wants the color line wiped out, because it restricts his rights and opportunities. That's his general objective. And, to be effective, this has got to be on more than just a token basis.

**Q Can Robert Kennedy bring integration to the South?**

**A** He's trying like hell, following national policy.

**Q How about President Kennedy?**

**A** President Kennedy has a good attitude personally, and has made some little things pay big. For example: The morning after his inaugural parade he had the White House ring up the Coast Guard, and he asked why he didn't see any Negro faces in the Coast Guard contingent that marched in the parade. Now this was just a gesture, but it had the prestige of the White House behind it. This story has been told by Negroes from coast to coast, and the fact that not much has been done about real, solid problems is glossed over. "He has a good attitude," Negroes say. And I say it, too. He has a good attitude.

**Q About a year ago in a public statement you said to the Kennedy Administration: "We've come to collect what you promised us in 1960." What do you feel they promised you? And have they fulfilled that promise by now?**

**A** The 1960 platform was the best civil-rights platform ever adopted by the Democratic Party or any party, although the Republican platform came very close to it in 1960. Both of them were very good platforms. The Democrats promised to work for a Fair Employment Practices Act, to put the Civil Rights Commission on a permanent basis; they promised to use legislation, if necessary, to bring about school desegregation. They promised a number of other things.

The Kennedy Administration has worked hard on the voting problem—very hard. They filed almost 30 cases to protect the right to vote under the 1957 and 1960 civil-rights acts, which were passed under the Eisenhower Administration.

Bobby Kennedy has worked like a beaver on this voting. He also worked at those emergencies that developed—like the attacks on "Freedom Riders" in Alabama and Mississippi, and the attempt to bar a Negro from the University of Mississippi. He tried to move into that disgraceful situation in Prince Edward County, Va., where they have shut down their whole public-school system rather than educate Negroes on an integrated basis. It's really refreshing to see a man as high in Government as the Attorney General showing outrage at such things.

Finally, the Administration redeemed its pledge on housing after a fashion by issuing the housing order of last November 20. I say "after a fashion" because the order is so limited, so inadequate. But some of their pledges remain wholly unredeemed. The idea of a Fair Employment Practices Commission has gone by the board. If you reread

—Black Star Photo

**IN VOTING, Negroes "may shift a bit" from the Democrats to the Republicans. Says Mr. Wilkins: "It would be helpful."**

the 1960 platform, you can pretty well check off what has been done and what has not.

**Q Negroes in recent years have voted heavily Democratic. Are they likely to shift that political allegiance?**

**A** They might. However, my meaning was exaggerated in the newspaper accounts of a speech I made here recently. I was quoted as saying that the Negro vote is likely to shift to Republican. I don't mean to predict a wholesale shift. I only used that as an illustration of one of several avenues that the Negro might choose to achieve his aims.

**Q Why are Negroes mostly Democrats? Do they relate their troubles in the 1930s to the Republicans?**

**A** Not only that. Since Franklin Roosevelt came in, in 1932, the Democrats have had a chance to consolidate their gains among Negroes. They have had all kinds of patronage and prestige jobs to give out on the national, State and local levels. Negroes have become integral parts of the Democratic city machines. You're not going to jar them loose from that very easily.

But it is conceivable that they may shift a bit, and I think it would be helpful. I'm not talking now as a Democrat or as a Republican, but purely as a civil-rights advocate. It doesn't

(continued)

**INTERVIEW With Roy Wilkins, Head of the NAACP**

—USN&WR Photo

"The American Negro, whatever else he is, is thoroughly American. He's under a lot of handicaps, but he believes in this country and he believes some way he'll make it."

help the Negroes' strategic position to have their voters 79 per cent in the camp of one political party.

**Q Why?**

**A** That party begins to take the Negroes and their desires for granted. And at the same time the Republicans say, "How can we expect to get them back?" But, if the Negroes were divided, say 55 per cent or so in one party, then there'd be something for the Democrats to try to hold and for the Republicans to scramble for.

**Q How would Negroes react to Nelson Rockefeller as a presidential candidate?**

**A** I would estimate that the Rockefeller name would be very persuasive with Negroes, just as it was in his first campaign for Governor of New York.

**Q Why?**

**A** Negroes remember a good many things about the Rockefellers: the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board; the Laura Spelman Rockefeller College for Negro girls in Atlanta, Ga.; the University of Chicago, which was practically built by Rockefeller money and which has had Negroes on the faculty for a long time, and has had some distinguished Negro graduates. And, don't forget, it was Standard Oil which opened its rest rooms to Negro travelers in the 1930s. By and large, Negroes tend to believe that a Rockefeller is something special. Yes, the Rockefeller name has some magic among Negroes. I wouldn't predict anything, of course. I'm like most people: I don't think anybody can beat Mr. Kennedy at this point. But, if you ask me, "Would the Rockefeller name have an influence among Negro voters?" my answer has to be "Yes."

**Q What can the Republicans do to win back the Negro vote?**

**A** Well, the Republicans are naïve if they believe that they can get back in one year the Negro votes that they threw away in 1932. They can get back some of them. Dwight D. Eisenhower got 17 per cent of the Negro vote in 1952 and 38 per cent in 1956. But the Republicans refused to go after the rest of the Negro vote. If they had, then Richard Nixon might have won in 1960. But the Republican Party leaders didn't work for the Negro vote. They have been very inept on this. They seemed to think the Negroes were "due" to come back to them—because of Abraham Lincoln, or something.

**Q How does the NAACP stand in relation to Adam Clayton Powell, the Negro Congressman from Harlem?**

**A** We've had a little exchange of views with Mr. Powell recently. He made some speeches suggesting that Negroes ought to consider boycotting the NAACP because we have white people in policy-making positions—specifically, because we have a white president. Well, Mr. Powell is just talking through his hat. He doesn't know enough about the NAACP and its inside workings to know who supports it and who runs it.

**Q Does Representative Powell belong to the NAACP?**

**A** He's a life member.

**Q Is Mr. Powell slipping, politically?**

**A** He's not slipping politically. At least, if he is, it is not discernible. You know, in his last election he didn't print a single campaign poster, make a speech or send out a piece of literature. Yet he got 40,000 more votes than his two opponents combined.

**Q What is the basis of his political strength? Is it the church of which he is pastor?**

**A** Well, the church is partly the base of it. But Harlem has become used to Adam Powell, and they like the way he talks. Negroes like a man who, as they say, "talks back to the white folks." You see, most Negroes are in no position to talk back to white folks, but Congressman Powell is and he does. That is the reason he's a hero up there in Harlem.

And he does things with a flair, too. He has a way about him. There's a New York newspaper that has just printed a series of articles about him. The first article dwelt upon his charm. Recently, at a Powell rally, one of my staff members sat near some women who kept saying: "Isn't he beautiful? Isn't he wonderful?" They didn't know whether he was talking in Swahili or English and didn't care—just how he looked. This series is very revealing. It helps you to understand why you can't unseat Adam Powell in Harlem. An attack from an outsider just enhances his standing in Harlem.

**Q Some Negroes have complained that the NAACP is not tough enough. And yet, to some white Southerners, mentioning the NAACP is like waving a red flag. How do you account for that?**

**A** I account for it by saying that we in the NAACP are the real radicals, the real tough guys, because we espouse the tough ideas—not the tough language. The idea of outlawing racial segregation, deeply imbedded as it had become, was the toughest idea since the drive to abolish slavery. It struck home. It was a root battle. It was ours and we brought it off. Only a truly radical crusade could have brought about the present upheaval and flux.

**Q How do you regard CORE – the Congress of Racial Equality?**

**A** I regard CORE as a sort of striking force—like General Patton's spearhead across Europe into the heart of Germany. But the white Southerners who regard the NAACP as most dangerous to their viewpoint are correct. And, if they ever get to believe that the NAACP is the kind of organization they can agree with, then we will have lost something, or they will have abandoned segregation and come over to our side.

## HOW SOUTH IS CHANGING—

**Q Mr. Wilkins, do you foresee any substantial changes in the South's attitude on Negroes?**

**A** I do, and the changes are occurring. They are not very fast, but they are occurring. There are Southerners now who say that integration is going to happen and we ought to help it to happen "our way" rather than, as they say, the "Kennedy way" or the "NAACP way."

I think changes are taking place in the South, and I think the problem is going to be solved in the South. **[END]**

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# MAN'S RELATIONS TO MAN

**Throughout the world there are groups of people of uncertain or mixed racial background who are not accepted by the dominant race and refuse to identify themselves with the suppressed race. These racial hybrids, suffering social ostracism and worse, spend their entire lives in a desperate search for identity. Following are descriptions of the common misery of such people in two widely separated areas.**

## SOCIAL LIMBO IN THE UNITED STATES

*Mr. Berry, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at The Ohio State University, has written a book,* Almost White, *about the "marginal" people in the eastern United States.*

**Brewton Berry**

"There are, throughout the eastern United States, thousands of people who point—sometimes with pride, but not always—to their Indian ancestry, but who are counted as Indians neither by the Bureau of the Census, nor by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor by the Public Health Service. For that matter, their claim is received with some skepticism and amusement even by their white and Negro neighbors. Nevertheless, the tradition of Indian ancestry has persisted among them these many years, their racial features lend a measure of credibility to their claim, and they are not to be dismissed lightly as impostors or dreamers.

"These folks, whether or not they are Indians, are indeed America's outcasts. They, more than any other class, might properly be called 'forgotten men.' They spend their lonely lives in a social limbo—not quite white, not quite Negro, not quite Indian. They are ignored, derided, rejected, tolerated."

These marginal people are by no means rare, although their plight is generally not known. Though they have no generic name, they are known by local labels wherever they are found. Thus Tennessee has its Melungeons, West Virginia its Guineas, and New York-New Jersey its Jackson Whites. Pennsylvania has its Keating Mountain Group and its Pools, Maryland its Wesorts, Georgia its Croatans, Florida its Dominickers, and Alabama its Creoles and Cajuns. Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and New England all abound in similar groups. Their origins are clouded by all manner of exotic and sordid legends, but nobody really knows who they are or where they came from.

"All these have one thing in common, and it is not just the fact that their blood is mixed. Anthropologists have long insisted that there are no longer any pure races, if there ever were. All of us are mixed to some degree—English, French, German, or what not. Few American Negroes are of 'pure' stock; they are instead an amalgam of Negro, Indian, and white. Most of us, however, have the good fortune to be identified with, and accepted by, one of the major racial groups. Not so with these 'marginal' folk. They are neither fish nor fowl; neither white, nor black, nor red, nor brown. They are not quite anything entirely."

Their characteristics, as one might expect, do not lend themselves to generalizations. Hardly a statement can be made about them to which

exceptions could not be found. Some have the reddish-brown skin and straight, black, coarse hair of the Indian, but some have unmistakable negroid traits, and many could with little difficulty be taken for white, especially away from home.

Most of them are quite poor—but some are well-to-do. Most of them are unskilled—but some are professionals. Most of them are uneducated—but some have college degrees.

Two generalizations, however, can be made with little qualification.

**Don't call them Negroes**

"First, *they are determined not to be Negroes.* This is more than a wish with them—it is an obsession—and always has been. They vehemently deny that they have any strain of Negro ancestry (though they often suspect, and say, that certain others in their group have been touched with the tar brush). They are bitter in their prejudice against Negroes, and will disown one of their number who takes up with them. The stranger among them who inadvertently implies, by word or gesture, that they are Negroes or mulattoes runs the risk of bodily harm.

" 'Tell you the truth, Mr. Berry,' said one old fellow . . . , '*we don't know what the hell we is.* Some folks say we is Indians. Well, maybe so and maybe not. My old man used to say we was part Cherokee and part Irish. I dunno. *But we know we ain't niggers.* We know that!' And he made the point emphatic by pounding his right fist into the palm of his left hand."

Second, *they detest the epithets others have applied to them.* Each locality has its own pet name, and never is it complimentary—nor meant to be. Names such as Brass Ankle, Red Bone, Red Leg, Buckhead, and some fifty others cut them to the quick. Especially infuriating are those names which explicitly identify them with Negroes. Thus, the Jackson Whites loathe the term "Blue-eyed Negroes." Others, such as "Red Niggers," or "Cane River Mulattoes," have similar impacts on other groups. I will from now on refer to all the groups by the generic term *"mestizos."*

**What the whites think**

The attitudes of the whites toward the mestizos are mixed and often contradictory. "There is no consensus as to what such people are like. Whites are not agreed, after all these years, whether mestizos are clean or dirty, honest or treacherous, intelligent or stupid. . . . The white man's contacts with the mestizos are brief, rare, and superficial. The mestizo is seldom the topic of conversation. He is never the subject of talks at Rotary, Kiwanis, book clubs, or missionary societies. He is rarely mentioned in the newspapers, and schoolbooks omit all reference to him.

"He has received honest treatment in such novels as *Po' Buckra* and *Red Bone Woman;* but I found these books in not a single library in those regions where mestizos live, and none of my informants had ever read or heard of them. In short, the attitude of whites toward mestizos is a jumble of ignorance, indifference, prejudice, suspicion, pity, fear, bewilderment, and above all, contradiction.

"One common and familiar thread, however, runs through all these varied and conflicting attitudes—the conviction that, whatever the mestizo's character, it is the result of the blood, or the mixture of bloods, that flows in his veins. Mestizos, it was repeatedly explained to me, are lazy because of their Negro blood, deceitful because of the Indian, and for whatever virtue there is in them, they can thank their philandering white procreators. . . .

"The Negro's image of the mestizo is more accurate than the white man's. It shows greater insight into the nature of his problem, and deeper understanding of his frustrations, hopes, and tribulations. Moreover, there is often a suggestion of charity and tolerance . . . all too rare among whites.

"This is not to say that Negroes hold mestizos in high esteem, or look up to them even slightly. Sometimes their comments are as caustic as those of any white bigot. . . . More often, however, there is absent from the Negro's disparaging opinions that element of arrogance which whites commonly display. . . .

"An aged Negro man, smoking a pipe as he sat on the porch of his cabin, appeared to have all the time in the world, and I decided, therefore, to stop and have a chat with him. . . . When I thought the subject could be properly introduced, I said, 'Back up the road a piece I saw some people that looked like Indians to me. You have any Indians around here?'

" 'Naw suh, them's what you call Brass Ankle.'

" 'Brass Ankle?' I replied, as though I'd never heard the term. 'What's that?'

" 'Dat,' he said, nodding his head ruefully, 'dat am de worse mess we got in dis country.'

" 'How so?'

" 'Brass Ankle,' he explained, 'is people what is all mix up. De blood is all mix up.'

" 'What kind of folks are they?' I asked.

" 'Oh, dey is no 'count, dey is triflin'. . . . Ah tell you, boss, where you can always find Brass Ankle. You just look fo' de po' lan'—lan wid little scrub oak on it, 'bout dis high. Dat's where you find de Brass Ankle livin'.'

" 'Why do they live on such poor land?' I asked, innocently.

" 'It's like dis,' he went on. 'Dey is lazy people, and po' lan' don't take as much work out o' a man as good lan' do.'. . .

**What the Negroes think**

"Many Negro informants, even those who have been the butt of mestizos' snubs, express feelings of pity for them. Typical of such opinions was that of the uneducated Negro preacher, who, at the end of a lengthy but perceptive discourse on the subject, said: 'I feel sorry for those people. They don't know where they belong. Now take me, for instance, I know what I am. Ain't no doubt about me. I know how to act. But those Red Legs, they don't know where they belong. Now when I rides on a bus, I know to wait 'till the white folks get on—the white ladies first, then the white men. Then we niggers get on and push right through the white folks sittin' and standin' in the front of the bus. That don't make sense. What they ought to do is to make the niggers get on first and go to the back of the bus. But that's the way they want it, and that's the way it is. But those Red Legs, they don't know when they supposed to get on, and they don't know where to sit. That's how they are all the time, and I feels sorry for 'em.'

"That was Uncle Tom speaking. An hour later I sat in the office of the leader of the local branch of the NAACP. He was light enough to pass easily as white. As a matter of fact, he did just that whenever it suited his purpose to do so. He had done much to improve the Negro's lot. He had written letters of protest to the newspapers, had marched in picket lines, had put pressure on politicians, had prevailed upon employers to open new jobs to Negroes, had fought against discrimination on many fronts. Naturally, we discussed the local mestizos, who had but recently gathered for their annual, well publicized 'powwow,' and who were striving to get the community to accept them as Indians.

" 'They think they can solve their problem with feathers. . . . They ought to forget all that foolishness and join with us. We could do more for them than anybody else.'

"He is probably right. If the mestizos would only cast their lot with the

Negroes and their militant organizations, they could enter more remunerative lines of employment, improve their opportunities for education, break through the barriers that isolate them, avail themselves of numerous public services, increase their political power, gain greater mobility, and free themselves from the ambiguous social status that dwarfs and circumscribes their whole existence.

"The price? They have only to say, 'We are Negroes.' But that price, as the mestizos see it, is more than they are willing to pay."

**Near the top of the social ladder**

The result of all these interacting attitudes is social ambiguity for the mestizos. The social control that derives from racial etiquette leaves the mestizos nowhere. In one community, I observed racial etiquette in action. "Little clusters of Negroes stood on the sidewalk, talking and laughing, or sprawled under the oak trees near the railroad tracks. The mestizos paid them no attention. At the same time, they were cordial to their white acquaintances, who, I observed, either called them by their Christian names or addressed them as 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' In the stores they were accorded courteous treatment, whereas Negroes would hardly expect to be waited on while white customers were standing around. I saw mestizos enter the barber shop and take their turn in the chair. No Negro would have dared to enter. They stepped up to the town's lone soda fountain, and stood there as they sipped their cokes or licked their ice cream cones. Negroes were served there, too, provided they stood at the end of the counter, and stepped outside to enjoy their refreshment.

"At two o'clock the movie opened its doors. Negroes bought their popcorn along with the others, but they purchased their tickets and entered the theater by the side door, and sat in the balcony. Whites and mestizos entered by the front door, and sat downstairs.

"Mestizos, in this community, certainly seemed to enjoy the privileged status of whites. But everybody, I am convinced, draws the color line somewhere. I discussed the local situation with several of the old-timers. . . .

"Well, we have a swimming hole down on the river that most of the young people around here use in summer. Of course, no Negroes go there; they have another place down the river a piece. The Croatans go to the white place, but not at the same time. If some white children went out there to go swimming and found some Croatans swimming there, they would either go away or wait until the Croatans came out. They don't object to swimming in the same place, but not at the same time.'

" 'Is there no other type of discrimination against them here?'

" 'Come to think of it, I never heard of any Croatan being a member of the Masons. I don't think any of them could get into the Masonic Lodge.'

**At the bottom of the social ladder**

"The following Saturday found me in another Carolina town just fifty miles from the one just described. There were Negroes in droves, milling around, smiling, joking, talking. A Brass Ankle drove up in his old Ford, took out a string of fish, and sold it to a Negro; but the transaction was strictly business. None of the small talk that usually obtains between buyer and seller. A Negro took out his guitar and began strumming a tune. Whites and Negroes gathered around, obviously enjoying the performance. A few Brass Ankles stood and listened, but apart from the others, their faces inexpressive. Mestizos do not stroll leisurely around the streets; they walk fast, looking straight ahead. They dart into the stores, make their purchases, and dart out again. They try not to see the 'White Only' sign in the window of the café and the barber shop, for they know that, in this community, it means 'No Brass Ankles.' "

In this town, mestizos did not go to the movies as whites. They were

not allowed downstairs, but had to sit upstairs with the Negroes. The balcony was itself divided, one half for Negroes, the other for mestizos. This tri-partite pattern of segregation is not uncommon. In one town I saw three separate drinking fountains, and six separate toilet facilities.

"These two communities represent the extremes. The others fall somewhere in between. But, to confound the confusion, not only does the etiquette vary from town to town, it varies also from one individual to another. Those who regard the mestizo as 'nothing but a mulatto trying to get out of his place' will treat him as though he were a Negro; while those who regard him as white, or mostly white, or as part Indian, will adjust the etiquette to fit the definition. The poor mestizo, accordingly, never knows quite where he stands. Every personal contact with one he does not know becomes something of an adventure."

Many mestizos, if they can, try to be white. Many try desperately to be Indian. "Most of them would doubtless prefer to be whites. But, since that goal is beyond their reach, they will settle for Indian. It is better to be red than black." (*Almost White*)

# Business – Next Target for Integration?

By JOHN PERRY

*JOHN PERRY is a member of the management consulting firm of Pritchard, Schaffer & Woodyatt. In 19 years as an industrial executive and consultant, he has worked in a variety of industries in both the North and the South.*

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*Until now business has been left pretty much alone, and for the most part management has followed a do-nothing policy; but forces are gathering which may well develop into active conflict.*

# BUSINESS– Next Target for Integration?

*By John Perry*

Will CORE, the NAACP, and other antisegregation groups make American industry their next major target?

Management is worried:

"I wonder why they've waited so long," a corporation president confessed. "We're vulnerable. Take my company. We have no official policy against hiring Negroes. But, the fact is, we don't have one on the payroll!"

His general counsel had warned him that the company was in obvious violation of both government contract provisions and state equal-opportunities laws. Its union contract, too, pledged nondiscrimination.

"Personnel told me that three Negroes came in last week, looking for work," the president continued. "We have men on layoff, so we weren't hiring. But Personnel thinks it may have been a test case. We hadn't had a Negro applicant for over a year. Now, three at once. Made us wonder who sent them."

"What are your plans?" I asked.

"That's the damnedest thing!" he exclaimed. "I don't know what to do. Sure, open up, hire strictly on ability! We'll have to do it. But as a rule we just don't have Negro applicants. And Personnel tells me we'll stir up a hornet's nest in the plant if we hire Negroes. We talked with a couple of union officers and they just shrugged it off; said it was our problem, not theirs."

## The Gathering Storm

Will industry be next? The American Negro's struggle for a place in the sun has been fought on a widening front since World War II. The mood and temper are well expressed by James M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University:

"We are sick of evasions, weary of excuses, fed up with promises and want action now, liberty now, equality now."

Action there has been, at a quickening pace. Racial bars have been broken in schools, colleges, restaurants, theaters, hotels, swimming pools, parks, playgrounds, hospitals, blood banks, department stores, public housing, the armed forces, public conveyances, YMCAs, Scout troops, professional and amateur sports, fraternities, private clubs. Not everywhere, not all at once; but the trend is massive.

Influential Negro leaders make it plain that gradualism is not enough, even if it be called "progress." Indeed, leaders who planned the strategy of progress are being shoved aside by others who want no compromises. Some white liberals have been hurt and confused at being told that the kind of help they provided for so long is now called "go-slowism." Many Negroes favor all-Negro leadership for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which were interracial when founded.

The new forces are confident, determined, and militant, and they are rapidly abandoning lawsuits as their chief tactic. Direct action is replacing it: sit-ins, kneel-ins, wade-ins, boycotts, demonstrations, picket lines.

So, will industry be next? The Negro has been at a tremendous disadvantage in the job market. Economic equality is a principal goal.

Surely there will be a maximum effort to redress the balance. Will American industry have its Little Rock and its Oxford?

I do not think so. But this is not because the demand for equal opportunity will be tempered. On the contrary, it seems certain that Negroes and their allies will make job equality an immediate goal, and be prepared for confrontation on any scale. The difference between Little Rock and business, however, is that industry leaders are not massing for the defense. Whatever their private prejudices may be, they will not commit their corporations to them. For business, equal opportunity is not a fighting issue.

Nor is this a new position. Racial discrimination in industry has been a product of nonpolicy rather than policy. True, some national corporations have formalized it: "Let local customs prevail." But in most cases the pattern has simply evolved, growing out of customs, habits, and tacit understandings.

## Inevitable Change

Letting sleeping dogs lie was a comfortable and noncontroversial policy for business while community customs remained static or changed slowly. Industry's problem now is that community customs are changing fast. Unfortunately, these changes do not flow easily and automatically through factory gates. Inside the plant, yesterday's customs have become structures, often frozen into seniority rules and job assignments, and closely linked to status and job security.

But more and more executives are feeling squeezed between the pressures for change from without and the structured customs within their organizations. At least half convinced that the change must come, they are understandably reluctant to take action which might make racial conflict a disturbing issue within their organizations.

At the same time, a growing number of companies — including some of the largest corporations — have, instead of yielding to pressures, seized the initiative. Evidence of this initiative is the work of the National Urban League, an interracial organization seeking to end segregation and discrimination.

Among the members of the National Urban League's Commerce and Industry Council are the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, General Electric Company, General Foods Corporation, General Motors Corporation, International Harvester Company, International Business Machines Corporation, Western Electric Company, Incorporated, American Machine & Foundry Company, Radio Corporation of America, St. Regis Paper Company, Schenley Industries, Inc., Union Carbide Corporation, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., Bristol-Myers Company, Campbell Soup Company, General Cable Corporation, Hanes Hosiery Mills Co., Budd Company, and others. Corporate membership on the council signifies that each company is helping to finance the organization's work. It also signifies that each member company has taken at least the first steps toward hiring and promoting without regard to race. And key officials of these companies are, on behalf of the League, opening friendly and helpful conversations with leaders of other companies that have yet to make a serious beginning.

## Patterns of Discrimination

What are companies like these really trying to overcome? What are the causes of job discrimination, anyway? The answers are not as simple as some think. An incident from my experience helps make this clear:

> For a time I was involved in the management of a southern manufacturing plant. Our contract with the United Automobile Workers of America included the standard nondiscrimination clause. Its seniority provisions were such that new employees were first assigned to foundry labor.
>
> Negro and white laborers worked together in the foundry. State law required that there be separate washrooms and drinking fountains, but foundry labor is hot, heavy, and dirty, and men who drank quarts of water daily sought it at whatever fountain was nearest. At noon, when the weather was good, Negro and white workers ate together on the grassy bank outside.
>
> The Negroes did feel free to go after one kind of better-paying work. They bid up to the top foundry jobs: push-up, shake-out, and pour-off. The highest-paid hourly worker in the plant was our Negro cupola tender. Factors of skill, hazard, and physical effort gave this job top rating, and the Negro operator earned an hour of overtime pay every morning.
>
> But outside of foundry work no Negro ever bid on a job. We had no Negro press operators, no Negro welders, no Negroes on assembly or painting or die-setting. The bids were open and posted, and many Negroes had enough seniority and ability to have bid successfully. No member of management discouraged Negroes from bidding, and I doubt that any union leaders did so.

Had I wanted to change this pattern, how would I have done so? We hired without discrimination. We promoted those who bid on the jobs. Yet all but one department was "lily white."

What if a Negro had bid into another department? I think we would have followed the contract, but with some apprehension. Would he be heckled, threatened, sabotaged? Would we have a wildcat strike or a slowdown? When two Negro employees of an outside contractor used the assembly washroom, the line was stopped for an hour in protest.

This case is typical only in that it illustrates some of the bewildering array of customs, situations, and practices lumped together as "discrimination." Here are other contradictions:

◖ One company I know of employs a preponderance of Negroes, about two-thirds of its total manning; but the Negroes are rigidly confined to certain categories.

◖ Another company employs only a few Negroes, but they seem to have been hired and promoted without regard to race; in fact, one of them heads a predominantly white department.

◖ In a South Carolina plant, the standard crew for a certain machine line is a white woman and a Negro man. Any white man in the plant would refuse transfer to the job now held by Negroes. But, in a plant not far away, identical machines have all-white crews, and it would cause a storm if Negroes were assigned.

◖ A New Jersey company has a number of Negro scientists and engineers in its employ, several Negro typists, and a Negro bookkeeper; but no Negroes are on the hourly payroll.

◖ In several plants I have visited, Negroes are hired and promoted freely in all the production classifications, but none are in the skilled-trades progressions.

## Unchanging Status

There are some well-established patterns, of course, and they can be summed up by saying that Negroes are at the bottom of the heap — except where that unenviable position is held by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, or Asiatics. (In one small eastern town, the descendants of a native Indian tribe sometimes seek to elevate their status by passing as Negroes.) In general, Negroes find it harder to get jobs; they are more likely to be in hot, heavy, dirty, and menial jobs; they are in the lowest wage categories.

But is this the true face of racial discrimination? The same generalizations were true for the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, and other groups, following each great wave of immigration. But many of their children and most of their grandchildren were educated side by side with other citizens, entered the job market on equal terms, and moved up wherever their drive and ability took them. Obviously there has been something different about the Negro's situation, about his cultural segregation in the community. A third-generation Pole might speak with a New England twang. An Adamowski could become an Adams. But the Negro's most conspicuous characteristic will not change; he cannot change his color.

So, in the community, racial segregation has been an absolute, a yes/no matter. It takes only one black face to break the color line in a school or a restaurant, at least symbolically. James Meredith is the smallest possible minority at the University of Mississippi, but no one has doubted the meaning of his presence there.

It is not that simple in industry, and the manager who contemplates the need to change may well ask himself, "Change what?" If his company is reasonably large, the chances are that some Negroes are on the payroll now. Segregated washrooms are side issues, not useful indexes. Equal pay for equal work is the general practice in manufacturing industry; discrimination on this score survives only in scattered and backward enclaves.

Indeed, he will find no single yes/no issue as the determinant, no single policy or practice which sustains or abolishes discrimination. The wisest thing he can do to make sense out of the problem is to put aside the slogan words of "segregation" and "integration," and to substitute instead the subtler and more meaningful concept of *place*.

## "OK in Their Place"

Every Negro knows what *place* means. *Place* is where he is accepted, where white people think he belongs. A Negro is more than accepted in his place; he is often welcomed, warmly regarded, respected, admired. Especially in the South, place involves far more than where a Negro lives or what job he holds. It includes nuances of behavior and demeanor which neither white nor black could codify but which both fully understand.

Place is an elusive thing. A northern housewife would be shocked if a servant, white or

black, addressed her with the easy familiarity commonly enjoyed by the southern Negro housekeeper. Yet in parts of the South, the white man who sees a Negro look him in the eye as they pass on the street reads this as a message of challenge, of defiance, and brands the black man as "uppity" and potentially dangerous.

## Geographical Concept

Place is precisely what a local group thinks it is — no more, no less. It can differ from area to area, community to community, factory to factory, and department to department. It has no standard form or boundaries, but — in any given locale — place is categorical, exact, and tacitly understood by all. The Negroes in our foundry were in their place, including the top-pay cupola tender. The Negroes teamed with white women in the South Carolina plant were in their place; yet in the plant nearby a Negro assigned to this same job would have been conspicuously out of place.

Place describes, if it does not explain, the bewildering variety of discriminations in the community at large. Thus:

¶ In one southern department store Negroes were welcomed as customers but out of place as clerks. In another store they were in place as clerks but not as customers.

¶ In a southern city the most fashionable barber shop was owned and operated by Negroes. This would have been unthinkable in another city not far away.

¶ In a small Tennessee town, I followed two white men into a small cafe, sat near them on one side of the horseshoe-shaped counter. The counterman was a Negro and, I soon learned, the owner. Negro customers entered and sat on the other side. Gradually the place filled. I soon saw that the racial barrier was invisibly drawn between two seats at the counter's end. Negro and white sat side by side there and pleasantries were exchanged across the horseshoe. But any latecomer would stand, waiting for a seat on his side.

¶ In parts of the South, at least, a Negro physician is not out of place treating white patients. I spent an evening with a Negro doctor who practices in Fairfax County, Virginia. Almost half of his regular patients are white, he told me. "People from the North who came down to work for the government?" I asked, naively. He shook his head. "Indeed not," he said; "in fact, when I've been called out on night emergencies by strangers, people who got my name out of the Classified, the only times I've been turned away have been by people from the North."

Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian who has made a career of poking fun at the contradiction of place, has quipped, "In the South, they don't care how close we are if we don't get too big. In the North, they don't care how big we are if we don't get too close!"

North or South, place is what the manager must deal with if he decides it is time for a change.

## The Company's Role

Is it time for a change? If so, what can be done about place? It would be difficult to find any large employer, North or South, who has successfully and completely eliminated the restrictive aspects of place. Even in those companies that are determined and courageous in their efforts to be equal-opportunity employers, vestiges of discrimination persist — largely as a result of place considerations.

But only a few companies have gone all-out to erase the barriers. Conversely, only a few remain "lily white." An executive can get a rough reading on his company's situation by taking a walk through the offices, laboratories, and plant. He will probably see conspicuous evidence that Negroes are, for one reason or another, limited in number and occupations.

Until recently, this kind of evidence exposed the company to little, if any, risk of legal action. The machinery of law enforcement was usually actuated only by complaints, and investigation limited to the allegations of the individual complainant. With employers being free to select new employees in any way they please, which includes hunch and whim, it is seldom possible to prove racial discrimination in any given case.

## The Law's Role

Today the law enforcement agencies are taking more initiative and broadening the scope of their investigations. They are now likely to look at the results of hiring practices, not just the practices themselves. They are beginning to consider discrimination in promotions, not just in hiring. Yet, on the record to date, it can be said that the risk of prosecution, conviction, and penalty is small. A determined segregationist, willing to fight his case up through the courts, could expect to maintain his position for a long time, perhaps indefinitely.

The vast majority of managers, however, want no part of such a struggle. They are well aware that even an accusation is damaging, because such accusations are often well publicized. Recently, for example, a number of New Jersey employers and their employment agencies were publicly charged with using a secret code to identify the jobs for which Negro applicants would be considered. The charges against most of them were subsequently dropped, but in public relations terms the damage had been done.

The integrationists have sought and obtained stronger federal laws. They will continue to work for equal-opportunities laws in states that have not as yet adopted them. They will, when it seems strategically advantageous, file charges and complaints, and press them. But, for the most part, these are tactical maneuvers. They expect to win by pressure and persuasion, not court decrees. Here is one possible method:

> The manager of a company which employs a significant number of people in a metropolitan area can safely assume that his company's hiring practices have been considered by desegregationist groups. If he has not heard from them already, he surely will. How the approach is made depends on which group takes the initiative first.
>
> The approach may be a telephone call from a business friend, an officer of another company; and the manager may be surprised to learn that his friend is identified with the National Urban League. The call may suggest a three-way conference: the two executives and a member of the League's staff, who is likely to be a Negro with a graduate degree in industrial relations.
>
> The first conference will be exploratory. They will discuss the company's practices and problems, review what's going on in other companies, explain the League's role, and offer to help the manager change the practices of his own company. The combination of pressure and persuasion is approximate to what one would expect if the subject were a contribution to a local charity.

## The New Approach

But there is a new tone and temper in the Negro community, and other groups impatient with the Urban League's pragmatic methods are emerging. They want action now, and their methods are vigorous and public.

### Avoiding Conflict

What might they do? Some answers to this question are in the daily headlines. Companies have been singled out for attack, and most have given ground. But few managers have other than academic interest in knowing what strategies might be used against them, or what the costs might be. It is enough for them to know that the attack might come, and that it would be pressed with vigor and determination.

This is not a contest in which they choose to engage. What they want is a way of avoiding the conflict altogether, of being responsive to the times. Most of the managers I have talked with say — and, I believe, honestly — that neither principle nor prejudice holds them back from providing equal opportunity. But they are deterred from affirmative action by real concern lest this disrupt their organizations.

What are the risks of initiating change? How much conflict and commotion may be precipitated if Negroes move into jobs heretofore considered out of place for them? There is little to go on, because so few managements have risked discovering how much of the threatened reaction was substance, how much shadow. No one likes to thrust an arm in a lion's mouth.

It would be well first to consider what the organized opposition might be — specifically the attitude of labor unions. In some situations, at least, organized labor appears to be a vigorous defender of racial discrimination.

### The Unions' Stand

In certain of the craft unions, especially in the building trades, the racial barriers are out in the open for everyone to see. Some unions are strictly white; others are Jim Crow, confining Negroes to separate locals, where they may have no voice in union policies and may get only the leftover jobs.

The history of craft unions illuminates what is going on today. Since the days of the guilds, craftsmen have attempted to buttress their economic position by restricting intake to their crafts. At times their rules were designed to exclude immigrants. At times only members' sons could be apprenticed. Some unions set enormous initiation fees to limit intake. Those that exclude Negroes today do so, not because they are Negroes, but because they are competitors. Racial prejudice is a convenient rationalization, not a cause.

Few of the unions that represent the bulk of organized industrial employees practice racial segregation officially. Indeed, most of their charters declare a quite opposite position. Re-

cent targets of the NAACP have been international unions that publicly denounce discrimination. The NAACP attacks, not their international policies, but their practices, especially the conduct of certain locals.

A case in which I was briefly involved suggests what the NAACP has in mind:

This concerned a factory in southwestern Illinois which had a contract with the United Steelworkers of America, a union which, nationally, stands four-square against any form of discrimination. On its face, the union contract seemed to reflect this policy. It contained the standard nondiscrimination clause. But there was a certain peculiarity about the seniority arrangements of the contract. They puzzled me because they ran counter to what unions usually demand; but the minutes of the bargaining sessions showed the union negotiators had insisted on these with considerable passion.

The Steelworkers' international representative finally took pity on me and explained. The odd clauses had been ingeniously fashioned to confine Negro employees to certain departments and occupations. "I wish I'd been able to get some signals across the table during the negotiations," he confessed. "I did everything I could to stop it, and I lost. Then I hoped management would take a stand. It was just one faction in the local, but they had the whip hand."

This man, like many international union representatives, had an assignment that is largely political. A union local enjoys considerable autonomy. In theory, the international has both governing policies and disciplinary powers. But, against these, a rebellious local has a potent threat: disaffiliation.

Thus, where racial discrimination is practiced within a plant, management and union are often equally guilty, and for the same reason: both of them have hesitated to tangle with what appears to be deep-seated prejudice among hourly employees.

## Outflanking Prejudice

What happens when a company shows enough courage to attack these deep-rooted racial prejudices among its employees? Do unrest and discontent necessarily follow? It all depends on how intelligently the company has gone about its attempts at change. Let me offer an example:

Mrs. Evelyn M. Hairston is a chief inspector, or foreman, for 11 machines manned by white and Negro workers in a large tobacco factory. The factory is in North Carolina. Mrs. Hairston is a Negro. In the crew she supervises whites outnumber Negroes by more than two to one. Four other Negroes are supervisors on her shift.

A visit to this plant would astonish many northern executives who think of the South in stereotypes. There is little visible evidence of restrictive place. Negro and white workers are a random mix. Whites supervise Negroes, and Negroes supervise whites.

State law requires that there be separate washrooms, but there is no segregation in the company's cafeteria. There is some sorting-out at the cafeteria tables, but it is a social rather than a racial pattern; no eyebrows are raised when Negro and white individuals choose to sit together.

How did this pattern, which would be unusual in a northern setting, come about in the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company factory in the South? First, the company was committed firmly to a policy of equal opportunity. Next, Winston-Salem is noted for good race relations; schools and other public places desegregated without incident. Finally, the Whitaker Park plant is new. Thus, place had no prior structure. Within this plant, place was made from the beginning, starting with a clean slate.

### Starting Fresh

Recently I was asked by some corporation executives what racial policies could and should be followed in manning a factory they were about to build in a border state. Corporate policy, as stated to me, was "equal opportunity, to the extent that this doesn't get us in trouble locally."

Ten years ago this area was rigidly segregated. Now, I learned, racial barriers are gone or rapidly vanishing in the schools and most public places. The community pool has been integrated; the chief lifeguard is a Negro. The new public hospital is unsegregated. A small but increasing number of white students now attend what once had been an all-Negro state college. Not everyone likes the changes, to be sure. I talked with prominent citizens who made no effort to conceal their distaste. But they join with other white spokesmen and Negro leaders in a clear consensus: a new company, just starting up, can set almost any pattern it chooses. Several warn that it would be more difficult to change the pattern later.

In this case, as well as that of the Reynolds

company, it is significant that the community environment was not hostile to an integrated business in its midst. For a northern firm to "invade" a deep-South town with such a proposition would not be quite so easy and might be impossible. But "might" is the proper word. If the northern managers made integrated operations a condition, and stuck to it; if the community needed the industry badly enough; if the "invaders," though firm, were willing to discuss *how* it could be done — out of this could emerge at least a more liberal restructuring of place. Several companies that determined to make the change and went about it skillfully are now operating racially integrated plants in Georgia, Texas, and other southern states.[1]

## An Inside Job

No company is likely to tear down a plant and build anew just to have this opportunity to restructure relationships. But if a new plant can move toward equal opportunity with considerable freedom, while an established plant in the same community seems tied to the past, one useful fact is demonstrated: *the problem of change is primarily internal.*

In some cases, management is challenged to find ways of updating internal patterns which have lagged behind community changes. But the examples suggest that management is not limited to conforming. It can, if it so chooses, move ahead of local customs. Two experiences that I have had in performing reconnaissance work for a new plant location are worth recounting:

¶ First, I talked with a number of people in the community about the current racial practices of the county's largest industry. Most white business leaders said this company practiced "token integration," hiring a few Negroes to avoid trouble on government contracts. But, to my surprise, even the most militant Negro leaders praised this company for its open-door policies!

I went back to one Negro leader and demanded an explanation. The county's population was divided about equally between Negro and white. The company in question employed about 50 Negroes in a total manning of about 1,000. Why did he consider this a case of equal opportunity?

"They hire on the basis of ability," he told me. "This has been a rural area. There aren't many Negroes with the skills they need. Our young men need training. We want equal opportunity, not favoritism."

¶ Two days later I sat on the front porch of a small house ten miles away and talked with a machinist, a tobacco-chewing oldster wearing suspenders over a ragged undershirt. . . . Would he be interested in working in the new factory? He sure would! How would he feel about working side by side with Negroes? He looked at me sharply and spat tobacco juice.

"You mean Negroes or niggers?" he demanded.

"What's the difference?"

"If you mean niggers like we got in the shacks over there, you couldn't pay me to. But if you mean a Negro, somebody who does my work as well as I do, hell! he's *folks*!"

Here we see one of the reasons why, in the past, racial barriers in industry were, to some degree, natural boundaries. Industry necessarily discriminates on the basis of ability. Formerly, this alone would have left most Negroes outside the gates or in the lowest-paid jobs. Until the separate-but-equal strategy developed as a defense against school integration, few Negroes could get a decent education, and even fewer were prepared for jobs in industry. Southern Negro educators have told me that their vocational courses were limited to farming and service trades.

## Tarnished Hopes

This is why World War II was such a significant turning point. War plants grabbed for whatever labor was to be had, regardless of age, sex, or race, and regardless of skill. Negro women with little education were taught complex bombsight assembly, and Negro men were given hurry-up courses in welding, machine shop operations, and other skills. When the war ended, Negro veterans entered the job market with new skills developed in the armed forces. And, under the G.I. Bill of Rights, thousands of Negro youths entered colleges and universities, graduating with degrees in medicine, engineering, chemistry, physics, biology, law, and business administration.

Some of the skilled and educated Negroes found jobs at the levels for which they were qualified. Many did not. Graduate engineers became janitors and laborers. Graduates in business administration often found it difficult to get work even as clerks. From this large group of vocationally frustrated people has arisen a

[1] For other examples of industry leadership, see Helen Hill Miller, "Private Business & Public Education in the South," HBR July–August 1960, p. 75.

great deal of the insistent drive for equality of opportunity.

Here is a clue to the dynamics of change, furnished by my friend, the tobacco-chewing machinist. Discrimination has a cultural base. Immigrants who came to America from the cultural equivalents of southern Negro farming communities were treated in much the same way as Negroes who migrate northward from the rural South. The children of the European immigrants, however, could go to school with other citizens. Until recently, most Negro children could not. Now this is changing, and with it is coming a profound, though slow, change of attitudes. It's hard to hate a man whose background is the same as yours.

## Initiating Change

Few industrial managers have to be hit over the head before they know what's going on. It is part of their managerial skill to anticipate, to sense which way the wind is blowing, to respond to trends in marketing or technology or economics almost before they happen. In my opinion neither legal threats nor fear of publicity is causing so many managers to take a fresh look at the hiring and promotion of Negro workers. Rather, it is their close observation of today's social scene.

The manager has become accustomed to seeing well-dressed Negroes in good restaurants, on planes and trains, in church, in hotel lobbies, at United Fund meetings, on television, at his university club. Only a few years ago, if he met a Negro at some civic or political meeting, he understood that the man was there because he was a Negro; he was a kind of exhibit. Today it is much more likely that the Negro is there because of his position or profession. It makes a difference that everyone feels.

The manager is aware that companies other than his are changing. He sees it happening. He reads about it. It is talked about, usually off the record and informally, at business gatherings. So, in due course, questions are shaped in his mind: "How can we keep in step? How can we change, without making a big deal of it? Can we do it without a lot of uproar?"

There is some advice I can give to managers who ask these questions. But I must issue the obvious warning that this kind of change is not achieved by any "how to do it" formula. Place has many meanings; discrimination takes many forms; no two communities or groups are quite alike. Sometimes change is best achieved by a bold, deliberate act of management, a careful assessment of the situation followed by a determination to see it through. Sometimes it is best to take it a step at a time, choosing the points for change with considerable care.

But there are enough integrated plants, North and South, to demonstrate that the goal is not unrealistic or unattainable. And there are more than enough instances of management-initiated change to demonstrate that such changes are feasible, that they can be brought about without short-term or long-term penalties.

Let us take up some of the problems that occur in the hiring and training of Negro hourly workers, professionals, office workers, supervisors, and managers.

### In the Personnel Office

It takes more than a quiet word to the personnel director to change what happens at the point of hiring. The reputation of every significant company is well known in the Negro community. If the company has hired no Negroes, or very few, then few will apply. No one likes to invite rejection. Employment agencies know company reputations, too. Though companies and agencies alike are bound by law in some states not to discriminate, agencies hesitate to send Negroes where they will not be welcome. Even the official agencies often refrain from sending applicants on futile quests.

If nothing had happened before, the essence of fairness might be recruiting efforts that give no heed to race. But, realistically, a company must make a point of recruiting Negroes to redress past imbalances. This is not difficult. Any good personnel man does his recruiting where the people he wants can be found. Calls can be sent to schools and institutes where Negroes are trained, to agencies where they apply for work, and to neighborhoods where they live. A number of companies have initiated change by hiring Negroes for their personnel offices.

With the flow of applicants stimulated, the next problem is selection. It may seem that the essence of equality is applying the same criteria to white and Negro applicants. As some Negroes see it, this is anything but fair. Thus:

"We hear too much of that!" a Negro militant told me angrily — " 'Be like us and we'll let you

in.' Equal opportunity — on the white man's ground, measured by his standards. Act like a white man; dress like a white man; talk like a white man; think like a white man. That's not the kind of equality we want!"

On its face, this is an extreme position, and most of the equal-opportunity advocates would consider it a tremendous step forward if Negro and white job applicants were selected by the same standards. But there are two special aspects of the militant's complaint that deserve consideration by a manager who wants to make an affirmative effort:

(1) There are subjective factors that influence selection, and a personnel man may find it difficult, at first, to set aside conscious or unconscious prejudice. Company policy is one thing; when responsibility for its practice depends on him, the personnel man may be overzealous in screening Negro applicants.

(2) White applicants are often judged by their work histories and craft training. A Negro with equivalent skills is likely to have acquired them in different ways, and in settings with which the personnel man is not familiar. One way to adjust the balance is to base selection more on job tests — the direct measurement of skills — rather than on background evidence.

In situations where Negroes have not been hired before, management may be tempted to experiment: hire one or two and see what happens. How will the white employees feel about it? If the goal is successful desegregation, one cannot ignore the parallel question: How will the Negro feel about it? How would a white worker feel if thrust into an all-Negro factory, alone? More than once, the subject of such an experiment has simply quit.

Often the best time to change is when a new department is opened, a new line installed, or a new shift added. It is likely to go more easily if a group of Negroes are included in a batch of new hires, rather than hiring one today, another next month. A new and rigid example of place would be instituted if a new machine were manned by an all-Negro crew. On the other hand, if several Negroes are hired, the group situation is likely to be better if they are associated in mixed work groups, rather than scattered in individual isolation.

Many companies have found it strategic to break the ice by hiring college-trained Negro personnel men. No doubt one reason is the input of special knowledge and perspective to the personnel staff. But even more important is the clear signal this gives to both employees and applicants. The job-seeker, Negro or white, gets the message at once. For instance:

A Louisville company hired two Negro interviewers and stationed them behind the long counter where applicants were received. Management expected that Negro applicants would prefer to be interviewed by Negroes, white applicants by whites. But applicants read the message differently, and approached whichever interviewer was free.

## Hiring Professionals

In many large companies, the color line was first broken by the hiring of Negro scientists and engineers. More than 20 years ago a Negro chemist became research director of a large midwestern company. In the professional categories, desegregation seems to have been no problem where it has been undertaken. Among the 20 largest corporations I happen to know about, there are none without some Negro professionals at work, and promotion on the basis of ability seems not to be an issue.

Nearly all of the Negro professionals I have met in these settings are graduates of nonsegregated universities. Their professional integration predates their hiring by industry. They were educated with the same people they now work beside. The relationship has simply extended into a new environment. In a sense, industry did not desegregate here. It simply appropriated a desegregated pattern which began in the classroom.

No doubt the shortage of engineers contributed to the rapid disappearance of racial barriers in professional categories. It may also be a reason why recruiters for a number of large corporations have added the top-ranking Negro colleges and universities to the list of campuses they visit. (As a sidenote, some of them have been surprised to find that many of these "Negro colleges" are no longer all-Negro. The proportion of white students has increased year by year. In at least one case, they have become a majority!)

## Hiring Office Workers

In a border-state high school I saw 11 Negro girls in a typing class of 33. Any local employer who chose to do so could "appropriate" this established group relationship for his own office. But male personnel people are often jit-

tery about any move that might upset the office girls. Status patterns develop in an office in bizarre and puzzling ways. Sometimes, though, these patterns are clear and blunt: on a washroom door in an Ohio plant, I saw a hand-lettered sign, OFFICE GIRLS ONLY. The factory girls came from the same backgrounds as the clerks and typists, some from the same families. They were the better paid, but it was the office girls who wore the fancy dresses to work.

When I was a government official some years ago, I had occasion to interview several girls, including one Negro, for a clerical job. At the end of the day my secretary, a young lady from Alabama, told me firmly that, if I hired the Negro, she could not work in the same room with her. Politely, I told her my intention was to hire the best qualified of the applicants: the Negro. If, in view of her feelings, she chose to resign, I would accept her resignation with regret. But, if she remained and refused to work with the new girl, she'd be fired. Three weeks later I saw them lunching together in the cafeteria.

One large company hired two Negro male accountants. In time, one was promoted and became the supervisor of several white keypunch operators. A few weeks later a personnel man talked with each of these girls. Admitting that the appointment had been a shock at first, each said this had not lasted. The new supervisor was capable, a good instructor, courteous, and fair. The interviewer reported two impressions he gathered from the interviews. First, the girls recognized that the supervisor was better educated than they. Secondly, he was a *man,* and women in industry are as keenly aware of their second-class status as are Negroes!

In achieving office desegregation, this suggests, there is considerable weight to both the male and the managerial prerogatives!

## Training & Promotion

What can be done in plants where Negroes are already employed but seem to be confined by place to certain departments or categories? What if, despite open job bidding, the Negroes simply don't bid up?

In a New Jersey plant, I made a quick comparison of the original job applications of Negro and white workers. On the average, the Negroes had much less formal education. Several were marginal illiterates. In hiring, management had set lower standards for Negroes than for whites! The personnel man admitted this was so. White workers were expected to move up the ladder; Negroes were not. This may not be a common pattern, but it is well to check it out.

### Management's Role

Many managements have adopted a defensive posture in the face of seniority-ability clauses in union contracts, feeling they have lost the right to choose men for promotion. No doubt this is often true, though current practices are frequently much more restrictive than contract language; and management, in many cases, has lost ground by not devising and using objective standards of ability. But, aside from this, there are two prerogatives usually open to management. One is to train workers. The other, perhaps too seldom exercised, is to encourage individual employees to develop their skills and to bid up.

Management has retained substantially more control over entrance to skilled-trade progressions. Few plants today have formal apprenticeships. Men bid in at the helper level and, thereafter, get most of their training informally, on the job.

These observations are no more than clues, not suggested lines of action. If restrictive place seems frozen into the plant structure, it would certainly be well to discover how and why. If management seeks change, this is the time to consider where initiative could be strategically applied. *Expectation* has much to do with the answer. If a qualified man, Negro or white, enters a training-progression system, it is a normal expectation that he will move up. Expectation enters into hiring and selection, and into placement, as well.

### As Supervisors

What happens when a Negro is named foreman over a group of hourly workers? In such plants as the R. J. Reynolds operation, desegregation has encompassed this relationship without incident. But, obviously, this depends on the setting in which such a change occurs, and on the individual so named.

Most foremen occupy a nebulous position, neither part of the hourly group nor wholly part of management. In most industries, it is becoming rare for an hourly man to move all the way up into management. Foremanship is often the boundary. In some plants, foreman jobs go beg-

ging; no one seems to want the added responsibility, and the loss of the protection of the union contract, in exchange for a small boost in pay (in some cases, an actual cut) and whatever status the position carries.

In unionized plants, a clue may be offered by what happens inside the union. Hourly men with leadership qualities often turn to union office if they feel the road to management is closed. Many Negroes hold union offices as stewards, vice presidents, local presidents, and international representatives. Where Negroes play genuine leadership roles within the union, it is a fair assumption that a capable Negro foreman could hold his own.

But in a plant where Negroes are employed only as hourly workers, not in white-collar jobs, management might question the role into which a Negro foreman would be forced by circumstance. His position would be difficult indeed.

Then, too, in some plants, new engineers are often assigned as foremen as part of their development. What happens if a Negro engineer is so assigned? If rigid segregation patterns still exist in the hourly group, his position would be precarious. Would he supervise an all-white crew, or a crew whose Negro members were confined to laborer status? On the other hand, if the hourly group is well integrated, the engineer's status should give him a chance to test his ability.

In the final analysis, the development of the Negro supervisor will usually be contingent on how far desegregation has progressed in both the hourly and the salaried groups.

### As Managers

Scattered through American industry are a few Negroes who have reached top-management status: vice presidents, department heads, regional managers, and so on. But there is no insistent demand by desegregationists for change at the top. Their prime concern is entrance jobs. This most definitely includes entrance jobs for Negro college graduates.

The Negro engineer and scientist have done reasonably well. Negro teachers are in demand. But the Negro liberal arts graduate has had hard going. Many a man who has been graduated with honors from a top-flight northern university has vainly searched for the kind of opening his classmates readily found.

Now a considerable number of large corporations are enrolling Negro trainees in their management-development programs. The trend is significant because of its future implications; trainees are expected to move up into positions of progressively greater responsibility. A few companies have boldly experimented in what might seem to be the most sensitve area of all, adding Negroes to their field sales organizations — and not for the sole purpose of calling on Negro customers either. One such salesman has made a fine record calling on industrial accounts in Texas.

A Philadelphia employment agency, interracial in its management and clientele, reports that the demand for qualified Negro executives, salesmen, and technical personnel exceeds the supply. Recently they have filled — or attempted to fill — requests from chemical, oil, aircraft, automobile, and business machine companies.

But while desegregationists are concerned with opening opportunities in management for college-trained Negroes, this is but a small part of the total problem with which they deal. Though the gains in recent years have been dramatic, the average Negro is still educationally handicapped. Economic pressures alone are responsible for many dropouts.

Thus, where Negroes have been added to the management rosters of large companies, as trainees or in higher posts, something more has happened than a lowering of the bars, a willingness to select applicants on ability alone. In most cases these companies have actively recruited Negroes. One top executive told me:

> "As we see it, management sets the tone for the whole company. If we mean what we say about equal opportunity — and we do — this is the way to show it, not to outsiders but to everyone on the payroll. It says loud and clear: this is the kind of company you work for."

## Conclusion

It has not been my purpose here to advocate change, to argue for equal opportunity in moral, ethical, economic, or political terms. I realize that the road to equality is long and that the difficulties and obstacles of passage are real. In saying that any company is likely to become a target for militant desegregationists, I have done no more than capsule what anyone can see, read, and judge for himself.

When I characterize certain desegregationist

forces as "militant" and perhaps imply that groups such as the National Urban League are "moderate," I do not mean to suggest that, so far as industrial employment is concerned, they differ in their objectives or in their determination. It is more a matter of method and role.

The "militants" demand. They publicize. And they are resourceful in applying pressure at vulnerable points. In more than one case they have persuaded a company's management that it is time for a change. But the question "how" is left unanswered, and a hasty, unplanned change can fail disastrously. The successful changes have been planned and managed. The managers approaching such change have, in many cases, perhaps most, taken counsel with others who have experience to draw upon, directly, through the industrial members of the National Urban League, or in other ways.

And successful, peaceful change is, in the future as in the past, most likely to stem from a recognition by management of the distinction between *place* and *prejudice*. A quick dramatic change can hardly be effected in people's prejudices. But much can be, and has been, done in changing *place*, and in making the Negro's place in industrial jobs the same as that enjoyed by the white worker of equal ability.

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THE Negro leader, the Negro social scientist, the Negro man of art and letters is disposed to view all social, economic, political, indeed, even aesthetic and philosophical issues from the Negro angle. What is more, he is expected to do so. He would seem entirely out of place if he spoke simply as a member of a community, a citizen of America or as a man of the world. In the existing American civilization he can grow to a degree of distinction, but always as a representative of 'his people', not as an ordinary American or an individual in humanity. He might protest; if he does it for the proper audience and in the proper forms, he is allowed to protest: but he protests as a Negro. He can criticize, but only as a Negro defending Negro interests. This is the social role awarded him, and he cannot step out of it. He is defined as a 'race man' regardless of the role he might wish to choose for himself. He cannot publicly argue about collective bargaining generally in America, the need of a national budgetary reform, monetary schemes for world organization, moral philosophies and aesthetic principles. . . . The Negro leader, sensing that his own people need him and conscious that his racial origin offers him an easy opportunity for a role in life, thus acquires his characteristic direction. Even women in modern times do not have their souls so pressed into one single narrow furrow of human interests by the tyrannic expectancy of society, although the women's lot in this, as in many other respects, offers the nearest analogy. The Negro genius is imprisoned in the Negro problem. There is throughout the entire history of the United States no single example of an exception to this rule important enough to be cited.

The difference in this respect between the Negro and other 'racial' minorities — the Jews, for example — is notable. The difference is not explainable simply in terms of differences in natural and cultural abilities between the two groups. A Jewish economist is not expected to be a specialist on Jewish labour. A Jewish sociologist is not assumed to confine himself always to studying the Ghetto. A Jewish singer is not doomed eternally to perform Jewish folk songs. A Jew is not out of place either as a governor of a state or as a planner of world reconstruction. The Jew is discriminated against in America, but there is a quantitative difference between this and the discrimination against the Negro which is so great that it becomes qualitative. On the intellectual level, which we are now discussing, the fettering of the Negro spirit within the Negro problem is not accomplished so much by simple discrimination as by the prejudice inherent even in the most friendly but restrictive expectancy, including the expectancy of the Negro people.

Gunnar Myrdal, *Value in Social Theory,* edited by Paul Streeten
New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958, pp. 91–93.

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## LETTERS FROM READERS

# "MY NEGRO PROBLEM"—I

To the Editor of Commentary:

"My Negro Problem—And Ours" [Feb.] is important, at times profound, and above all, honest. The level of dialogue on the racial and other important social and political issues cannot, at this particular time in American history, be determined by the anticipation of angry protests or intense disagreements. Those who dare to think and feel deeply about social problems are obligated to organize their thoughts as coherently as they can and communicate them with candor. It is my opinion that Mr. Podhoretz's article is an eloquent example of the fact that the true intellectual has no choice. . . .

It happens that I agree with most of what Mr. Podhoretz says. But I do not share completely his belief that the racial problem in America, or anywhere else, can be solved by miscegenation or intermarriage. The fact is, there has been and will be an undetermined amount of miscegenation, and this has not softened the problem. And of course there is a distinction between miscegenation and intermarriage. The type of miscegenation which has occurred in America has reflected an important aspect of the total pattern of racial injustice; namely, the desire of white men to exploit Negro women sexually as part of a system in which they exploit Negro men economically and politically. While white Americans have not invented this system wherein higher status individuals seek to maintain a system in which they have priority socially, sexually, and economically, they certainly have reinforced this pattern in race relations. This is precisely the distinction between miscegenation and intermarriage. Intermarriage takes place in a situation of equal status—miscegenation involves sexual exploitation of individuals of unequal status. It would follow, therefore, that if one had widespread intermarriage, this would be indicative of the absence of the problem with which we are concerned—widespread miscegenation, without intermarriage would be a symptom of the intensification of the problem. . . .

Without the type of honest and courageous communication represented by James Baldwin's article and Mr. Podhoretz's we are all doomed to that stagnation of self-delusion which is tantamount to intellectual, moral, and probably literal death.

Kenneth B. Clark
Department of Psychology
The City College
New York City

To the Editor of Commentary:

Reading Norman Podhoretz's candid article, I reflected on the nearly infinite variety of settings in which young people grow up and go to school in this country. Are there boys who grow up in America without ever having a fight—or ever realizing that they are afraid of fights? (What girls encounter is different again and little is said about it in most accounts we have.) To illustrate: my own childhood was quite unlike Mr. Podhoretz's; when he was fighting his way home, fending off Negro boys who perhaps resented the fact that he and others like him had organized homes, I was being taken by a governess to Rittenhouse Square, geographically not far from the Negro South Side of Philadelphia, or attending country day schools, or the downtown William Penn Charter School. Like Podhoretz I feared and admired the graceful athletes in school, but all of them were white and some of them aristocratic. Indeed, what for Mr. Podhoretz and many others were issues on the margins of race were for me in my childhood issues on the margins of social class. I learned to fear tough whites, not only as a child but later—the slowly-hardening gaze of the drunk who concludes that I feel superior to him and proceeds to want to beat me up. I have never thought of America as a peace-loving democracy.

Our personal experiences are, as it were, replaced by categories of social visibility; and the very emphasis Mr. Podhoretz puts on physical grace is a benign side of the emphasis our society puts on appearance—not only color but height, good looks, shape, and outward marks of breeding. Mr. Pod-

horetz's experiences as a child could easily have been forced, as he suggests, to flow into the general pattern of anti-Negro feeling in our society. Indeed the problem of all candor, in this field as in many others, is the multiplicity of unintended audiences: most importantly, of course, the white racists who wait to pounce on every scrap of evidence of Negro indolence and violence and disorganization to support their preconceptions; but also the Negro racists for whom it is more convenient that *all* whites "are sick in their feelings about Negroes" because then one can never be disappointed or gulled or robbed of one's well-justified hatred. (There are many Jews who feel this way about Germans, and some about all non-Jews.) Those whose experiences do not fit them for the prevailing preconceptions can often acquire a false childhood, a false memory, shaped to the present prejudices of their sub-group.

There is even a certain amount of distortion in James Baldwin's magnetic *New Yorker* essay. Baldwin modestly attributes to his being a Negro miseries that were his as a special kind of Negro (among other things, a preacher's son), in Harlem but not of it. But his situation seems to me to be far more difficult than that of Norman Podhoretz (as I'm sure the latter would grant also), for he had opposition rather than support to fall back upon at home and was working toward a personal future in which only he believed and to which virtually nothing in his Negro environment gave the slightest support but only mockery and despair.

For me and for other fortunately situated whites, "the racial nightmare" was not central in our childhood and has become central through intellectual understanding rather than through projecting onto Negroes resentment for the inhibitions and overprotectiveness that were the other side of our advantages. . . .

I mention all this, as I have said, to illustrate the great diversity of childhood in America about which we know so little, and to warn against the dangers of overgeneralization to which we can be tempted by the very concreteness of Mr. Baldwin's and Mr. Podhoretz's accounts. For example, though I think I have a pretty keen sense of Negro hatred of whites, I am not wholly persuaded by Mr. Baldwin that all Negroes hate whites in spite of the fact that virtually all have good reasons for doing so, as well as—until very recently—good reasons for pretending not to. Let us then speak for ourselves as Mr. Podhoretz has done, and in doing so speak in some tentative measure for others also, but always with awareness of the vastness of the country. Naturally, each of us is apt to think that *his* problem is *the* problem by which our society, plainly so threatened by its inner psychic and social strains, will live or die. The Negro problem, or more properly the white problem, is so central that it seems altogether likely that, could the racial nightmare be ended, we would "achieve our country, and change the history of the world." However, although violence is endemic to America and indifferently distributed and directed in different sections and strata, so that there are more suicides per capita in Vermont and fewer homicides than in Mississippi, the danger that these tensions, barely contained within, will be directed outward against the ever available and often provoking Communists is grave. But I am not certain that, to be safe (and safe therefore to experience the terrible and living horrors with which Mr. Baldwin confronts us all) from this, we must first be pure on the race front. The two struggles—for a more orderly and pacific world and for a less fratricidal and more loving society—are linked but not identical. As Mr. Podhoretz says at the end, we can learn to behave better than we feel, better than we in some childish sense "are," and I see both the vanity and the opportunity of all our problems as subordinate to the question of maintaining a reasonably intact world.

DAVID RIESMAN

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

In the guise of the "good liberal" he purports to be Norman Podhoretz has written nothing short of a racist article. . . .

Mr. Podhoretz is as incapable of mitigating his hate as the most die-hard Southerner: "The hatred I still feel for Negroes . . ." While holding fast to his stereotype of the Negro and regarding them *en masse* as tough, erotic, truant, graceful animals, his animadversions are on a par with those of the most rabid anti-Semite. This breed regards the Jew as vulgar, offensive, sharp, and bargaining.

Mr. Podhoretz is seemingly concerned about the solution to the Negro problem. But, in these crucial times, when children as innocent and guileless as his very own, are prohibited from attending classes because they are black, he abets the stereo-

typed image of the Negro. By rationalizing the adult feelings that grew out of his ghetto childhood, Mr. Podhoretz reinforces the white man's negative image of the Negro.

When Mr. Podhoretz was a child, he spoke as a child, he understood as a child, and he thought as a child. Now that he is a man, he should put away childish things.

MARVLOUS ELAINE HARRISON
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

In "My Negro Problem—And Ours" does Norman Podhoretz offer us anything more than another version of the "waiting-for-a change-in-the-hearts-of-men" ideology refurbished for middle-class liberal consumption? . . .

The middle-class liberal is acutely aware of his "twisted feelings"—especially when Negroes attempt to move into his neighborhood, but he is also aware that trying to slow the pace of desegregation by talking of the necessity of "waiting for a change in the hearts of men" has a decidely illiberal sound. Mr. Podhoretz's analysis of the problem saves the day for him. By advocating miscegenation he retains his liberal status and needn't feel uneasy about his personal resistance to desegregation since it won't solve the "real" problem, anyway. Nor will he have to face Mr. Podhoretz's moment of truth: By concentrating on his own soul he will help to keep the present structure of Negro-white relations intact, and therefore his daughters will have little or no opportunities for even defining a Negro as a possible husband.

One may agree with Mr. Podhoretz that the nub of the "Negro problem" is that "special feeling about color" that all white Americans acquire regardless of personal history. But this "special feeling" is the result of institutionalized segregation, and the current efforts at desegregation aim at subverting this pattern. To the extent that these efforts are successful they will allow the formation of more human patterns of relationships which, hopefully, will lead to higher and higher rates of intermarriage, and this, in turn, will quicken the erosion of the "special feeling about color." The possibility of "blood running in the streets" is an inherent risk of the program of desegregation that must be faced and dealt with; attempting to avoid *that* problem by visualizing a "huge social transformation" through an individual cure of souls means that in the next generation another James Baldwin will have to preach to us again with even less cause for believing that anyone is listening.

MURRAY HAUSKNECHT
Long Island City, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

"My Negro Problem—And Ours" is, I think, a unique work. . . . In his brave decision to remember honestly, Mr. Podhoretz has given us something of genuine importance, of disturbing originality.

ELIZABETH HARDWICK
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

It is perhaps too easy to praise another man's courage; on the race question, and in politics generally, such praise has too often been the shortest route to evasion. But Norman Podhoretz's courage in writing and publishing "My Negro Problem—And Ours" must be praised and supported. The moral clarity of this astonishing essay is of that rare kind that really does represent an entirely new beginning for all future discussion of the Negro problem, at least so far as white liberals are concerned. Everyone knows—and has always known—that the problem of racial integration is inseparable from the issue of miscegenation and that all talk of integration that stops short of facing the "brutal" issue in its largest social and biological consequences is dishonest rhetoric designed to save the remnants of the very assumptions it pretends to attack. In this matter the most reactionary Southerners have often been more honest—closer to the truth, anyway—than enlightened liberal opinion that tacitly preserves the separate-but-equal ideal when it comes to the sexual mingling of the races while promoting integration in schools, busses, and other social facilities. Mr. Podhoretz's candid essay tears the mask off this duplicitous thinking in a way nothing else in recent literature has. It places the issue of miscegenation—as a socially desirable solution rather than as what it has been in the past: a despised private option—firmly in the foreground of all future discussion, which is where it belongs. His essay thus provides the white liberal with the one thing he has always lacked in dealing with the Negro problem: a position, anchored in the most difficult reality, from which he can hope to build a believable future. The polite fiddle-faddle has been removed at last, and we can begin now to

see where we are and toward what we are moving. The pain that many enlightened people must have felt on reading this essay was the pain of confronting a truth too long ignored.

HILTON KRAMER

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

It is probably perfectly valid to write about Negro-white tension in America without setting oneself the task of finding causes or solutions, to offer one's own experiences as perhaps at least interesting, even to take the long tragic view and assert that there is no solution, as Norman Podhoretz does. If he had done only that his essay would be sometimes moving, sometimes embarrassing, but mainly unexceptionable. Unfortunately, he does not limit himself to that. He goes on, almost in spite of himself, to look for reasons while holding that reasons no longer matter—the problem of hate just *is*. He wonders plaintively why the Negroes in his neighborhood should have hated the Italian and Jewish immigrants who had no share in Negro enslavement, as though the Negroes there were in any position to make such nice distinctions and to hate selectively. He sees himself as a liberal and he knows his liberalism has not saved him from hate. Then by the easy and familiar inductive leap he holds all liberals guilty of as compromised an attitude as his, thereby absolving himself of responsibility. He feels in any case that the problem has been forced on him—by Negroes as well as white people—and begs off finally by ascribing an almost occult power to color as the ultimate cause of race hate.

Podhoretz is so infatuated with the word "hate," he so nearly revels in its use, that it becomes finally an excuse for his failure to come to a comprehension, if not resolution, of *his* Negro problem. He so frightens (and comforts) himself with the word that he abandons the intellect: learned, rational understanding, which he asserts he has, is no good because the hate (for many people more likely "discomfort") persists. In a kind of reverse utopianism he despairs of solution or even progress where there is "hatred" or "envy" or "rejection." Yet James Baldwin, whom Podhoretz quotes for some reason or other in his puzzled and inconclusive paragraph on Black Muslimism, has said (in a recent number of *The Progressive*) that it is impertinent for white people to think they must learn to *accept* the Negro. If Podhoretz were less carried away by his "hate" he would be less willing to abandon reason and political process as means toward the solution of *our* Negro problem.

But Podhoretz cannot refrain from solving it after all: the way for a problem to be solved is for the problem no longer to exist. After raising the spectre of bloodshed because the Negro wants equality now, after sneering at the white "liberal's" gradualism, he bravely asks for eventual total assimilation. He says whimperingly to the Negro, you make me uncomfortable, you make me feel inadequate, you worry me because you are different—so please stop being different. This is the same old story of asking the Negro to do it all. This is asking the Negro, who has been thwarted and denied in every endeavor *because* he is a Negro, to give over the drive to succeed, to count, while at the same time remaining a Negro. Podhoretz can understand why Jews want to survive: they are tied to a memory of past glory. But not the Negroes. Their past is stigma, their color is a stigma, their "vision of the future is the hope of erasing the stigma by making color irrelevant, by making it disappear as a fact of consciousness." Again Podhoretz has trouble with his words. The Negroes' past and color are *stigmas* only on white Americans. To make color irrelevant is one thing and is all that most Negroes and most liberals ask; to make it disappear as a fact of consciousness is another and is what Podhoretz seems to need for his own self respect. To put it more precisely than he has been willing to do, his vision of the future is of erasing the stigma on the white man's past by erasing the Negro.

JOAN S. WESTON

Amherst, Massachusetts

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I write to commend you for publishing "My Negro Problem—And Ours," which seemed to me an act of supreme courage. This is not to say that I agreed with every point Mr. Podhoretz was making, especially the conclusions he drew from his own personal persecution, as a boy, at the hands of Negro boys. Nonetheless, there is in Mr. Podhoretz's essay a self-searching and self-judging honesty which is rare among liberals when it comes to dealing with the color problem. And I may add that I, as a South African Negro, speak as one who knows something of the hypocrisies, of the pain and rage, which surround the discussion of color prejudice in that unhappy country.

Mr. Podhoretz's contribution to an honest discussion of the relationship between white and black people is especially timely because, if one assesses the mood of black people correctly around the world, we may not have too much time in which to continue talking decently to each other across the color-line. Every so often editors bemoan the inroads made by bureaucracies upon the freedom of speech, and yet little of it is used to enlarge, however painfully, the areas of our understanding.

LEWIS NKOSI

London, England

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The fact that both Negroes and whites are beginning to speak and write candidly about their deepest feelings on matters of race relations—as James Baldwin has in his recent articles in the *New Yorker, Harper's* and elsewhere, and as Mr. Podhoretz did in the February issue of COMMENTARY—seems to me a most hopeful sign. I hope that readers of both races will recognize that this dialogue is being conducted in a humane and constructive spirit—even though it is bound to touch upon a good many raw nerves. The end result, I hope, will be a much wider realization that the country's racial problem involves emotional issues which cannot be solved by legislation, lawsuits, or police action; that the fault is not all on one side; and that the first step toward resolving such issues is to bring them into the light of honest discussion.

I cannot agree with all of the points Mr. Podhoretz made. For example, I am not convinced that hatred between the races is as common as he suggests. Neither can I believe that inter-marriage is likely to prove a practical solution for the problems he discusses, at least within the foreseeable future. I'm quite sure, however, that it is a healthy thing to have such questions raised, and I hope that Negro writers will continue the discussion with the honesty and good will which are so evident in Mr. Podhoretz's article.

JOHN FISCHER
Editor-in-chief

*Harper's* Magazine
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

It takes a monumental capacity for confessional honesty to have written as Norman Podhoretz has written in "My Negro Problem—And Ours." For the first time to my recollection an American Jew (also a precarious phenomenon) has had the courage to acknowledge the corruptibility of consciousness to which he—in spite of all inherited wisdom and sublime influence—is liable. . . .

Yet I cannot agree with him or Mr. Baldwin that color is a political problem. It is rather too easy in my view to make an existential fact into a political issue merely because one passionately seeks to eliminate it. Color is not removable and miscegenation—whatever the daring of Mr. Podhoretz's conclusion—is not (as he admits) a programmatic principle. . . .

ARTHUR A. COHEN

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I doubt that any other thing I have ever read so impressed me for intelligence and honesty as "My Negro Problem—And Ours." It must have been an act of great courage also.

CHARLES S. HYNEMAN

Department of Government
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I don't often write fan mail to editors, but I was deeply touched by "My Negro Problem—And Ours," which, I think, sums up a state of mind with regard to the Negro felt by more people than care to admit it. . . .

CHARLES RADDOCK

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

"In thinking about the Jews I have often wondered whether their survival as a distinct group was worth one hair on the head of a single infant . . ."—"I cannot see how it will ever be realized unless color does in fact disappear."—The solution is so easy I wonder how no one else ever thought of it. If we had no Negroes or Jews we would have no minority problems. If this is a proposed solution, then COMMENTARY should start looking for a new editor. Or, better still, no editor will be necessary since the very reason for the existence of COMMENTARY will have disappeared. It is fairly elementary that in the absence of Jews, Poles, French, Italians, Gypsies, etc., Hitler would have slaughtered all people with long noses, or short foreheads. Having eliminated the black color by intermarriage, when do we start on the brown, the yellow, and the red? This attitude proves that there

can be a racial Munich as well as a political one. To elimate persecution, bigotry, prejudice, and the like we just remove the victim. Thus a new school of thought is born. And this from the editor of COMMENTARY! Shame.

MORTON WEITZNER

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz's interesting and honorable discussion of his Negroes is somewhat unreasonable. He is, of course, right to conclude that where there is a social injustice one must simply remedy it, period. But since, in this area, to do justice arouses such emotional turmoil in himself, he ought, in justice to himself, to consult psychotherapy and find out why it is so hard for *him* to be rational. Childhood traces at the level that he explores them for us do not explain anything, for why is he still susceptible, though his real situation is so different? They are obviously screen-memories. (The same applies to much of Baldwin.)

I certainly shall not presume to mention the unconscious conflicts which (to me) appear in his childhood narrative, but let me make two general observations: (1) wherever society has imposed a boundary—whether racial, religious, national, or moral—there is bound to be rampant unconscious projection across it, to bolster each one's own shaky identity by lowering anxiety; and (2) for many people, an underlying Oedipus-complex makes forbidden and uncanny those who are "like" one's own family. . . .

Podhoretz's case of miscegenation as a remedy is typical of his avoidance of his own concrete reality. Let us hope that people will not marry to miscegenate but because of personal liking and physical attraction. If Podhoretz would imagine more concretely, he would realize that his daughter's putative Negro boyfriend would be somebody that he would dislike or like and that that would determine whether or not he would tear his hair.

PAUL GOODMAN

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz's article is a masterpiece of courageous and acute journalism. It is accurate in its perception and tremendously impressive in its conclusions. My deepest congratulations.

LEE R. BOBKER

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I have never been beaten by Negroes, only by whites, but my feelings of terror as a boy were exactly of the order of Mr. Podhoretz's and appeared in the same general circumstances. If you were around the school yard toward dusk and later, and you did not belong to a gang, you would most likely be beaten.

I know what Mr. Podhoretz means, too, by the admiration a boy feels for the sheer toughness of the boys who fight all the time, and who live in such a way that the police, teachers, parents, anybody else on the side of authority is an enemy for whom one has only contempt. . . .

The trouble with most educational systems in poor neighborhoods is that the schools are not planned as instruments of the community, but only as buildings where subjects—vocational or academic—are taught, and the authority of the teacher has no basis in the community as a whole.

In Mr. Podhoretz's case he learned not to hate because his family and friends educated him not to. As for his solution, it will be quite a while before everybody is intermarried and nobody is white or black. In the meantime, what we have to do is to pour our intellectual and moral energies into the solution of the true educational problem—teaching children to live in a community. We know how to do that, and whenever the community has really tried, by economic, social, and educational change taken all together, it has been successful. At least it has reduced the hating to a manageable size, shifted it to an individual basis and away from a black-white, Jew-Gentile, Italian-Irish battle.

Although I can agree with Mr. Podhoretz that the blacks have to *see* whites and cannot expect the whites to do all the looking, the whites do have the power and therefore the responsibility to arrange for everyone to see everyone else.

That is what educators and intellectuals should be dealing with instead of trying to make education a way of stuffing academic material down the throats of a whole population. . . .

HAROLD TAYLOR

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I am beset by some of the feelings about Negroes which Mr. Podhoretz's article describes with such admirable honesty, and so no doubt are most other middle-class whites. Nevertheless, I think that his childhood ex-

periences with Negroes may have been more traumatic than those of most of us, thus scarring his feelings today—as well they might—but in the process also affecting his conclusions about the problem of Negro-white relations. . . .

The white fear-and-hatred may involve projective mechanisms against the outgroup, but I think the primary explanation lies not in psychological or psychoanalytic concepts but in the facts of economic and social inequality. Since Negroes are at the bottom of the socio-economic heap, whites who come into contact with them fear the loss of status. This affects most directly the low-income whites—and this is why they have been the instigators of most race riots—but it also touches the middle class liberal, for example in his unwillingness to expose his children to predominantly Negro schools, and therefore to predominantly lower-class education. To be sure, there is also fear of Negro violence and fascination with Negro sexuality, but these feelings differ only in degree from those held, say, a generation ago by middle-class Anglo-Saxon about Southern and Eastern European low-income people. . . .

Color is of course a more lasting mark of lower-class status than ethnicity but it is not an intrinsic one, and it need not be a permanent one. If Negroes could obtain the same occupational and educational opportunities as whites, then Negro life would eventually take on more of the same middle-class characteristics, and this in turn would reduce the association of fear and hatred with color. Color itself would not disappear, of course, but once other differences are reduced, it would be much less noticed.

Equality of opportunity is easier advocated than obtained, especially since the demand for unskilled labor, by which the European immigrant escaped from the lower class, has virtually disappeared today. The drastic changes in the economy and social structure which are necessary to reduce inequality are resisted by whites not only to maintain their racial dominance, but also by the widespread unwillingness to use the government as an agent of social change, and by the inability of Negroes to generate the political power to force such changes. . . .

The proper extension of educational and occupational opportunity may thus take a much longer time than justice demands, but despite all the negative trends, I am still hopeful that someday Negroes will become part of the middle class.

Once economic assimilation is a reality, and class based differences in behavior vanish so that color can no longer mean class difference, intermarriage is likely to take place as well. Even so, it will be the last step in the process of social assimilation, and by then, American society will probably be so different from today's that the twisted sexual and other feelings which the races now hold toward each other will be washed away. Under such conditions, the term miscegenation will of course be as inappropriate as it is now for marriages between whites and orientals, even though these unions were considered unthinkable a generation ago.

But widespread Negro-white intermarriage is so far off in time that to think of it as a solution, rather than as the end-product, is not only irrelevant, but likely to deflect attention from the more immediate need for the reduction of economic and political inequality. Moreover, such proposals could easily play into the hands of those defenders of the status quo who use the white fears aroused by miscegenation as an excuse for resisting the extension of more basic opportunities.

HERBERT J. GANS

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz has written on a highly-charged subject with extraordinary skill, heart, and perception. I think that this essay will be referred to for years by the people involved in this important matter.

HAROLD U. RIBALOW

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . As a serious essay pretending to shed light on a crucial question, Norman Podhoretz's article is juvenile, pedestrian, and even dangerous. I cannot help seeing the bewildered faces of thousands of Southern Jews, already carrying a heavy burden of stress and anxiety, when they are confronted with this article by their equally harassed white, gentile neighbors. . . . Mr. Podhoretz should know that no serious student of the Negro problem can accept the glib cliché that "all Negroes hate whites" and that "all whites hate Negroes." As a Jew, he should know that assimilation among Jews has been going on for centuries, especially in Germany, without producing the slightest mitigation of German hatred and intolerance against the Jew. Why then does he think

that the Negro counterpart of assimilation, miscegenation, will work here in the United States? . . .

Does Mr. Podhoretz really believe that the average Southerner is concerned with the Negro's skin, or is racism again rather a convenient device with which Southern political demagogues exploit the underprivileged poor whites to their own advantage by offering them the Negro as a scapegoat? In other words, if Mr. Podhoretz had been willing to consult other authorities besides Mr. Baldwin, he would have found political and economic factors more crucial and definitive in Negro-white relations than the racial issue.

Most distressing of the absurdities in Mr. Podhoretz's article is his failure to draw on the only rationale for the improvement of Negro-white relations, and Christian-Jewish, as well. The philosophical and human case for the end of racism is in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Golden Rule. It is from these sources that millions of Americans—Negro and white, Christian and Jew—draw the courage, hope and, faith that the injustice toward the Negro will be undone. . . .

Finally, Mr. Podhoretz's essay suffers from the liberal confusion that every human problem has a "solution"—final and ultimate, despite the evidence of human history that no such final solution has ever existed. Only the Nazis and similar individuals ever come up with ultimate solutions. Realistic Americans . . . optimistically look for substantial progress in the Negro's position, not for final solutions. . . .

DAVID ANTMAN

Forest Hills, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I, too, have become bored and irritated by the pedestrian level on which the Negro problem continues to be discussed, and it was a great joy to read Norman Podhoretz's article for its refreshingly honest comment on the subject.

ROBERT GUTMAN
Director of Research

The Urban Studies Center
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The article by Norman Podhoretz, "My Negro Problem—And Ours," had a good deal of force and honesty to it, and it was a serious attempt to confront the white liberal's dilemma in terms that take into account the injuries to both parties. The ending was another matter, however. I have no quarrel with miscegenation as a matter of individual choice, but I can't see it solving any of the problem which the article so seriously attempts to discuss. In places like South Africa and the Deep South where miscegenation has been widely (albeit covertly) practiced, the problem of color has only intensified; the man of color is always the outsider, even if he only happens to be a hybrid, not a pure strain. . . . If he cared to, the Jew in America could adopt gentile habits and a gentile name. But how can the Negro? His "facelessness" is the facelessness of the black man in a white society which does not recognize the ambiguities of mixed strains. . . .

DICK ELMAN
Public Affairs Director

WBAI-fm
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I was greatly moved in reading "My Negro Problem—And Ours." Its frankness is disarming. I shall not pretend that my hair did not rise several times at the thought of some of the things Mr. Podhoretz reports about his treatment by Negro boys: but who started it? I kept thinking—isn't it the white adult who first decided to keep everything to himself and despise the Negro? How else could Negro boys behave? Isn't the huge guilt the white man's entirely? When the temperature was down I thought my emotional states were due to the fact that I am a South African Negro, which says much. We still come back to Mr. Podhoretz's "awkward" question, "How could the Negroes in my neighborhood have regarded the whites across the street and around the corner as jailers? . . . . As for white hatred of the Negro, how could guilt have had anything to do with it?" Is the physical fact of color not the all-potent thing after all in these relationships? . . .

At one point I wondered why Mr. Podhoretz seemed to think that integration necessarily had as its ultimate or inevitable aim the preservation of the Negro race as a protected minority. But he offers an answer to the dilemma—quite relieving—*miscegenation.* I just cannot see how a nation can continue to cheat itself into thinking that it can go on happily ever after merely because it is a physical mixture of races and put off indefinitely the day when it will be a chemical compound, like the

Brazilian phenomenon. I can see this as the only solution for South Africa.

I am rather skeptical of James Baldwin's assertion that all Negroes hate whites. Besides, this is neither here nor there. Isn't it the antithesis of the equally absurd statement, "I like Negroes" or "I like Italians"? . . . I do not know the racial scene in America sufficiently to say Baldwin is wrong. But it does seem that he is ignoring dynamic person-to-person relationships which are all the time forming and breaking up and forming. I can quite appreciate that, as he says, color is a political thing, and therefore generates vicious and overwhelming group attitudes, and such person-to-person relationships become irrelevant, unimportant. And then, as Negroes, we tell ourselves that we ought all to be hating every white man.

Finally, it is brave and wise for COMMENTARY to want to publish articles like "My Negro Problem—And Ours." It is important that we should purge ourselves of the complexes Mr. Podhoretz gestures at; and how else can we do this than by knowing them for what they are?

EZEKIEL MPHAHLELE
Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture
Paris, France

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Podhoretz's examination of the "Negro problem" is brave, and eloquent, and—as he would probably not deny—dreadfully confused.

Children are remarkably intense creatures, strange and revelatory; children grow into adults, and the process of growth necessarily shapes the end product. But a child's understanding of himself and his world, his inability to relate one phenomenon to another with even a reasonable semblance of objectivity, makes for a fantastic distortion in his perspective. To carry such distortions forward, and then to attempt adult-world generalizations on such a wildly askew basis, cannot be more than of limited utility. Mr. Podhoretz was tormented by Negroes as a child, and hated; bravely, he admits that he hates still. . . . But even if he has some reason to maintain his hatred, living "on the upper west side of Manhattan," why does he maintain it so unchanged? He would be in exactly the same danger—no less, no more—walking through a white waterfront neighborhood at night, dressed in his uniform of fairly prosperous respectability. . . . What he felt in childhood, what *they* felt then, is not crucial, not any more. Not even helpful, indeed—one draws passion and irrationality from such childhood remembrances, and one is relieved of their burden, but understanding must be sought elsewhere. . . .

There are more millions of people in the U.S.—white and black alike—than Mr. Podhoretz or any other adult will ever be called upon to deal with, face-to-face. The situations in which those people live are of course in part personal ones, but not in largest part. . . . We live in an incredibly complex world. Life can be pushed at, and affected, at an incredible multiplicity of points. If an urban, liberal, white Jew sends his children to a private school, rather than to the racially-mixed local public school, that hurts long-run Negro-white relations. But if he also—*surely* in good measure from guilt!—gives his support, financial and social, to the NAACP or to CORE, it may be that the net effect of his actions is beneficial rather than hurtful. It may be, further, that the two aspects of the one individual are deeply dependent one on the other, and that, for example, progress made by Negro action groups may in turn cause a raising of Negro educational levels and thereby create less pressure for panicked withdrawal to non-public education. Nothing, not even the Negroes and the whites themselves, is all black and white.

BURTON RAFFEL
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Podhoretz's article on the Negro problem is penetrating and knowledgeable, and its candor puts us all in his debt. I hope that it will arouse troubled thought, not just rationalization and piety. Three comments come to my mind.

First, I have the impression that a special intensity of hatred is building up in certain Negro quarters toward the middle-class liberal white. There is an element of felt betrayal. It is the feeling of betrayal that arouses the intensest of hates in all human relationships, and how else can the Negro feel but betrayed when he notes in the white liberal the signs of aversion (residential, educational, and, in a way that he never felt in the old South, physiological) that he had been led to believe were the stigmata of reactionaries only. Expecting nothing anyhow from the reactionary, the Negro is not likely to respond to him with the same knife-like rancor that goes to the liberal—who has wooed the Negro with words and laws, and then left him. It

would be hard to imagine a better recipe for lasting hate than the present combination of expectation and rebuff. I am convinced that Black Muslimism is more a reaction to white liberalism than it is to old-line segregationism.

Second, I agree with Mr. Podhoretz that the Negro problem, as he and James Baldwin pose it, is not going to be settled until color disappears. . . . Both the Negro leader and the white liberal have usually protested that talk of intermarriage was a red herring. Opponents of civil rights have always said warningly that economic and social equality once begun must lead to intermarriage. If I understand Mr. Podhoretz he is saying hopefully that intermarriage once begun might lead to social and economic equality. I can think of various social mechanisms of racial intermingling in history —concubinage, marriage by force, by arrangement, romance—but none, unhappily, that apply at the present time, given the tragically contradictory legal and psychological conditions attending the Negro problem.

Third, I would like to propose that we banish the word integration. Apart from its unexceptional mathematical meaning, it is a semantic blob, a non-word. . . . Where else in the history of human relationships has this awful word been used? Women's rights? Jew and Gentile? Catholic and Protestant? Nowhere, to the best of my knowledge, and nowhere is where the word belongs.

What is to replace it? I take my stand on one thing alone: citizenship. Citizenship is not a semantic blob. It is as hard and clear as a diamond. It is the noblest word in the history of Western polity. Perhaps, just perhaps, if we concentrate on citizenship as the end, forgetting about the non-word, integration, we will put ourselves in a few decades at least where Catholic-Protestant and Jew-Gentile relationships have been put. These relationships, the Lord knows, are far from perfect; they add to the human condition. But few need be reminded of how far we have come.

ROBERT A. NISBET
Chancellor
University of California
Riverside, California

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I have been a reader of and subscriber to COMMENTARY for the past twelve years. During that time I have never read an article of such low intellectual caliber as "My Negro Problem—And Ours."

The article is offensive to any Jew who has had any association with Jewish tradition. Such a Jew is told in effect that because he helped to keep Jewish identity alive, he must bear part of the responsibility for the annihilation of six million Jews. This is as logical as telling a victim of a murder that he must bear some responsibility for his own murder because he was still alive at the time of his murder.

The article is offensive to any Negro. In effect, the Negro is told he has no past worth looking back at and no future, except his escape from his past by intermarriage. I wonder how many eminent Negro personages were consulted before the conclusions on intermarriage were reached. . . .

ISRAEL W. KIRSHENBAUM
Brooklyn, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

May I thank you profoundly for "My Negro Problem—And Ours"—a piece which needed writing and which Mr. Podhoretz wrote beautifully? . . .

I believe, however, that Mr. Podhoretz draws the wrong conclusions to reach the right answer. Differences in skin color are handicaps for the minority groups. . . . We are decades away from erasing these artificial barriers between man and man. But the tide is turning toward the procurement of equal rights—political and economic—in favor of the colored races. . . .

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN
Chicago, Illinois

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

"My Negro Problem—And Ours" is one of the most honest efforts of real soul-searching in this whole business of prejudice that I have seen in a long time.

CONSTANCE CURRY
Director
Southern Student Human Relations Project
US National Student Association
Atlanta, Georgia

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz's piece is a real landmark and if I had a Pulitzer Prize to give, he'd have it.

GILBERT A. HARRISON
Editor-in-chief
The *New Republic*
Washington, D.C.

*[Correspondence on "My Negro Problem—And Ours" will be continued in forthcoming issues.]*

Cavalier April, 1963
R & R Rel.

Some unpleasant truths re the racial inferiority of those somnolent citizens below that famous Line

# FOOL'S PARADISE OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE

## BY GERALD WALKER

Some of my best friends are White Southerners.

Personally, I feel only the greatest affection and respect for the White Southerner—in his place. The trouble is, however, that lately the White Southerner has shown all too little awareness of what and where his proper place is. I refer, of course, to his precipitous turning away from his traditional agrarian way of life and his rather pushy efforts in recent years to attract new industry below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Now, generally speaking, it is certainly commendable for a backward region to try to raise itself. But I must add in all candor that the impatient, not to say aggressive, manner in which a handful of White Southern agitators has gone about this task has sown the seeds of suspicion and competition between our two regions where previously there had been only harmony and understanding; indeed, inter-regional relations have deteriorated badly.

Moreover, it seems to me the real point is that perhaps it is time for the rest of the country to ask: Is the White Southerner really *ready* for progress? Is he trying to come too far too fast?

After all, the White Southerner is but one hundred years removed from practicing slavery. And while, admittedly, he has made rapid strides and come a long way since losing the Civil War to an adversary battle-proved to be his superior, has he yet *earned* the right of full participation in the industrialized mainstream of contemporary American life? Would it not be better for all concerned for the White Northerner to continue his stewardship of the South until such a time as there was not a shred of a doubt of the White Southerner's capacity to fend for himself?

For the plain fact of the matter is that there are vast areas of difference between the White Southerner and the White Northerner. These differences—in morality, in criminality, in temperament, in mentality, in ambition and, generally, in the ability to adapt to the ways of Western civilization—first became apparent to me when I was a carpetbagging freshman at the University of Georgia in 1945.

Since then, as a result of a number of return trips to the South, I have gotten to know the White Southerner well. I have lived close to them for long periods, observed their customs, visited in their homes, broken bread with them and gone to their social functions. Making due allowance for the White Southerner's good qualities —humor, hospitality, charm, chattiness—I soon came to realize that he was, in fact, a totally different and essentially inferior breed when measured against his neighbor, the White Northerner.

These firsthand observations have lately been substantiated by the impartial findings of modern science, as set forth most effectively by Carleton Putnam in his eye-opening work, *Race and Reason*. Mr. Putnam, whose extensive background as an airlines executive led him directly into becoming a noted amateur authority in the fields of anthropology, biology, psychology and anatomy, is primarily concerned with demonstrating the innate, hereditary factors which account for the observable inferiority of the average Negro to the average White. (Some indication of the brilliance with which he succeeded may be gathered from the wide circulation —over 100,000 copies sold—and en-

thusiastic reception that his book has enjoyed in Southern States since its publication in 1961. For example, Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett proclaimed October 26, 1961, as Race And Reason Day, capped by a $25-a-plate dinner in Putnam's honor, and the Louisiana State Legislature passed a resolution that same year ordering high schools throughout the state to assign the book for study to "selected mature students.")

Needless to say, valid scientific principles and procedures are applicable to more than one set of data and circumstances. Thus, a yardstick may be used to measure the length of an eel as well as a snake. And so it is only further proof of the ingeniousness and usefulness of the anthropological and cultural criteria developed by Mr. Putnam and his school if I now employ them in a painstaking, scientific comparison of the average White Southerner and the average White Northerner. As Mr. Putnam and similarly objective researchers might say, let the chips fall where they may, it is only the truth that we are after.

This specialized field is still too new for there to have been much extensive research yet on the comparative skull sizes and brain weights of White Southerners as opposed to White Northerners. However, there has been some very good work done in connection with the well known innate defect in the White Southerners' jawbone and larynx, by which he is prevented from speaking the English language properly.

According to Prof. W. A. Emerson, research director of the nonprofit Curtis Foundation's Center for Higher Learning and himself a White Southerner, the WS jawbone averages 1.6 centimeters longer that that of the typical WN specimen. Other investigators, building upon this discovery, have found that this additional length narrows the throat cavity, signally constricting the larynx and causing the congenital speech abnormality popularly known as a "Southern accent." In addition, particularly in the case of WS females and political figures, it seems to prevent the speaker from cutting off the flow of words until at least the better part of an hour has passed. This is the sad result of several centuries of inbreeding of regional stock that was poor to begin with.

Along these lines, it is of the highest significance that not one of America's first five astronauts was a WS. Naval Comdr. Alan Shepard, Jr. was born in New Hampshire, Maj. Virgil Grissom in Indiana, Marine Lt. Col. John Glenn in Ohio, Comdr. Malcolm Carpenter in Colorado and Comdr. Walter Schirra in New Jersey. In short, when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was given every resource to comb this country for the cream of American manhood, the WS was bypassed in favor of the WN. Said an Air Force general at the time Project Mercury began, "What we're looking for is a group of ordinary supermen." NASA either did not look in Dixie; or if it did, none was found.

But the WS has never been much of a superman—not even an ordinary one. Frederick Law Olmstead, the distinguished 19th Century WN landscape architect, traveled throughout the entire Old South and in 1861, in *The Cotton Kingdom,* he reported on his interviews with five hundred WS men in their own homes and across their own tables.

". . . the proportion of the free white men," Olmstead wrote, "who live as well in any respect as our working classes in the North, on an average, is small, and the citizens of the cotton States, as a whole, are poor. They work little, and that little, badly; they earn little, they sell little; they buy little, and they have little—very little—of the common comforts and consolations of civilized life. Their destitution is not material only; it is intellectual and it is moral."

Said Henry Adams of Roony Lee, son of Robert E. Lee, and other Southern Bourbons he knew at Harvard from 1854 to 1858: "The habit of command was not enough, and the Virginian had little else. He was simple beyond analysis; so simple that even the simple New England student could not realize him. No one knew enough to know how ignorant he was, how childlike; how helpless before the relative complexity of a school. . . . Strictly, the Southerner had no mind; he had temperament. He was not a scholar; he had no intellectual training; he could not analyze an idea, and he could not even conceive of admitting two. . . ."

So much for the Old South, what of the New—the industrialized South prematurely announced in 1886 by Atlanta newspaper editor Henry W. Grady? Industrialization never fully "took," but it went far enough for the incisive WS historian, W. J. Cash, to include a memorable word-picture in *The Mind of the South.*

According to Cash, "By 1900 the cotton-mill worker was a pretty distinct physical type in the South; a type in some respects perhaps inferior to even that of the old poor white, which in general had been his to begin with. A dead-white skin, a sunken chest, and stooping shoulders were the earmarks of the breed. Chinless faces, microcephalic foreheads, rabbit teeth, goggling dead-fish eyes, rickety limbs, and stunted bodies abounded—over and beyond the limit of their prevalence in the countryside. The women were characteristically stringy-haired and limp of breast at twenty, and shrunken hags at thirty or forty. And the incidence of tuberculosis, of insanity and epilepsy, and, above all, of pellagra, the curious vitamin-deficiency disease which is nearly peculiar to the South, was increasing."

This is not the Snopes-haunted fiction of a Faulkner pursued by a vision of rapacious, termite-like subhumans taking over the South. These are the words of a WS historian, a man who deals in facts, not horrific fables.

Thomas Wolfe, another literary WS, has testified to his fellows' "hostile and murderous intrenchment against all new life . . . their cheap mythology, their legend of the charm of their manners, the aristocratic culture of their lives, the quaint sweetness of their drawl." Perhaps most disturbing to Wolfe was "the familiar rationalizing and self-defense of Southern fear and Southern failure . . . its inability to meet or to adjust itself to the conditions, strifes, and ardors of a modern life; its old, sick, Appomattoxlike retreat into the shades of folly and delusion . . . of florid legend and defensive casuistry. . . ." And finally Wolfe remarks of his autobiographical character, George Webber, "He was a Southerner, and he knew that there was something wounded in the South. He knew that there was something twisted, dark, and full of pain which Southerners (*continued on page* 68)

**FOOL'S PARADISE**

(*continued from page* 12)

have known all their lives—something rooted in their souls beyond all contradiction."

Of course, it may be objected that what we have just presented are but isolated impressions, albeit perceptive ones based on careful observation and investigation. What is needed, it might be said, is large-scale, objective, up-to-date evidence concerning the physical and mental makeup of the WS. For precisely this sort of data, let us now examine some Selective Service statistics from World Wars I and II.

In 1917, Army psychologists devised what they called the Beta intelligence test for inductees. A leading segregationist intellectual spokesman, Richmond *News Leader* editor James Jackson Kilpatrick cited a sampling of the Beta test results in his recent book, *The Southern Case for School Segregation.* Even the figures selected by him show the WS running a poor second to the WN, as can be seen from the following:

WHITE SOUTHERNERS AND WHITE NORTHERNERS
ARMY INTELLIGENCE TESTS, 1918

| WS State | Median Score | WN State | Median Score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mississippi | 41.25 | Pennsylvania | 64.6 |
| Kentucky | 41.50 | New York | 64.0 |
| Arkansas | 41.55 | Illinois | 63.0 |
| Georgia | 42.12 | Ohio | 66.7 |

Oddly enough, although Mr. Kilpatrick used a similar differential between White Southerners and Negro Southerners as the basis for arguing the latter's inferiority and for justifying segregation, he did not feel logically impelled to draw the same conclusions about the WS in relation to the WN. This is a contemporary example of the WS's inability to conceive of admitting two ideas at once, first pointed out by Henry Adams a century ago.

In the two decades between World Wars I and II, the WS—thanks to prodigious efforts by the federal government and private foundations—experienced notable increases in health and in educational, cultural, economic and social opportunities. Surely, it might be supposed, these gains would have been reflected in his showing when tested for military service. No such improvement can be discerned.

During World War II, the Selective Service System divided the country into four regions: Region I, North; Region II, Midwest; Region III, Far West, and Region IV, South. For present purposes, let us limit our comparisons to Region I (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York) and Region IV (Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana).

General service acceptance rates and disqualification rates per 100 white registrants from November 1940 to December 1943 were:

REGION I (North)—59.4 accepted for general service; 25.8 disqualified.

REGION IV (South)— 57.3 accepted for general service; 31.9 disqualified.

(The difference between the sum of acceptances and rejections and the total of 100 per cent is accounted for by men admitted for limited service.)

During the above period, the acceptance rate of WS males was not only lower than that of WN males of Region I, but was lower than that of WN males in the other two regions as well: Region II, Midwest—60.9 accepted, 26.4 disqualified; Region III, Far West—58.6 accepted, 27.1 disqualified.

Nor did the relative discrepancy between acceptance and rejection rates for WNs and WSes change later in the war. From January 1944 to December 1944 the figures were:

REGION I (North)—54.9 accepted; 42.6 disqualified.

REGION IV (South)—48.6 accepted; 49.8 disqualified.

Infant mortality rates are another index of living conditions and a population's hardiness. Expressed as a rate per 1,000 live white births, latest government figures show:

New England, 22.1 (WN); Middle Atlantic, 22.2 (WN).

South Atlantic, 24.6 (WS); East South Central, 25.4 (WS): West South Central, 24.4 (WS).

The WS's poor showing physically and mentally is matched only by his moral deficiencies and criminal inclinations. Reported John Gunther in *Inside U. S. A.,* "The kind of piquant sociological detail known to readers of William Faulkner still crops up in the news from day to day. While I was in Atlanta the papers printed a handsome little story about nine sisters, all of whom were prostitutes in the same room. Lillian Smith, the author of *Strange Fruit,* told me in Clayton, Georgia, of a recent case in which a baby died. The parents left it on the bed to rot. They were not rendered helpless by grief. They made no effort to bury the body because they simply didn't know any better."

Promiscuity and illegitimacy run 20 per cent higher among WSes than among WNs. The U.S. National Vital Statistics Division report for 1960 says that 27.35 out of every 1,000 live WS births took place out of wedlock; the comparable figure for WNs was 22.00. Another way of putting this is to state the White illegitimacy rate as a percentage of total White births. In 1956, Mississippi Representative John Bell Williams introduced on the House floor figures showing WS illegitimate births averaging 1.95 per cent of total WS births, and 1.45 per cent for WNs.

In the same speech, Representative Williams let slip another set of figures which pointed up the higher rate of crime among WSes compared with WNs. The figures revealed that in the thirteen Northern states he cited the rate of WN felony prisoners then in jail came to 21 per 100,000 WN population, but in the ten Southern states he selected, the WS rate was 29 per 100,000.

In particular, crimes of violence are an old Southern custom. Charlotte, North Carolina, was once known as "The Murder Capital of America." Writing in 1941, WS historian W. J. Cash said, ". . . long be-

fore hatred for the black man had begun to play any direct part in the pattern (of more than three hundred persons said to have been hanged or burned by mobs [in the South] between 1840 and 1860, less than ten per cent were Negroes) the South had become peculiarly the home of lynching." Cash then goes on to record that ". . . of the grand total of 3,397 Negroes lynched in the nation from the beginning of 1882 until the close of 1938, only 366 were lynched outside the former Confederate States, and of these 185 were lynched in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia and Missouri, themselves more than half Southern."

Although the WS constitutes 27 per cent of the country's white population, he is responsible for an alarmingly disproportionate share of American crime. Thus, the Justice Department's latest edition of National Prisoner Statistics indicates that of all prisoners executed under civil authority in the United States, 1930-1961, for murder, rape, armed robbery and kidnaping, 36.5 per cent were WSes.

Illiteracy is a longstanding WS tradition going back to Colonial days, but the WS has shown a remarkable ability to transmit this drawback from generation to generation. According to recent figures of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, here is a breakdown of the percentage of the white population, 25 years or older, considered to be functionally illiterate:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Conn. | 6.1 | Ala. | 9.4 |
| Del. | 4.2 | Ark | 10.6 |
| Me. | 4.5 | Fla. | 5.3 |
| Md. | 5.5 | Ga. | 10.3 |
| Mass. | 5.9 | Ky. | 13.1 |
| N. H. | 4.4 | La. | 13.6 |
| N. J. | 6.3 | Miss. | 7.1 |
| N. Y. | 7.4 | N. C. | 12.2 |
| Pa. | 6.3 | Okla. | 7.6 |
| R. I. | 7.4 | S. C. | 11.6 |
| Vt. | 3.8 | Tenn. | 12.7 |
| | | Tex. | 12.0 |
| | | Va. | 9.3 |

In an attempt to escape the crime, violence and primitive living standards which pervade their native region, over 4,000,000 Southerners—White and Negro—left Dixie during the 1950s, somewhat more than the number of persons who fled East Germany during a comparable period. Unhappily, the WS—not to mention his new neighbors—found that he carried these conditions right along with him.

Albert N. Votaw, in the February 1958 *Harper's,* described the prickly integration problem the WS presented to a typical Northern city. At that time there were 70,000 WS recent arrivals in Chicago. Settling in one South Side neighborhood, they presented the authorities with a number of difficulties. A police captain was quoted as saying, "They are vicious and knife-happy. They are involved in 75 per cent of our arrests in this district." Observed a municipal court judge, ". . . you'll never improve the neighborhood until you get rid of them."

Other comments on the transplanted WS during the course of the article: ". . . disorderly, untamed to urban ways . . . anti-social to the point of delinquency in the eyes of their neighbors . . . the [poor] domestic habits they bring from small backwoods communities . . . Their housekeeping is easy to the point of disorder . . . children play freely anywhere, without any supervision . . . when it comes to sex training, their habits—with respect to such matters as incest and statutory rape—are clearly at variance with urban legal requirements, and parents fail to appreciate the interest authorities take in their sex life . . . On the job they are said to lack ambition . . . considered poor tenants . . . [White] Southern [school] children are handicapped . . . They are too old for their grades and too mature physically for their classmates . . . Prone to disease . . . They are a disgrace to their race."

A South Side school principal has said that the average I. Q. of his 1,400 pupils, most of whom are WS, is only 87; moreover, only 16 of them had a rating of above 120.

The Chicago *Sunday Tribune* summed things up this way: "The Southern hillbilly migrants, who have descended like a plague of locusts in the last few years, have the lowest standard of living and moral code (if any), the biggest capacity for liquor, and the most savage tactics when drunk, which is most of the time."

Obviously, the WS isn't the same kind of person as the WN. He just isn't accustomed to, or perhaps capable of, living the same way the rest of us do, and we should make allowances for that fact. However, at the same time, we should put some sensible limit on the extent of the WS's participation in business, national

affairs and inter-regional social contact. After all, as essayist Harry Golden, editor of the *Carolina Israelite,* has said, would you want your sister to marry a Governor Faubus?

WS and WN should each stick to his own kind, moving forward separately and harmoniously as in the past. The WS should have enough regional and racial pride to want to develop in his own way and at his own natural pace, not force himself in when and where he isn't wanted. Besides, geographical separation is a basic law of nature. If the good Lord had intended WSes and WNs to work and live in the same way and locale, He would not have created a North and a South in the first place.

Most important of all, we cannot risk jeopardizing the American way of life for the sake of the impulsive, impatient leaders of a minority; that would be a perversion of the true meaning of democracy. For although it would undoubtedly *raise* the WS if the standards of inter-regional intercourse were relaxed to permit him a larger role in the nation's affairs, it would at the same time inevitably *lower* the WN.

What, after all, has the WS contributed to American civilization? It is an extraordinary catalogue: hookworm, slavery, the filibuster, hominy grits, the Ku Klux Klan, pellagra, mint julips, lynching, the University of Mississippi and high treason in seceding from the Union. *Sic transit gloria* moonshine.

It would be patently unfair to leave the impression that *all* WSes are naturally primitive, violent, criminal, shiftless, promiscuous, uncultured and undistinguished. There have been a number, perhaps a hundred over the past three and a half centuries, who do not fall into those categories—but many of these *had Northern blood.*

Among more recent WS notables, Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia and his brother, Admiral Richard Byrd, have a WN great-great-great-grandmother. The father of the late Josephus Daniels, North Carolina newspaper editor and statesman, was a Rhode Island ship's carpenter.

Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, had WN ancestry. Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States, was the son of a WN. And WN blood flowed through the veins of such other stalwarts of the Confederacy as Maj. Gen. "Jeb" Stuart, Gen. James Longstreet, Gen. John Clifford Pemberton and John Slidell, appointed commissioner to France by Jefferson Davis. Even Daniel Boone was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Pure-bred WSes such as Robert E. Lee and John C. Calhoun are among the exceptions that prove the rule. However, a son of Richard Lee, the famous founder of the Lee family in America, married a WN and the socially prominent Ditchley branch of Lees is descended from a WN.

It should also be noted that the figure of the Yankee peddler was a familiar one throughout the South during the 18th Century. As he wended his way across the countryside selling his wares, it is not inconceivable that, in addition to calicoes, scissors and clocks, he may also have left behind here and there some WN genes. These might well have made their presence felt without ever showing up on an official genealogy.

It only needs to be said that the average rank-and-file WS today is well satisfied with things as they are, but is being goaded on by a handful of agitators and fomentors into making more demands than the country can safely meet, or than WSes as a whole could handle in their present stage of development. Who are these clandestine pressure groups and what are they really after?

A hint was provided in a New York *Times* dispatch of January 28, 1962, about the lures offered by the WS in his drive to attract new industry. "This stepped-up economic warfare," wrote Atlanta correspondent Claude Sitton, ". . . . poses a threat to areas in the North and Midwest in which rising costs and industrial strife have caused management to grow restless. It also has aroused concern in financial circles. Some securities experts contend that industrial subsidies being offered in both the South and the North are endangering the tax structure and municipal credit and *carrying the nation toward state capitalism.* A South Carolina legislative committee has termed these lures *'somewhat socialistic.'"* [emphasis added]

Has the Kremlin taken over the WS equality movement? How sincere is the WS when it can be shown that he is playing directly into the hands of a foreign ideology? Are we being lulled by a pack of fine-sounding words into forgetting the WS's natural tendencies toward violence and lust? These are pressing questions for every WN American to keep in mind during the trying days ahead. □

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from him."

Kaufman and Roland Kibbee (who had created the show) maintained that Newhart had never actually written a single line on the series. They admitted that a Newhart monolog from one of his records had been used, as well as a few ideas which the comedian had thrown out for the others to write. But, Kaufman insisted, "He can't write. He can't even spell."

The headlines in the trade papers continued the Kaufman affair right up to the night of the awards. "Newhart destroyed the show," Kaufman

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# 'I Like the Word Black'

*In Greenwood, Miss., an NAACP executive from New York brought the message to a cheering voter-registration rally in red-brick Turner's Chapel: "Any time one of these white men tries to insinuate that he's superior to you, stand up on your hind legs and spit in his face."*

*In Detroit, a Negro newspaperman worried aloud: "That 'look-how-much-we've-gained-in-the-last-50-years' stuff—that sours on the young Negro's stomach ... We're going to see violence."*

*In New York, a young Negro student leader, on furlough from the civil-rights battlegrounds of the South, smiled fleetingly at a white acquaintance. "Sure I love my white brother," he said. "But I watch him."*

*On a sprawling Mississippi cotton plantation, a hollow-eyed Negro fieldhand sat under a naked lightbulb in his four-room shack and catalogued his assets: $1 in his jeans, no more than $10 coming on payday, only three beds for his eleven children, a diet so spare that the youngsters get milk only at school. Given one wish, what would he ask? His quick reply: "Freedom."*

Williams-Erker

King: Was love's labor lost?

Across the nation, such voices were abroad—the voices of the increasingly restless and militant mood of the American Negro. To many white Americans, the face was unfamiliar—disquietingly so. But the shift in temper had been long in the making, bound up historically with World War II, the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of 1954, and the emergence of Black Africa. Negro leaders, who tuned in long ago, smile at the discovery of yet another "New Negro." One said: "You never asked us." Now, the Negro no longer waits to be asked. Increasingly, he says out loud what he has been whispering in the family for years.

The Negro's message:

▶He is impatient—"fed up with Jim Crow," says James Farmer, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality, "and fed up with waiting." Ironically, every inch of progress has intensified his hunger for a yard more. "There has been more progress since 1954 than in the previous 50 years," Howard Zinn, a white professor at Atlanta's Negro Spelman College, says. "But, while progress doubled, expectation increased 50 times."

▶He is more aggressive in his fight for equality. He will march against police dogs and cops and the certainty of jail in Greenwood, Miss., or Birmingham, Ala. For such abstractions as the ballot, he is willing in increasing numbers to gamble his livelihood and even his life. One leader said: "He simply doesn't give a damn what happens any more."

▶He has shown new stirring of racial pride, spurred partly by his own achievements at home, partly by the rise of the new African nations. The chauvinist Black Muslims have encouraged him, but so have militant integrationists. "For too long, we have been ashamed of our flat lips and broad nose," says James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (and himself a pecan-hued man with almost Caucasian features). "I like [the word] 'black.' I like to use it. It's an attempt to have some identity. It . . . [tells] the white man, 'what you used to call me is no longer a symbol of inferiority.' To do this is to have an inner security."

▶He is ambivalent about whites, sometimes hopeful, sometimes doubtful, sometimes resentful, sometimes openly hostile. The view that white men are devils is neither a Muslim creation nor a Muslim monopoly. James Baldwin, the Negro essayist and novelist who is the intellectual voice of his generation, found the war years a turning point among Negroes. "To put it briefly, and somewhat too simply," he writes, "a certain hope died, a certain respect for white Americans faded. One began to pity them, or to hate them."

▶His mood is freighted with dynamite. His leaders worry about the durability of his commitment to non-violent action. "The danger is," a white Atlanta civil-rights worker says, "that Negroes may conclude that there is nothing so persuasive as a mouthful of knuckles."

"There go my people," Gandhi said in a remark much cherished by his American disciple Martin Luther King Jr. "I must catch them, for I am their leader." Negro leaders have indeed been forced to keep up with this shift in mood. But they have also found the increasing militancy a useful talking point. On fund-raising missions to corporate boards, Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League,

Bob Mitchell

Facedown in Birmingham: The danger was a mouthful of knuckles

poses these alternatives: invest in positive assistance—or risk hostility and growing strength for the Muslims, along with rising crime rates and higher welfare costs. "We were able to increase our budget," said Young, "from $270,000 in 1961 to $722,000 last year."

**'Where Art Thou?'** The shift also has injected a tougher and sometimes more nationalistic tone into the civil-rights debate, stiffening the Negro leader's posture—and, sadly, constricting his lines of communication with whites as well. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, the longtime political lightning rod of Harlem, spoke in just such tones for a purge of whites from top executive positions in the NAACP. Negroes, he argued, must wage their own fight: "We are prisoners. How can we expect our jailkeeper to give us freedom?" The NAACP has, in fact, been venturing more and more out of its accustomed arena—the courts—into direct-action campaigns in the South. Nonetheless, it felt constrained to answer Powell in a pamphlet defending its own credentials and questioning Powell's in a title borrowed from Genesis 3:9: "And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?"

In the new atmosphere of militance, orthodox civil-rights leaders no longer dismiss the Muslims, whom they regarded little more than a year ago as not quite respectable. They are hardly friends, but they have found some points of contact. Few Negro leaders will quarrel with the Muslim assessment of the Negro's lot in the U.S. Walking away from a debate with Muslim leader Malcolm X in Durham, N.C., Negro civil-rights lawyer Floyd McKissick said: "It didn't make much sense for me to stand up there and defend the white man when I know he's wrong." Some value the Muslims as a gadfly. "They are disabusing whites of the paternalistic notion that Negroes are basically happy and want a little civil rights on the side," says Negro writer Louis Lomax. "Whites should know that when Negroes are kicked, they react."

**X Marks the Spot:** Criticism centers instead on Muslim theology, Muslim chauvinism, and the Muslim program to acquire part of the U.S. for a separate black nation. "You cannot integrate the Negroes and the whites without bloodshed," the lean, coffee-colored Malcolm X said last week. "The only peaceful way is for the Negroes and whites to separate." But the Negro remains committed to equality *within* white America; the Muslims are still outside the mainstream with only 5,500 to 6,000 hard-core members. Even so, the currents that produced them remain. "They're Islamic, while most Negroes are Baptists or Methodists," says one Negro leader. "If they changed to Black Nazarenes, they might sweep the country."

Most of all, the restive mood has added new problems to old for Martin Luther King himself. His current campaign of demonstrations in Birmingham has become a crucial testing ground for him and his program of Christian non-violence. Though his name is still magic with the Southern Negro masses, his house is divided. Most Negro leaders still defend him from white criticism ("He may be an s.o.b.," says one, "but he's *our* s.o.b."). Yet some criticize him themselves for moving too precipitously in Birmingham instead of first trying to negotiate with a new city administration. For others, Albany, Ga., where 1,500 King followers marched off to jail with little visible gain, was a bitter memory. "When King says, 'Go to jail today and you'll be free tomorrow'," one remarked, "people say, 'To hell with that—if I go to jail today, I'll be in jail tomorrow'." More than 370 demonstrators have in fact gone to jail in Birmingham, including King himself. Charged with defying a state court order against demonstrations, he and ten other ministers drew five-day sentences and $50 fines last week.

Pictorial Parade

**Malcolm X: 'You cannot integrate'**

Yet King feels he must go on. He is troubled by the portents about him. "I'm running into more and more bitterness because things haven't moved fast enough," he told NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming. "The Negro in the South can now be non-violent as a stratagem, but he can't include loving the white man . . . Non-violence has become a military tactical approach."

Like others in his leadership generation, King banks less on the b[illegible] of white moderates who will trade [illegible]ken integration for peace. "We are moving toward a sort of tokenism that is now becoming institutionalized . . . a tranquilizer that removes the stress just for the moment." He worries, as well, that the Albany-Greenwood-Birmingham police tactic of breaking up demonstrations is depriving Negroes of a channel for "letting a lot of bitterness out in a creative way." He adds: "The Negro is shedding himself of fear, and my real worry is how we will keep this fearlessness from rising to violent proportions."

Beyond King, a new wave of leaders has sprung up—the young, tough, and highly pragmatic apostles of the "student movement." Starting with some spontaneous sit-ins in North Carolina three years ago, the student activists have flourished and earned their combat stripes in Albany, Greenwood, and other battlegrounds. They have borrowed King's non-violent technique, but not his texts (they read Camus and Sartre more than the Bible and Gandhi) or his faith in the power of love. They find the church useful, if nothing else as a place to hold meetings and brace up their followers with prayer and song.

**Means and Ends:** They find the Muslims useful, too. "We invited them to speak at a mass meeting we held in Albany," says SNCC chairman Charles McDew, a square-built Brandeis University senior. "Did the people like it? Man, you better believe it." Some have even questioned whether integration is a Good Thing if it means accepting the values of white society. "We are working for *desegregation*, not integration," McDew says. "We want an open society without restriction based on color."

If at last non-violence fails, Negro leaders see peril ahead. Professionally, at least, they are optimistic about change. But they are fatalistic, too, about the cost of change. Many feel the battle will be tougher and more dangerous in the North than in the South, where both apartheid and the steps of progress against it are more visible. In the Northern ghetto, Whitney Young says, "the old signs and symbols are gone. The want ads don't say 'white only' any more. *That* the Negro could fight. But it's frustrating when the gap in housing, education, employment gets wider instead of narrower . . . Unless we do something, the Negro in the future will no longer react with resignation but with bitterness and hostility."

And those are the ingredients of trouble. "We're liable to get some real violence—in Chicago, in Detroit, in New York," Young predicts gloomily. "And it will be tragic. But historically this is the only time America tries to do something. When the bridge breaks, they'll try to repair it."

INTEGRATION:

## Collision Course

Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy are men bent on a collision course. Kennedy is coldly determined to enforce court orders to enroll qualified Negroes in the University of Alabama next fall. Wallace has hotly proclaimed he will "stand in the schoolhouse door."

They met and sized each other up one chill, overcast morning last week in the governor's office in Montgomery. As might be expected, they were as stiff-legged as stranger dogs and the conversation, while polite, was anything but friendly. The tape recorder that Wallace had unspooling on the floor behind his desk didn't help much. As Kennedy ruefully acknowledged after the hour and 22 minutes of talk, "We agreed at the end of it to disagree."

If the Attorney General anticipated anything else in his effort to head off a collision, disenchantment began soon after his plane touched down in Montgomery. Pickets carrying signs awaited him outside a television station where he was to be interviewed ("Koon Kissing Kennedy Go Home") and again in front of the Capitol ("Alabama Will Resist With Vigah"). Two defiant women put a floral wreath on the Capitol steps where Confederate President Jefferson Davis was sworn in.

"To keep the enemy off sacred ground," one explained. "Tomorrow is Confederate Memorial Day," said the other, "I just jumped the gun one day."

**'Pugnacious Sapling?'** "You say you are paying a courtesy visit," a reporter said, and then, referring to Wallace's campaign oratory, asked: "What do you think of a courtesy visit to a man who called you a pugnacious sapling?"

"I think he's entitled to his opinion," Kennedy replied.

At the end of a two-day Southern swing, whatever else he had accomplished, Kennedy had no illusions about Wallace's mood—or Alabama's political climate for the 1964 Presidential campaign. "Have you and your brother written Alabama off?" he was asked at one point. "No," he said, "I would say, however, I have seen some evidence of vice versa."

UPI

**Alabama's State House: A new pickets' charge**

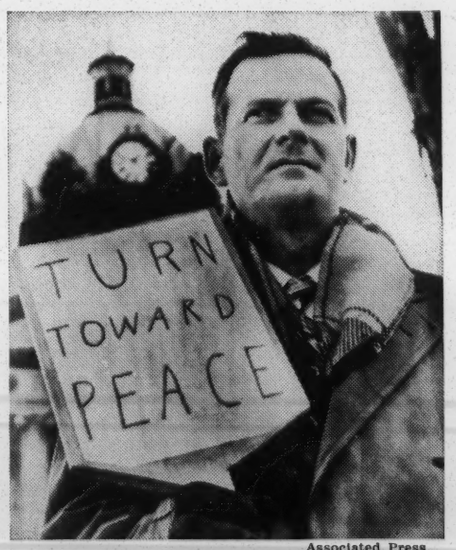
JOURNEYS:

## Broken Lance

William L. Moore, a husky, 35-year-old ex-Marine, had been obsessed for years by a utopian dream. He wanted to save the world. Armed with cardboard placards and picket signs, he tilted with equal fervor against the threats to peace from abroad and to liberty at home. Just last week Moore mounted his most quixotic crusade. He set out alone to persuade Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett that segregation is wrong.

To dramatize his mission, Moore—after taking leave from his job as a substitute letter carrier in Baltimore—walked to Washington, dropped off a letter informing President Kennedy of his plans, then took a bus to Chattanooga, Tenn. From there, he said, he would walk to Jackson, Miss., and personally deliver his plea for tolerance to Barnett.

It would be a long (350-mile) walk and, as friends reminded Moore, it could be a dangerous one. Along the way he would wear a two-sided sandwich sign bearing anti-segregation messages: "Equal rights for all (Mississippi or Bust)," and "Eat at Joe's—Both Black and White." Even before he left Chattanooga, a Negro ripped a fragment—the part bearing the word "black"—from his placard. "[He] said the word should be 'colored'," Moore wrote of the incident in the 15-cent memo pad in which he kept a diary of the trip. Moore also noted that a white woman working in a milkshake stand wished him luck. "She said, 'I hope you make it'," Moore wrote. "I said, 'I hope so too if the niggers don't get me.' She said, 'No, I think the whites will get you'."




Associated Press

**Moore: Death of a dreamer**

**A Warm Place:** In the early days, the hike brought nothing more serious than blistered heels. And for Moore, indeed, it had a curious sentimental overlay. Though born in Binghamton, N.Y., he spent his early boyhood in Mississippi. "I have always had a warm place in my heart for Mississippi," Moore wrote in the letter he hoped to deliver to Barnett. "I dislike the reputation this state has . . . as . . . the most backward and most bigoted in the land. Those who truly love Mississippi must work to change this image."

Occasionally Moore ran up against overt demonstrations of hostility. Some Georgians yelled "nigger lover" at him from a passing car. Some Alabamians threw rocks from a distance. But he also met friendliness. At Rising Fawn, Ga., an elderly lady—noticing the two-wheel wire grocery cart in which he hauled his belongings—asked, "What's that you're selling?" "Integration," Moore replied.

When he approached Gadsden, Ala., there were ominous warnings. Once Moore chatted with a few men who had heard news of his walk on television. "They didn't think I'd finish my walk alive," he recorded in his diary. Later, a sheriff, stopping to ask how long he had been on the road, voiced a

similar fear. Still later, Moore wrote: "A couple of men who had talked to me before drove up and questioned my religious and political beliefs. And one was sure I'd be killed for them." Even so, Moore's diary expressed concern only about his sore feet. "Shoes too painful," said the 5 p.m. entry that day. "Walking without them."

Increasingly, the hike was becoming the act of a saint or a madman—and Moore had some credentials for both roles. He had spent two years in Binghamton State Hospital for a mental disorder shortly after his 1952 graduation in economics from Harpur College near Binghamton. The stay produced his book, "The Mind in Chains—The Autobiography of a Schizophrenic," in which Moore asserted his compelling wish to "save the world." It closed with his appeal to be heeded: "Whether I go forward as Don Quixote chasing his windmill or as the pilgrim progressing, must be left for you to decide . . . I can only give my life."

**So Kind:** William Moore had barely walked out of the hamlet of Keener, Ala.—after a supper of corn and pecan pie—when he did just that. At 9 p.m., a mile south, a southbound motorist spotted his body sprawled on the shoulder of the two-lane blacktop highway. Blood still flowed from .22-caliber bullet wounds, one in the head, another in the neck. Police found $50.15 in his pockets, and, in his two-wheel cart, his shoes, and the diary with its last entry: "Adopted by hungry, thirsty, roadfoolish dog[illegible]y kids adopt dogs." "I don't know why [illegible]y-one would want to hurt him," said his wife in Binghamton, mother of his three stepchildren. "He was so kind."

Within hours, the man nobody would listen to was getting priority attention from the White House down. President Kennedy denounced the "outrageous crime." Alabama arch-segregationist Gov. George Wallace offered a $1,000 reward for a solution to the "dastardly" act. And local authorities moved with remarkable swiftness, collaring two suspects and calling in FBI help.

William Moore, his life done with the world still unsaved, had at least started something in death. As the week ended, two organizations—the Student Non-

# *The U.S. Gets an Inside View of Soviet Strategy*

Like the generals in the U.S. Pentagon, Soviet strategists have been split by argument over whether to downgrade conventional armament in favor of nuclear weapons; the slogan "more rubble for the ruble" parallels the case for "more bang for the buck." And in high Soviet strategy, just as in the current U.S. doctrine, there has recently been a shift back to more reliance on traditional hardware to fight non-nuclear wars.

These are among the major insights drawn by U.S. strategic thinkers from a remarkable book, "Soviet Military Strategy," written by a committee of fourteen top Russian military writers and edited by Marshal V.D. Sokolovsky, the tall, dapper ex-Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army and Navy. Newly available in the United States, the volume discusses Soviet conceptions of a future war, the role of nuclear weapons and missile forces, the importance of the first strike, targeting concepts, the organization of the Soviet armed forces, and the Kremlin's realistic assessment of Western strength.

Sovfoto

**Sokolovsky**

The book is so unusual it has inspired three U.S. versions: a Georgetown University analysis, to be published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce; a translation by the Air Force's Foreign Technology Division with an introduction by Soviet affairs expert Raymond L. Garthoff *(Praeger. 396 pages. $6.50);* and a Rand Corp. translation liberally annotated by three top Rand thinkers, Herbert S. Dinerstein, Leon Gouré, and Thomas W. Wolfe *(Prentice-Hall. 544 pages. $7.50).*

The work does not speak with one voice. Many of its statements seem unclear, ambiguous, or contradictory. Perhaps the most significant omission, according to the Rand experts, is the failure, either by design or otherwise, "to lay out a promising formula for winning a war against the United States, if such a war should have to be fought." Still, "Soviet Military Strategy" inevitably claims a place on the reading list of U.S. planners.

These key points emerge, as read between the lines by top U.S. Sovietologists:

▶Despite standard Soviet doctrine that small wars will spread into a general war "if the nuclear powers are drawn into it," some of the Soviet strategists suggest that "small-scale local wars" need not necessarily escalate. In any event, they view nuclear warfare somberly, in terms far removed from usual military talk, e.g., "this kind of war entails a tremendous risk of mutual annihilation."

▶The Russian authors believe that bombers will eventually be replaced by missiles, although "aircraft still have not completely exhausted their combat potential." Surprisingly, they argue that destruction of American aircraft carriers is more important than wiping out Polaris submarines.

▶They admit that "one must recognize that the present instrumentalities of nuclear attack are undoubtedly superior to the instruments of defense against them," but they urge an active and increased air-defense system and civil defense.

In a sidelight, the authors touch on a widely felt fear: accidental nuclear war. "In a frenzied arms race, there is serious danger that even a small miscalculation by the statesmen of one country or another can lead to . . . a new war . . . Malfunction in the operation of a radar system can cause an incorrect interpretation of instrument readings and lead to the beginning of military activities. A misunderstood command, or the mental derangement of an American pilot on a routine flight in a bomber loaded with nuclear bombs . . . a defect in the electronic equipment of armed missile combat systems can . . . lead to the beginning of a war. All of this requires the greatest vigilance of our armed forces and enormous wisdom and sagacity of national, political, and military leadership so that a war is not allowed to start for any such accidental reasons."

**'Realistic Presentation':** One of the more arresting features of the book, say the Rand experts, "is the realistic presentation it gives of U.S. military power, mainly by bringing together in one place a considerable body of cold figures on U.S. forces" (162 ICBM's, 105 IRBM's, 96 Polaris missiles in 1962; 1,040 ICBM's, 560 IRBM's, 656 Polaris missiles, plus hundreds of bombers, in 1966). The authors draw heavily on the Pentagon's statistics, and on such U.S. military thinkers as Prof. Henry A. Kissinger ("Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy"), Bernard Brodie ("Strategy in the Missile Age"), and Gen. Maxwell Taylor ("The Uncertain Trumpet"). "Never before has American military might been so fully revealed to the Soviet public," says Garthoff.

"Although U.S. intentions are distorted in characteristic Communist fashion," say the Rand analysts, "the image of the U.S. that emerges from the work suggests a considerable degree of Soviet responsiveness to changes in Western strategic thinking and military posture."

Which is to say that hardheaded Red generals seem well aware of the true military power of the United States—and equally aware of what nuclear war would do to Russia.

R+R Rel.

May 9, 1963 SA/MA

For further information call:

Friendship House
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 53, Illinois
(OAkland 4-7700)

Miss Betty Plank

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

INTERRACIAL HOME VISITS
ENDORSED BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY;
NATIONAL HOME VISITS DAY TO FOLLOW.

CHICAGO --- "It IS being done in Washington, D.C., Mr. President," Betty Plank, field director of Friendship House's interracial visiting program, announced today.

"It" was interracial home visits. President Kennedy, at his news conference yesterday, was queried on the value of a national program of white and Negro families visiting in each others' homes. "It would be very helpful and I think it should start right here in Washington, D.C."

"Operation Friendship" in Knoxville, Tennessee, was the program which elicited the presidential comment. It was sponsored May 5 by a group of Knoxville ministers.

The president's recommendation prompted Friendship House to advance the release of an announcement of its newest project, a national Home Visit Day, scheduled for Sunday, October 27. Besides the existing local committees presently cooperating with Friendship House on its Home Visit program, Friendship House will also encourage cooperation in other cities by interested groups.

Interracial home visits began in the Washington, D.C. area last October. The city is one of over 40 in the country where Friendship House, Catholic interracial organization with national headquarters here, has helped to start this program it developed back in 1955 and pioneered, locally and nationwide.

In its interracial Home Visiting program, Friendship House encourages free and open discussion of racial issues between the white and Negro participants of comparable background. Because the visits are aimed at challenging racial stereotypes about Negroes and illustrating from Negroe's personal experiences the extent of discrimination, most of the visits have been held in Negro homes.

Friendship House's national center here acts as a clearing house of information on the Home Visit program, including putting interested people in other areas in contact with each other. It provides a service of

( more )

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SHOULD START HERE - SAYS - J.F.K.

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth St.N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

consultation in person or by mail, "how to do it" literature and tape recordings of discussions at conferences on the program, summer study weekends featuring actual participation in a Visit, frequent articles in Friendship House's monthly magazine COMMUNITY on growth and development of the national effort as well as analyses of various aspects of the technique.

Friendship House has assisted religious and secular groups, interfaith committees, private and civic human relations agencies, and ordinary citizens wanting to help eliminate racial discrimination at the grass roots level.

In January Friendship House provided this service, and its local Chicago committee was co-sponsor with Protestant and Jewish groups for a metropolitan-wide mass Interracial Home Visit Day that brought 2,500 white visitors to the homes of 500 middle-class Negro hosts. In March, the same interfaith committee arranged a second mass Visit Day, with a similar number of hosts — this time, white — inviting in white neighbors and leading a discussion with Negro guests on equal housing opportunities.

Recently a service-by-mail was provided by Friendship House to the sponsors of a city-wide visiting Sunday May 5 in Des Moines, Iowa, for 500 white visitors to 65 Negro homes. The Human Relations Commission and the National Conference of Christians and Jews of Des Moines cooperated in conducting the visit.

At the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago in January, the Interracial Home Visit program was among the official recommendations.

###

NOTE TO EDITORS: Cities where Interracial Home Visits have been held in cooperation with Friendship House —

Akron, O.
Aurora, Ill.
Boston, Mass.
Buffalo, N.Y.
Cedar Rapids, Ia.
Champaign, Ill.
Chicago, Ill.
Cleveland, O.
College Park, Md.
Columbus, O.
Covington, Ky.
Davenport, Ia.
Dayton, O.
Des Moines, Ia.
Downers Grove, Ill.
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Franklin, Pa.
Gary, Ind.
Glencoe, Ill.
Harvey, Ill.
Joliet, Ill.
Kansas City, Mo.
Kokomo, Ind.
Leavenworth, Kans.
Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisville, Ky.
Milwaukee, Wisc.
Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minn.
Napa, Cal.
New York, N.Y.
Omaha, Neb.
Peoria, Ill.
Providence, R.I.
Rockford, Ill.
San Diego, Cal.
South Bend, Ind.
Terre Haute, Ind.
Topeka, Kans.
Warren, O.
Washington, D.C.
Waukegan, Ill.

and in several Southern cities where those conducting the visits are not making them public at present.

R+R Rel

I think these phrases real insight into the events of today and tomorrow.

# Era Of The Negro Passion

MIAMI NEWS May 11, '63 By ERIC SEVAREID

By its dominant voices, its most unforgettable faces and its chief acts of bravery does a generation recognize itself and history mark it.

SEVAREID

For America, this post - war period is surely the era of the Negro Passion. The most moving voices are now those of Negroes; the most searing, lasting words are put on paper by Negro writers; their music is the American music most penetrating and persuasive to other parts of the world; no cause is now so fundamental to the health and integrity of this society as the Negro cause; of no other leaders are so much stamina and courage demanded as are now required of Negro leaders.

★ ★ ★

They are bound to win, somehow, not only because their present aims are so limited and unarguable, but because they have succeeded in involving us all, whoever we are, wherever we live within the national frontiers. They have caught the attention of the whole American people and, more than that, they have caught up the conscience of the whole people, however many of us may try to deny this to ourselves.

This generation is not likely to find surcease from the Negro Passion; its source springs and the resistance to it are too deeply grounded for easy resolution, and its present outburst too long delayed. Its more violent manifestations are not going to be confined to the deep South. The head of black steam building up in places like New York, Washington and Chicago are finding outlets too few and too small, at the present rate, for the permanent avoidance of combustion.

**It is not when the oppression is most complete that revolutions begin to revolve, but when concessions are given, hopes are born, light is glimpsed at the end of the dark tunnel.**

★ ★ ★

The time is coming, soon, when the Negro Passion will truly dominate American politics. It is going to change the prism through which we consider the problems of far-off nations; romanticism will have to give way to realism. Liberalism of the academic or cafe society brand — the motivations of those who rhapsodize over the Peace Corpsmen in Ethiopia or journey 6,000 miles to sit at the feet of Dr. Schweitzer, but who would never dream of visiting the night police court in their own city and observing the tragedy of the American Negro — such impulses are going to lose their present status in the hierarchy of the virtues. There will be a noticeable dearth of hiding places for those professing belief either in their religion or the American Constitution.

★ ★ ★

An education in the facts of life and history is in store for those pained by the messy contradictions built in to the Negro Passion. Those bewildered at the Negro uprising ("after all, they had made a lot of progress") may learn that this is one of the eternal lessons from past rebellions against oppression. It is not when the oppression is most complete that these revolutions begin to revolve, but when concessions are given, hopes are born, light is glimpsed at the end of the dark tunnel. It is when an oppressed people feels close to its goal, not far off from it, that their action becomes frenetic.

Those who are cynical or upset by the moral duality in the Negro phenomenon, by the spectacle of lofty courage and self-sacrifice among the Negro leaders, side by side with the spectacle of spreading crime and moral squalor in the slum-bound masses of the Negro poor, may learn that the first is a direct reflection of the second, its natural, not its unnatural partner. Desperation, like war, ennobles some among its victims and debases others. No true people's revolution was ever neat, clean or devoid of sad anomalies.

5/20/63 MD, LWD, PA, JT



of justice, which is and always has been the spirit of American Nation.

Please accept enclosed copies of the letters, which we send to Congressman SMITH and four Colorado Congressmen. Thank you.

Respectfully yours,

ROSS KUZMYCH,
*President, Denver Branch of U.C.C.A.*

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CHICAGO, *April 1963.*

Hon. Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Please forgive me for calling upon you and asking you to do something for my unfortunate country.

The American Government, according to my knowledge, has consented to have the case of Hungary taken off the calendar of the United Nations and have same entrusted to the Secretary of same organization. I am acknowledging this fact with sorrow; the matter is not in the proper hands. After past performance, I have my doubt about this person. My fears are not only concerning the fate of Hungary, but I feel that all the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain will loose their hope to a legal and just settlement of their future.

I would like to ask you to use your influence at the White House and all over to have a House and Senate committee set up at the earliest possible date to keep a continuous vigil over the fate of the captive nations.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind help, I, remain.

Cordially yours,

HALMAY JANOS,
*Former Member of the Hungarian Parliament.*

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## Integrity, Devotion to Duty Mark the Honored Career of Senator Spessard Holland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 20, 1963*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House and Senate who has worked with Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND on legislative matters, or who has come to know him on a more personal basis, holds him in the highest regard.

The members of the Florida congressional delegation have just reason to be proud of the distinguished service of Florida's Senior U.S. Senator.

Senator HOLLAND has served the citizens of Florida as a county judge, State legisaltor, and Governor of Florida prior to coming to Washington. He devotes his full time and energy to his duties and has earned the respect of all who know him.

Editor Jack Gore of the Fort Lauderdale News took editorial note of some of the qualities exemplified by Senator HOLLAND, on the occasion of a dinner given in honor of the Senator by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.

Because Mr. Gore puts into words the feelings of so many of us who know and greatly admire Senator HOLLAND, I, under unanimous consent, include his editorial in the RECORD:

INTEGRETY, DEVOTION TO DUTY MARK THE HONORED CAREER OF SENATOR SPESSARD HOLLAND

In this day and age when so many of our political leaders and public servants are under a steady drumfire of criticism for words and actions which are hardly in the public interest, it is truly refreshing to see an outstanding person in public life given the credit he deserves.

Such was the case here Monday night when Florida's senior Senator, SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, was guest of honor at the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society's annual dinner, and was paid the high tribute he has so well earned from more than a dozen different organizations.

Senator HOLLAND's career in public life is long and varied. He has been a judge, a prosecutor, a State Senator, Governor of this State and now senior Senator. He is a native-born Floridian and all during his years of active service in behalf of the people we cannot recall a single incidence where the hot breath of scandal ever touched him.

If Senator HOLLAND has a mission in life we sincerely believe it can be summed up in his desire to be truly informed on the issues he is called upon to decide so that when he finally makes up his mind as to the course of action he will follow, that decision is based upon facts, upon sound reasoning and upon the conviction that what he does is in the best interest of those he represents.

It takes but one visit to Senator HOLLAND's office in Washington to realize that here is one of the hardest working men in the U.S. Senate today. As a member of several of the most important Senate committees he has a job that goes far beyond merely appearing on the floor and taking part in the sometimes long and acrid debates that mark the deliberations of this body.

Much of a Congressman's work these days is involved in committee hearings where vital legislation is first considered; where public testimony for and against the legislation is taken, and where a limited number of legislators act as the eyes, the ears and sometimes the conscience of the entire House or the entire Senate.

That Senator HOLLAND performs this work well can easily be ascertained by the stellar reputation he enjoys among his fellow Senators. He is not a publicity seeker as so many are in Washington these days. He is quite spoken and seldom aroused to anger but when his temper is aroused over what he considers to be a particularly bad piece of legislation he can be a most articulate and most effective objector to it.

What Senator HOLLAND was honored for here Monday, however, was not particularly his fine work in the Senate but for the major role he played in the acquisition and development of Hugh Taylor Birch State Park and Everglades National Park.

It was during Senator HOLLAND's term as Governor of Florida that Hugh Taylor Birch, then drawing near to the end of a most productive life, conceived the idea of deeding some of the extensive property holdings he had acquired here to the State for park purposes. It was on Pearl Harbor Day in 1941 that Governor Holland first came to Fort Lauderdale to talk to Mr. Birch about this idea. Because of Mr. Birch's advanced age, there were many difficulties that had to be worked out and many legal technicalities to overcome but after months of negotiations the gift was finally consummated, thus bringing into being what has since become one of the most heavily used State parks in our entire system.

Senator HOLLAND played an even more vigorous role in the creation of Everglades National Park as his desire to donate State-owned lands to the Federal Government for development as a national recreational area was bitterly opposed by his own attorney general. Despite legislative approval of the transfer, the attorney general refused to sign the required deeds and even filed a court suit to block the transfer. He failed to do so, however, and then Governor Holland and other devoted supporters of the national park idea took on the task of convincing Federal park officials they had an admirable site for a great national park and should lose no time in starting its development.

Today Senator HOLLAND's foresight in this respect has been well justified. Everglades National Park, despite its relatively short existence, is already bringing many sportsmen and visitors to this State to take advantage of its facilities and its popularity and reputation is growing with each passing year.

With these accomplishments under his belt it is no wonder his fellow Floridians gathered here Monday night to pay Senator HOLLAND the honor and the tribute he so richly deserves. It is men of his caliber, his integrity and devotion to duty and principles that keep our political system from falling into complete disrepute, and we only wish there were more men like him in the Congress and in other high places of Government.

JACK W. GORE.

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R & R Rel.

## The Era of the Negro Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 20, 1963*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Evening Star, WASHINGTON, D.C., May 14, 1963]

THE ERA OF THE NEGRO MOVEMENT—RACIAL ISSUE BELIEVED GIVING THE TIMES THEIR IDENTIFYING MARK IN HISTORY

(By Eric Sevareid)

By its dominant voices, its most unforgettable faces and its chief acts of bravery does [illegible] generation recognize itself and history mark it.

For America this postwar period is [illegible] the era of the Negro passion. The most moving voices are now those of Negroes; the most searing, lasting words are put on paper by Negro writers; their music is the American music most penetrating and persuasive to other parts of the world; no cause is now so fundamental to the health and integrity of this society as the Negro cause; of no other leaders are so much stamina and courage demanded as are now required of Negro leaders.

They are bound to win, somehow, not only because their present aims are so limited and unarguable, but because they have succeeded in involving us all, whoever we are, wherever we live within the Nation's frontiers. They have caught the attention of the whole American people and more than that, they have caught up the conscience of the whole people, however many of us may try to deny this to ourselves. A newspaper or television picture of a snarling police dog set upon a human being is recorded in the permanent photo-electric file of every human brain.

This generation is not likely to find surcease from the Negro passion; its source springs and the resistance to it are too deeply grounded for easy resolution, and its present outburst too long delayed. Its more violent manifestations are not going to be confined to the Deep South. The head of black steam building up in places like New York, Washington, and Chicago are finding outlets too

few and too small, at the present rate, for the permanent avoidance of combustion.

Because this unfolding drama involves the automatic reflexes of the instinctive sense of justice, because it involves namable, hearable, countable individual persons of flesh and blood, it is going to dwarf the general and social pageants of this domestic era, whether they be the struggles to nationalize the inchoate megalopolis, to preserve the open spaces, to eradicate a disease, to "conquer" space, or whatever.

This time is coming soon when the Negro passion will truly dominate American politics. It is going to change the prism through which we consider the problems of far-off nations; romanticism will have to give way to realism. Liberalism of the academic or cafe society brand—the motivations of those who rhapsodize over the Peace Corpsmen in Ethiopia or journey 6,000 miles to sit at the feet of Dr. Schweitzer, but who would never dream of visiting the night police court in their own city and observing the impulses are going to lose their present status in the hierarchy of the virtues. There will be a noticeable dearth of hiding places for those professing belief either in their religion or the American Constitution.

An education in the facts of life and history is in store for those pained by the messy contradictions built into the Negro passion. Those bewildered at the Negro uprising ("after all, they had made a lot of progress") may learn that this is one of the eternal lessons from past rebellions against oppression. It is not when the oppression is most complete that these revolutions begin to revolve, but when concessions are given, hopes are born, light is glimpsed at the end of the dark tunnel. It is when an oppressed people feels close to its goal, not far off from it, that their action becomes frenetic.

Those who are cynical or upset by the moral duality in the Negro phenomen, by the spectacle of lofty courage and self-sacrifice among the Negro leaders, side by side with the spectacle of spreading crime and moral squalor in the slum-bound masses of the Negro poor, may learn that the first is a direct reflection of the second, its natural, not its unnatural partner. Desperation, like war, ennobles some among its victims and debases others. No true people's revolution was ever neat, clean or devoid of sad anomalies.

If the Negro passion of today is not a true peoples revolution, it is as close to one as we have ever known in our land.

## Results of the First Arkansas District Poll on Various Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 20, 1963*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, people have an eye on Washinton. This is indicated by the increased participation in the survey taken in the 10-county eastern Arkansas district on significant issues confronting Congress.

There was a 17 percent questionnaire return as against 14 percent in the district in 1962.

Many comments were added by penned views or separate letter dealing with the subjects covered. The newspapers and radio stations aided the effort.

The questions asked and replies received in percentages follow:

| | Percent | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | No opinion |
| DOMESTIC PROGRAMS | | | |
| Do you favor or oppose— | | | |
| (1) Domestic Peace Corps? | 24 | 58 | 18 |
| (2) Armed services pay increase? | 41 | 44 | 15 |
| (3) Federal aid to assist cities to establish and operate mass transit systems? | 15 | 76 | 9 |
| (4) Tax reduction if coupled with equal reduction in Federal spending? | 90 | 8 | 2 |
| (5) An increase in the national debt limit above the present $308,000,000,000 to finance the proposed tax reduction and additional costs of the Federal Government? | 10 | 86 | 4 |
| (6) Compulsory medical care for aged citizens tied to social security? | 11 | 85 | 5 |
| (7) Federal aid for public schools? | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| (8) Tax credits to parents for college tuition costs? | 68 | 29 | 3 |
| (9) Spending vast sums of money to be the first to put a man on the moon? | 10 | 82 | 8 |
| (10) President Kennedy's handling of the Office of Chief Executive? | 20 | 66 | 14 |
| FOREIGN PROGRAMS | | | |
| Do you favor or oppose— | | | |
| (1) Expansion of foreign Peace Corps? | 24 | 63 | 13 |
| (2) Full support of United Nations? | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| (3) Maintaining of foreign aid program at about present level? | 21 | 69 | 10 |
| (4) Substantial or sizable reduction in foreign aid? | 80 | 12 | 7 |

## Agriculture at the Washington Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 20, 1963*

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Robert M. Koch, president, National Limestone Institute, Inc., before the Cleveland Farmers' Club, Affiliate, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, May 10, 1963:

AGRICULTURE AT THE WASHINGTON LEVEL

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to visit with you this afternoon about the topic which has been assigned to me—"Agriculture at the Washington Level."

May I begin by supplementing the material already sent you about me. Not so much that you are necessarily interested in me, but rather to help you evaluate some of my comments. After my initial training and experience in several agricultural fields, I became affiliated with what we commonly call a "trade association." I currently represent over 550 limestone producers and, as I am sure you know, it is a very able member of our executive committee, Bob Bemis, of your city, who is responsible for my being here today.

While our members are very much interested in the Nation's highway program, and while we service them in this area as well as in the field of taxation and other areas of interest to American businessmen, I am, of course, not going to discuss these subjects this afternoon.

During the course of my work, it is my privilege to travel all over this Nation of ours and come in contact with people from all walks of life in all of our States. Practically everyone realizes that agriculture is in trouble. It seems to me that the overwhelming majority of people in this Nation today feel that it because of the "meddling of Washington" in the farmers' business that we are having these difficulties. And, I venture to say that the majority of people in this Nation feel that the quicker the Washington officials turn the agricultural business over to the farmers of the Nation—and, as they say "leave them alone"—some sense can be made out of a chaotic condition. Furthermore, many feel this would save the taxpayer literally billions of dollars.

Of course, nothing could be further from the truth. If Washington should abdicate its responsibility to the American farmer tomorrow, I am sure everyone in this room realizes that the depression of the early thirties would seem like a mild dip, compared to what would happen if the farmers were turned into the marketplace for the answer to the present problem.

So much has been said and reported about the very few number of farmers needed today to produce the food and fiber we need that the majority of the people, with whom I come in contact, have the impression that agriculture is a very small part of our economy. Do you realize that the agricultural materials produced in this country last year grossed $20 billion? Mineral materials grossed another $20 billion. And all other materials added up to $5 billion. If the value of pasture were added in and if the finished value of livestock, rather than the feed value, were used, agriculture would clearly be in the lead.

Our Nation's farmers are the largest consumers of steel, the largest consumers of rubber and I could go on with a great many other items.

Today the average American farmer produces enough food and fiber to feed and clothe 27 other persons. Seven years ago 1 farmer could provide for 20 persons. Twenty years ago the ratio was 1 farmer to 11 persons. As Secretary Freeman has so aptly put it, this is the outstanding success story of the American economy. One farmer today in 1 hour can produce what four farmers could produce in the same time shortly after World War I. The same farmer increased his productivity three times as fast as the worker in industry between 1947 and 1958.

Here we have a group of people who are only 8 percent of our work force, providing for 92 percent who engage in other activities. In Europe 25 to 30 percent of the working people are farmers. In Russia 45 percent of the people work on the farms to provide the necessary food and fiber.

What does this mean to the American consumer? The average American consumer will use only 19 percent of his earnings to buy food. This is the lowest figure at any time in our history and lower than any other Nation. Just 10 years ago food accounted for over 23 percent of the average family income. Putting it another way, the average factory worker can today purchase his monthly food needs with just 37 hours of work. Ten years ago it took 51 hours of work to purchase the same amount of food. Shortly after World War II, the worker had to put in 61 hours for the same monthly food basket. In most other nations in the world food costs take 40 to 50 percent of the average worker's wage. And in some nations, as you know, food costs are so great that they leave very little income for the family to spend. In fact two-thirds of the

Life - May 24 '63

EDITORIAL

SB

# Beyond Rights the Issue of Human Dignity

*The Negro himself no longer believes in the good faith of white Americans—if, indeed, he ever could have.*
JAMES BALDWIN, *The Fire Next Time*, 1963

The race problem has taken on a new dimension which directly concerns every American, and the disturbing observations of the eloquent Negro essayist James Baldwin (*see pp. 81–90*) sum it up as well as anything yet said. The Birmingham riots did not add the new dimension; they merely supplied proof that it existed. Very recently the Negro's fight for equality has achieved powerful new thrust. The word "now" has, for him, a more immediate meaning than it had six months ago, let alone nine years ago when the Supreme Court desegregated the schools in law at least. There is a new impatience in the land, a new cynicism among Negroes toward established legal procedures in the light of past disappointments. This is true both in the South and in the North, where discrimination works more subtly than it does in Birmingham but still frustrates the Negro.

As for Birmingham, it's a tough city. It did not even exist at the time of the Civil War, but it has long had the reputation of being the worst big city in the South in the area of race relations. Possibly because of its industrial character, it has a lot of hard-nosed types, both black and white. It has also had head-in-the-sand political leadership. Considering what is going on in this country, not to mention the rest of the world, the segregationist pronouncements of Alabama's Governor Wallace and Birmingham's Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor sound positively ichthyosaurian.

But Wallace and Connor are not all of Alabama, any more than young toughs are the whole of the Birmingham Negro community. The fact that moderate white businessmen moved with resolution to reach an accommodation with Dr. Martin Luther King underscores this point. Until segregation bombs blasted the home of Dr. King's brother and a Negro motel there was—in spite of Bull Connor's police dogs—an element of restraint on both sides. And even after the bombings a great many whites and Negroes worked, at much personal risk, all one desperate night to get the riots under control. Birmingham city police acquitted themselves with considerable credit in coping with outright hooliganism. And a day later Dr. King was visiting poolrooms to repeat his warning to the Negroes: "Violence is not only immoral but impractical."

Even if the agreements hammered out by Negroes and whites in Birmingham can be made to stick in the face of widespread white hostility and open Negro skepticism, impatience will make itself felt elsewhere, and not just in the Deep South either. The fallout effects of Birmingham quickly showed as flash Negro violence took place in Nashville, Chicago and New York. Therefore there is a terrible urgency for all citizens to understand how the problem has changed.

The drive to achieve equality has united Negroes, but the argument about ways and means also set some of their leaders against one another. The Negro's feeling that the white man's law has failed him is polarized by extreme black nationalists who deny they advocate violence but preach a doctrine which may bring it about. They express contempt for the efforts of men like King and the N.A.A.C.P.'s Roy Wilkins to achieve a solution within the constitutional framework. The distinguished Atlanta publisher Ralph McGill, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune*, warns, "One of these days the South, even Birmingham, will be grateful to Dr. King. If a real hater—a Black Muslim—had come along with Dr. King's power of speech and personality, the South long ago would have been bloodstained."

Many people, including the U.S. Attorney General, have criticized Dr. King's timing and tactics in organizing the Birmingham demonstrations over the past few weeks—that is, maybe he should have waited. McGill flatly disagrees. "There has been enough waiting," he says. Actually the Negro goals in Birmingham are so minimal that the argument for "waiting" seems pointless. The right to lunch at a counter in the same store which will sell a black man a suit of clothes but (until now) not a hot dog; the right to compete for a better job on the basis of individual talent; the right to participate in the democratic process by casting a ballot; the right simply to move around in society—these are rights so basic, so axiomatic, that they just ought not to be questioned by decent men.

Dr. King's demonstrations did take place in violation of Birmingham's parade ordinance. But the technical legal infraction was far outweighed by the broader right of citizens in a free society to assemble peaceably to seek redress of grievances. Gandhi, influenced by the writings of Tolstoy and Thoreau, forged passive resistance into a weapon which forced the confrontation of an issue in India. Dr. King did much the same in Birmingham. "Nonviolent direct action" made the whole community—and nation—hear him, and ugly Negro violence exploded only after the whites started throwing bombs.

Through some alchemy which the headlines both illuminate and obfuscate, the problem of how white and Negro Americans are to live with one another in nationhood has moved beyond the law into the area of human relations as such. It may be that the lawmakers, as distinct from the law enforcers, have done for the Negro about all they can. There is a limit to what anybody's law can do. It can safeguard the elementary rights of citizens and enforce the decisions of the courts. But the law cannot make white and black Americans get to know one another. That is still the American dilemma which Gunnar Myrdal explored in his classic treatise 19 years ago—how we get to know one another *as individuals*.

No white American can really claim to know the Negro as an individual. Whatever his business dealings and personal associations, he cannot possibly know what it is to be a Negro in America. In the South the barrier of caste intervenes. In the North the urbanized Negro, probably to a greater extent than is true in the South, is a faceless man swallowed up in the black community. His white neighbor's conscience is tranquilized by words like "tolerance" and "integration"—words which are no longer meaningful enough.

If, by some miracle, complete integration were achieved in the U.S. overnight, we would still have ethnic and cultural minorities. The glory of the American system is that it has been able to accommodate minorities in a climate which permitted individuals to profit from knowing one another. In that climate the Negro has profited least and suffered most. Beyond "integration" the individual Negro needs to have his essential human dignity confirmed. After he has gained the basic rights of citizenship already stated in law for all Americans it will be confirmed. It is the clear obligation of white Americans not to impede this process but to hasten its fulfillment.

## AT A CRUCIAL TIME A NEGRO TALKS TOUGH

# 'There's a bill due that has to be paid'

I've been here 350 years but you've never seen me," said the frail, gnomelike Negro of 38. James Baldwin spoke from a New Orleans church pulpit (*right*) but he was talking to a lay audience, mostly white, and he was giving them hell. He spoke both as one Negro and as his race's voice against the rigid attitudes of white men's fears and judgments: "I represent sin, love, death, sex, hell, terror and other things too frightening for you to recognize."

This was a new role for Baldwin, whose main occupation has been writing probing novels (*Go Tell It on the Mountain*, *Giovanni's Room*, *Another Country*) and articulate, somewhat specialized essays on the Negro in America. For 10 years his novels sold well, his essays were accorded respectful criticism, and Baldwin swam around fairly anonymously in the intellectual fishbowls of New York and Paris.

Then early this year a searing essay he wrote for *The New Yorker* was combined with a gentle letter to one of his nephews, and became a bestselling book called *The Fire Next Time*. So intuitively does it dissect the nation's explosive race problem that Baldwin found himself a celebrity overnight. He also, reluctantly but doggedly, found himself on a whistle-stop speaking tour. Part of what he saw, and much of what he pungently remarked en route, appear here with an appraisal of the Baldwin appeal by a LIFE reporter who went along (*p. 86B*).

**"There's a bill that's been due in this country for a long time. Now, with Birmingham, it's come in and it's got to be paid.**

**The spinelessness of the Administration has had a terrible effect. It's incumbent on Washington now to take a moral position and stop playing politics.**

**As soon as we are discontent with what you've told us is our "place," we destroy your myth of the happy nigger, the noble savage, the shiftless, watermelon-eating darkie."**

CONTINUED

*The morning after a talk he gave in Durham, N.C., Baldwin went around paying impromptu visits in Negro homes. This boy, abandoned by his parents, was being looked after by neighbors.*

# 'If you say God is white

'I'm not better because I'm black, but if you say God is white why shouldn't I say he's black? The question isn't whether you're as good as white people but whether you're a man.

White people have no particular belief in God or interest in love but they do have a fantastic desire to be safe.

Why I should want to marry your daughter, knowing the family as I do, is a curious question —but if she and I wanted to, we'd have every right in the world to do so. Actually I don't want to marry your daughter. I just want to get you off my back.

White people seem to ask us, if they ask us anything, "Come into my nightmare with me; be like me; have abortions like me instead of illegitimate children." But we don't want to be like you. There is

*At Xavier University in New Orleans, Baldwin, who prefers young audiences because "they ask real questions," makes one of dozens of addresses he has given since January.*

*At a Manhattan party* (below) *he waggles a finger at Actress Geraldine Page, sitting with Actor Rip Torn. At bottom, he is told by Negro girl: "You're not* my *spokesman, James Baldwin!"*

# *I can say he's black'*

no reason whatever for Negroes to want to enter white society.

Nobody should have voted in the last election: both the candidates should have gone to Hollywood.

I know *you* didn't own a plantation or rape my grandmother, but I wasn't bought at auction either and you still treat me as if I had been.

The Black Muslims serve one extremely useful function: they scare white people. Otherwise they are just another racist organization and the only place they can go is to disaster.❦

***Photographed for LIFE by STEVE SCHAPIRO***

CONTINUED

# 'Today our children are drifting toward disaster'

*In New Orleans, Baldwin pauses to talk with children on Dumaine Street. Below, he visits Emile Armstrong, 7, one of his school's first two integrated children, who shows his workbook and tells Baldwin he wants to be an engineer.*

"White and black, most of us have arrived at a point where we don't know what to tell our children. The framework in which we operate weighs almost too heavily to be borne, and it is about to kill us.

We're taught from grammar school up to accept segregation as a way of life. You lied to me, because you never intended that I should be free, and I lied to you because I pretended that was all right. Small wonder our children are emotionally bankrupt and drifting toward disaster.

Yes, we've progressed. When I was a boy in Harlem, Negroes got drunk and cursed each other out. Now they become junkies and don't say anything."

CONTINUED

"James Meredith is very gentle. He's also one of the noblest people I have met. It's no picnic he's gone through, but he takes it well. He has no rancor. He can laugh at these people and that can't be easy. I wasn't surprised he decided to stick it out at Mississippi."

*In Jackson, Miss., Baldwin and James Meredith, whom he had flown down to see, wait for a taxi.*

CONTINUED 86A

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*In New Orleans, Baldwin dances the "Hitchhike" with CORE member after lecture.*

# 'Doom and glory of knowing who you are'

**by JANE HOWARD**

In today's literary circles it is a sign of considerable chic to know James Baldwin well enough to refer to him as Jimmy. Baldwin's telephone number, unlisted in the Manhattan directory, is such a badly kept secret that it has to be changed every few months. His phone rings relentlessly even at 3 a.m. when, often as not, five or six people are gathered in his 2½-room walk-up drinking his Scotch and listening to records. "You always go back to Jimmy's after an evening," one of his friends says, "never anybody else's. He's got to hear that music." That music consists largely of Ray Charles, Mahalia Jackson and the Abyssinian Baptist Gospel Choir.

Of the people who surround him and keep his phone busy not many are Baldwin's real friends. Those he really cares for, a group that includes his prolific family, Martin Luther King, Actors Sidney Poitier and Rip Torn, are either too busy or too compassionate to take much of his time. Many of the ones who are around offer him little but confusion. "They don't know," he says, "that to get you have to give, and giving, baby, isn't a day at a bargain counter but a total risk of who you are and what you think you want to be." Baldwin, who calls nearly everyone but old people and clergymen "baby," reflects that "Fame can lead to just as many disasters as poverty. Since I got to my grits—I mean, since I've had enough to eat—around two years ago, I've been as lonely as I ever was in my life. Now that I'm technically and legally a celebrity, I find that people don't look at *me* any more than when I was an anonymous cat in Harlem."

Maybe as a consequence, Baldwin scrutinizes other people with a shattering intensity. His huge, protruding eyes, usually a little bloodshot, gaze unwaveringly and for record lengths of time into the eyes of whomever he is talking to.

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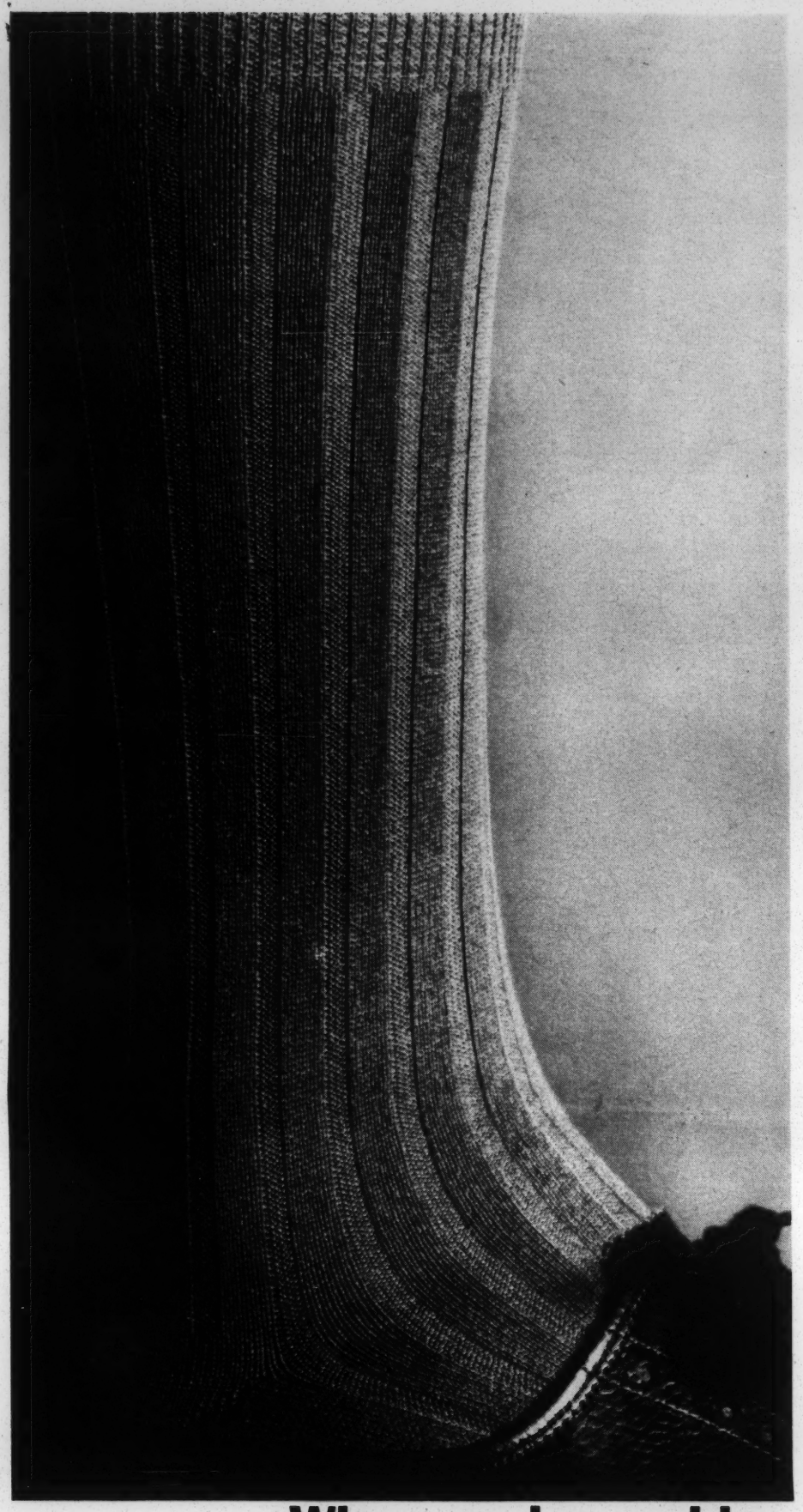
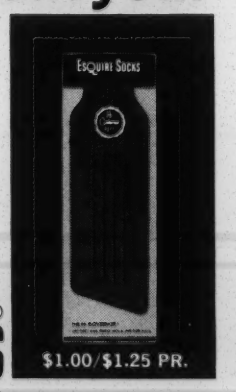


**When you're rushing for a plane, walking down the aisle, stepping into a new job, stepping out for the evening, doing the town, or doing the cha-cha, go about your business in the Governor.**

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"Eyes," he claims, "are the only way to tell who you can trust." For those who know him it is a point of honor never to avert their eyes from his. It is also a little like being on the losing end of a children's game of who-can-outstare-whom. Rarely does anybody outstare James Baldwin.

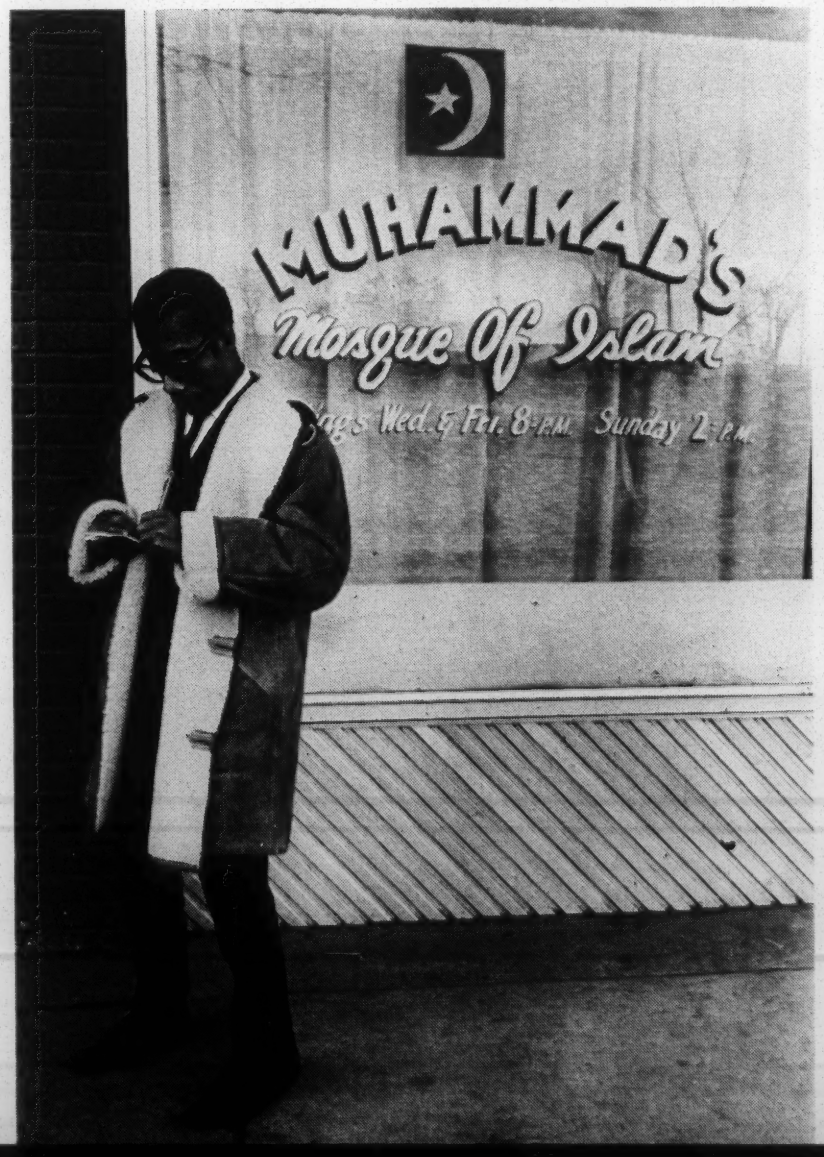
On all his small gestures, Baldwin lavishes twice the ordinary amount of nervous energy. He thinks "the question isn't whether you're happy or unhappy but alive or dead." Although he can be despondent or two hours late to an appointment, there's never the slightest doubt that he's alive. When friends leave his apartment, he hugs and kisses them before he calls "*Ciao*, baby." When he goes into a restaurant or bar, he delays ordering until he has fed a coin to the jukebox. While he talks on the phone he carries it in his hand as far as the cord will allow, into the kitchenette and then halfway across the living room, stopping now and then to pencil a face in his appointment calendar. When he boards a plane, he grabs a handful of plastic-bound magazines as soon as he has shrugged off his fleece-lined Scottish suede coat. He riffles through half of them by the time the "No Smoking" sign dims.

He can't drive a car, but when one he's in gets a flat tire he is quickly outside and squatting to peer at the calamity as though his forte were not words but hubcaps and jacks. And when he comes across a child anytime, anywhere, he bends over to lift it to his lap. "You can't fool kids," he observes. "A three-year-old boy can tell perfectly well whether he's wanted around the house or not."

Baldwin was the eldest of nine children who grew up on 131st Street in Harlem. He was a skinny child with a big gap between his two front teeth. His father told him, "You're the ugliest boy I ever saw." His father worked in a Queens ginger ale factory weekdays and preached on Sundays. Young James was a junior minister in another church for three years, but one Sunday when he was 17 a friend dared him to cut service and go to a matinee of *H.M.S. Pinafore*. He took the dare and has never been a practicing Baptist since.

"I was learning then that the terrible thing about being a writer is that you don't decide to be one, you discover that you are one," he says. He turned down two college scholarships to help support the family by working in restaurant kitchens, writing continually on the side, and getting little sympathy for it. "In this country artists

*In Durham, N.C. he pauses to take notes before local headquarters of Black Muslims.*



aren't recognized until they've earned $2,000 or won a prize. Until then, if you tell someone you're a writer he says, 'Yeah, well I mean, what do you *do*?' If you're an artist, you're guilty of a crime: not that you're aware, which is bad enough, but that you see things other people don't admit are there.

"You think your pain and your heartbreak are unprecedented in the history of the world, but then you read. It was Dostoevsky and Dickens who taught me that the things that tormented me most were the very things that connected me with all the people who were alive, or who ever had been alive. Only if we face these open wounds in ourselves can we understand them in other people. An artist is a sort of emotional or spiritual historian. His role is to make you realize the doom and glory of knowing who you are and what you are. He has to tell, because nobody else in the world *can* tell, what it is like to be alive. All I've ever wanted to do is to tell that. I'm not trying to solve anybody's problems, not even my own. I'm just trying to outline what the problems are.

"I want to be stretched, shook up, to overreach myself, and to make you feel that way too. I want to be a great artist, not just a very good one."

But as Baldwin's reputation grows, so does the distance between him and his typewriter. He can't write at all in New York City. ("I wish I didn't have to live there. It's the most hostile city I've ever been in, but there's no place else I could possibly be based.") His life has become so chaotic that in order to concentrate he has to flee to Istanbul, Paris, London, Switzerland, or an almost as remote Connecticut retreat. Between writing periods, when he's more or less in residence in Manhattan, Baldwin the Artist becomes Baldwin the Spokesman. In auditoriums he speaks to overflow crowds, the microphone cord draped about his neck, plane tickets in his pocket and telegrams in hand asking if he's free the 17th of next month to talk about The Essayist as Novelist, or The Novelist as Playwright, or How Whites Regard Negroes, or How Negroes Regard Whites.

On all these topics Baldwin has outspoken convictions which he can deliver on almost no notice in a dazzling, fluent rhetoric drawn from the stately cadences of the Old Testament, the glib breathlessness of postgraduate cocktail parties and the funky argot of Harlem. To hear one James Baldwin talk is by no means to have heard them all. On a hectic two-day speaking tour to New Orleans for the Congress of Racial Equality, he gave five planned and three spontaneous talks. They all ended up dealing with the racial question, but each was in its own language, aimed at its own audience. He spoke one way to anxious white liberals, another way to earnest Negro students who had been hurt in the McComb riots, and in still another vein to English majors at segregated colleges—but he made the same points each time.

He made some people mad but never failed in his expressed aim to "shake them up, disturb the peace, get them to ask real questions." They disturbed him, too, as all his audiences do.

"I was the first Negro to address a senior class at Yale—make of *that* what you will—and of those 1,000 men very few could phrase a sentence. Americans are the most inarticulate, illiterate people I've ever met, totally unlettered in the language of the heart, totally distrustful of whatever cannot be touched.

"Most Americans lead lives they deny, and they find it almost impossible to be coherent on any level. You have to listen very hard to a college president or an elevator operator to find out what it is he's really saying. They are both trapped between the language imposed on them, which is not theirs, and what they really want to say, which they don't trust."

To unwind from the strain of speaking publicly, Baldwin drinks and dances and subjects himself to painful motel-room bouts of introspection. "I know I shouldn't be doing all this speech-making," he says. "I never planned on it. It's much too easy for me. I should be saying what I have to say at a typewriter."

Yet when he accepts an invitation to speak, nothing stops him. In New Orleans recently he overslept on the day he was supposed to fly to Greensboro, N.C. to give a long-promised CORE talk. Eventually he emerged from his room, holding a poetry manuscript a student had asked him to criticize before he left. He was rushed into a rented car that raced to the airport, but it was too late: the plane was gone. There were no more flights that day to Greensboro. Everyone was silent.

"Well, Jimmy," a CORE girl finally sighed, "it's too bad, and they'll be pretty disappointed in

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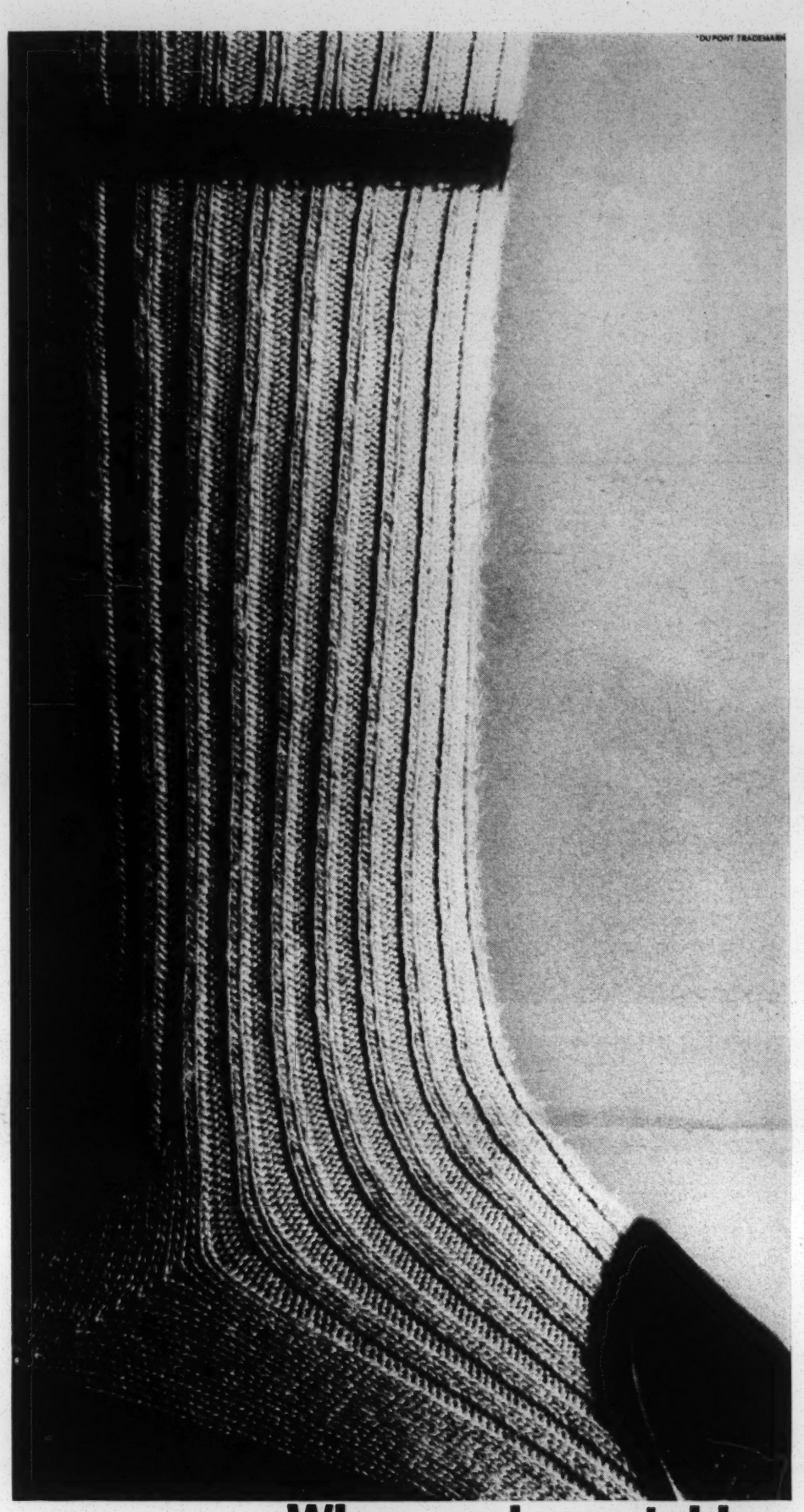


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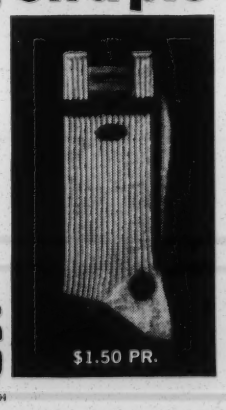


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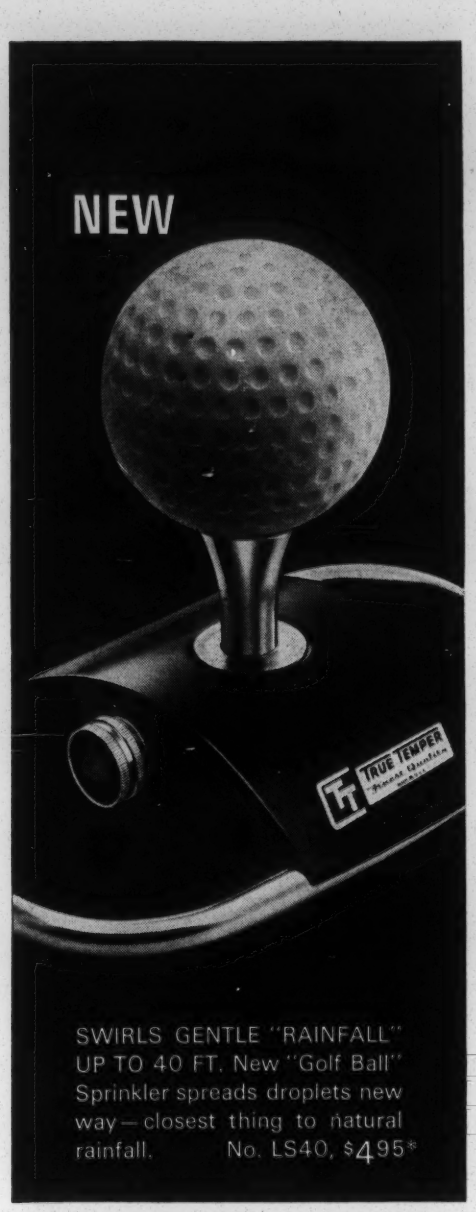


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Carolina, but what can you do? The only way you could get there now would be charter a plane."

"How much?" asked Baldwin. "Go on, find out." He went into the unsegregated part of the airport bar to order a Scotch and criticize the poetry manuscript. The others fanned out all over the airport, buttonholing anybody who knew anything about planes that might be chartered to fly to Greensboro. After a time one reported to Baldwin.

"You're not going to want to do it," she said. "That flight would cost $680. You could get to Europe and back twice for $680."

"Charter the plane," said Baldwin. "I said I'd be in Greensboro tonight, and I will be." A few minutes later his two-engine plane was aloft. "My lawyers aren't going to be too delighted with this little extravagance," he admitted, "but what else is there to do? What's money for?

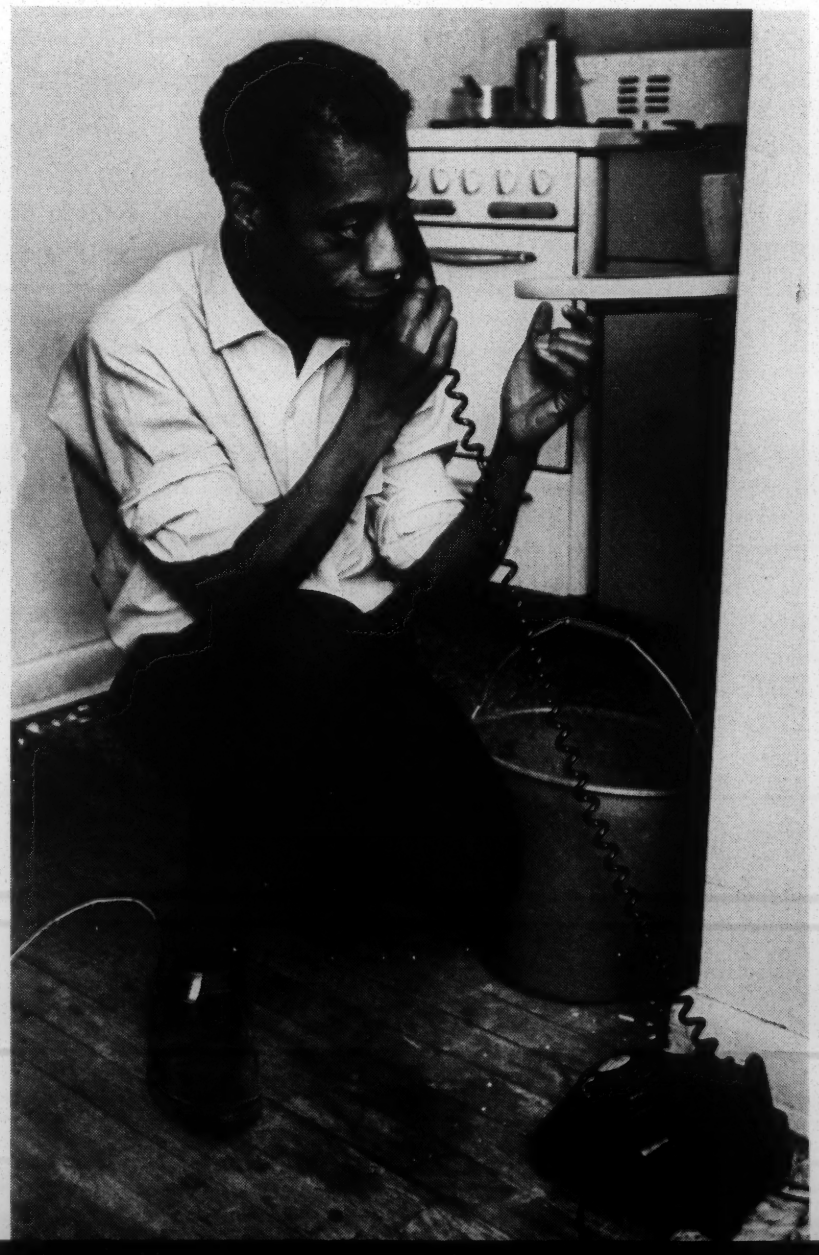
"I didn't become a writer to earn a Cadillac or a split-level ranch house, and I wouldn't quit writing if you gave them to me. And I didn't become a writer to join the Cosmos Club—somebody wanted to put me up for that, but I wasn't interested. You know, one of the things I object to most about liberals is the way they take me home to meet their mothers and buy me drinks and say, 'Now really, Jimmy, just between us, what have *you* got to cry about? You've made it, haven't you?' I want to ask them: 'I've made *what*?'

"Evidence would indicate I come from a long line of what we call field niggers," he said with a smile. "For myself, I'd never have been content with obscurity, but I wasn't aiming at Leonard Lyons' column either, and I'm not going to settle for it. I write because—I don't know why I'm telling you this—because every writer has only one story to tell, really, and I haven't told mine yet.

"I want to do something new, to go places I've never been, and I don't mean just geographically. I'm pushing a whole lot of different buttons to find out which ones. Right now I'm writing a play.

"Most contemporary fiction, like most contemporary theater, is designed to corroborate your fantasies and make you walk out whistling. I don't want you to whistle at *my* stuff, baby. I want you to be sitting on the edge of your chair waiting for nurses to carry you out."

*In kitchen of his New York apartment Baldwin has 3 a.m. phone conversation.*



SB Newsweek 5/27/63

WALTER LIPPMANN R&R Rel.

on

# The Racial Crisis

SINCE Lincoln emancipated the slaves, the Negro people have been making substantial progress. But they are a long way from equality of status in American society. Segregation, disfranchisement, and discrimination are now generating a movement of resistance and defiance.

In states like Mississippi and Alabama, there is posed the same great question which threatens Rhodesia and South Africa. Can substantial numbers of people of European and African descent find a way to live harmoniously together in the same national community?

There are two possible answers to this question. On the one hand, some kind of partition with Europeans and Africans living apart. This is utterly impossible in the United States, and therefore, the American solution of the racial problem must inexorably rest on the principle that wherever they live, the Negroes and whites must form one community.

The Negro movement is now led by moderate men who believe in a gradualist approach to equality. The crucial question is whether these moderate men will continue to be followed, or whether the movement will become explosive in a mood of desperation. The answer to this question is uncertain. The gradualists are pressed from behind, and if gradualism were slowed down into gradual gradualism, they would probably lose their leadership. Much therefore depends on how hard and irreconcilable is the white resistance. For, as always, extremism will breed extremists.

**Visibility Needed.** The paramount national interest is that the process of Negro emancipation should go forward peaceably. It must go forward. It must go forward fast enough to make its forward movement visible. If it does not do this, there will have been an abandonment of fundamental American principles which will disgrace us at home and abroad. The movement to equality must go forward peaceably, which means that there must not be another struggle to preserve the Union.

These are not idle words. There are increasingly desperate men at the extremes on both sides. Among the Negroes there is a very ugly racist agitation against the whites, of which we are likely to hear more rather than less in the days to come. Among the irreconcilable whites there are not only manifestations of reckless fury, as at Oxford and Birmingham, but there is also a movement, which has made some headway, to dismantle the Federal union by a series of Constitutional amendments and to replace it with a confederacy of states.

Except among the extremists, there is still general agreement that equal status is the goal and gradualism should be the method. But although in recent years there has been in most of the country, including much of the South, a notable progress toward the goal, the outlook for gradualism is increasingly ominous. For the tempo of violence is rising. The movement toward equal status has arrived at the hard core of the resistance just as a younger generation of Negroes is appearing. They refuse to accept inferiority as patiently as did their fathers and their grandfathers.

**How? When? By Whom?** My own view has long been that in the mounting crisis of race relationships the Federal government has been dangerously in default. When the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public schools and in public facilities, there was left unanswered the question of how, when, and by whom the new law, which differed so radically from existing custom and practice, was to be enforced.

The school case was decided in 1954. What happened then? Nothing happened. The President did nothing. The Congress did nothing. The enforcement of the Constitution was left to individual private lawsuits initiated by Negro organizations and their white sympathizers. There was no national policy, much less a national plan and a national program, for carrying forward legally, gradually, and effectively what was to be in fact a revolutionary change in the social structure of large portions of the nation.

The net result is that the President and the Congress are not leading and guiding the movement for equality of status. For the most part, they are the spectators, some of them in the cheering section and others in the booing section. The movement toward the equality of status for the emancipated slaves is not, alas, a national movement. It is a Negro movement in which the choice of the road and the decisions about how to deal with the obstacles are in the hands of the Negro leaders, themselves still gradualists but pressed more and more by their own extremists.

The Federal government, therefore, is committed to the achievement of the goal but is an outsider in the process of reaching it. It is, as the saying goes, not present at the take-off. But invariably, it is drawn in at the crashes.

Newsweek
THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE

# The Sky Above—The Mud Below

"Hello, Africa, this is Astronaut Gordon Cooper speaking from Faith 7. I am right now 100 miles over Africa . . ."

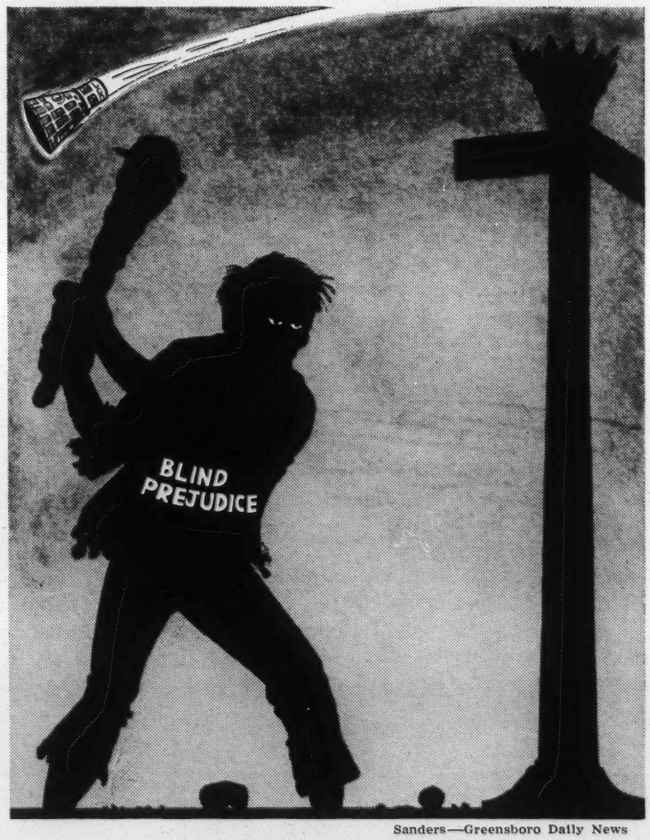
Streaking past Ethiopia toward Zanzibar on his superbly executed 22-orbit mission around the globe (page 61), Maj. L. Gordon Cooper thus introduced himself to delegates to the 30-nation African summit conference in Addis Ababa. "I want to wish success to your leaders there," he radioed. "Good luck to all of you in Africa."

But technical difficulties botched the broadcast, and the African leaders were in a mood to turn a deaf ear anyway. Some had never heard of Cooper or his mission. The news that concerned them from the U.S. lay not in the stars but in the mud: it was news of police dogs, fire hoses, and Negro rioting in a place called Birmingham, Ala. Even as Cooper shot by, some delegates were rewriting resolutions on apartheid to denounce "racial discrimination in and out of Africa."

**Arithmetic:** For Africans, it was a predictable and understandable reaction to the two faces America presented to the world last week—the ugly face of racial conflict in Birmingham and the smiling face of Gordon Cooper emerging from his capsule after 34 hours in space. The world's response to both stories was mixed, the resentment over Birmingham tempered by a surprising degree of understanding, the excitement over Cooper's ride cooled a bit by a blasé regard for the miracles of science. But the balance sheet was clear enough: Birmingham was a minus. Cooper was a plus.

The U.S. image abroad had taken some bad whacks with the first wave of stories and pictures of the battles between Negro demonstrators and Birmingham police. In Paris, the left-wing Libération ran a photo of police dogs attacking Negroes under the black-bordered head: "Savages." In India, the independent Indian Express called the story "Barbarism in Alabama" and editorialized: "To turn high pressure hoses on peaceful demonstrators is another act of calculated barbarity which besmirches Alabama, if that state has any reputation left to be besmirched at all." Ghana's government-run Spark called American democracy "a limited-liability democracy which only white men enjoy." Russia naturally splashed the story at home and abroad.

Yet with it all, world opinion was remarkably gentle. There was temperate talk, East and West, of the complexities of America's race troubles and of her national commitment to progress. "Diehard whites in Alabama are fighting a losing battle," Bombay's Free Press Journal said. In France, the Little Rock crisis six years ago had precipitated a flood of letters to the U.S. Embassy; Birmingham brought barely half a dozen. In London, a Whitehall official clucked at the violence but added: "Most of us realize that you are not just sitting back and letting it happen." In Kenya, U.S. Consul General Laurence G. Vass headed off critics with some plain talk at a meeting with 300 Kikuyu high-school youngsters. The events in Alabama were "barbaric and intolerable," he said. But America's aim was still a "multiracial society with freedom and equality for all."




Sanders—Greensboro Daily News

**'Man's Height and Depth'**

And then came Cooper, lifting the eyes of the world from Birmingham to the skies, to what John F. Kennedy hailed as "one of the victories for the human spirit." Phone calls jammed the U.S. Embassy switchboard in Rio de Janeiro, some only to say: "Tell Mr. Kennedy I'm praying." "Yesterday's marvel is humdrum today," yawned Johannesburg's Rand Daily Mail, but 6,000 children—black, brown, and white—gathered at Nairobi's city hall for Cooper's radio greeting.

**'Bravo':** Tokyo newspaper readers gobbled up columms of detail. "Bravo Cooper," France's Le Parisien whooped at the splashdown, and even Rome's Communist L'Unità was rhapsodic: "The American image has been repaired . . . It was not in their character to brutally knee other men. That . . . [belonged] on the evil side like a dark hat worn by the villain in cowboy films." And Italian novelist Alberto Moravia said wisely: "A country is not all one side or one thing. It is made up of Birminghams —and of Coopers. Everyone knows . . . Negroes in America are not all treated as equals. But their fight . . . is part of the nation's vitality."

Actually, it was a problem for the American conscience—a question not of what the world might think but of what the nation *ought* to do by its own lights. And, if "world opinion" was often invoked against discrimination, it was hardly persuasive to segregationists like Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace. "Other parts of the world ought to be concerned about their own image . . ." he snorted. ". . . Besides, most Africans and Asians don't know where they are, much less where Alabama is."

But even so elusive a quantity as a nation's image counted in a world where two great powers were vying for the allegiance of men. After the bad news from Birmingham, Cooper had ridden to

the rescue aboard Faith 7. But the next manned space shot may be more than a year away. In the country of the Coopers and the Birminghams, the Birminghams would remain to goad the American conscience and to help shape the face America turns to the world.

INTEGRATION:

## Birmingham's Choice

Invincibly jolly as ever, the Shriners had come to town for a convention, and battle-scarred Birmingham was bent on showing them a good time. "Welcome" banners and Confederate battle flags fluttered overhead, and, on a flatbed truck outside the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel, a Dixieland band blared "Stars Fell on Alabama." But history would remember other sounds: the clump-clump of state police patrols, the rasp of angry words, and—to ears keen enough to hear it—the ticking of the clock toward a time of decision.

The choice was war or peace.

Birmingham still had the instrument of peace last week—a fragile truce halting massive Negro demonstrations in exchange for some steps toward token desegregation. And the city had tasted war when, as the week began, two racist bombings set a Negro mob running riot in the streets. Waiting within striking distance were 3,000 U.S. troops, airlifted into Alabama on Presidential orders to prevent another blowup.

Yet Birmingham seemed tragically ill-prepared to make her fateful choice. Her political leaders openly denounced the truce. The businessmen who negotiated it kept their names secret at first, then came into the open with a statement that minimized—and virtually apologized for—the settlement. Whites and Negroes fell to bickering over the very terms of the truce and just how much integration they promised. And all the while, the Negro leaders watched, waited, promised to keep the bargain—and threatened more demonstrations if white Birmingham backed down.

City Hall was still locked in a legal battle over when a new mayor-and-council government headed by walk-soft segregationist Albert Boutwell will succeed the old commission government dominated by big-stick segregationist Eugene (Bull) Connor—now or not until 1965. Meanwhile, Public Safety Commissioner Connor and Mayor Arthur Hanes urged a white boycott of stores that agreed to the détente. Boutwell, his future uncertain, disowned the pact.

**'Appeasers':** And from Montgomery, feisty segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace jabbed away at both the white peacemakers ("appeasers ... [who] have played right into the hands of Martin Luther King") and President Kennedy for moving troops into the state. Wallace kept his own troops in town—some 700 state troopers and irregulars who patrolled the streets in Negro neighborhoods and walked in pairs through downtown stores. From the time they arrived during the riot Sunday, billies and gun butts flailing, Negroes regarded them as a provocation. The Justice Department, too, plainly wished they would go away. But Wallace kept them in town.

In such a climate, the businessmen who sponsored the peace effort were understandably skittish. Name-calling aside, segregationists were already circulating lists of downtown stores they thought were involved. One department store lost 100 charge accounts, and retail business was off 40 to 60 per cent.

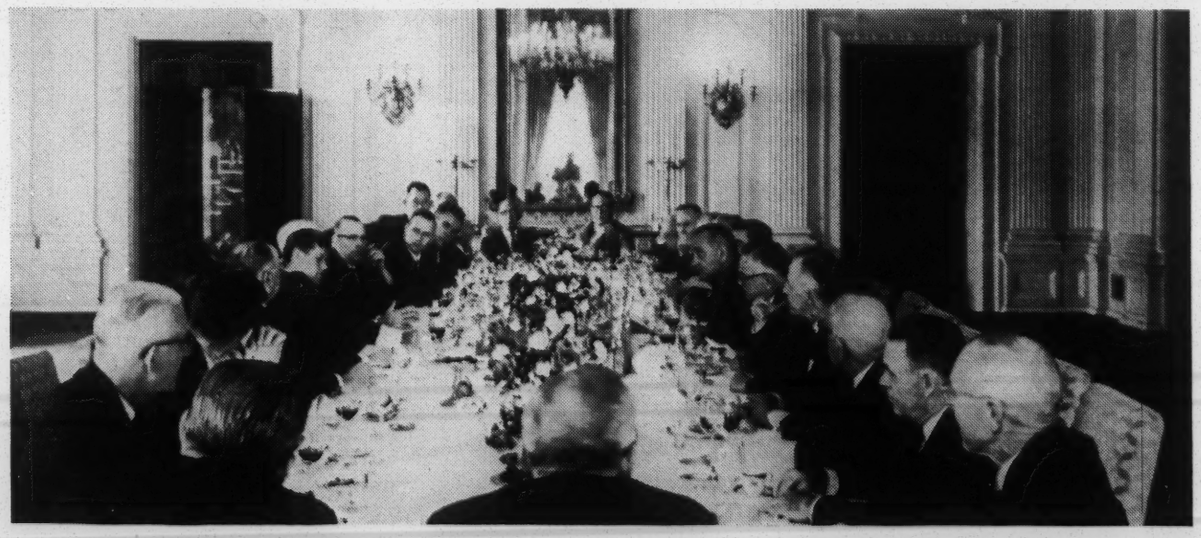
But there was little hope for keeping the peace unless the economic leaders of Birmingham threw their weight behind it. A campaign to get civic clubs to endorse the truce bogged down because—so the stock argument ran—"we don't know who we're standing up for." Only the chief white negotiator, Sidney Smyer Sr., 66, an old-family, independently wealthy realtor, was publicly associated with the pact. "We'd better get some more foxes out there with that one fox," a white lawyer told NEWSWEEK's Joseph Cumming Jr., "or there'll be too many hounds for him."

Finally, the Senior Citizens Committee—parent body of the white negotiating team—simply released, in alphabetical order, the names of all 77 community leaders who had been connected with it since its formation last August. The list included business executives, industrialists, a former governor (Frank Dixon)—but no downtown merchants. Some had opposed the peace pact and some had quit, but the list did not say who was for or against. The committee "is opposed to desegregation," said the accompanying statement. The agreement was simply an "emergency action ... to re-establish racial peace."

**Big Mules:** Faltering though it was, the statement was of some help—if only because it attached the names of Birmingham's "Big Mule" civic and business elite, however halfheartedly, to the truce. As one gaunt elevator operator put it: "You can't do nothing to those men on that list. How can you boycott the Alabama Power Company?"

Even so, the atmosphere remained tindery. The stakes seemed clear to President Kennedy. That was why he had ordered troops (some of them riot-tested at Ole Miss last fall) to stand-by bases in Alabama and taken steps to call the 15,000-man Alabama National Guard into Federal service. The truce, he said, "recognized the fundamental right of all citizens to ... equal treatment ... The Federal government will not permit it to be sabotaged ..."

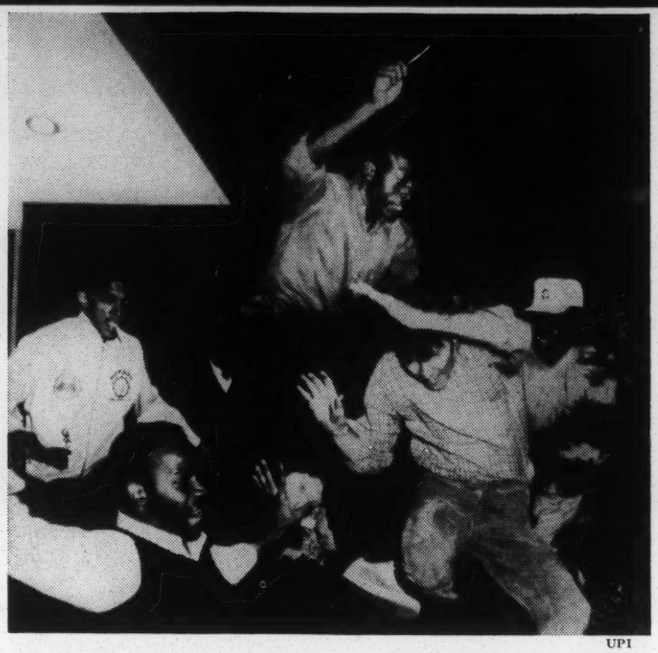
By a quirk of scheduling, the Presi-



***Oeufs mollets* and plain talk: JFK (midway down left side) lunches with Alabama editors**

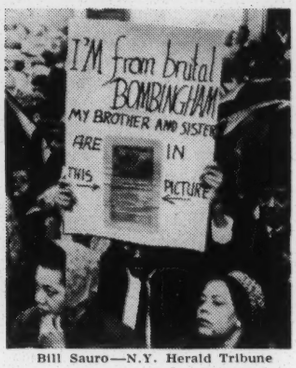
Newsweek—Corwin Hansen

**San Francisco: Odd tension on a quiet campus**



UPI

**Nashville: A powerful protest ended with open knives**




Bill Sauro—N.Y. Herald Tribune

**New York: A Harlem rally favored Malcolm X**

dent was able to discuss his decision over lunch (*oeufs mollets à la reine*, rack of lamb, three wines) with 26 Alabama newspaper editors whom he had invited to the White House two weeks earlier.

He had sent the troops reluctantly, he said, and only because he feared that Birmingham, after the rioting, faced a "disaster." If they have to be used, he added, it would be a "defeat"—a defeat for him and moderates on both sides. And—driving home the warning—the President emphasized that if moderates do not solve the race problem in the South, the Negro advocates of non-violence will give way to extremists who preach violence.

At the weekend, the President carried the message South on a nine-hour flying visit for the Tennessee Valley Authority's 30th birthday. At Nashville's Vanderbilt University, he spoke softly but pointedly: "In these moments of tragic disorder . . . educated men and women . . . [must] reject the temptations of prejudice and violence and . . . reaffirm the values of freedom and law on which our society depends." The speech got a solid round of applause.

Next, he ventured into tense Alabama —and a face-to-face meeting with Wallace, who had just filed a U.S. Supreme Court suit challenging the President's power to use troops. The facedown at Muscle Shoals was anticlimactic. The two stood under the blades of Mr. Kennedy's helicopter, swapping smiles, handshakes, and pleasantries. Speech-making over, they flew to Huntsville, 35 minutes away, talking a bit about Birmingham but mostly admiring the view of the Tennessee Valley. The talk, Presidential press secretary Pierre Salinger said, was "not unfriendly."

It was all cordial and without incident. But between the two was the shadow of Birmingham—a shadow that was lengthening across the land.

## The Jitters

Everywhere plain signs arose that Birmingham had thrust the whole U.S. racial problem into a new phase—more intense, more flammable, more urgent. New demonstrations marked by occasional violence sprang up in moderate Southern cities that thought they had long since balmed racial tensions with token concessions to the Negro. And in the black ghettos of the North, shock waves from Birmingham stirred up fresh demands for an end to Yankee-style de facto segregation. Among whites, North and South, the crisis not only spurred conscience but touched a nerve of fear.

Wherever the problem of race festered, the name of Birmingham was invoked as a warning, a symbol, and an epithet. When an NAACP lawyer sought a description for the city of Kennewick, Wash., which has no Negroes among its 16,000 residents, he called it—perhaps not too aptly—"the Birmingham of Washington." Even in fully integrated San Francisco State College, 30 Negro students without a specific complaint paraded grimly with picket signs reading: "Birmingham is everywhere." When gangs of Chicago Negro youths began stoning policemen after a cop had shot a fleeing 14-year-old boy in a slum neighborhood of Chicago's West Side, director Edward A. Marciniak of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations said the outburst was caused by "the Birmingham jitters."

Other cases of the Birmingham jitters were rampant last week on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. Among them:

▶**Nashville:** In the "Athens of the South," where public schools and some lunch counters, theaters, and motels have been desegregated for several years, Fisk University students led fellow Negroes in a drive for complete desegregation. A protest march downtown degenerated into a half-hour conflict between the 250 marchers and white hoodlums, who hurled rocks, glass, and boards at them. Some Negroes responded by brandishing knives. When police calmed the situation, arresting two whites and four Negroes, two persons had to be hospitalized.

▶**New York:** An impassioned throng of some 6,000 at a Harlem rally cheered wildly as Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, flanked by two huge pictures of Negroes being felled by white cops, harangued: "Birmingham is not in the South alone, it is in the North, too." When the Rev. A.D. King, a leader in the Birmingham movement, spoke up for non-violence because "it is a little more difficult to do harm to a man who exchanges hatred with love," someone in the crowd heckled: "Yes, but it is a little less difficult to die when you don't fight back." After the rally, one group of youths broke eleven store windows. Another group—of Muslims—beat up Ben Holman of CBS News, himself a Negro, who had written a critical series on the movement while a newsman in Chicago.

▶**Cambridge, Md.:** Negroes intensified their demonstrations against segregated restaurants and theaters, and police in this rigidly segregated Eastern Shore cannery town responded by methodically locking them in jail, Birmingham-style. A Negro leader warned: "We will fill all the jails in the countryside." But at the weekend, a committee of white citizens acceded to Negro demands, and Cambridge began freeing prisoners.

▶**Raleigh:** In North Carolina's capital, where race relations have been harmonious ever since lunch counters were desegregated three years ago, a crowd of 500 students from two Negro colleges, Shaw and St. Augustine's, climaxed a demonstration in behalf of total desegregation by laying siege to the Governor's Mansion and booing

U.S. Navy

**Ahead Full:** *The Navy's PT (for "patrol torpedo") boats, mothballed for eighteen years, have a successor. Undergoing extensive tests last week off Virginia were the Norwegian-built PTF-3 (F for "fast") and PTF-4, swifter (about 50 mph) and more dangerous (two 40-mm. and two 20-mm. cannon) than any of World War II's "expendables." Designed to speed guerrilla teams to enemy beaches, the highly maneuverable, twin-diesel craft can pack torpedoes if need be.*

him when he came out to placate them. ▶**Greensboro, N.C.:** In this Piedmont city—birthplace of the sit-in movement in 1960—some 1,000 Negro students from North Carolina's Agricultural and Technical College tried to enter two segregated movie houses and a downtown cafeteria. Police arrested 241 of them, while whites set up counter-picket lines carrying signs saying, "Go Back to Africa" and "Blacks, Go Home." In later demonstrations 600 more were jailed.

Birmingham sparked protest where it had never flared before—as in Selma (population: 28,385), in Alabama's Black Belt, which saw its first mass Negro voter-registry meeting despite a menacing swarm of sheriff's deputies. And it gave fresh impetus to stalled hopes, as in Albany, Ga., where Negro demonstrations for eighteen months had led to thousands of arrests and no tangible gains—and where new demonstrations were now in the making. "People are prepared to go to jail in large numbers," said a Negro leader in Albany. "Birmingham has given them new life."

And the fresh wave of activity was starting to get some striking results. New Negro demonstrations in Nashville, Raleigh, and Greensboro were promptly followed by the establishment of biracial committees to plan desegregation. The Raleigh Merchants Bureau endorsed a statement, precedent-shattering by Dixie standards, calling for the "removal of all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race." Most Greensboro merchants subscribed to a similar statement.

Though it was not related to Birmingham, there was also a significant Northern move against the kind of school segregation that results from housing segregation. In Trenton, New Jersey's Commissioner of Education, Dr. Frederick M. Raubinger, ordered the Orange city school board to present a desegregation plan for Oakwood elementary school, which—in Gov. Richard J. Hughes' phrase—has wound up with an "unintentional" enrollment 99 per cent Negro. Negro leaders in Englewood, N.J., meanwhile, protested that the community's schools are—"unintentionally," officials say—nearly all white.

**No Choice:** There were signs, too, that the often somnolent daily press of the South (the Birmingham papers, for instance, maintained an ostrich-like stance until violence was upon the city) was awakening to the fact that the chips were down in the Negro's drive for equality. "The lessons of Birmingham and Raleigh are plainly on the doorsteps of every Southern city," said The Greensboro News. "The revolution will not go away." In Knoxville, Tenn., partly desegregated but troubled with recent sporadic demonstrations for more progress, the News-Sentinel agreed emphatically. In an editorial it said: "The time has come when Knoxville [should] admit everybody to every place that caters to the general public . . . We are weary and ashamed of the violence which occurred in Little Rock, New Orleans, Albany, Greenwood, Birmingham, and Nashville." An integration committee, set up after the News-Sentinel editorial, included ranking businessmen who saw the problem in cold, practical terms. "If we don't do something, we are going to have the same situation as in Birmingham," said Hugh W. Sanford Jr., a committee member. "We have no choice."

In truth, it was clearer than ever last week that there was no choice anywhere in the U.S. except between equality for the Negro or incessant tension, disorder, and potential violence. The U.S. Negro, counseled for so long to be patient, felt that time had run out. Just as he led a new wave of sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta at the weekend, Ralph Moore, Atlanta University senior, stated the case for his fellows:

"We want our freedom now. We are tired of waiting. This *is* tomorrow."

THE PRESIDENT:

## Appointment in Rome

When President Kennedy's forthcoming trip to Italy was planned, his advisers scheduled the proposed talks with the premier in the city of Milan rather than in the Italian capital. Their thinking: "You just can't go to Rome without seeing the Pope."

As a politician keenly attuned to such matters, Mr. Kennedy felt that a meeting between the first Roman Catholic President and Pope John XXIII might offend some U.S. Protestants. But last week the President changed his mind. The White House announced that Mr. Kennedy would meet with the Pope in what the Vatican called a "very important" private audience about June 20. The reasoning behind the new decision made more sense. Pope John has taken an active role in the search for world peace, and an unprecedented initiative in the ecumenical movement. The 81-year-old Pontiff is seriously ill; his days are numbered. And even to non-Catholics, it would appear downright ludicrous for the President of the U.S. to visit Italy—and purposely shy away from seeing the Holy Father.

TAXES:

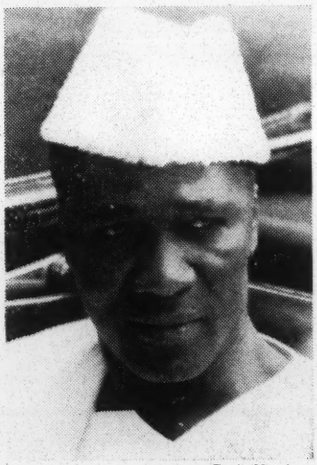
## What Price Peace?

During its 47 years of campaigning for world peace from its Nyack, N.Y., headquarters, the highly respectable Fellowship of Reconciliation has been tax exempt as a religious organization. But last January, the U.S. Internal Rev-

# Birds of a Feather (?) Get Together

Sharok Hatami

**Algeria's Ben Bella:** *'One shouldn't judge politicians by their past, but by their present behavior'*



Paris-Match

**Guinea's Touré:** *'I am more at home with Frenchmen than with my elder brother, who hasn't been to school'*

Camera Press-Pix

**Liberia's Tubman:** *'We lack the advantage of colonization . . . We must destroy ideologies that divide us'*

The air of Ethiopia's capital of Addis Ababa, 8,000 feet above sea level, is heady and exhilarating. Lions pace the garden cages of Emperor Haile Selassie's imperial palace, and lithe, Hamitic tribesmen in toga-like garments called "shamas" and solar topees walk proudly through the streets. Eucalyptus trees offer shade to street vendors selling leopard skins, and people bow low when the Emperor drives past in his Rolls-Royce. It is a place where history, dating back to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and rhetoric seem to go naturally hand in hand. As such, it was also the natural venue for 30 African nations to gather this week for Africa's largest summit conference yet.

Everyone who's anyone in African politics was there—Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Sekou Touré of Guinea, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, William V.S. Tubman of Liberia, and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria. Their portraits hung in front of the gleaming glass-and-marble Africa Hall, home of the U.N.'s Economic Commission for Africa, where a host of Foreign Ministers met last week to hammer out an agenda. While they worked, gallons of paint were splashed on public buildings, and beggars were ordered to keep out of sight. As the oldest independent African nation, Ethiopia was determined that the cause of Pan-Africanism should be debated in a fitting setting.

**Turning Back to Europe:** The conference came, however, at a time when African unity, economic or political, seemed to many visionary and unreal. Across the continent, divisive influences were at work. The Casablanca group of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Egypt, and Algeria, formed in 1961 with a brave program of political unity and anti-colonialism, was already moribund. Nkrumah's neighbors feared his grandiose schemes and his talent for subversion (NEWSWEEK, May 20). Relations between Egypt and Algeria were cool since Ben Bella brushed aside Nasser's tentative hints that Algeria might like to join his United Arab Republic, and Morocco's King Hassan II decided not to attend at all because of his claim to neighboring Mauritania (which had been invited). A similar border dispute was causing bad blood between the host nation, Ethiopia, and Somalia. And to Nkrumah's disgust, more and more African states were arriving at the conclusion that they were better served by their old colonial masters than by either Russia or the U.S. Only last week a high-powered delegation from Guinea, which had almost become a Soviet satellite after breaking with France, turned up in Paris to negotiate a new deal with the former colonial power. The delegation included Sekou Touré's half brother, Ismael, who had been one of the biggest boosters of the Soviets until it was apparent that their aid was running Guinea's economy into the ground.

A prime example of the feuds dividing the African nations was the row that developed in the Foreign Ministers' sessions over whether to admit the new government of President Nicolas Grunitzky of Togo which came to power last January after the assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio, one of Africa's more moderate leaders. Both Sekou Touré and Nigeria's Balewa (who suspected Ghana of a hand in Olympio's killing) opposed Togo's admission to the conference, and Togo's Foreign Minister Apedo Amah threatened to fly home if Grunitzky was barred. At the urging of the Ethiopians, a decision was deferred until the main heads-of-state conference.

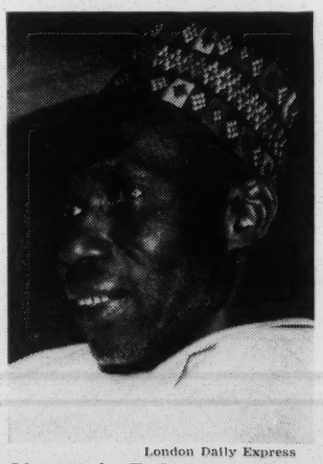
"The time before us is short," Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Ketema Yifru warned the opening session, "and it should not be wasted in idle discussion of matters which will not

Camera Press-Pix

**Ghana's Nkrumah:** *'I'm like the man who walked into Jerusalem 2,000 years ago—and people followed'*

Dalmas—Pix

**Egypt's Nasser:** *'Sometimes we attack and sometimes we explain. You forget what you do against us'*



London Daily Express

**Nigeria's Balewa:** *'All the world is anxious to see what we produce . . . Unity must not mean regimentation'*

make a real contribution to . . . unity of Africa and the solution of our problems . . . if we permit ourselves to become embroiled in arguments and questions not related directly and significantly to the central issues of African unity, the time at our disposal will slip by."

Up for discussion were:

▶A Ghanaian proposal for a Pan-African Parliament in which each state would have two seats in the Upper House, while seats in the lower chamber would be allotted according to population. In "Africa Must Unite," a book published on the eve of the conference, Nkrumah also suggested that Africans integrate their economic plans, seek a unified military and defense strategy, and coordinate their foreign policy and diplomacy.

▶A total boycott of South Africa, the only independent African state not invited to the conference, including denial of airspace and territorial waters. (Ghana, however, continues to trade with South Africa through third parties.)

▶Military aid and training to accelerate the independence of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea.

▶An African Development Bank.

The first concrete achievement was the agreement in principle by the Foreign Ministers to merge the almost defunct Casablanca group with the 21-nation Monrovia bloc, mainly composed of French-speaking African states with a moderate, pro-Western flavor in their approach to the problems of development and unity. The Ethiopians were ready with a proposal for a permanent organization of African states (similar to the OAS in Latin America) with its own charter and secretariat.

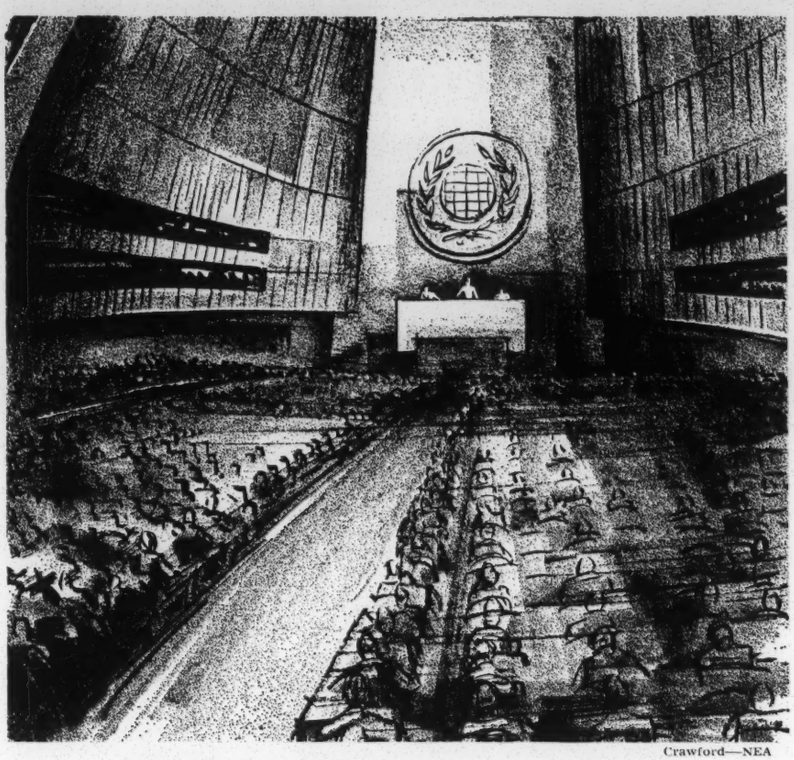
At the same time, the Foreign Ministers turned thumbs down on Communist attempts to send "observers" to the conference. "This is to be an all-African meeting," a spokesman declared. Among those who had applied: the Soviet Union, Communist China, and Cuba.

**'Amazing':** No one expected that the Addis Ababa conference would do more than make a start at solving Africa's vast problems. There would almost certainly be fiery speeches signifying little, big plans which would never reach fruition, and a host of petty feuds. But as one senior U.S. official commented: "It is little short of amazing that 30 countries, separated by incredible differences in history, language, religion, ethnic structure, and colonial tradition, are even attempting something on the scale of the Addis conference. Heavens, Africa involves 244 million people in an area four times that of the U.S.—with all, except a handful of the countries, less than five years independent."

America's own growing interest in Africa was shown by the increase in experts and officials spreading across the continent. In 1956 there were six U.S. embassies and seven consulates in Africa; now there are 32 embassies, a legation, and 24 consulates. The State Department had 97 officers in Africa in 1957; now it has 906. Out of a total of 4,096 Peace Corps volunteers serving abroad, 1,380 are working in Africa.

**'Don't Worry':** There is also a growing sophistication in handling problems arising from the days when the U.S. believed that unless vast aid schemes were launched the Communists would take over Africa. A prime example is the case of Ethiopia which sent tremors through the State Department in 1959 when it accepted a Soviet offer of $100 million in aid. So far, only $18 million has even been allocated and when the Soviets agreed to build a technical school at Bahadar on Lake Tana, the Ethiopians announced that they intended to staff it with American-trained Ethiopian teachers. The Ethiopians have even converted some Soviet funds into short-term U.S. Treasury notes. Last week, when it was reported that some conference delegates might demand the removal of a powerful U.S. radio station near Asmara, which plays a key role in U.S. worldwide communications, the 71-year-old Emperor Haile Selassie told U.S. Ambassador Edward M. Korry not to worry. "I'll handle the matter," he declared firmly.

Indeed, the Ethiopians, looking back on their 3,000 years of independence with pride, seemed determined to keep a tight leash on propaganda, and to force the conference to face Africa's real and pressing problems.



Crawford—NEA

**'First, the Secretary-General will pass the hat'**

UNITED NATIONS:

## Poverty, It's Awful

*Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds nought and six, result misery.*

Mr. Micawber—Charles Dickens

Micawber's simple arithmetic has been bedeviling the United Nations ever since it embarked on expensive peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. By last week, the debts had piled up so high—almost $100 million—that the 111-nation General Assembly had to be called into special session to deal with them.

No one disagreed with U.N. Secretary-General U Thant when he described the debt as "perhaps the most vital issue before the United Nations," but few of the debtors seemed inclined to do much about it. Both the Soviet bloc ($63 million in arrears) and France ($14.1 million) listened stonily in the U.N.'s Fifth Committee as financial experts outlined what one British official called "a pretty astounding state of affairs." Briefly stated, the facts were:

▶Since June 30, 1962, no assessments had been made to cover the costs of the Congo and Middle East operations despite a ruling by the World Court that such levies were legal and binding.

▶The U.N. has limped along on the sale of $137,285,762 worth of U.N. bonds in which the U.S. was pledged to match

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# The Absence of Justice

*By Louis E. Lomax*

BIRMINGHAM

THIS IS WAR, another battle in what I have called "The Negro Revolt." Yet what this troubled town needs is not the absence of trouble but the presence of justice.

Few people, including the President and the Attorney General, realize that the American Negro is now making his maximum effort for freedom and justice. The use of little children, the purest of our troops, in Birmingham, among the meanest of places, was the tip-off that a major and pivotal civil rights battle was underway. And the use of children will spread, for now is nonviolence's most perilous hour.

Nonviolence turns on the notion that such a moral battle of attrition will bring us the victory. It should be clearly stated that Negroes have resorted to nonviolence not because we are all that moral, but because the other cheek is the only practical weapon in our arsenal. We aim, of course, at the conscience of men, at the souls of our adversaries. But in all candor, few, if any, of us really believed Eugene "Bull" Connor would respond in terms of the soul and the spirit. He did precisely what was expected: He unleashed dogs on children and felled women with fire hoses. Then his underlings rushed to the fallen women and pinned them to the ground, the knees of the police on their breasts.

GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

In a very real sense, this played into our hands. The scene was transmitted to all the world, and men of all cultures and languages discovered anew the savagery of the land we black Americans call home.

To our dismay, the Kennedy Administration continues to climb the back side of the civil rights mountain. It will be recalled that the Attorney General urged the Freedom Riders to call a halt to their journeys down South while his brother, the President, was on an overseas trip. Now, in Birmingham, the younger Kennedy questions the morality of the Negro effort, and underscores the risk of using children in the front lines. "A maimed child," he has said, "is something we can hardly afford."

Only because he does not realize the seriousness of our revolt, the Attorney General fails to understand that every American Negro is maimed at birth. He may overcome this somewhat, but never fully so: To be black in this land is to be an outcast in the house of one's fathers, a leper in the land of the white and the cancerous.

If the Attorney General needs evidence of just how maimed Negroes in Birmingham already are, let him examine the mass of material gathered by Thelton Henderson, a Justice Department field man who has been gathering evidence for a voter registration suit in Birmingham for the past several weeks. The voter registration cards show such things as:

Name: John Jones.
Age: 35.
Education: College degree.
Occupation: Bell hop.

Name: Mary Jones.
Age: 33.
Education: Three years college.
Occupation: Maid.

John and Mary Jones, and there are hundreds like them, are in the tradition of Birmingham. They meet the man—the white man—every morning; they get paid every Friday afternoon. They shop in stores

where they cannot sit down and have a hot dog, or use the bathroom. John and Mary Jones cannot try on the suits and dresses they are thinking of buying. "They might get nigger smell on them clothes," one merchant said. But there is one liberal store in town; they will let Mary try on a garment but she cannot, of course, use the dressing room with white women. So she must go out into the alley behind the store and slip into the garment while nobody is looking. If she doesn't like it, or it doesn't fit, she can bring it back. The manager is a liberal and doesn't mind.

John and Mary Jones have children—John Jr., 13, and Susan, 11, named after her maternal grandmother. They were doing well in school. Now, like about a fourth of the school children in Birmingham, John Jr. and Susan are in jail. And late into the night you can stand with John and Mary Jones in front of the county jail and hear the children sing:

*If in our hearts,*
*We do not stray,*
*We will overcome*
*Some day.*

Then, still from the jail, there rises a young squeaky voice in prayer, and his fellow holy inmates urge him on:

"O Lord have mercy!"
*Yes, Lord.*
"Stand by us as we suffer for the right."
*Please Lord, Please Lord.*
"Help our fellow students who will demonstrate tomorrow."
*Lord, Lord, Lord.*
"Dry up the fire hoses, Lord."
*Yes, Yes, Yes!*
"And lock the jaws of them vicious dogs."
*Yes Jesus! Do, Lord, do.*

"Goddammit, you boys and girls move on. If you cared about your children they wouldn't be here."

And so the vigil outside the jail is over. The white policeman, his night stick at the ready, says move on. This is Birmingham. When a white man—particularly a white policeman—says "move on," black folks move on or get beaten and then jailed for disorderly conduct.

This is Birmingham in peace; this is Alabama in tranquility. For the Birmingham policemen are the best of the lot. Indeed, Birmingham police spent much of their time restraining State Troopers—rednecks from the bush—who wanted to wade in and club Negroes whether they were involved in the demonstrations or not.

Little wonder, then, that the frenetic efforts of the Kennedy Administration to restore peace, law, and order, fell flat with Negroes all over America. Peace, law, and order to the Negro mean little more than enforcement of the *status quo*.

**TROOPER ALBERT LINGO**

Even so, the Negroes did not disturb the peace, upset order, or break the law. They sought to demonstrate peacefully against what they felt was injustice. The city said they needed a permit to demonstrate; the Negroes applied for the permit and were denied. So they marched, two by two, singing and praying, confident that the Constitution of the United States would save them from the hell of an Alabama jail; certain that one day they would be able to sit down and have a hot dog, use the bathroom and try on a dress before they buy it. The order was broken, the peace disturbed, by those who would deny Negroes even the right to protest.

And so Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, came to town, took up headquarters in a segregated motel and proceeded to mediate the dispute. The Administration's overriding concern was with the restoration of order, the maintainence of peace. In the process, justice was trampled. To be sure, the Negroes got a crumb. There was some progress made. But justice was not done; the aggrieved, rather than the criminals, were advised to slow down, be moderate, not make waves. It should have been the other way around. Justice, at the expense of martial law and Federal occupation, should have been imposed on this tormented town. The men who threw the bombs, put dogs on children, and manhandled defenseless Negro women, should have been told to slow down, not move too fast, be moderate.

President Kennedy has done more for civil rights than any President in history. But the nature of the times demands that more be done for civil rights than at any other period in history. Kennedy, then, cannot be measured by the past; he must stand muster before the *now* and the *tomorrow*. The John Fitzgerald Kennedy of 1963 would have been a great President in 1950. That, however, was over a decade ago. If he would have his own profile be one of courage, the President must, and soon, meet the demands of the future, not grapple with the needs of the past.

This is war. For the Negro it is a holy war, and we are of the holy war nonwhite men all over the world are now waging. We are not concerned with the absence of trouble; our committment is to the presence of justice. For then, and only then, will we have overcome.

# Neither Life Enough Nor Time

## *By John A. Williams*

FOR THE American Negro the hurt of Birmingham, of the South, of the nation, is so deep, so twisting, so all-encompassing that the only relief from it may be, as authorities close to the scene have warned time and again, raw, quivering violence. The wartime riots of Detroit and New York would pale beside it; the rioting on the University of Mississippi campus would look like child's play. Negroes, of course, would suffer most, being most deprived of the tools of the law and the weapons with which to defend themselves: It would be rocks, bottles and cans, largely against dogs, carbines and automatic shotguns. We have had the preview.

The immediate hurts of the Negro might be momentarily alleviated through a fearsome show of righteous vengeance. The violence would be of so awful a nature that leaders and politicians would *then* make sure that such a force could not build and explode again, and perhaps its purpose might then be considered well meant.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King may be the only man in America able to see this specter clearly. He has warned again and again that it is the white man who holds all the weapons, the courts, the power. He does not continually advocate nonviolence merely as a platform; he insists on it because violence is ever present and, like a gusher, must always be capped with a reminder. King has had startling good fortune; his opponents have not always heeded the Homerian adage:

*Do thou resist that man with all thy might*
*Who, unprovoked, provokes thee to a fight.*

But King's time may be running out. The first signs of this were in his use of the children in the Birmingham marches. He might have had better luck had he not been dealing with politicians and savages. These, as we have seen, disavowed the uncertain truce signed in Birmingham by King and moderate whites.

The truce came because of the children. Why not use them? Let them get their scars early and, if plans work out, they will heal. The kids went in their small trusting ways, believing in King and his God, to endure the problems that we as adults, with life enough and time, have been unwilling to solve in the 100 years since Emancipation. It was the sight of the children being mauled and tossed about, however, that brought to the attack those "sheep" outside King's fold; people whom he, Ralph Abernathy and Fred Shuttlesworth denied were theirs.

The weak agreement was beaten out, regardless, "behind the scenes." The return of peace was hailed and the Kennedy Brothers were revealed as "The Hidden Persuaders." And many who had angrily and indignantly wired the White House, screaming at the Brothers to *"Do Something!"* in Birmingham, were relieved to discover Jack and Bobby had been on the job all along.

But, just as it did at the University of Mississippi, the whole damned package blew up in everyone's face. The President called in the troops from the sidelines to the usual *ante-bellum* yowls of indignation and pronouncements of state's rights; the city police were at odds with the state police even as full-scale rioting broke out. Governor George Wallace and Mayor Albert Boutwell screamed at each other and Wallace fired off wires to Washington. The White House, without laying the blame for the riot on anyone (a mistake, as the President should have discovered at Mississippi), took steps to federalize the Alabama National Guard, while the Alabama Governor howled, "It's mine! It's mine!"

How many more times will we have to witness this stupid, disgusting charade? We know how it goes by now. Is there no room for inventiveness at least? Will there at no time be observance of the laws of man and nation? Won't the Kennedys stop persuading (which has meant, in the case of Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi, saving a politician's face, a face which cost two lives) and get the jump on the action?

People cry out to the Executive Branch of the Government because Congress cannot make that quick decision and because, ruled practically by the South, to the shame of the voters of this land, Congress has lacked any vital and sustained interest in civil rights. The Supreme Court has had its say, but has been defied at nearly every turn, even by Federal Court judges. It is now using up valuable time hearing or refusing to hear or review cases which have already been set in precedent. Who else to act with speed, then, but the Executive Branch? Yet the Kennedy Administration has not made one single move on behalf of civil rights as quickly as it did *before* it was given a slender mandate. That was in the case involving Dr. King's jailing in Atlanta. While Nixon dawdled, the

Kennedys dialed and won for themselves the Negro vote that determined the election.

THE PROBLEM with the President, as it has been with others before him, is that the fear of enforcing the Constitution to the hilt is greater than the fear of suffering a Little Rock, a University of Mississippi or a Birmingham. To give the illusion of *doing something,* Presidents since Harry Truman have convened Civil Rights Commissions whose reports, many of them coming from Southern white members, have been dutifully filed away without being acted upon. Repeatedly these reports have cited the failure of local police to preserve law and order, pointing out that the likes of law officials like Bull Connor and Albert Lingo of Alabama and Willis McCall of Florida are as much a barrier to desegregation as the schools' refusal to admit Negroes.

The FBI, moreover, has distinguished itself by seldom finding and arresting those who bomb Negroes' homes or Jewish synagogues, or who shoot visiting French newsmen in the back. This is because the men assigned to these cases are themselves Southerners. Various Civil Rights Commissions have proposed that special police be engaged to handle civil rights enforcement. Like other recommendations, this all-important one has been tabled indefinitely. If, under Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy the CRC's recommendations have been put into action, few people know about it.

In the face of the Government's refusal to act—after declaring that Washington could not intervene in Birmingham, Kennedy had to eat his words only a few days later—men such as King and the white moderates coaxed or threatened or boycotted to the discussion table may be the next to the last players on the gridiron. Had the Government acted with "all deliberate speed" after 1954, a wedge might have already been in existence not only in Alabama, but throughout the nation. This failure has had, and will continue to have, its just desserts, mostly at the expense of the Negro who is not as concerned with America's prestige abroad as he is in his own individual, long overdue constitutional rights.

The last players in this continuing game of charades very likely will be the people Dr. King does not have in his fold. The rioting was kicked off by Negroes terribly unwilling, as King suggested, to let their blood flow instead of their white brother's. These are the people the South most fears. Sullen, deprived, outside the community of religion and economic influences, they are prepared to meet violence with violence; they are the people fabled in Southern story as "bad niggers." They belong only to themselves.

These are not people for the Black Muslims, as everyone seems to think; the discipline the Muslims offer has no appeal. The Muslims stress *defense* if attacked. These "sheep" have demonstrated their willingness to *attack* even without weapons. Raised on a heritage of violence without the soothing ministrations of the church, they are willing to dispense violence themselves.

Perhaps another Robert Williams, who was framed and hounded into Cuba, will get them guns, teach them to build and man foxholes. They would do it with startling relish. Williams is the ex-Marine who had his people throw up breastworks in Monroe County, North Carolina, and fought white attackers with rifles. He was dropped as president of the local NAACP because of this and was later charged with kidnapping a white couple whom, in fact, he had protected. He fled northward to Canada and from there went to Cuba. Another Robert Williams to lead them and Birmingham would be as bloody a battlefield as Bunker Hill.

One further significant revelation came with the furor in Birmingham: The Negro business community of the South may now be inclined to get off the fence. It has been as moderate about desegregation as the white business groups. Integration would lose it the wealth that was traditionally its own. Negro businesses within the segregated community, insurance particularly, have created black millionaires. A. G. Gaston, who sat with King and helped draw up the agreement, is just such a man. It was his motel that was bombed. If Gaston's cooperation and help and money has come to the aid of the desegregation efforts, a new phase in Negro staying power may be at hand, for millions of dollars are available. And if there are funds for marches and bail fees, there are also funds for weapons.

The failure of the Government to act, or its acting belatedly (thus giving license to the lawless), points us in the direction of Hitler's Germany. No, we are not at the point where millions of Negroes will be herded into *physical* concentration camps and eliminated. We are not there yet. But the inability (due to the complex difficulties in each of us making a living) of the masses of people to be directly and actively concerned, puts us well along the road. No single question that effects this nation is without roots imbedded deeply in the problem so recently blown up in Birmingham. Education, religion, economics, health, employment opportunities, unemployment, defense, the Armed Forces—none of these escapes the whiplash and sting of discrimination. The constitutional privileges of all are in danger because the Government refuses to meet the needs of a minority.

They have been saying in South Africa that the time is "five minutes to 12." It is something like that here. One man summed it all up this way: "They'd better enforce that mother------- Constitution or the God damn thing won't be worth a s--t to nobody."

# Revolution in an Open Society

*By Reinhold Niebuhr*

THE NEGRO revolution, which is daily gathering force and undoubtedly will gather more force before it reaches its objectives and finally spends itself in fulfillment, is an interesting historical phenomenon. It is a revolution within the framework of a democratic society.

If historical phenomena were as neat and orderly as our categories of history, revolutions would occur only in moribund traditional societies where there is no free and mutual adjustment of interests and where the most defrauded segment of the community cannot move to attain its rights without shattering the whole rigid structure of a hierarchial community. We know of the revolutions in 17th century England, 18th century France and 20th century Russia. Yet even in those revolutions the peasants and the rising craftsmen arose as a revolutionary force only when internal strains and external exertions weakened the old order and gave them an opportunity to do so.

The motive power of their revolutionary actions was resentment against age-old grievances and injustices, borne "patiently" until deliverance seemed near; and the hopes generated by cracks in the old order. Revolutionary ardor is never, as Marx thought, pure resentment. It is a combination of resentment and hope. That is why revolutionary movements become more revolutionary in the process of their success. We should know about this double motive of revolutions as we watch the Negro revolution in its ups and downs, and begin to wonder why, as it meets with comparative success, it is developing more and more force.

Nor should we have too much difficulty in accounting for the strange phenomenon of a Negro revolution taking place in an open society, rather than in a traditional one. An open society prevents revolutions by allowing all economic, racial and cultural groups freedom to state their claims and defend their interests. The claims may not always be granted, or the interests acknowledged. But in a truly democratic society there is always some hope that genuine interests will gradually be recognized, and that in a spirit of mutual accommodation failure to grant them will be justified by their clearly interfering with other legitimate interests.

Thus, democratic communities are subject to an evolutionary process of adjustment, and not revolutions of the dispossessed. The current Negro revolution can be understood only if it is realized that the Negroes comprise a disinherited enclave in a free society. They bear the same unsatisfied longings of the ages, the same accumulated resentments against unredressed injustices, which the peasants of the ossified traditional communities bore in past centuries and which, according to Marx, the "proletariat" bore. But, happily, democratic society redressed these conditions, making the Marxist apocalypse of doom and utopia otiose throughout the whole of Western Europe. Of course, Western culture required a whole century to come to terms with the realities of modern industry. The mills of both God and democracy grind exceedingly slowly.

The Negroes, however, were left out of all, or at any rate most, of the beneficent consequences of this fluid evolutionary process. Despite the promises of a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," they lived in slavery in the self-conscious and self-righteous young nation "brought forth" on a new continent. Despite the fact that the slavery issue caused the Civil War, the victory of the North did more to "save the union," acknowledged by Lincoln to be his "primary purpose," than to emancipate the Negroes. Despite the assurances of the Fourteenth Amendment, Negroes remained both rightless and powerless in the sense that they were voteless.

After the Civil War, even the free states did not hasten to enfranchise Negroes under the Fourteenth Amendment. And today, a century later, most of the riots in the South are due to efforts to give Negroes the vote. These facts are almost too obvious to be recorded. Yet such is the obtuseness of human nature that even sympathetic whites must be reminded, as we recently have been by the gifted Negro novelist James Baldwin, of the historical reasons for the depth and breadth and virulence of Negro resentments.

The enclave of hopeless injustice in our generally open society obviously has its core in the "deep South"—in Mississippi and Ala-

bama and, in varying degrees, other states of the old Confederacy. But it also encompasses the entire nation, particularly the Northern urban centers to which the Southern Negroes fled. Here they are "emancipated," in the sense that they can vote, while being newly enslaved, in the sense that they must live in ghettos such as Harlem.

Still, these enclaves of injustice are in a community that is otherwise "open." Indeed, some of the effects of the present integration controversy stem from the *contradictory influences* of an open society containing a closed enclave. Birmingham illustrates the situation most poignantly. Under Martin Luther King's leadership, the Negroes conducted mass demonstrations against all forms of segregation. A joint interracial committee finally resolved the "tension" by promising desegregation of the large downtown department store facilities, promotion of Negroes to sales positions, and the formation of a permanent commission on race relations. These were the consequences of an open society allowing competition and accommodation of conflicting interests.

But on the night the accord was reached, a group of recalcitrant whites, opposed to opening the closed enclave, bombed the house of a Negro leader and the motel where the committee had met. Earlier, the same sort of men murdered a pure-hearted mail carrier who was carrying a message about the necessity for integration to the Governor of Alabama. A group of Birmingham Negroes, enraged by the bombing, went beserk, rioted and ruthlessly laid waste to several homes and businesses. Curiously—or perhaps not so curiously—these Negroes were not part of the group which had won accommodation from the whites. They were a group of hopeless men for whom the promise of Negro job opportunities seemed worthless, because they would be unemployed in any case. They spoke from the depths of the enclave of hopelessness.

BOTH the open society and the enclave of hopeless injustice will continue to have their contradictory effects. Whites, along with Negroes who retain hope of getting justice, will rejoice that this is not South Africa and that the only conceivable conclusion of the struggle is not a blood bath of violent revolution. An open society will in time encroach upon the boundaries of the enclave. Negroes with votes will use their power in favor of Negroes without votes. True, some of them may be demagogic Congressmen with unsavorary records of racism in reverse. But, it should be remembered, we are dealing with outraged human beings, not with angels of virtue.

Some Negroes have already escaped from the enclave of prejudice by dint of extraordinary talent—in sports, in the theater, in the concert hall. These is, to be sure, a bitter irony in this form of injustice. But even now only the most talented women are able to establish "equal rights" with men in politics and business. What is significant is that Negroes with high talent are breaking out of the enclave in increasing numbers, thus revealing the virtue of an open society, enlarging its openness, and refuting the libel about the "innate inferiority" of their race.

Another result of an open society is that, despite the educational handicaps from which the present drive for educational integration may ultimately rescue them, an ever greater number of Negroes are getting a university education either in Negro or integrated colleges. And these college students, especially in their sit-in protests against segregated eating places but also in the general agitation for justice, are performing the same service for their race which the articulate craftsmen performed for the less articulate peasants in the late middle ages and in the revolutions which established free governments.

These are the obvious consequences of the openness of our society. But the forces of tradition and custom, which uphold special privileges for a dominant race, are still powerful enough to preserve the enclaves of injustice for a century or more to come. We will have the tension of the integration struggle with us as long as we live in the precarious peace of the nuclear dilemma. The Negroes will naturally be impatient, and their impatience will hasten the process of justice and embarrass the "moderates."

Strangely enough, the only true proponents of a neat "class struggle" between the races are the Black Muslims, who believe Allah will perform the service which Marx expected from the "historical dialectic"; that is, guarantee them a black paradise in the nation. Since there is no "increasing misery" among Negroes in this country, however, there is no increasing revolutionary ardor, only constant pressure. We shall live for a long time with this pressure and with the contradictory consequences of a revolution in an open society.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy was probably too optimistic in his recent analogy between the history of the Irish and the Negroes in America. After pointing out that an Irish Catholic was elected President less than a century after the anti-Irish riots of the "know nothing" movement, he predicted that a Negro could be elected President in another half century. But the analogy is not exact. The Irish merely affronted us by having a different religion and a different place of origin than the "true" Americans. The Negroes affront us by diverging from the dominant type all too obviously. Their skin is black. And our celebrated reason is too errant to digest the difference.

The Christian Century 5/29/63
Pg & Pa Rel.

planning," for "fostering study and research related to Christian broadcasting," and for publication of a quarterly to be called the *Christian Broadcaster*. Membership in W.A.C.B. is open to churches and other agencies and to individuals concerned with religious broadcasting who accept its purposes and functions. Associate membership is available for people who have only "professional interest" in the association.

While the assembly, which is to meet every five years, will lay down general directives for the association, actual control is entrusted to a 59-member central committee elected on a regional basis. Practical management of affairs is in the hands of a 15-member executive committee consisting of the officers, a representative of each of the general regions (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Near East and North America) and five other persons from the central committee.

The sole unpleasant episode in the proceedings came when central committee members from Africa were being chosen. Europeans stationed in Africa allotted themselves seven of the nine places assigned to that continent—and three of the seven are from Southern Rhodesia. Those who did the "stacking" were rebuked on the assembly floor by Theodore Tucker, Africa secretary for the (U.S.) National Council of Churches, and Philippe Maury, director of information for the World Council.

**Personnel**

Lutheran Bishop Fridtjov S. Birkeli of Stavanger, Norway, was elected chairman of the new body. Vice-chairman is K. D. Bhasker of India's Christian Association for Radio and Audio Visual Service; secretary, William N. Haddad of the Near East Christian Council's radio project; treasurer, Frederick Wilson, secretary of mass communication overseas for the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Harry Spencer was elected regional representative for North America. Two North Americans were elected at large to the executive committee: Mrs. Nancy Montizambert of Toronto, supervisor of broadcasting for the Anglican Church in Canada; and this correspondent, director of communication for the United Church of Christ. Other North Americans elected to the central committee were Prof. John Bachman of Union Theological Seminary in New York city, William Fore of the Methodist Board of Missions, Paul Friedrich of the Lutheran Laymen's League, Bernard M. Lubin and S. Franklin Mack of the National Council of Churches, Lawrence McMaster of the United Presbyterian Church, and Keith Woollard of the United Church of Canada.

*289 Park Ave. S.,*
*New York 10.*

## *District of Columbia*

CHARLES D. KEAN

**A Call for Leadership**

At a rally at Mt. Shiloh Baptist Church on Sunday May 5 two Negro clergymen-politicians appealed to some 1,300 of Washington's Negro leaders to take positive steps toward solving serious community problems. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.) and Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D., Mich.) struck a two-pointed theme. On the one hand, if more is not done to provide equal opportunity for metropolitan Washington's burgeoning Negro population, trouble in this area may exceed the difficulty in Birmingham. On the other, unless Negro intellectuals and professionals really identify themselves with aspirations of their own people, they will forfeit whatever constructive influence they might be able to exert in the days to come.

Although the District of Columbia has its share of Negroes just in from the hill farms of the deep south, it has probably the highest percentage of advantaged Negroes of any area in America. Those who choose to enter civil service and work at it find promotion difficult but achievable, and many qualified Washington Negroes, both men and women, are in upper-level pay grades of the civil service. There is, however, a gulf—or at least a lack of effective communication—between Negroes of substance who "have it made" and less-advantaged Negroes. The problem created by social class stratification in the Negro community is not essentially different from that in the white community, but Negro leadership resources are so limited that the effect is more tragic.

**A Search for Help**

Following the addresses the congregation marched to the White House where a picket line was set up for 15 minutes. The demonstrators carried signs asking for federal intervention in Birmingham. But the picketing is not to be understood simply in terms of the Negro community's reaction to what is going on in another city; those terms apply—but there is a lot more. The episode stands against a background of serious problems.

One has to do with the tragedy of neglected children. The struggle for dominance of local affairs between Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.) and the district commissioners leaves welfare agencies in the lurch, thus penalizing the most underprivileged Negroes in the area. This struggle, as has been reported in The Christian Century (see "Man in

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the House," Oct. 17, 1962, and "Tragedy in the Nation's Capital," Jan. 30), is making it very difficult to find a competent person willing to become director of public welfare—if acceptance means following the philosophy of Sen. Byrd.

Another problem stems from interracial tension. Last Thanksgiving Day the annual football classic between the public and the Catholic high school champions brought together teams from predominantly Negro Eastern High School and nearly all-white St. John's College Prep School. By the end of the first half it became evident that the dominant mood was not football fever but bitter racial strife, and that it was infecting not so much the teams—although they too were affected—as the spectators, many of whom seemed to have come looking for a fight. When the game ended with St. John's winning 20-7, all hell broke loose. The police detail was unable to control the riot that ensued, and many people—most of them white—were injured.

The next day public indignation waxed strong. Who had erred? Carl Hanson, superintendent of schools, and John S. Spence, director of education for the Washington Catholic archdiocese, issued a joint statement suspending the play-off game indefinitely. A broad-based citizens committee headed by Shane MacCarthy was appointed to hold hearings and issue a report. The general feeling was that this incident must not be allowed simply to blow over, that its causes must be effectively dealt with. When the MacCarthy committee reported, it whitewashed no one but raised a number of searching questions about the whole problem of public education and law enforcement among all teenagers in the district. This committee was one of the first groups to focus attention on the school drop-out problem.

### The Drop-out Dilemma

Following the MacCarthy report, Dr. Hanson released his own studies of discipline difficulties in high schools where older drop-outs freely roam the corridors, occasionally scuffling, sometimes even having sexual intercourse in corners. Dr. Hanson asked: Could there not be disciplinary classes in the late afternoon and evening to which those who find it difficult to adjust could be transferred for special attention before their morale is ruined and they interfere too greatly with other people? He then aroused a swarm of criticism by suggesting that principals or supervisory teachers be given the authority to inflict —as a last resort—corporal punishment.

Behind the superintendent's suggestion was an awareness that many drop-outs are illegitimate youths with little if any family encouragement to take advantage of what the schools have to offer. The suburban practice of sending for parents of a student in disciplinary difficulty makes little sense at Cardoza or Dunbar high schools, where in many instances the child is supported solely by a working mother. The normal built-in structures of the American middle class society do not work in this social order. At this writing no final action has been taken on Dr. Hanson's request to use corporal punishment when necessary. It has had one adverse preliminary vote by the school board but has found considerable support both in the board and in the community. One difficulty seems to be that many people would prefer to dump the whole problem in Dr. Hanson's lap, and extension of his disciplinary power seems to provide a means for doing just that. At the same time, perhaps no place else can be found to lodge responsibility—and something has to be done.

### Crossing Lines of Separation

In the meantime, by official action taken at its 68th annual convention the Washington Protestant Episcopal diocese decreed that any agency or institution claiming to be related to that diocese must remove all color bars within six months. The Episcopal Home for Children, a treatment center for the emotionally retarded, took this step without fanfare some three years ago. It now has Negroes among both patients and staff, and it expects to elect its first Negro board member soon. The Episcopal Church Home, which provides care for the elderly, had resisted any suggestion that it provide integration of services, but it took that step a week before the convention. The only institution open to the full brunt of the convention's action is the House of Mercy, a home for unwed mothers; that institution has issued no statement as yet.

More than 3,000 persons thronged to Georgetown University April 28 to hear an address by Hans Küng of the University of Tübingen. When Catholic University authorities canceled the invitation to Fr. Küng to lecture there, Georgetown immediately asked him to deliver the annual Gaston lecture, a lectureship administered by an undergraduate committee supervised by the dean of students. Bishop William F. Creighton of the Washington Episcopal diocese and Episcopal Bishop Angus Dun, retired, were seated on the platform with Fr. Küng. Other non-Roman leaders were also invited to attend.

On the same evening when the theologically oriented were listening to Fr. Küng, the musically inclined attended an interfaith festival of choral and organ music at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church. Choirs from St. Thomas the Apostle (Roman Catholic) Church, the Washington Hebrew Congregation and the host parish participated. Each choir's presentation was germane to its own tradition, the St. Thomas group presenting the first American performance of Swiss composer Heinrich Sutermeister's *Mass in E-flat.*

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ANNUAL ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL DAY
ADDRESS
DELIVERED BY SARGENT SHRIVER
DIRECTOR, PEACE CORPS
MAY 30, 1963

"In all the years of my husband's public life," said Eleanor Roosevelt, "I never once heard him make a remark which indicated that any crisis could not be solved."

This Memorial Day you have done me the honor of asking me to speak at the life-long home and final resting place of two people whose lives were a testament to faith in the creative power of man to solve his own problems.

They were the finest products of the nation which they loved and led. Through their work the United States passed successfully through the most troubled and dangerous period of its history into an era, not less troubled, but with a shape and challenge which is a product of their triumph.

We have before us difficulties as fresh and as grave as those that challenged Roosevelt. But the nature of those difficulties and our capacity to deal with them has been profoundly influenced by his life and his work.

I come here today not as a participant in the Age of Roosevelt--not as a colleague or as a friend--many of whom have spoken in this place--but as an inheritor of that age and, even more, as the leader of an organization to whose members the name of Roosevelt can be only a memory produced by school textbooks or the stories of parents. Yet the life of the more than 5,000 Peace Corps Volunteers has taken a direction marked out for us by his vision and skill. He was the principal architect of our America.

It is said that Roosevelt's task was easier because he took office at a time of great national crisis. The normal processes of political debate were suspended, opposition had been submerged by the flood of national misery, and everyone turned to him expectantly for leadership. In large measure this was true. This created a great opportunity, but it also vastly magnified the potential danger of failure. He was given an almost empty canvas to work upon, but it was also demanded that he produce a masterpiece.

The preamble to the Constitution lists among the objectives of the American people "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In our entire history no leader was truer to that mandate than Franklin Roosevelt.

Under his guidance the United States emerged into a period of unparalleled domestic prosperity and tranquility. He laid the foundations of today's affluent society and, in so doing, established the principle that the nation was responsible for the general welfare of all its citizens. And although there are many pockets

of poverty and injustice still left, we have today, for the first time, the legal and material resources to wipe out these pockets and deal effectively with our social problems.

In our dealings with the world, he thrust America, almost against its will, into the center of the world arena. He strengthened us to defeat freedom's most brutal and powerful enemies and destroyed the isolationism and parochial outlook which had kept the United States from assuming its rightful place in the world.

These achievements eliminated the historic shackles of scarce resources, inadequate material wealth, social unjustices which perpetuated the privileges of a few at the expense of imprisoning the talents of the many, and the unwillingness of the United States to admit that it was part of a greater world community.

Thus, because of him, for the first time in our history, the issue is not whether we will have the strength to deal with our problems, but whether we have the moral courage to use that strength; not whether we will have resources, but whether we choose to use those resources for the world's welfare; not whether we can, but whether we will.

Thus today's central issue is a moral issue--the issue of commitment. Largely because of Roosevelt we are the first nation in history with the strength to solve its own problems. If we fail, it will be a failure of will, or moral courage--a failure of commitment.

--We can wipe out the remaining pockets of unemployment and poverty in this country.

--We can ensure some measure of security against the ravages of disease or old age.

--We can take the Negro and other minority peoples into full membership in American society.

--We can harness and use science for the welfare of our people.

--We can work for a world in which almost three billion underprivileged will be our colleagues in the task of progress, rather than a constant threat to what we have achieved for ourselves.

I do not say this lightly. I don't think these are easy problems with easy solutions. I have seen the grinding face of poverty and idleness in the mines of West Virginia. I have come face to face with racial hatred on the South Side of Chicago where I witnessed Catholics stoning fellow Catholics on the steps of a church because they were black. And, in the last few years, I have

travelled 500,000 miles around the world seeing, at first hand, the deep barriers of culture, belief, prejudice and superstition which divide us from our fellow man.

But I also know something of the power of commitment.

In up-country Sierra Leone a young Peace Corps Volunteer had helped build a road which connected a small village for the first time to the outside world. When I arrived there the village chief said to me: "Mr. Shriver, we had never even seen a car before. You have shown us a world we never dreamed existed. We had always heard about America, but now we know what it means."

The Chief Secretary of East Pakistan wrote to me: "The Peace Corps has come to work for us, but more importantly to live with us. When someone comes to share your life as well as your work, it has deeper meaning. I have an entirely new concept of Americans."

And throughout the world thousands of our people are creating a new concept of America. They have given two years to work with no pay, under arduous conditions, in order to help others realize their own aspirations. The individual commitment of these men and women is doing more than any of us can realize to refashion our relationships to the rest of the world. "Here is a movement," wrote Arnold Toynbee of the Peace Corps, "whose express purpose is to overcome the disastrous barriers that have hitherto segregated the affluent Western minority of the human race from the majority of their fellow men and women...I believe that, in the Peace Corps, the non-Western majority of mankind is going to meet a sample of Western man at his best."

I speak of the Peace Corps not because it is an organization which can solve all of the problems of American life, but because it is proof that deeply committed individuals, prepared to work and sacrifice, can have a profound impact on the most difficult and intransigent of problems.

It was not so many years ago that "Yankee Go Home" was one of the most popular slogans of the underdeveloped world, or that our former Vice President was being stoned by the same people in Latin America who cheered and venerated the name of Roosevelt. Yet today almost every nation in the world is asking for more of these same "Yankees" in the form of Peace Corps Volunteers, and the requests we have far exceed our capacity to deliver.

Recently, in the Dominican Republic, a group of young Dominicans were painting the slogan "Yankee Go Home" on a stone wall, while a Volunteer watched quietly. When they had finished he said, "I guess that means I'll have to go home." The leader of the group turned to him in dismay and said: "No we mean Yankees, not the Peace Corps."

The Peace Corps represents the real Yankees. These young men and women have proved that we have not yet become so submerged and blinded by the pursuit of material wealth--the suburban houses, the chrome-covered cars, the opiates of

television and Hollywood--that we have lost our capacity to deal with the harsh realities of our society. Individual Americans still have it in them to make, and carry out, deep personal commitments to building a better society. If we did not believe this then we would have nothing to do but wait quietly for the decay and destruction of our civilization.

When I speak of the need for commitment, I do not mean commitment by the President or the Cabinet or the Congress. We already have that. We have a government of deeply committed men. But we wrong the heritage of Roosevelt if we draw from his administration the lesson that our problems are going to be solved by a few men in Washington, while the rest of us indulge in the luxury of personal satisfactions.

For it cannot happen that way. Presidents, courts and legislatures alike are helpless in a democracy without the commitment of all the citizens. They are conductors without an orchestra. Many Volunteers realize that. They take upon themselves the burden of the world's problems. They are willing to labor without recognition because they feel responsible for this country. They do not believe America is someone else's problem. It is their problem and they are committed to its solution.

Take civil rights, for example. This is, without doubt, the central issue of our society. Yet for a decade we have left the problem to the sadly inadequate machinery of the courts. We have sat in our living rooms sipping beer, and watched violence in the streets--in our streets--turned off the television sets and criticized The President for not acting quickly enough, or acting too precipitously.

After spending the day making money, and shopping at the supermarket and ordering the new car, we have given a few precious moments to bewailing the lack of action of the leaders whose only support from the mass of American people has been the half-hour it took them to walk to the voting booth.

Civil rights is not only a legal problem or a Presidential problem. It will not be solved by new bills in Congress or ordering troops to the scene of struggle. It is a pervasive illness which tears at the fabric of our society. And it will not be cured until that society wakes to its responsibilities.

What can we do about it,you ask? There is much you can do.

Citizens can organize groups to finance and support those who are in the front lines of the struggle.

Businessmen and financial interests can make their colleagues realize that investments and commerce will not be safe in areas of racial strife--and lend their weight to peaceful solutions as did the negotiators of Birmingham.

Homeowners can band together in societies for the integration of housing--seeking out Negro homeowners for their neighborhoods, helping to break down the awful housing ghettos which disgrace the North.

Volunteer groups can be formed to do social welfare work, job training and the many tasks which are necessary to give the Negro the social and economic tools to achieve equal opportunity.

Congregations and individual ministers and priests can actively recruit Negro members for their congregation, admitting them to their fellowship of God and the society of their members.

These are only examples of what can be done. The need is not merely for laws or edicts, but for the self-organization of society on a large scale to solve the problem which, more than any other, threatens the integrity of America. The proof of this is in the North--in Chicago and New York and Washington--where our books are full of high-sounding laws and regulations, but where hypocrisy and racial hatred and the apathy of decent citizens has made a mockery of social justice and equal opportunity.

If we, as citizens, and as a nation, can commit ourselves to the solution of this problem, then it can be solved. If we don't, government can never solve it.

The Peace Corps and civil rights are only examples of the challenge and opportunity which Roosevelt's accomplishments have given us. He provided us with the foundation of a stable society at home and strength in world affairs. We must now show that we have the moral courage--the personal commitment--to use that stability and wealth and strength in the cause of justice and the construction of a good society at home and throughout the world.

Are we up to the task? Well, I believe that the answer is to be found in a letter written to his parents by a young Peace Corps Volunteer shortly before he was killed in an airplane accident in Colombia. "Should it come to it," wrote young David Crozier, "I would rather give my life trying to help someone than to have to give my life looking down a gun barrel at them."

After his death, when his parents sent me this letter, they added a postscript. They said: "Mr. Shriver, we are not sorry David joined the Peace Corps."

This ray of light illuminates the America Franklin Roosevelt believed in and which I believe in--an America whose latent dedication and commitment is equal to the challenges and the opportunities which have grown out of the Age of Roosevelt.

Namee for the fire department's accomplishments "in reducing fires and fire losses" in 1962.

COUNCIL LAUDS CHAMBER

The councilmanic resolution citing the chamber for "stimulating and supporting fire activities in our city" was presented to Chamber President Richard V. Bond by council's majority leader, Councilman George X. Schwartz.

The chamber's award to the city was accepted by Mayor James H. J. Tate and Council President Paul D'Ortona. It praised council and the administration for "their diligent applications to the city's fire safety program."

R & R Rel.

## Lyndon Johnson Delivers 20th Century Sequel to Gettysburg Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 21, 1963*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Memorial Day, May 30, 1963, Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON, delivered an oration in Gettysburg, Pa., which in my judgment shall stand for time immemorial as the 20th Century sequel to Abraham Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg Address.

In order for all Americans to see Mr. JOHNSON'S profound announcement in its entirety, I am talking the privilege today to include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, Vice President JOHNSON'S Memorial Day address follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, MEMORIAL DAY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

On this hallowed ground, heroic deeds were performed and eloquent words were spoken a century ago.

We, the living, have not forgotten—and the world will never forget—the deeds or the words of Gettysburg. We honor them now as we join on this Memorial Day of 1963 in a prayer for permanent peace of the world and fulfillment of our hopes for universal freedom and justice.

We are called to honor our own words of reverent prayer with resolution in the deeds we must perform to preserve peace and the hope of freedom.

We keep a vigil of peace around the world.

Until the world knows no aggressors, until the arms of tyranny have been laid down, until freedom has risen up in every land, we shall maintain our vigil to make sure our sons who died on foreign fields shall not have died in vain.

As we maintain the vigil of peace, we must remember that justice is a vigil, too—a vigil we must keep in our own streets and schools and among the lives of all our people—so that those who died here on their native soil shall not have died in vain.

One hundred years ago, the slave was freed.

One hundred years later, the Negro remains in bondage to the color of his skin.

The Negro today asks justice.

We do not answer him—we do not answer those who lie beneath this soil—when we reply to the Negro by asking, "Patience."

It is empty to plead that the solution to the dilemmas of the present rests on the hands of the clock. The solution is in our hands. Unless we are willing to yield up our destiny of greatness among the civilizations of history, Americans—white and Negro together—must be about the business of resolving the challenge which confronts us now.

Our Nation found its soul in honor on these fields of Gettysburg 100 years ago. We must not lose that soul in dishonor now on the fields of hate.

To ask for patience from the Negro is to ask him to give more of what he has already given enough. But to fail to ask of him—and of all Americans—perseverance within the processes of a free and responsible society would be to fail to ask what the national interest requires of all its citizens.

The law cannot save those who deny it but neither can the law serve any who do not use it. The history of injustice and inequality is a history of disuse of the law. Law has not failed—and is not failing. We as a Nation have failed ourselves by not trusting the law and by not using the law to gain sooner the ends of justice which law alone serves.

If the white overestimates what he has done for the Negro without the law, the Negro may underestimate what he is doing and can do for himself with the law.

If it is empty to ask Negro or white for patience, it is not empty—it is merely honest—to ask perseverance. Men may build barricades—and others may hurl themselves against those barricades—but what would happen at the barricades would yield no answers. The answers will only be wrought by our perseverance together. It is deceit to promise more as it would be cowardice to demand less.

In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake—it is our Nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision.

The Negro says, "Now." Others say, "Never." The voice of responsible Americans—the voice of those who died here and the great man who spoke here—their voices say, "Together." There is no other way.

Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact. To the extent that the Proclamation of Emancipation is not fulfilled in fact, to that extent we shall have fallen short of assuring freedom to the free.

## Communist Poland Blames United States for Increased Tension in Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 6, 1963*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the commonsense action taken by Congress last year to deny favored-nation treatment to Communist-occupied Poland and Yugoslavia has been more than vindicated by subsequent events.

The basic argument presented by the special pleaders for these two Communist dictatorships was that treating them as friends and favored recipients of our largess would cause them to loosen the chains of Moscow. Members of Congress have heard that fable repeated so often that it sounds like a broken record. But relief is in sight. The fable has been put to rest by the Warsaw regime.

The Washington Post, in a story from Warsaw dated May 28, 1963, reports that the Communist regime in Poland blames the United States for increased tension in Laos. The International Control Commission charged with maintaining peace in Laos was made inoperative by the refusal of the Polish member on it to recognize Communist aggression against that country as an act of war. He was recalled to Warsaw for consultations and the Polish regime then charged the United States with subversion and aggression in all the countries of old Indochina. In the upside-down language of Moscow this means resistance against Communist efforts to liberate Laos and Vietnam into communism. But it also means removal of any doubts about the real character of the Warsaw regime—it is a loyal stooge of Moscow. This calumny laid upon the United States puts to rest the overworked fables about the character of the Warsaw regime.

I insert at this point the Warsaw report carried in the Washington Post on May 29, 1963:

COMMUNIST POLAND BLAMES UNITED STATES FOR INCREASED TENSION IN LAOS

WARSAW, Poland, May 28.—Poland charged tonight that Laotian rightwing elements and the United States are to blame for increased tension in Laos.

A government statement denied Western charges that Poland was obstructing efforts of the International Control Commission (ICC) to maintain the peace in Laos.

The statement, circulated by the official Polish Press Agency, in effect defended the actions of Marek Thee, Polish armistice commissioner recalled from Laos to Warsaw last weekend for consultations.

Representatives of Poland, Canada, and India make up the ICC. It was set up by the 14-nation Geneva conference on Laos, which nominally guarantee Laos' independence and neutrality, to police the truce among the warring right-wing, neutralist and pro-Communist factions.

However, the West has blamed Poland for ICC's inability to take effective action in the recent fighting between neutralists and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao.

The Polish representatives were accused of blocking efforts to place an ICC team in the Pathet Lao-controlled areas, and have refused to accompany Canadian and Indian ICC members on inspections of the neutralist-held areas.

The Polish statement said, however, that "attempts of certain Western circles to blame the Polish representative for the existing situation are futile.

"The machinations of the rightist Laotian circles, supported by reactionary imperialist centers, have threatened recently to annihilate the bases of the Geneva agreements."

It said that rightwing leader Phoumi Nosavan's staff, "with American help, has not ceased training and equipping subversive groups acting behind the Pathet Lao. Transfers of battalions of General Nosavan into the Plain of Jars are also taking place."

The Polish statement marks the first time the public has been told of Thee's split with the Indian and Canadian ICC members.

The United States, which reportedly has been exerting pressure on the Poles to cooperate in Laos, was mentioned several times in the statement.

It declared that "an increase of tension is caused by U.S. military displays in the area of Indochina and weapon supplies to the rightist groups."

Communist China has made similar charges in recent months.

Leslie & Peggy - I hope this will interest you. Best regards - Dan.
R+R Rel

A Voice for Moderation

May 1963

Racial trouble has struck Albany (Ga.), Oxford (Miss.), Washington, D.C., and now Birmingham. What city or town will be next? Aiken and Augusta have been free of such strife to date. Is this simply our good luck, or our good will and good management, or what? Are we doing all we can to prevent our communities from some day becoming a battleground at the whim of an extremist, colored or white? What are we doing? Anything?

I have just read a book entitled, "Wade Hampton and the Negro" by Hampton M. Jarrell, (U. of S.C. Press, Columbia, 1949). It is slow reading (heavily documented) but an eye-opener. I recommend it for both races. It points out clearly that Hampton, one of our State's greatest leaders in the difficult Reconstruction Period, was truly a moderate in his approach to racial problems. He was condemned equally by both the radical Republicans of the North and by those who advocated absolute white supremacy in our own State. He triumphed over both extremes long enough to restore South Carolina to the Union and give our State ten years of racial harmony and comparative prosperity after carpet-bagger misrule. Hampton was a champion of negro rights, in fact a champion of negro equality under the law, although clearly a segregated type of equality in his day. Hampton was a moderate who "sought a middle way whereby they could, without hatred and strife, solve the difficult social problem of two races living side by side in almost equal numbers." Aging and disabled, he was ultimately displaced by Ben Tillman and other extremists who shaped our State's destiny for the next generation. The perspective of history gives added stature to Wade Hampton, leaving a tarnished image of Tillman.

What would Wade Hampton do today, were he living? Would he sit on his hands and do nothing? I believe he would again lead us upon a moderate course and could again win the support of the vast majority of both races.

What is the fundamental problem of integration versus segregation? I believe it is a conflict between a desire for an equality requiring mixing or association and the counter-desire to remain apart or to disassociate. In today's world these rights or desires must clearly conflict or overlap in certain places and at certain times. Neither desire is all right or all wrong. Our racial problems are something like having two groups of people walking opposite directions on a narrow sidewalk. It's impractical to build another sidewalk. It's pointless to expect one group to get out of the way. Some mixing is necessary to pass one another. Throwing up a road-block won't help. Neither will pushing to go too fast. Shoulders may be rubbed, but if both groups are moderates, they will pass easily with no one really the worse for it.

My analogy is certainly over-simplified, but this is the point: The time has come for the voices of today's moderates to speak out, loudly, clearly, - and with determination to prevail over the die-hard do-nothings or the radical inflamers of the mob. Extremists, white or colored, who are all too vocal and all too ready to fight - or break laws - to hold to their all too narrow, uncompromising positions, will push our land, North and South, to the edge of distrust, fear, hatred, and civil strife, if their voices are heard and heeded by the masses of white or colored citizens.

The time has come for a great many people to understand and accept certain truths --

- It is time for the white man to realize he simply cannot preserve the status quo, that the colored race wants and deserves something better.
- It is time for the colored man to realize he cannot force his personal presence upon the white race without counter-force in some form.
- It is time for the white man to recognize the negro's basic equality under law, and to help the colored race achieve this equality in the large public area, whether it be in buses, railroad stations, with voting privileges, on juries, or holding public offices.
- It is time for the colored man to realize that there is a basic right of disassociation, to set one's self apart from others unwanted for whatever reason (regardless of race), which is just as sacred (and human) as any right of association.
- It is time for the white man to stop throwing road-blocks or delaying action in the way of legal, peaceable efforts of negroes to achieve equality under the law, and to realize that such equality has not really fostered intermarriage or even much social mixing, except for a few mavericks who seek the challenge of rebellion against deep-rooted social custom.
- It is time for the colored man to stop breaking present laws to achieve his goals. Civil disobedience may be understandable in the face of discouragement over slow court action or die-hard white resistance. This does not make it right nor even sensible to disregard local law and create civil disorders. "Non-violent force" is still force and will beget violence, leaving a wake of resentment, hatred, or even loss of life. "Demonstrators" risk losing the support of the white men who favor their cause but abhor mob rule.
- It is time for the white man to stop concentrating his attention on the negro's different attributes (whether they be physical, emotional, mental or moral), and begin concentrating on the human qualities that colored people have in common with white people. We are much more alike than we are different.
- It is time for the colored people to do a far better job of policing or pressuring their own people with respect to preventing crime, anti-social behavior, immorality, and welfare abuse. It is time that those who seek equality work harder for, and insist upon, higher standards among their own people, whether such standards be educational, or hygenic, or with regard to manners or social conduct, or the community's appearance or cleanliness, or meeting their financial and parental responsibilities. Many are successfully doing this, but not nearly enough.
- It is time for the white leaders to be willing, Yes, to invite, the colored leaders of local communities to sit down with them to discuss practical ways and means of solving mutual problems, helping the negro achieve deserved equality in the public area, yet insisting upon their responsible and restrained use of newly-won rights or privileges. Aiken, for example, should have a bi-racial council of some kind meeting regularly and making recommendations to our public officials, educators, and the business community. A local leadership vacuum only serves to invite outside agitators or extremists.

- It is time for the colored man to realize that many white people truly and sincerely want to advance colored rights and living standards, but that "To love thy neighbor" does not necessarily mean to embrace him. It means treating him with fairness, justice, mercy, courtesy, helpfulness and even friendliness, but does not have to include physical proximity or social mixing, unless or until such manifestations of love come naturally, if ever. In other words, our colored friends should not feel any sense of hurt, or resentment, or any sense of inequality, over the white man's desire to remain apart socially. Man chooses his close friends in diverse ways. If this be human nature, it should be accepted as such, without any sense of inferiority or resentment by the "Uninvited" neighbor. Similarly, those colored persons who prefer to remain separate socially should insist upon their right to do so.
- It is time for such bi-racial councils to seek, with patience and moderation but with a sense of urgency, ways of promoting racial equality in the difficult semi-public area of restaurants, department stores, employment opportunities, recreation facilities, etc. More desegregation in this area is inevitable, but requires recognition of timing factors, proper preparations by white leaders, and the earnest cooperation of colored leaders to prevent incidents that flaunt rights of privacy or disassociation.
- It is time for such bi-racial councils to seek some common ground of agreement concerning the difficult question of school desegregation, with a willingness to move off extreme positions and to compromise. This is not impossible. It is being done in some communities. The effort should be made in Aiken and Augusta. Peaceful desegregation of schools voluntarily controlled by local leaders of both races, may be favored or opposed by each of us according to his views, background, or personal feeling. But it is preferable to either the unacceptable status quo, condemned by national and world opinion, or a semi-violent forced integration dictated by outsiders. At the same time, our colored leaders should weigh carefully the economic, psychological and social costs of school integration and not pursue integration for its own sake without careful consideration of the probable consequences in each case.
- Finally, while the moderates' voices make themselves heard, it is time for white and colored men to renew long-standing friendships, to welcome new friendships, to strike mistrust, hate or fear from their hearts, and to treat one another with the patience, courtesy and dignity appropriate to their relationship as men, regardless of race.

Should we wait for a lawsuit and the inflammatory oratory of the courtroom? Should we wait for the tension of demonstrations, parades, and mass arrests? Or is it time for moderate leaders of both races to speak out, and to sit down together to find peaceable, workable solutions to these problems? I believe Wade Hampton would have done this. It's time to make a start!

- Daniel K. Miller

LWD, PA, JT

U. S. News & World Report 6/3/63 R+R Rel.

## Interview With Governor Barnett of Mississippi

# THE NEGRO'S FUTURE IN THE SOUTH

**With pressure against racial barriers growing, is the South changing in its attitude toward the Negroes?**

**If left to themselves, what would States such as Mississippi do about the drive for mixed schools, mixed restaurants, all the other campaigns aimed against segregation?**

**Is a real solution to the racial problem possible without conflict and violence?**

**To get the viewpoint of a State political leader, "U. S. News & World Report" invited Governor Barnett of Mississippi to its conference room for this exclusive interview by members of the magazine's news staff.**

**Q Governor Barnett, does the Negro in Mississippi, or in any other Southern State, have much of a future?**

**A** Yes, he does. The Negro who takes advantage of his educational opportunities and otherwise prepares himself for responsibilities has every reason to look forward to a bright future and a higher standard of living in any section of the South.

**Q As good a future as in the North?**

**A** Frankly, I think he'd have a better future in the South than in the North.

**Q Why do you say that?**

**A** Take Negro schoolteachers, for example: In Mississippi we have one Negro schoolteacher to every 119 Negro citizens. In New York, I am told, there is one Negro schoolteacher to every 500 Negro citizens and in Ohio one Negro teacher to every 485 Negro citizens. So there is one example that I think is outstanding.

**Q What other opportunities do Negroes have in the South?**

**A** In Mississippi, as in other States of the South, we have many Negro professional people, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, dentists, undertakers, ministers, social workers, nurses and many others.

In addition, we have Negroes who own their own businesses—quite a number of them, wealthy businessmen. They own real estate. In Mississippi, there are more than 27,000 Negro farmers who own title to land valued at approximately 100 million dollars. More than 27 per cent of the privately owned homes in Mississippi are owned by Negroes.

**Q How many Negroes are there in Mississippi?**

**A** About 43 per cent of the population is Negro; 57 per cent is white. Two years ago it was about 45 per cent Negro and 55 per cent white.

**Q Then are Negroes leaving Mississippi?**

**A** Some have left, yes. But they are not leaving in great numbers.

**Q What kinds of people are leaving?**

**A** I think the better-educated Negroes are staying. Our statistics show that a higher percentage of the graduates of Jackson State College for Negroes remain in Mississippi after graduation than the graduates of any other State-supported college for either race. We believe that the better-educated Negroes stay in Mississippi because they find it easier to secure employment in the fields for which they are qualified.

Those Negroes who leave Mississippi are usually those unskilled in any type of trade or profession.

**Q Why do they leave?**

**A** We consider the lack of farm employment as one of the principal reasons for migration of Negro laborers into other areas. Farm mechanization and Government restrictions on cotton acreage have eliminated many farm jobs. Most of these migrants from the South have gone to big cities of the North.

**Q Do you think that a wider distribution of the Negro population outside the South would be a good thing?**

**A** It would be for the South, yes. Then the North and East would better understand our problem.

**Q Do you mean you think the South would be better off with fewer Negroes?**

**A** Yes.

**Q Then would you prefer it if the Negroes left the South?**

**A** No. I'm not wanting them to leave. We value our Negro citizens. But they have the freedom of choice to remain in the South or to move elsewhere.

**Q What about schools for Negroes? Are they given an opportunity to get an education in the South?**

**A** Oh, yes, sir. As far as schools are concerned, our Negro students can receive an education just as good as any other student right up through liberal-arts degrees in colleges.

**Q Do you have colleges for Negroes?**

**A** We have three State-supported colleges for Negroes in Mississippi. At Jackson State College for Negroes, in Jackson, the State capital, they have about 1,700 Negro students. Alcorn A. & M. College at Lorman, near Utica, Miss., was the first senior land-grant college for Negroes ever built in the United States. It has about 1,450 students. Then we also have the Mississippi College for Negroes at Itta Bena, Miss., with around 1,200 students.

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—USN&WR Photo

ROSS R. BARNETT is a 65-year-old lawyer who is now in his fourth year as Governor of Mississippi.

Governor Barnett is facing trial in federal court on charges of criminal contempt, stemming from his resistance to enrollment of James H. Meredith, a Negro, at the University of Mississippi.

**Q Are these colleges accredited?**

**A** Two of them are. Jackson State College and Alcorn A. & M. are fully accredited by, and are members of, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Mississippi Vocational at Itta Bena is a new institution and has not yet attained membership in the Southern Association.

All three are accredited by the Mississippi Association of Colleges and Schools and by the accrediting commission of the State of Mississippi.

I'll show you, gentlemen, how good we are to the Negroes: Since 1952, Mississippi has spent at least 100 million dollars in building school facilities on a State level, 90 million on a local level. And 63 per cent of that money went into construction of Negro school facilities.

At the college level during 1960-62 the State money spent for new buildings averaged $497 per Negro student compared with $372 per white student. Tax money provided for general support of public higher education was $580 per white student and $622 per Negro student.

**Q Was that to bring Negro schools up to the standards of the schools for whites?**

**A** It's a continuing gradual improvement. You know, until the Civil War, the Negroes were slaves, illiterate. But they've come a long way since the end of the War Between the States. Proof of the increasing quality of education in our Negro schools is the increasing number of Negro teachers who qualify for higher degrees. We now have 7,382 Negro teachers with a master's degree or above.

**Q What about professional training or graduate study? Can Negroes get that in Mississippi colleges or do they have to go outside the State?**

**A** Well, in some instances they have to go to schools outside the State. A legislative grant was passed in 1948 and went into effect in 1949. The grant provides for students who want to take up medicine, law, architecture, engineering and other courses not available in our colleges for Negro students.

The amount of grant varies from $100 to $500 per year. We pay the difference in the amount a college out of State would charge for the course, as compared to the charge in Mississippi. Travel, tuition and living expenses are provided for in the grant. Over 5,000 Negro students have been aided by this program.

**Q The only school integration you have in Mississippi is at the University of Mississippi, isn't it?**

**A** Ole Miss is not integrated today, gentlemen.

**Q But one Negro, James Meredith, is enrolled in the University—**

**A** You know what he says, don't you—that he's the most segregated Negro in America.

**Q Has he opened the door to larger integration? Do you see the time coming when there will be integration in the University of Mississippi on a broader scale?**

**A** No.

**Q People in the North usually take the position that the question of school integration, including colleges, has been settled by the U. S. Supreme Court, and the people up here keep asking: "Why don't the people of Mississippi obey the law of the land?" How would you answer that?**

**A** With all due respect to the Supreme Court—and I have the utmost respect for all courts—the 1954 decision in Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education is not the law of the land. It's the law of that particular case. And I don't believe there are many lawyers in America who will disagree with me on that.

The 1954 decision applies to that case only. It does not apply to Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia or any other State. These States have their right to their day in court. All cases are just a little different—no two cases are exactly the same.

**Q Do you think that each case of a Negro seeking to enter a white school in Mississippi will have to go through a separate process in court, as James Meredith did? Or will there be a sort of mass entry of Negro students?**

**A** Nobody knows the answer to that.

**Q What would happen if public schools in Mississippi were given a direct court order to desegregate? Would the schools be closed?**

**A** I just don't know. It's legal for them to be closed in Mississippi. The trustees may close the schools. The Governor may close the schools—public schools, that is. But we'll have

# . . . "Separation of races in education is best for both races"

to wait until we get to that bridge before we cross it. The order hasn't come yet.

**Q Why is the South so strongly opposed to integration of public schools?**

**A** We believe that separation of the races in public education is the best for both races. Because of our population ratio, if we integrate our classrooms we will have some classes predominantly Negro and some classes predominantly white. We know that a student can learn and develop himself into a good citizen if he acquires his education among classmates of his own race, with a teacher of his own race. The disgraceful situation in Washington, D. C., and other big cities where resegregation has been the final result of forced integration further proves our point that tensions exist in heavily integrated classrooms.

In the report on official investigation of the Thanksgiving Day football riot at the District of Columbia stadium, published in "U. S. News & World Report," it was revealed that 316 whites and 30 Negroes were injured. In addition, 145 persons reported being pushed, shoved and slapped. There were broken noses, broken jaws, dislocated jaws, and teeth knocked out. This was a deplorable racial outburst in our nation's capital.

**Q Governor, can you foresee a time when there will be desegregation in Mississippi?**

**A** No, sir. I hope that it will never come. Do you want to know why? Because, gentlemen, we believe in the purity and the integrity of both races. And everywhere people have integrated long enough and extensively enough, it has absolutely ruined every civilization.

**Q Do you mean that you regard Negroes as inferior and that you feel intermarriage would dilute the quality of the white race?**

**A** That's exactly it. It has happened, gentlemen. History teaches us that it's happened many times.

**Q Do you foresee integration anywhere in the South on any extensive scale?**

**A** No.

## WHERE THE PEOPLE STAND—

**Q How do you size up the present sentiment of people in Mississippi? Are there more of them who believe in integration now than there were, say, a few years ago?**

**A** I doubt it. The people of our State are firm believers in separation of the races. They are firm and unwavering believers. I don't think many have weakened, though it may be that some were weaker than we thought they were before the 1954 school decision.

**Q There have been reports of a shift in attitude in the South recently—that more and more people there are deciding that integration is inevitable and taking this attitude: "I'm still against it, but it's going to come, so we'd better bring it on our terms instead of the Federal Government's." Do you sense such a shift?**

**A** No, sir, I don't.

**Q You don't think many people in the South feel that way?**

**A** Some weaklings do. Some moderates do. But I think the big majority of the people are still firm in their belief that integration is wrong.

**Q And they don't see it as inevitable?**

**A** No, they don't admit it's inevitable. They think the pendulum will swing back the other way.

**Q Why do they think the pendulum will swing back?**

**A** Because the Northern people don't really want integration either. They don't want it any more than we do, even though they say they do. We are honest—we admit that we don't want it. That's the main difference. In the North and in the East they say they want it. They are not honest about it and we are. Now, that's the God's truth about it, gentlemen.

**Q What kind of status does a Negro have in Mississippi? Is it comparable to that of a white person?**

**A** Comparable in what way?

## JOBS FOR NEGROES—

**Q Does a Negro have the same freedom of choice of work and of job opportunities, for example?**

**A** Yes, if he can qualify for jobs. Then, of course, it's up to management—if management wants to hire him. You see, we believe in freedom of choice.

By custom and tradition there are still many types of jobs, of course, which have not been filled by Negroes.

**Q What types of jobs are not given to Negroes?**

**A** Well, probably secretaries, stenographers, bank tellers, such as that. There is no law which prohibits Negroes from serving in such capacities, for the hiring of personnel is regarded as free enterprise and decisions are up to management. Whomever the manager wants to hire, he has the right to hire.

Some of these same attitudes prevail in practically every State in the Union. In other words, it's up to management. I don't believe employers ever should be forced to employ people of any race if, in the employer's opinion and judgment, such a person is not fully qualified to discharge the duties and responsibilities entrusted to the job.

**Q Are Negroes permitted to vote in Mississippi?**

**A** More than 30,000 Negroes are registered to vote in Mississippi.

**Q Isn't this a small number in relation to the number of white voters? Why are there so few Negro voters?**

**A** The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote. You see, there are certain requirements for voting in Mississippi.

**Q What are the requirements?**

**A** You not only have to be 21 years of age. You must never have been convicted of an infamous crime or the unlawful sale of intoxicating liquors within the past five years. You cannot be a common gambler or a habitual drunkard. You must be of good moral character. And you have to be able to prove it.

**Q Do voters have to pass a literacy test?**

**A** They have to be able to read and understand and interpret a section of the constitution of the State of Mississippi. We don't believe in having ignorant people elect our officials.

**Q How does the poll-tax requirement work?**

**A** The poll tax is $2 a year, and, since two consecutive poll-tax receipts are required for voting in a primary, a voter pays $4 for this privilege. The poll-tax receipts, incidentally, go directly into the education fund for both races.

**Q Do all whites qualify to vote in Mississippi?**

**A** No, sir. There are plenty of whites who can't qualify. You'd be surprised. We don't believe in a government of the ignorant, by the ignorant and for the ignorant. Like the founders of our nation, we believe that voting is a privilege and not just a right.

**Q Can Negroes go into theaters in Mississippi?**

**A** They have their own theaters. But most of the public

# . . . There would be no trouble "if outsiders would let us alone"

theaters also have accommodations for Negroes. In small cities, the balconies are often reserved for Negroes.

**Q What about restaurants?**

**A** They have their own restaurants.

**Q Parks?**

**A** They have their own parks.

**Q But they cannot go into the restaurants or parks or theaters reserved for whites?**

**A** No, sir. Now, the Jackson Municipal Park has never been segregated. Negroes don't go into the lake there, but they move about freely and enjoy other facilities.

**Q How about swimming pools? Are they integrated?**

**A** I don't think Negroes have ever gone into white swimming pools.

**Q Has there been any change in recent years? Is the Negro gaining in stature? Is his position improving?**

**A** Yes, I think it has improved a great deal.

**Q Due to the Negro's own efforts?**

**A** Yes. Those Negroes who have justified their advancement have been able to gain that advancement.

We have Negroes who own their own businesses and who serve both white and colored customers, particularly as skilled tradesmen.

If Negroes can do the same kind of work as efficiently and are on the alert like white people they can get salaries like the white people. We have Negro auto mechanics making as much as white auto mechanics. We have Negro bricklayers and painters who get paid the same wage as white bricklayers and white painters. For schoolteachers, it's the same way.

Gentlemen, in Mississippi whites and Negroes work side by side in harmony, peace and understanding. And if the outsiders would let us alone, we wouldn't have any trouble.

**Q What do you mean by "outsiders"?**

**A** Agitators who come in and try to poison the Negroes' minds, cause confusion and turmoil. This has gotten worse in the last few years.

**Q What is the reaction of white people in the South to those "outsiders"?**

**A** Of course, they resent agitators, "freedom riders" and such people who try to bring about turmoil and strife.

## PROGRESS . . . OR TURMOIL—

**Q Is this Negro protest movement pointing toward progress for the Negro—or toward more trouble?**

**A** The agitators bring on trouble. All they leave is a lot of turmoil and strife and heartaches.

**Q What is your assessment of the attitude of Negro people in Mississippi toward the kind of agitation that you are talking about?**

**A** I'd say that at least 95 per cent of the Negroes in Mississippi are unalterably opposed to "do-gooders" and agitators coming in there with their marches and their sit-in strikes and such silly and undignified acts.

**Q Do the Negroes speak up against them?**

**A** They ignore them. They tell the white people they're opposed to the agitation, because the white people are good to the Negroes in the South—in Mississippi, especially. They are good to them.

**Q Is there fear among the Negroes?**

**A** Not in the slightest. That's what the agitators try—to put fear in them. They try to poison their minds. But they have no fear.

**Q Do Negroes in the South tend to have their own economy, separate from the white economy?**

**A** They have their own doctors, their own businesses, their own schools, their own churches.

**Q What would happen if a white student were to attempt to enter a Negro college in Mississippi?**

**A** The Negroes would resent it. I'll give you an example: About three years ago a white man tried to build a residence and grocery store in a Negro section of Jackson. The Negroes filed a petition immediately with the city council of Jackson to prohibit it—and the Negroes won. He didn't get to build in the Negro section. They just did not want him living in their section.

Negroes in Jackson, Miss., want to live to themselves.

**Q Do you mean to say that Negroes as well as whites want segregation in Mississippi?**

**A** Yes, they do. Negroes would rather associate with Negroes. Negroes don't want Negroes to marry whites, and whites feel the same way.

**Q Why, then, does racial intermarriage occur?**

**A** It doesn't occur in our State. It's against the law.

## IN BUSINESS: HARMONY—

**Q How strong is the influence of economic factors in persuading Southerners to accept some integration? In Birmingham and a few other cities of the South, businessmen have stepped in to urge accommodations with Negro demands. Do you feel that the South may be hurt economically unless it yields on integration?**

**A** I know that Mississippi has made greater economic progress in the last two or three years than ever before in the history of our State.

There have been 443 new and expanded industries come into Mississippi during our administration. They are creating over 33,000 new jobs in our State—new industrial jobs. Percentagewise, Mississippi's per capita gain in income was among the highest in the nation in 1962. During 1962, Mississippi's new and expanded plants produced capital investments of over 105 million dollars. Our bank deposits at the end of 1962 were 200 million dollars higher than in 1961.

Our State is growing. It's developing. The population, once declining, now is gaining. We've gained at least 70,000 population in the last two years. Our State revenue is growing, even though we have cut our income taxes.

**Q What is causing this development?**

**A** Industrial people admire the program that Mississippi has—our economic-development program. Our legislature in 1960 enacted one of the boldest and most far-reaching economic-development programs that any legislature ever enacted. We passed 41 economic-development laws, such as: putting a "right to work" law in our State constitution; giving new industry a 10-year tax exemption; creating an industrial and technological-research commission; adjusting our workmen's compensation laws; reducing income tax.

Industrial people also admire the attitudes of the people in our State. They are friendly. Labor is friendly toward capital. Negroes and whites are all friendly toward management and capital. Industrial people like the friendly spirit of harmony that exists between both races.

**Q Do you have labor unions in Mississippi?**

**A** Some, yes. We've put a "right to work" law in our State Constitution. Under this law, workers are not required to join a union in order to hold a job. They have the right of choice.

**Q Do labor unions press for racial integration in the South?**

**A** I haven't heard of any unions in Mississippi advocating integration.

*(continued on next page)*

# . . . "If a Negro is unemployed, that's called discrimination"

**Q Do unions there practice segregation?**

**A** Oh, yes.

**Q Do you think that the economic improvement in Mississippi will help solve the racial problem?**

**A** I think it will contribute a good deal toward easing it. More Mississippians are making more money today than ever before—including the Negroes.

In summing it all up, the Negroes are well cared for in the South.

**Q That phrase "well cared for"—does that imply a sort of paternalism on the part of the whites, and that Negroes are not able to make their way on their own?**

**A** Well, we can't help that, if they are unable to do it. But we help them to make their way. They have great opportunities in Mississippi. But you know how little progress the Negroes have made in Africa.

We have a few people in both races who are having a hard time making ends meet. Some lack education or in some cases they lack the ability, or in some cases they lack the will and the energy. You have this situation all over the U. S. If a white person is unemployed in Mississippi, it's just a statistic. But if a Negro is unemployed, that's called discrimination.

## AS NEGROES MOVE NORTH—

**Q There has been a rather large movement of Negroes out of the South. Do you think that will develop into a mass movement?**

**A** You just can't anticipate what may happen. It may and it may not. What is happening now is that, although many Negroes have gone out of Mississippi, some of them have come back. One Negro who had been to Chicago told me: "Folks told me Chicago was the end of the rainbow. But I went up there and found the whites didn't like me and neither did the Northern Negroes. So I came back down here because here I have friends in both races and I can work and make a living."

**Q Governor, it has been suggested that, unless the South begins dealing with relatively moderate Negro leaders, it may find itself having to deal with extremists, such as the white-hating Black Muslims. Do you think the Negroes are likely to follow such extremists?**

**A** Not our Negroes in Mississippi. I can't speak for those up North and in the East.

**Q As Negroes gain in purchasing power, do you think they will make increasing and effective use of the boycott to gain their demands for integration?**

**A** They've already tried to stage a few boycotts in Jackson. But every boycott has just fizzled into nothing.

**Q How about the vote? As more Negroes vote, can they elect officials favorable to integration?**

**A** A man who would advocate integration wouldn't get 2 per cent of the votes in Mississippi. He'd be laughed at.

**Q Might Mississippi vote for a Republican for President?**

**A** If both candidates—Democratic and Republican—were "conservative," they'd take the Democrat. If the Democrat was a "liberal" and the Republican was a real "conservative," then they might take the Republican.

**Q How about a third slate of independent, unpledged electors for President in Mississippi?**

**A** Mississippi will be strong for that in 1964, and I think several other States will be, too. We are asking other Southern States to join us in this movement and we are getting quite a bit of favorable response. You know, Mississippi gave its presidential votes to Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia in 1960.

**Q In 1948, there was a third presidential slate in the South—**

**A** Yes. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was the presidential candidate, with Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice President. And you'll recall that we came very close to being able to throw the election into the House of Representatives. If a couple or three States had gone as expected, the decision would have gone to the House. And last election, in 1960, it would have taken only a slight change to have thrown the election into the House of Representatives.

**Q If that should happen, Governor, what would the South ask of a presidential candidate before giving him its vote?**

**A** We would ask him to let us alone—let the State alone and let us run our own affairs as the Constitution provides.

**Q Do the people in the South feel that they are violating the Constitution when they refuse to integrate?**

**A** No. They think that the Tenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution means exactly what it says, and it plainly says that the powers not granted by the Constitution to the Federal Government or prohibited by the Constitution to the States belong to the States respectively or to the people. The people in the South know that the Supreme Court of the United States cannot amend the Constitution by decree or otherwise.

**Q Do you believe that the South can effectively maintain its attitude on segregation?**

**A** I think we can. I think a lot of people in the East and North are soon going to want the same thing that they are trying to take away from the South today. The cities in the East and North are getting darker by the month.

Our trouble in the South, gentlemen, is in getting the facts to the people. A lot of people in the North don't know what the facts are.

Now, we don't try to dabble in the affairs of other States. I wouldn't dare to go to Ohio or New York and tell the people there what they ought to do. I don't know their problems. And they don't know ours. You've got to live with those problems a long time before you can know them. You've got to live close to the Negro and work with him for many years before you'll know him. Those people up North just don't know what they're doing.

In Mississippi, we would not attempt to solve whatever problems may exist because of Asiatics on the West Coast, Mexicans in the Southwest, Indians in the Midwest, Puerto Ricans on the East Coast or Harlem in New York. We leave it to those people living nearest those problems to solve them in the best moral and ethical manner available. We ask the same consideration in Mississippi.

## MORE PROBLEMS AHEAD—

**Q Do you feel that the Supreme Court's ruling of 1954 against school segregation has helped solve the race problem?**

**A** It hasn't solved anything. It has caused more trouble, more turmoil, more misunderstanding, more hatred than any 100 decisions ever made by the Court before. And I'll tell you something else that's going to happen:

Now the Federal Government has invaded the neighborhood situation, trying to force housing integration. And the next thing, they are going to move against those service clubs up North that don't have Negro members.

The more people who become affected by this integration, the more there are who become sympathetic with the South. Like I said, the pendulum is going to swing back, because the South is gaining more allies all the time.

6/4/63



[Roll No. 65]

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|---|---|---|
| Ashbrook | Hagen, Calif. | Pilcher |
| Aspinall | Hanna | Powell |
| Auchincloss | Hansen | Rains |
| Baker | Harsha | Roberts, Ala. |
| Baring | Healey | Rogers, Tex. |
| Barrett | Hébert | St. George |
| Barry | Holland | St Germain |
| Bates | Horan | Scott |
| Battin | Jones, Ala. | Senner |
| Blatnik | Jones, Mo. | Shelley |
| Boland | Karsten | Shipley |
| Bolling | Kee | Sikes |
| Brown, Calif. | Kilburn | Sisk |
| Buckley | Kirwan | Slack |
| Burton | Kluczynski | Smith, Va. |
| Cannon | Kunkel | Staebler |
| Casey | Kyl | Steed |
| Celler | Latta | Talcott |
| Clark | Lloyd | Teague, Tex. |
| Clausen | Long, Md. | Thomas |
| Davis, Tenn. | McDowell | Thompson, La. |
| Dawson | McLoskey | Thompson, N.J. |
| Dent | McMillan | Thomson, Wis. |
| Denton | Martin, Mass. | Tollefson |
| Diggs | Martin, Nebr. | Trimble |
| Ellsworth | Miller, N.Y. | Ullman |
| Fallon | Morrison | Utt |
| Fisher | Morton, Md. | Vanik |
| Forrester | Nix | Vinson |
| Garmatz | O'Brien, Ill. | Westland |
| Gavin | O'Brien, N.Y. | Whitten |
| Gibbons | O'Konski | Willis |
| Henn | O'Neill | |
| Hubser | Pepper | |

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 332 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Without objection, further proceedings under the call will be dispensed with.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that further proceedings under the call may be dispensed with.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WILLIAMS) there were—ayes 310, noes 0.

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Minnesota yield for that purpose?

## GROUP RELATIONS AND RACE RELATIONS

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully decline to yield to the gentleman from California for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I regret we have not been afforded the opportunity of here presenting our points of view without repeated interruptions. I regret the inconvenience that these frequent quorum calls and other delaying tactics have worked upon all of my colleagues. If forbearance were shown by the opposition, I am advised that those of us who wish to present our views would complete our remarks in not to exceed 30 minutes. However, Mr. Speaker, I would like to assure each and every Member that those of us who feel strongly about this matter will continue our passive resistance to the harassing tactics of the opposition until we are given a reasonable opportunity to present our views on this vitally important subject.

Mr. Speaker, recent articles in the press have taken the view that the 14th amendment is an improper constitutional base upon which to predicate civil rights legislation. Such comments appeared in the Washington Star of last Saturday and in the New York Times of today. Specifically, the New York Times in its article stated:

> The Justice Department discarded the 14th amendment approach for several reasons. If it was challenged the Supreme Court could uphold it only by overturning an earlier decision that voided an 1875 law making it an offense to deny full and equal enjoyment of accommodations of inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement.

The Justice Department presumably relies on five cases decided together by the U.S. Supreme Court on October 15, 1883. The first among this group of cases is United States against Stanley, reported in 109 United States Reports at page 3.

May I respectfully call your attention to the fact that this year these decisions will be 80 years old, and further that the court was divided in its opinion; a most learned dissenting opinion was written by Mr. Justice John M. Harlan. Quite aside from those relevant factors, however, it is true that in this case a majority of the court held sections 1 and 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to be unconstitutional. A portion of that act had previously been declared by the court to be constitutional. The pertinent provisions under consideration in the case of United States against Stanley and others were sections 1 and 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and they read in part as follows——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. (After counting.) Two hundred nineteen Members are present, a quorum.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR].

Mr. MACGREGOR. Quoting from the Civil Rights Act of 1875:

> SECTION 1. That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement.
>
> SEC. 2. Any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of $500 to the person aggrieved thereby to be recovered in an action in debt with full costs; and shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than $500 nor more than $1,000 or shall be imprisoned not less than 30 days nor more than one year.

It will readily be seen, Mr. Speaker, that there are substantial differences between the Civil Rights Act of 1875 in the sections which have just been read, and the proposal which we introduced yesterday. In the Supreme Court decision of 1883, and I read now from headnote 2 of the Court's opinion, the Court stated as follows:

> The 14th amendment is prohibitory upon the States only and the legislation to be adopted by Congress for enforcing it is not direct legislation on the matters respecting which the States are prohibited from making or enforcing certain laws or doing certain acts, but is corrective legislation such as may be necessary or proper for counteracting and redressing the effect of such laws or acts.

It is clear that the Supreme Court in its 1883 decision, presumably relied upon by the Justice Department, made an obvious distinction between direct legislation and corrective legislation. This is developed more fully by the Court on pages 13 and 14 of its opinion, where the Court holds:

> The legislation which Congress is authorized to adopt in this behalf is not general legislation on the rights of the citizen but corrective legislation; that is, such as may be necessary and proper for counteracting such laws as the States may adopt or enforce, and which by the amendment they are prohibited from making, or enforcing, or such acts or proceedings as the States may commit and take and which by the amendment they are prohibited from committing or taking.
>
> It is not necessary for us to state, if we could, what legislation would be proper for Congress to adopt. It is sufficient for us to examine whether the law in question is of that character.
>
> An inspection of the law shows that it makes no reference whatever to any supposed or apprehended violation of the 14th amendment on the part of the States.

Mr. Speaker, contrary to the 1875 legislation, the bill which we introduced yesterday is specifically tied to the language of the 14th amendment.

Now, continuing from the Court's opinion:

> It is not predicated on any such view—

Referring to the 1875 act:

> It proceeds ex directo to declare that certain acts committed by individuals shall be deemed offenses, and shall be prosecuted and punished by proceedings in the courts of the United States. It does not profess to be corrective of any constitutional wrong committed by the States; it does not make its operation to depend upon any such wrong committed.
>
> This is the thrust of the opinion; namely, that the legislation in the sections referred to is unconstitutional because it is not corrective legislation tied to the 14th amendment——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

Mr. MACGREGOR (continuing):

> and because its operative effect does not depend on any wrong committed by a State or State authority.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi makes a point of order. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from California rise?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to adjourn.

The question was taken, and on a division (demanded by Mr. WILLIAMS) there were—ayes 98, noes 105.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 53, nays 277, not voting 103, as follows:

[Roll No. 66]

YEAS—53

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abbitt | Fuqua | Mills |
| Abernethy | Gary | Passman |
| Andrews | Gathings | Poage |
| Ashmore | Grant | Pool |
| Beckworth | Gross | Rivers, S.C. |
| Bennett, Mich. | Hagan, Ga. | Roberts, Tex. |
| Bonner | Haley | Secrest |
| Broyhill, Va. | Hardy | Selden |
| Burleson | Harris | Stephens |
| Chelf | Hemphill | Taylor |
| Colmer | Henderson | Tuck |
| Davis, Ga. | Herlong | Tuten |
| Dorn | Hoffman | Waggonner |
| Dowdy | Huddleston | Watson |
| Downing | Jensen | Watts |
| Elliott | Landrum | Williams |
| Everett | Long, La. | Winstead |
| Flynt | Michel | |

NAYS—277

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abele | Feighan | McFall |
| Adair | Findley | McIntire |
| Addabbo | Finnegan | Macdonald |
| Albert | Fino | MacGregor |
| Alger | Flood | Madden |
| Anderson | Fogarty | Mahon |
| Arends | Ford | Mailliard |
| Ashley | Foreman | Marsh |
| Avery | Fountain | Martin, Calif. |
| Ayres | Fraser | Mathias |
| Baldwin | Frelinghuysen | Matsunaga |
| Barry | Friedel | Matthews |
| Bass | Fulton, Pa. | May |
| Becker | Fulton, Tenn. | Meader |
| Beermann | Gallagher | Miller, Calif. |
| Belcher | Giaimo | Milliken |
| Bell | Gilbert | Minish |
| Bennett, Fla. | Gill | Minshall |
| Berry | Gonzalez | Monagan |
| Betts | Goodell | Montoya |
| Boland | Goodling | Moore |
| Bolling | Grabowski | Moorhead |
| Bolton, Frances P. | Gray | Morgan |
| | Green, Oreg. | Morris |
| Bolton, Oliver P. | Green, Pa. | Morse |
| | Griffin | Mosher |
| Bow | Grover | Moss |
| Brademas | Gubser | Murphy, Ill. |
| Bray | Gurney | Murphy, N.Y. |
| Brock | Hagen, Calif. | Murray |
| Bromwell | Hall | Natcher |
| Brooks | Halleck | Nedzi |
| Broomfield | Halpern | Nelsen |
| Brotzman | Harding | Norblad |
| Brown, Ohio | Harrison | Nygaard |
| Broyhill, N.C. | Harvey, Ind. | O'Hara, Ill. |
| Bruce | Harvey, Mich. | O'Hara, Mich. |
| Burke | Hawkins | Olsen, Mont. |
| Burkhalter | Hays | Olson, Minn. |
| Byrne, Pa. | Hechler | O'Neill |
| Byrnes, Wis. | Hoeven | Osmers |
| Cahill | Holifield | Ostertag |
| Cameron | Horton | Patman |
| Carey | Hosmer | Patten |
| Cederberg | Hull | Pelly |
| Chamberlain | Hutchinson | Perkins |
| Chenoweth | Ichord | Philbin |
| Clancy | Jarman | Pike |
| Clark | Jennings | Pillion |
| Cleveland | Joelson | Pirnie |
| Cohelan | Johansen | Poff |
| Collier | Johnson, Calif. | Price |
| Conte | Johnson, Wis. | Pucinski |
| Corbett | Jonas | Purcell |
| Corman | Karsten | Quie |
| Cramer | Karth | Quillen |
| Cunningham | Kastenmeier | Randall |
| Curtin | Keith | Reid, Ill. |
| Curtis | Kelly | Reid, N.Y. |
| Daddario | Keogh | Reifel |
| Dague | Kilgore | Reuss |
| Daniels | King, N.Y. | Rhodes, Ariz. |
| Derounian | Knox | Rhodes, Pa. |
| Derwinski | Kornegay | Rich |
| Devine | Laird | Riehlman |
| Dingell | Langen | Robison |
| Dole | Lankford | Rodino |
| Donohue | Lesinski | Rogers, Colo. |
| Dulski | Libonati | Rogers, Fla. |
| Duncan | Lindsay | Rooney |
| Dwyer | Lipscomb | Rosenthal |
| Edmondson | Lloyd | Rostenkowski |
| Edwards | McClory | Roudebush |
| Farbstein | McCulloch | Roush |
| Fascell | McDade | Roybal |
| Rumsfeld | Snyder | Weaver |
| Ryan, Mich. | Springer | Weltner |
| Ryan, N.Y. | Stafford | Whalley |
| St. Onge | Staggers | Wharton |
| Saylor | Stinson | White |
| Schadeberg | Strattoh | Whitener |
| Schenck | Stubblefield | Wickersham |
| Schneebeli | Sullivan | Widnall |
| Schweiker | Taft | Wilson, Bob |
| Schwengel | Teague, Calif. | Wilson, Charles H. |
| Short | Thompson, Tex. | |
| Shriver | Thornberry | Wilson, Ind. |
| Sibal | Toll | Wright |
| Sickles | Tupper | Wydler |
| Siler | Udall | Wyman |
| Skubitz | Van Deerlin | Young |
| Smith, Calif. | Van Pelt | Younger |
| Smith, Iowa | Wallhauser | Zablocki |

NOT VOTING—103

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ashbrook | Hansen | Rains |
| Aspinall | Harsha | Rivers, Alaska |
| Auchincloss | Healey | Roberts, Ala. |
| Baker | Hébert | Rogers, Tex. |
| Baring | Holland | Roosevelt |
| Barrett | Horan | St. George |
| Bates | Jones, Ala. | St Germain |
| Battin | Jones, Mo. | Scott |
| Blatnik | Kee | Senner |
| Boggs | Kilburn | Shelley |
| Brown, Calif. | King, Calif. | Sheppard |
| Buckley | Kirwan | Shipley |
| Burton | Kluczynski | Sikes |
| Cannon | Kunkel | Sisk |
| Casey | Kyl | Slack |
| Celler | Latta | Smith, Va. |
| Clausen | Leggett | Staebler |
| Cooley | Lennon | Steed |
| Davis, Tenn. | Long, Md. | Talcott |
| Dawson | McDowell | Teague, Tex. |
| Delaney | McLoskey | Thomas |
| Dent | McMillan | Thompson, La. |
| Denton | Martin, Mass. | Thompson, N.J. |
| Diggs | Martin, Nebr. | Thomson, Wis. |
| Ellsworth | Miller, N.Y. | Tollefson |
| Evins | Morrison | Trimble |
| Fallon | Morton | Ullman |
| Fisher | Multer | Utt |
| Forrester | Nix | Vanik |
| Garmatz | O'Brien, Ill. | Vinson |
| Gavin | O'Brien, N.Y. | Westland |
| Gibbons | O'Konski | Whitten |
| Glenn | Pepper | Willis |
| Griffiths | Pilcher | |
| Hanna | Powell | |

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Sheppard with Mr. Burton.

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin.

Mr. Holland with Mr. Auchincloss.

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Bates.

Mr. Boggs with Mr. Glenn.

Mr. King of California with Mrs. St. George.

Mr. Trimble with Mr. Miller of New York.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Kilburn.

Mr. Ullman with Mr. Harsha.

Mr. Morrison with Mr. Tollefson.

Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Gavin.

Mr. Rains with Mr. Martin of Nebraska.

Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Kyl.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Multer with Mr. Westland.

Mr. Healey with Mr. Utt.

Mr. Buckley with Mr. Talcott.

Mr. O'Brien of New York with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Powell with Mr. McLoskey.

Mr. Smith of Virginia with Mr. Latta.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Kunkel.

Mr. Thompson of Louisiana with Mr. Horan.

Mr. Rogers of Texas with Mr. Clausen.

Mr. St Germain with Mr. Ellsworth.

Mr. Shipley with Mr. Battin.

Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Baker.

Mr. Sikes with Mr. Shelley.

Mr. Steed with Mr. Brown of California.

Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Nix.

Mr. O'Brien of Illinois with Mr. Roberts of Alabama.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. Slack.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Teague of Texas.

Mr. Hanna with Mr. Leggett.

Mr. McDowell with Mr. Lennon.

Mr. Evins with Mr. Cooley.

Mr. Delaney with Mr. Baring.

Mr. Diggs with Mr. Denton.

Mrs. Kee with Mr. Jones of Alabama.

Mr. Vanik with Mr. Willis.

Mr. Forrester with Mrs. Hansen.

Mr. Whitten with Mr. Staebler.

Mr. Carey with Mr. Davis of Tennessee.

Mr. Dawson with Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Scott with Mr. McMillan.

Mr. Vinson with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Fisher with Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. Pepper with Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Pilcher with Mr. Senner.

Mr. OSTERTAG and Mr. PELLY changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. ALBERT. I withdraw my motion for a call of the House, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The motion is withdrawn.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MacGregor].

## GROUP RELATIONS AND RACE RELATIONS

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, let me state once again that those of us who would like the opportunity to express our views on what we regard to be a basic issue facing this Congress would conclude our remarks in the course of not to exceed 20 minutes if given the opportunity to do so.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacGREGOR. For what purpose?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not going to make any motion. Will the gentleman yield for a statement?

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I would be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi for a question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I simply wanted to state to the gentleman that now that the House has voted not to adjourn I intend to make sure that a quorum stays on the floor.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MacGREGOR. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. HALLECK. I wonder, if in the interest of the affairs of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Minnesota, knowing that there are a number of special orders in order for this evening, would give us some idea about what we might expect; if he has consulted with the other Members of the House who have special orders, what we might expect in the way of a termination of the discussions that have been taking place.

Mr. MacGREGOR. I will state to the distinguished minority leader that it is my understanding that there are two Members holding special orders scheduled to follow the special order of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY]. His special order directly follows mine. Thus may I say to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana that I cannot speak for those to follow the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

With respect to those of us who wish to be heard on our civil rights bill—and our remarks are going to be as brief as reasonably possible—we will conclude in not to exceed 20 minutes, but may I say further that I regard a basic individual right to be that of the opportunity to be heard, even though briefly, on a critical issue, and I think we ought to have that opportunity.

I regret the inconvenience which the dilatory tactics employed by those who apparently oppose our right to explain our views have visited upon the Members of the House, but I assure the distinguished minority leader and all Members that if given an opportunity to do so each and every sponsor of this bill and each and every Member of the minority side wishing to be heard will cut his remarks to the bone to the end that we may conclude in not more than 20 minutes.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am delighted to yield to the minority leader.

Mr. HALLECK. The gentleman understands I did not intend by this interrogation to shut off his debate, or statement, or that of any other Member, but I thought only that I might contribute something to an understanding about where we are going and what we are going to do this evening. If the gentleman, as he has now stated, feels that he and his associates who have their special orders can conclude in 20 minutes, I express the hope that there would be no more quorum calls; that we might permit the Members to speak who want to speak, and that we could then adjourn.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I thank the distinguished minority leader. Most assuredly I did not mean by my remarks to indicate that I felt the minority leader was in any way seeking to inhibit our right to be heard on this matter. On the contrary, I appreciate the constructive efforts by the minority leader to reach some reasonable agreement. Let me emphasize that we will conclude in not to exceed 20 minutes if we have the opportunity to proceed in uninterrupted fashion.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, it should be said the gentleman should be congratulated on his forbearance. The gentleman and I asked for 2 hours of special orders and we got 2 hours of special orders because we needed that time. One reason why was because a great many Members had put in a great many hours of work on drafting and writing some very important measures. In January, and since January, these Members have worked on and have introduced these important measures. They have asked us for time to speak on the subject. Each of these gentlemen has agreed to cut to the bare bones his presentation that he has prepared. I should add that we have not sought these delays. We very much want to get on with what we have to say. My special order for 1 hour follows the gentleman from Minnesota. As I said, a number of Members have worked hard on this subject and have asked me to yield to them and I had hoped to do so. I have a number of statements that Members have asked me to put in the RECORD for them. They have agreed to this procedure, but I do think that the right of the Members to be heard on the floor has to be respected.

Thirty-five of us on the Republican minority side have today introduced a second civil rights bill designed to safeguard Bill of Rights protections for individuals. The bill, first, enables individuals and the Federal Government to initiate civil cases to enforce 14th amendment guarantees in the use of public facilities; second, enables the Attorney General to invoke Bill of Rights protections for individuals by initiating civil injunctive actions on their behalf.

We intend to cooperate with the Democratic majority in getting a meaningful bill out of the Judiciary Committee and we expect the majority to do the same in respect of our proposals. Although the House Judiciary Committee has been in hearings for a month, the administration has not yet made a presentation. Therefore we do not know where it stands other than by rumors in the press. Apparently it has taken rioting in the streets to stir the administration into action.

In any event, we call upon the President to exert moral leadership in regard to race relations and Negro rights.

We ask that he publicly commit himself to the country on behalf of the legitimate goals of the Negroes in our country because it is right to do so. He should do this by a forthright presentation to Congress and to the country by a nationwide television and radio presentation.

He should stand for the Bill of Rights, recalling that the 1st amendment protects free speech, freedom to assemble peacefully, and freedom to petition against grievances, and that the 14th amendment guarantees to every citizen the equal protection of the laws.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. I would hope that the gentleman who is now in the well and those who are scheduled to follow him will not feel constrained to limit their remarks unduly. This body thus far this year has been proceeding at what has been described as a slowdown from a snail's pace, and perhaps it might now be the time, in June, having convened in January, to get about the business of the United States of America, for which I congratulate the gentleman in the well and those to follow him for taking up this evening and asserting some initiative that heretofore seems to have been sadly lacking with respect to this body.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am delighted to yield briefly to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make this comment at the risk of being misunderstood. In view of the series of quorum calls and the parliamentary procedure which followed I am afraid we may miss the point, that is whether deliberately or not, the gentleman from Mississippi has contributed greatly to the occasion because otherwise the gentleman would not have the interest of the House that he has had in the last 3 hours.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for that fair, frank, and candid appraisal of the situation.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me for a question briefly?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, for the reason which I have stated fully, I must respectfully decline to yield.

Mr. Speaker, it is important to note that not all of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared by the U.S. Supreme Court to be unconstitutional. Rather, section 4 of that act was specifically declared to be valid. Section 4 reads in part as follows:

> That no citizen, possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law, shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

In commenting on this particular portion of section 4, and in finding it to be constitutional and in reaffirming that constitutionality, the Supreme Court in 1883 stated as follows:

> Whether the statute book of the State actually laid down any such rule of disqualification, or not, the State, through its officer, enforced such a rule: and it is against such State action, through its officers and agents, that the last clause of the section is directed. This aspect of the law was deemed sufficient to divest it of any unconstitutional character, and makes it differ widely from the first and second sections of the same act which we are now considering.

So, too, Mr. Speaker, the language of the legislation which we introduced on June 3d, 1963, ties its operative provisions to the authorizing acts of a State or a political subdivision thereof, thus it divests itself of any unconstitutional character.

Mr. Speaker, arguments may properly lie as to the necessity and propriety of the legislation we have introduced. I personally believe that the need is urgent and that the legislation is well reasoned and entirely proper and constitutional. In truth, there can be no serious question but what legislation in the civil rights field, predicated on the 14th amendment, is entirely constitutional.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased at this point to yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, may I say to the gentleman that in view of the lateness of the hour I would prefer to have the gentleman yield to other Members and then if there is sufficient time, I shall say a few words.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota.

I was very happy to join in introducing a bill yesterday to enforce constitutional rights and for other purposes. There are four points that I and my colleagues, I think, would like to make, amongst others.

One, in introducing this legislation we are doing so in a nonpartisan spirit, because civil rights are to important for narrow politics.

Second, we need legislation. The Congress should act. I believe that the experience of the New York State Commission for Human Rights and other State commissions clearly indicates that there is no substitute for law.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. One hundred and eighty-six Members are present. A quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 67]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Adair | Gibbons | O'Konski |
| Ashbrook | Glenn | O'Neill |
| Ashmore | Green, Pa. | Pepper |
| Aspinall | Griffiths | Pilcher |
| Auchincloss | Hanna | Powell |
| Baker | Hansen | Rains |
| Baring | Harding | Reuss |
| Barrett | Harsha | Riehlman |
| Bass | Healey | Rivers, Alaska |
| Bates | Hébert | Roberts, Ala. |
| Battin | Henderson | Rogers, Tex. |
| Blatnik | Holland | Roybal |
| Boggs | Horan | St. George |
| Bolling | Ichord | St Germain |
| Bonner | Jensen | Scott |
| Bow | Jones, Ala. | Senner |
| Brown, Calif. | Jones, Mo. | Shelley |
| Broyhill, Va. | Kee | Sheppard |
| Buckley | Kilburn | Shipley |
| Burton | King, Calif. | Sikes |
| Cannon | Kirwan | Sisk |
| Casey | Kluczynski | Slack |
| Celler | Kornegay | Smith, Va. |
| Clark | Kunkel | Staebler |
| Clausen | Kyl | Steed |
| Cooley | Lankford | Stephens |
| Corbett | Latta | Talcott |
| Davis, Tenn. | Leggett | Teague, Calif. |
| Dawson | Lennon | Thomas |
| Delaney | Long, La. | Thompson, La. |
| Dent | Long, Md. | Thompson, N.J. |
| Denton | McDowell | Thomson, Wis. |
| Diggs | McLoskey | Tollefson |
| Dingell | McMillan | Trimble |
| Dorn | Madden | Tuck |
| Edwards | Martin, Mass. | Ullman |
| Ellsworth | Martin, Nebr. | Utt |
| Evins | Miller, N.Y. | Vanik |
| Fallon | Mills | Vinson |
| Fisher | Morrison | Westland |
| Flynt | Morse | Whitten |
| Forrester | Morton | Wickersham |
| Friedel | Nix | Willis |
| Garmatz | O'Brien, Ill. | |
| Gavin | O'Brien, N.Y. | |

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 299 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Without objection, further proceedings under the call will be dispensed with.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WILLIAMS) there were—ayes 203, noes 15.

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The vote shows that a quorum is present.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR].

## GROUP RELATIONS AND RACE RELATIONS

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey, [Mr. CAHILL.]

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues, as one of the sponsors of this legislation, I have patiently sat on this floor expecting that my friends from that side of the aisle would at least show the courtesy to the minority to be heard. It was my hope that it would not be necessary for me to make any observations at all in order to obtain the attention of my friends. Now, I would say that this is not my observation, but I thought the House might like to have the observation of a disinterested, objective observer who was sitting up in the gallery and who happens to be a visitor of mine——

The SPEAKER. Reference to anybody in the gallery is not consistent with the rules of the House.

Mr. CAHILL. I beg the Chair's pardon.

I would say then, may I quote to you the observation of a visitor who told me——

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, a point of order. Is the gentleman referring to a visitor in the Chamber, or in the gallery, or a visitor in Washington?

Mr. CAHILL. No; I would say——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will suspend. The gentleman referred to a visitor and it is not the Chair's duty to penetrate his mind.

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Minnesota yield to the gentleman from Tennessee to make a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee for the purpose of his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BASS. Since it is the prerogative of the Members to inquire into the minds of the other Members, may I request of the Member to divulge if this speaker is in the gallery or on the floor?

The SPEAKER. The Speaker rules that is not a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, does the Member now making the parliamentary inquiry have the right to inquire of the Member making the statement as to whom he refers?

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman yields for that purpose.

Mr. CAHILL. I would be delighted to yield for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not have the floor. Does the gentleman from Minnesota yield to the gentleman from Tennessee for the purpose that he mentioned in his observation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the gravity of the issue here being discussed, I would say to the gentleman from Tennessee that his injection of levity is not entirely unwelcome, but in view of the fact that we on this side are endeavoring to give those who want to be heard that opportunity, and to conclude these special orders, I respectfully decline to yield further to the gentleman from Tennessee for that purpose.

Mr. BASS. The gentleman defers.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota has yielded to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I would merely say this: That without characterizing him as a visitor, I will merely say that he is a distinguished member of the bar of the State of Michigan, and having made certain observations, suggested to me that we rightly here in the House could use one of the inventions of the great State of Michigan, that is, after a quorum has been established in this House we should install seat belts.

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I will be happy to yield.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Minnesota yield to the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully decline to yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Minnesota yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully decline to yield to the gentleman from Ohio, having yielded to the gentleman from New Jersey for the purpose of expediting the discourse we are pursuing here today.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, let me make for just a minute or two a serious observation. I hope that my friends on this side of the aisle will permit those of us who have, in spite of the levity between the distinguished Member and myself, a serious interest in civil rights to be heard for the next 15 or 20 minutes.

I know, ladies and gentlemen of the House, that nothing I can say will influence you as far as the field of civil rights is concerned. To some it is a political issue; to some it is a matter of tradition; to some it is a matter of conviction. All of us have our own views on it and it is not my purpose, desire, or ability to influence any Member of this House.

But let me say this to you in all sincerity, in all honesty, and with all conviction. Yesterday a great man, a wise

man, and a good man died. He was called John XXIII. And he will go down in history as a man who tried to unite all peoples, all religions. He had something to say on this issue; and if you do not listen to me, listen to him and hear what the Pope, now deceased, had to say on this vital, all-encompassing, all-important subject of civil rights. He said this in Easter of 1960:

> Our sorrowing gaze turns also to the other children of God everywhere, suffering because of race, of economic conditions * * * or through limitation on the exercise of their natural and civil rights.

I say to the Members of this House in closing that whether you listen to the minority or whether you listen to the majority today, tomorrow you are going to listen to your conscience and you are going to listen to the voice of America. And one of these days, whether it is the 88th Congress or Congresses that follow, we will have in the United States of America an effective civil rights bill. And if we of the minority have done nothing else I hope that by our efforts we have brought the attention of America to the need for this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota for yielding to me.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. Speaker, there are just four brief points I would like to make with regard to the legislation we have introduced.

One, it is nonpartisan, because civil right is just too important for politics.

Second, that we need legislation. There is no substitute for law.

Third, we need moral leadership by all Americans, by the Congress, and by the President; indeed, a sense of moral commitment to equality of opportunity under the law for all.

And in this connection I would call the attention of the House tonight to a letter of the Reverend Martin Luther King to his fellow clergymen—a letter written in the Birmingham city jail, April 16, 1963.

In it he said:

> Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.

The fourth point that I would like to make is that this bill that we have introduced, along with the bills of my colleagues previously introduced, is an initial step. I feel there is a need for an FEPC bill. I feel that there is a need for legislation dealing with apprentice training.

And so let me conclude by saying this. Let the voice of Congress on this moral and legislative issue be heard across the land. No American today can plead moral indifference. Whoever belittles one American's rights belittles all Americans' rights. We must walk as one Nation under the law with human dignity and equality for all.

I hope the Congress will pass this legislation. In so doing the Congress will help to revitalize the spirit of democracy. In so doing the Congress will help to make human liberty and equality of opportunity a reality; in short, will take action to live up to and to keep faith with the American dream.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS].

(Mr. MATHIAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I was born and I have lived and my home now is in the city of Frederick, Md. That is south of the Mason-Dixon Line. In many ways it is a southern city.

I can understand very fully the emotional reaction of many people in this House and in this country to the legislation that was proposed yesterday, the supplemental 1963 civil rights bill. I can assure you that for myself I take no partisan pleasure in having introduced such a bill nor in speaking in support of it tonight. I have introduced the bill. I rise to speak for it tonight because I believe that it proposes action——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to have a quorum present to hear the gentleman. I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] has expired.

Does the gentleman insist upon his point of order?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker, before I insist on it. Do we have further speakers?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] has 60 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is enough, Mr. Speaker. I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman will withhold that for a moment, the Chair lays before the House the following personal requests.

The gentleman from Mississippi renews his point of order that a quorum is not present. The Chair will count.

Two hundred twenty-three Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WILLIAMS) there were—ayes 23, noes 176.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair just counted 223 Members and it is evident to the Chair that a quorum is present.

The motion to adjourn was rejected.

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## CIVIL RIGHTS OF U.S. CITIZENS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I was going to ask for a unanimous consent request.

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes, I would be delighted to yield.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after all special orders today heretofore entered I may address the House for 5 hours on the subject of, "Where Were All These Republicans During the 8 Years of the Eisenhower Administration?"

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I shall not object but I must observe that we had a Democratic Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to take any more time than is necessary. The Members who have asked to be heard have agreed to cut their talks down to the bare bones, and if we can just move ahead we will be finished in a moment.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS].

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

There are, of course, many people here who feel very strongly about their opposition to the civil rights proposal which has been made by my colleagues and myself. In good season they will have their time to speak.

It is the glory of this House that they can speak and that they will speak, the efforts to prevent our remarks this evening notwithstanding. Of course, what has happened this evening could well have been expected. Debate has been limited already in this session of the Congress on civil rights amendments to the medical education bill and the impacted areas program. As some wag has said, the frustration of those who are seeking civil rights in America is increased by the fact that the subject is talked to death in the other body and that we are not allowed to talk about it at all in this body. So tonight, in spite of the news that we receive daily which is disturbing, distressing, and deplorable, some people have remained cynical about this subject of civil rights.

They have felt that it was politics and not principle which was the motivation for our civil rights proposals. Tonight I think it is manifest that a deep and abiding principle is at stake.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation men and women are risking their lives and their property on this question. I think it is evident that before this session is over every Member of this House will have an opportunity to say at least one word when the roll is called.

Mr. Speaker, the introduction of this supplemental civil rights bill by so many rank-and-file Members at this time vindicates both the logic and the necessity, both the logic and necessity of title III

of President Eisenhower's 1957 Civil Rights Bill. In that year, at the urging of such distinguished Members as the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING], who was then a Member of this body, and who now serves with such distinction in the other body, and the present ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH], this House did enact a bill which comprehended what has come to be known as title III. The other body, unfortunately, defeated that provision of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, the prophets of the press indicate that President Kennedy will also recommended some form of title III this year. Whether he will or not, he has not said. I hope that he does so, and I hope he uses his influence to pass the bill which includes title III in this body and in the other body where he is the leader of a party with so large a numerical advantage.

Mr. Speaker, in proposing this bill we think we have been moderate, we think we have been constructive and positive. I think the fact that we have been moderate is indicated by the sequence of events. Earlier this year the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee and other Republican Members of the House, led by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH], did propose a civil rights program. At that time we went no further than we felt the situation in the country demanded.

Mr. Speaker, since that time there has been a drastic change in our national picture which has presented us with urgent problems.

Accordingly, we have felt it necessary to supplement the original proposal. But even now we have restricted the provisions of this bill so that the Federal Government shall not invade any area of American life where it is not absolutely necessary.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, we were not moved to file this bill by any intensely partisan heat, but only because it seemed so necessary. Evidently we need action because every day we hear that there have been 500 people jailed here or that 700 hundred people have been jailed there. Mr. Speaker, this is not the spirit of America, and it must not continue to be the shame of America.

There has been comment lately in the press that the President would submit a program of civil rights to the Congress, and there has been some speculation that he would not. It is uncertain whether the program would be submitted this week or next. The Attorney General of the United States has had four dates at different times upon which he was going to appear before the Judiciary Committee to talk about civil rights and to the position of the executive branch of our Government on this question. What they do or do not do is their responsibility.

I would think that tonight rather than obstruct the attempt of Members—rank-and-file Members of this House—to introduce a legislative proposal every Member of this House, regardless of how he feels about the merit of the bill, would be proud that the membership of this House is proposing legislation.

Mr. Speaker, there was a time when this House scorned a bill drafted outside its membership, and there was a time when a bill drafted by the Executive was viewed with suspicion by the Members of the House. This is a bill which has been framed and drafted by the Members of the House—by the rank-and-file Members of the House—and I say that I am proud to be a cosponsor of it.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the careful consideration of this bill by the Members of the House at this session of Congress.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, by the introduction today of two bills which would enact an Equal Rights Act of 1963 and a Civil Rights Act of 1963, I join a number of my distinguished colleagues in an urgent call for prompt, effective action to solve the critical civil rights problem which confronts our Nation. We must not—we cannot afford to—delay any longer in according full rights to every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or color.

It is 100 years since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Tragically, a full century has not yet provided equal opportunity for Negroes in voting, education, employment, housing, the administration of justice, and public accommodations.

I need hardly remind my colleagues of the more glaring evidences of this problem. They have been brought dramatically to our attention in recent weeks in stories datelined not only in the South but also the North. We from the northern part of this Nation must not hypocritically lull ourselves into believing this is a sectional problem confined to the South. Such is most certainly not the case. With increasing regularity, our Nation is seeing outward manifestations of the fires which have been smoldering so long in the North as well as the South. My own State within the last week has witnessed demonstrated unrest in the City of Brotherly Love.

This is not a problem which our leaders and our people can continue to view with complacency. The urgency is alarmingly apparent. No longer can we deprive a group of citizens of the rights which most of us have taken for granted. The Negro is entitled to no more rights than his fellow citizens; but most certainly he should be accorded no less.

It is high time that the leadership and the citizenry of our Nation face up to the fact that we have a long way to go in civil rights and that we cannot take long to travel the distance. The problem cries out for quick, decisive solution. The gravity of the situation is such that every citizen should be aware of the problem and searching his soul for answers.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 68]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Adair | Green, Jr., Pa. | O'Konski |
| Ashbrook | Griffiths | O'Neill, Jr. |
| Ashley | Gubser | Osmers, Jr. |
| Ashmore | Halleck | Pepper |
| Aspinall | Hanna | Pilcher |
| Auchincloss | Hansen | Powell |
| Baker | Healey | Rains |
| Baring, Nev. | Hébert | Reuss |
| Barrett | Henderson | Riehlman |
| Bates | Holland | Rivers, Alaska |
| Battin | Horan | Rogers, Colo. |
| Blatnik | Ichord | Rogers, Tex. |
| Boggs | Jensen | Ryan, Mich. |
| Boland, Mass. | Jones, Ala. | St. George |
| Bolling, Mo. | Jones, Mo. | St Germain |
| Bonner | Kee, W. Va. | Scott |
| Bow | Kilburn | Senner, Jr. |
| Brown, Jr., Calif. | King, Calif. | Shelley |
| | Kirwan | Sheppard |
| Buckley | Kluczynski | Shipley |
| Burton | Kornegay | Sikes |
| Cannon, Mo. | Kunkel | Sisk |
| Casey | Kyl | Slack, Jr. |
| Celler | Lankford | Smith, Va. |
| Clark | Latta | Staebler |
| Clausen | Leggett | Steed |
| Corbett | Lennon | Talcott |
| Davis, Tenn. | Lesinski | Teague, Calif |
| Dawson | Long, La. | Thomas |
| Dent, Pa. | Long, Md. | Thompson, La. |
| Denton | McDowell, Jr. | |
| Diggs, Jr. | McLoskey | Thompson, Jr., N.J. |
| Dingell | McMillan | |
| Edwards | Madden | Thompson, Tex. |
| Ellsworth | Martin, Jr., Mass. | |
| Evins | | Thomson, W |
| Fallon | Martin, Nebr. | Tollefson |
| Farbstein | Miller, Calif. | Trimble |
| Fisher | Miller, N.Y. | Ullman |
| Forrester | Minshall, Ohio | Utt |
| Frelinghuysen, Jr. | Morrison | Vanik |
| | Morton, Md. | Vinson |
| Garmatz | Mosher | Westland |
| Gavin, Pa. | Multer | Whitten |
| Gibbons | Nix | Wickersham |
| Glenn | O'Brien, Ill. | Willis |
| Goodell | O'Brien, N.Y. | Wilson, Bob |

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 29 Members have answered to their names a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further pr ceedings under the call were dispens with.

## CIVIL RIGHTS OF U.S. CITIZENS

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER].

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, realize it or not each citizen has an enormous stake in the solution to this human problem because each has a vested in terest in the future of our great coun try. Each should be vitally concerne about a prompt solution. I ferventl hope that not only the Congress will aroused to enact long overdue effecti civil rights measures but also that people in all parts of the country will remain apathetic to the pressing nee for action. Let us no longer twiddle ou thumbs while Rome burns.

I commend the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Minnesota and their colleagues on the Committee on the Judiciary who have long seen the need for this action. I wish to associate myself with their efforts to press for this most important legislation.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BALDWIN].

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, it has been a privilege to join with the gentleman from New York and more than 20 other Members in introducing this bill which was introduced in the House yesterday.

In the interest of time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say I fully join in the comments made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] on this bill.

It is time that this Congress express itself strongly and clearly in opposition to segregation in places of business serving the public in opposition to segregation in restaurants and theaters, in opposition to segregation in hotels and motels, and in opposition to segregation in public parks, in public transportation, and in other public facilities.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from California.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE].

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and seventy-two members are present, not a quorum.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 69]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Adair | Garmatz | Mills |
| Ashbrook | Gavin | Minshall |
| Ashley | Gibbons | Monagan |
| Ashmore | Glenn | Morrison |
| Aspinall | Goodell | Morton |
| Auchincloss | Griffiths | Mosher |
| Baker | Gubser | Multer |
| Baring | Halleck | Nix |
| Barrett | Hanna | Norblad |
| Barry | Hansen | O'Brien, Ill. |
| Bates | Harvey, Ind. | O'Brien, N.Y. |
| Battin | Hawkins | O'Konski |
| Boggs | Healey | O'Neill |
| Boland | Hébert | Osmers |
| Bolling | Henderson | Pepper |
| Bonner | Holland | Pilcher |
| Bow | Horan | Powell |
| Brown, Calif. | Ichord | Rains |
| Broyhill, Va. | Jarman | Reuss |
| Buckley | Jensen | Riehlman |
| Burton | Jones, Ala. | Rivers, Alaska |
| Cahill | Jones, Mo. | Roberts, Ala. |
| Cannon | Kee | Rogers, Tex. |
| Casey | Keith | Ryan, Mich. |
| Celler | Kilburn | St. George |
| Clark | King, Calif. | St Germain |
| Clausen | Kirwan | Scott |
| Corbett | Kluczynski | Senner |
| Cunningham | Kornegay | Shelley |
| Davis, Tenn. | Kunkel | Sheppard |
| Dawson | Kyl | Shipley |
| Delaney | Lankford | Sikes |
| Dent | Latta | Sisk |
| Denton | Leggett | Slack |
| Diggs | Lennon | Smith, Va. |
| Dingell | Lesinski | Springer |
| Donohue | Long, La. | Staebler |
| Edwards | Long, Md. | Steed |
| Ellsworth | McDowell | Talcott |
| Evins | McFall | Teague, Calif. |
| Fallon | McLoskey | Thomas |
| Farbstein | McMillan | Thompson, La. |
| Feighan | Madden | Thompson, N.J. |
| Fisher | Martin, Mass. | Thompson, Tex. |
| Forrester | Martin, Nebr. | |
| Frelinghuysen | Miller, Calif. | |
| Friedel | Miller, N.Y. | |
| Thomson, Wis. | Van Deerlin | Wickersham |
| Tollefson | Vanik | Willis |
| Trimble | Vinson | Wilson, Bob |
| Ullman | Westland | Wilson, Charles H. |
| Utt | Whitten | |

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 278 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

## CIVIL RIGHTS FOR U.S. CITIZENS

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Is there any way, Mr. Speaker, for the RECORD to show that when the Speaker last counted for a quorum and counted 170 Members, that only about 40 of them were on the Republican side?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that that is not the subject of a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. I would like to dispute the count of the last gentleman to whom you yielded. It was inaccurate. There was a fair proportion of Members on both sides of the aisle when the Chair made his count, and the RECORD should accurately so reflect.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from California.

Mr. Speaker, lest there be failure of a quorum in the future, at this moment I ask unanimous consent that all Members may revise and extend their remarks in the RECORD on this subject.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I am not sure that I am going to object to this request. May I ask the gentleman how much time he intends to use with this kind of colloquy?

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the distinguished gentleman, I will say that we are going to do our very best to hold this down to 10 or 15 minutes at the outside.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is too much time, Mr. Speaker. I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. Two hundred and thirty Members are present, a quorum.

The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, someone far from the South can fully realize tonight that people because of different color of their skin have been denied the right to eat in certain restaurants and attend certain theaters and public places, for today right here in this House there has been attempted through parliamentary procedure to deny us the right to speak on this vital issue before the Nation today. Some could do well to tear a page from the book of Voltaire when he said:

> I may disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the last drop of my blood your right to say it.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield to me?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. LINDSAY. I will be delighted to yield, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts I think has seen an instance in which the majority, and certainly the majority leaders, have stayed here when we had complete control so far as votes were concerned, and have protected the rights of minority Members. I think this is an instance of that. We respect the rights of minority Members. Individual Members have their own rights and prerogatives, but the majority party has stayed here and has voted against adjournment and has protected the rights of the minority Members.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I agree with everything the majority leader has said.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I would prefer that the gentleman from Massachusetts be permitted to complete his statement and then I would be delighted to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I agree with everything that the majority leader has said, and I will go one step further and say that our good Speaker of the House has handled the gavel with fairness and impartiality to all parties concerned in this discussion here today.

Mr. Speaker, it is a high honor for me to join in this discussion with my distinguished Republican colleagues. In introducing the civil rights legislation yesterday, we continued to demonstrate that our party is taking the lead in the civil rights discussion that is taking place in this country. But even more important is the movement for equality itself. At this moment, the struggle for Negro equality is on the march throughout the world. This surging force cannot and will not be stopped and it is our responsibility as legislators to see that additional civil rights legislation is enacted immediately. For this reason the bill that I was happy to introduce with, among others, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL], and the gentlemen from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] and Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] is a powerful and meaningful bill in this era of the Negro movement.

That expert news commentator, Eric Sevareid, said this recently about the movement:

By its dominant voices, its most unforgettable faces, and its chief acts of bravery does a generation recognize itself and history mark it. For America, this postwar period is surely the era of the Negro passion [and] * * * because this unfolding drama involves the automatic reflexes of the instinctive sense of justice, because it involves namable, hearable, countable, individual persons of flesh and blood, it is going to dwarf the general and social pageants of this domestic era.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the call today is clearly for the rights of all individuals. The bill that we introduced will provide the tools to aid the Negro in his valiant crusade.

The bill would eliminate segregation in public accommodations and vest in the Attorney General broad legal authority in all areas of civil rights.

As a sponsor of the Republican civil rights bill this past January, I am proud to sponsor this additional legislation. Our last Republican civil rights bill was hailed throughout the Nation and the New York Times international edition, published during the newspaper strike, called this legislation the most powerful civil rights bill in a decade.

Added to the proposals of the January bill, this legislation will insure the necessary rights of our Negro citizens.

It will give the Attorney General authority to take legal action against any owner or operator of a business supplying accommodations, amusement, food or services to the public, if such business is authorized by the State or local subdivision, where the business segregates or otherwise discriminates against customers because of race or color. The Attorney General, under the terms of this legislation, may also bring legal suit against any State or local official who seeks to require or encourage segregation or discrimination.

This proposed legislation also contains the so-called title III provision which was passed by the House during the Eisenhower administration but failed in the Senate. This provision grants the Attorney General authority to institute legal proceedings against State and local officials who are depriving or denying individuals' rights to equal protection of the law because of race, creed, color or national origin.

If this House Mr. Speaker, would enact this legislation, along with the legislation our party introduced in January, we would be making a significant contribution to the historical movement that has already begun and which will continue until all men are given their rights as citizens of this great Nation and, even more significantly, as human beings created by God who deserve to live peacefully within the brotherhood of all men.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SIBAL].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. Two hundred and twenty four Members are present. A quorum is present.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SIBAL].

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to add my voice in support of those who would bring dignity to all of our citizens and by so doing bring dignity, a more complete dignity, at any rate, to this great Nation, which has been a symbol of freedom to so many.

I am also proud to be a cosponsor of both civil rights bills referred to, and the author of one amendment to the medical education bill, which would have guaranteed equal protection under the law to all applicants to medical schools to insure they would not be discriminated against on the ground of race, creed, or national origin, but which the Democratic majority defeated.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for Congress to stop hiding behind the skirts of people with less responsibility than we have in this area and to stand up and be counted as the elected representatives of all the people.

Only by rule of law can we avoid a great national catastrophe which stands in the wings, and only those of us in the Congress can provide the laws which are so long overdue. The Republican Party has a particular responsibility as it did 100 years ago due to the clear inability of any Democrat, no matter how high his office, to rally his whole party to this great cause.

The clearest evidence of this is presented by what has happened to civil rights in Congress this session and during the 87th Congress, despite the words of the Democratic candidate for President in Los Angeles on September 9, 1960, when he said:

When our next President takes office in January he must be prepared to move forward on three broad fronts: as a legislative leader, as Chief Executive, and as a moral leader.

First, as a legislative leader the President must give us the legal weapons needed to enforce the constitutional rights of every American. He cannot wait for others to act. He himself must draft the programs, transmit them to the Congress, and fight for their enactment—taking his case to the people if the Congress is slow in acting.

And much legislation is needed. We must continue and strengthen the President's Civil Rights Commission. We must grant the Attorney General power to enforce all constitutional rights—not just the right to vote. We must wipe out discriminatory poll taxes and literacy tests, and pass effective antibombing and antilynching legislation. And we must continually strengthen the legal framework which will allow us to move toward economic, educational, and political equality.

Such legislation is already being prepared. I have asked Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania, and Congressman CELLER, of New York, to prepare a bill embodying all of the pledges of the Democratic platform. And this bill will be among the first orders of business when a new Congress meets in January.

Assuming his sincerity, I say that we in the Republican Party stand anxious to support him if he can lead his own party. But if he cannot, then we intend to fight on until his pledges and ours are redeemed.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SIBAL].

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined with other colleagues in speaking out on new and vital civil rights legislation which we have recently introduced in this Congress.

Legislation is not the cure-all. But it is the keystone upon which meaningful enjoyment of fundamental rights can be assured. It sets the norm. It provides a forum for, and sanctions for enforcement when rights are denied.

Justice Goldberg commented to the nub of the problem in a recent Suprem Court decision. He stated:

The individual's rights are "present right they are not merely hopes to some future joyment of some formalistic constitutio promise. The basic guarantees of our C stitution are warrants for the here and

The momentous Brown against Board of Education decisions were landmark. They gave hope. But pr ress has been painfully slow. In th decisions the Supreme Court decla that separate educational facilities inherently unequal. It called for equal access and enjoyment of the m fundamental of rights—opportunity fo self-improvement through our institutions of public education, with all deliberate speed.

Many of the States have responded, by mere token compliance. The idle emptiness of unenforced laws has been a source of continuing and great disappointment.

This legislation we have introduce would take some necessary steps towar guaranteeing full realization of the most basic rights.

While progress in education has be painful and slow, effective denial of v ing rights and privileges has been mo than slow.

The right to vote and to have that vote counted is the cornerstone of our democracy. Yet overwhelming evidence and stark statistics outline widespread denial and abridgement of the right to vote in several States. This wrong is by no means confined to any particular geographical area.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights disclosed statistics involving 158 countie with a majority Negro population located in 11 States. In 51 of these coun ties, 3 percent or less of the Negroes we registered. In 51 other countries, 10 pe cent or less were registered, and only 11 counties were there more than 30 p cent of the Negroes registered.

A catalog of discriminatory device some more subtle than others, stands ready to strip minorities of their voting rights: The poll tax, literacy tests more stringently applied to minorities than to whites, requirements of registering in a person's own handwriting, requirements for registering without error on forms provided, and requirements for passing constitutional interpretation tests ap-

plied more strenuously to minorities than to whites. And there are many more.

The judiciary has invalidated numerous discriminatory devices: The grandfather clause, the white primary, and the Jaybird Scheme have been invalidated. The Supreme Court has tempered the outer fringes of the powerfully abusive and more flagrant denials. But this modicum of judicial strength must be reinforced.

This proposed legislation would strike down discriminatory literacy tests in Federal elections and, it would do much more to guarantee the franchise.

It is my further belief that one of the major concerns of racial and religious minorities today is the lack of opportunity for employment and for advancement once placed. This again involves education because, in many cases discrimination as to the acquiring of education and training in skills has been practiced.

Today a very large proportion of our underemployed persons are Negroes. Recent Department of Commerce statistics reveal that the unemployment rate among nonwhites is more than twice that of whites. Yet, even given an adequate educational background, many of the opportunities for further training through such programs as vocational education and manpower retraining are effectively closed to minority members because of the pigment of their skin.

Testimony before the Education and Labor Committee has disclosed evidences of blatant discrimination. While there might be training opportunities in some States, in others, training courses open to minorities often involve training in kitchen skills such as dishwashing, or in the laundry trade involving pressing and cleaning of clothes. Training opportunities for the more lucrative jobs such as welding, electronics, and administration are effectively denied.

The report disclosed that, in 1960, 69.1 percent of the eligible nonwhites in one Southern State were not registered to vote, while only 27 percent of the whites were not registered.

Education, voting, justice, employment, housing—whichever way the discerning investigator probes, evidences of discrimination can be uncovered.

Today from coast to coast and border to border, the pent-up grievances of the Negro community decry the social unrest. By Justice Department count, there were 43 major and minor racial demonstrations during the week ending May 25, of which 10 were in the North.

It is tragic that violence must bring into sharp focus the patent denial of freedom to certain of our citizens.

War was fought 100 years ago to reaffirm certain of these basic rights. These freedoms have not yet been fully won, nor fully realized. The fight to guarantee these freedoms continues to be fought.

An alarmed public today, as never before, is overwhelmed by the injustices inherent in the rising tide of exploding racial relations.

The shameful denial of basic God-given and constitutionally guaranteed rights must be rectified.



Equality and equality of opportunity must become reality, not mere plaudit.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from California.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my colleagues, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] for developing this legislation. I am happy to join with them in introducing this bill. I think this, together with the bill that was introduced earlier this year, is sound legislation and is in the direction that we ought to go. I think we ought to go even further than this, however, and toward this end I will be working and that is whenever there is Federal money spent in a program where that money or the benefits of that money are denied to people because of race, color, or creed that such Federal money shall be denied to any such area or any such group. I speak specifically of one area in the field of education where the Federal Government is assisting in the field of vocational education and in federally impacted areas where money is now going which is denied to certain individuals because of discrimination, and for this reason I will support legislation which will deny Federal funds in any Federal program where the benefits of that program are denied to people because of race, color or creed. I hope we can take that action in the Congress, and I will support an amendment on any bill that provides Federal funds for such programs, on each bill as it comes up for consideration by the House, but I would favor most of all legislation which would deny such Federal money to any program where discrimination exists.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN].

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am not a member of the Judiciary Committee, but I rise to commend the minority members of the committee who have joined in sponsoring the Equal Rights Act of 1963. I particularly want to compliment the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] and his able colleagues on the committee including the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] for their remarkable work and superb leadership they are giving in this field. They have been a credit to the minority party in this House.

As one who has made civil rights legislation a prime concern since I came to the House of Representatives I am pleased to associate myself with my distinguished colleagues in support of this bill and to have joined with them in its introduction. Submission of this bill is a positive and forceful collective move for meaningful action in the field of civil rights.

Earlier this session, as in the 86th and 87th Congresses, I sponsored and called for action on a number of specific civil rights bills. One would restore part III of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as it was drafted in the original legislation. This would give the Attorney General the authority to institute suits where one's civil rights have been violated. This is the very guts of any civil rights legislation. Others would outlaw racial discrimination in employment, provide protection from lynching and mob violence, protect the right to vote, make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent body, aid States to desegregate their schools, protect the rights guaranteed by the 14th amendment, establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity, and prohibit segregation in places of public accommodation.

Many of these objectives, I am pleased to note are covered in the Equal Rights Act of 1963 which was introduced yesterday and which is being discussed here today.

Mr. Speaker, I need not tell this House the importance of the issue of equal rights to our Nation and to the peoples of the world. Everyday developments highlight the stark reality of the situation and the compelling need for legislative action.

All of us know this problem is not peculiar to any one section of the country. The recent unfortunate events in Mississippi and Alabama may provide more drama for newspaper stories, but they are no more reprehensible than many practices common in the Northern States. It would be hypocrisy of the highest magnitude to suggest that discrimination on grounds of race, creed, color, or national origin, is somehow less evil because it is accomplished with greater subtlety.

Mr. Speaker, President Lincoln, allowed 100 days' notice between the issuance of his first and second proclamations. We have been on notice for 100 years to face up to our responsibilities in the field of civil rights. This goes beyond all the requirements of reasonable notice. It is high time we put our own moral house in order. What was unreasonable to expect in the 1860's, cannot reasonably be denied a century later.

I have constantly heard claims that the press of other congressional business, admittedly vital to the Nation's welfare, is more than enough to occupy the attention of Congress. The conspicuous absence thus far of administration civil rights legislation seems to imply this. I do not question the sincerity behind such contentions any more than I have to be reminded of the vast amount of unfinished business before this House. But what business has been before this House longer than the business of civil rights. And, Mr. Speaker, when—at what point in time—did matters of human dignity and individual rights cease to be the primary concern of this House.

In the 87th Congress, those of us who introduced civil rights legislation looked hopefully to the White House for support. We were amazed and shocked when it was announced that "the President," and I quote, "does not consider it necessary at this time to enact new civil rights legislation." This response was a far cry from the statements made by candidate Kennedy during his campaign. If, as he said then, "The Presi-

dency is a place of moral leadership," why has the President avoided the fertile field of civil rights legislation for the exercises of that leadership? The implication was that other legislation took precedence over questions involving fundamental constitutional rights. Civil rights supporters bided their time, in the hope that after Congress had fulfilled its function with respect to the trade bill and other vital concerns, the President would then turn his attention to this urgent matter in the 88th Congress.

This Congress has been in session 5 months. Member after Member of this House and in the other body have cried out for action on civil rights. Scores of bills have been introduced on the subject. But where has the administration been? The President has had ample opportunity before this to speak to us—to give us forceful, enlightening leadership that is so vital in this field. As one commentator recently observed, "the administration has broken no lances in Congress."

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, regardless of the reasons there can be no question of the administration's weakness in the field of civil rights. There has been no drive, no leadership. As a result, the image of America held by people abroad has suffered. We want the world to think of our country as a nation of freedom and justice, where human dignity is paramount. We fall short of presenting such a picture when the rights of so many Americans are still violated.

Mr. Speaker, recent developments make it apparent that there cannot be any compromise with the morality and justice of this issue. It has taken a long time for the administration to realize this and now it is announced that the President will shortly present a strong program to Congress. I hope he will. And I trust it will be a bold one. I hope it will cover such basic principles as embodied in this equal rights bill under discussion today.

I fervently urge that priority will be given to this issue. We will fail in our obligations to uphold the Constitution, to act in the national interest if we do not move quickly and decisively. The time to enact legislation to secure every American in his constitutional rights is now. Too much time has already elapsed. For 100 years we have given the Negroes of the Nation only a soiled kind of citizenship. It is high time that Congress acted to clean it up.

Mr. Speaker, it is one thing for us to criticize and another thing to come up with a positive program. That is why I was delighted with the earlier constructive action on the part of the minority members of the Judiciary Committee and to join with them in introducing legislation to make the Civil Rights Commission permanent and to give it broader power, to establish a commission to assure equal employment rights by employers or unions engaged in Federal contracts, and public employment agencies; to curtail the use of literacy tests, to provide assistance to schools seeking to desegregate, to authorize the Census Bureau to secure complete voter registration figures and to give the Attorney General the legal right to enforce school desegregation.

And that is why I am so pleased with the new action by this distinguished group of minority members of the Judiciary Committee in drafting this new legislation and to be associated with it. The bill introduced yesterday is a broad, workable and meaningful one. It meets the basic needs for effective action. I commend it to the committee and to the House.

It includes the section on title III which, as I said earlier, puts the guts into the Civil Rights Act that is sorely needed. This House passed this provision during the previous administration but it failed to get through the other body. Title III grants to the Attorney General authority to institute legal proceedings against State or local officials who are depriving or denying individuals' rights to equal protection of the law because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Other provisions of the Equal Rights Act of 1963 would give the Attorney General, as well as individuals, authority to take legal action against any owner or operator of a business supplying accommodations, amusement, food or services to the public, if such business is authorized to operate by a State or local subdivision, where the business segregates or otherwise discriminates against customers because of race or color. A legal suit may also be brought against any State or local official who seeks to require or encourage segregation or discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, the challenge of the 1860's was given eloquent expression by President Lincoln when he said: "This Government cannot endure half slave and half free." The challenge of the 1960's is equally clear: can a democracy long endure which denies a substantial body of its citizens the equal protection of the laws. The answer in both cases is the same.

In the words of the Civil Rights Commission's report: The inequities—which exist in the area of civil rights—should not be taken as an indictment but as a challenge. This Nation has always responded to any threat to freedom from abroad; yet for more than a century we have been divided over issues or racial equality and freedom of opportunity at home. The time has now come to answer the challenge within—the denial of civil rights to Americans by other Americans.

Mr. Speaker, this is legislation we can and must support. In a larger sense it is not mere legislation. It is a challenge to this House and to the administration to place and keep our Nation in the forefront of the fight for freedom, equality and the dignity of individuals throughout the world.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield briefly to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR].

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I commend the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY], for taking the leadership in bringing this matter to the floor of the House.

However, I just want to say that as fine as this legislation is, there are things which in my opinion are even greater than the right to vote or the right to a good house, and that is the right to a job.

Mr. Speaker, we may talk about all of these principles we want to, but until there is no discrimination in this country for men who are willing to work on account of their color or their race or their creed then and then alone will civil rights be a reality.

Mr. Speaker, while there was talk of the President bringing up a program, I want just to remind the Members of the House that the House will pass the program and I hope it will be a good one because the President in 1961 issued a order for the carrying out of fair employment practices. It seems to me every time his own Executive order pinches a little bit they make an exception. I certainly hope they will not do it in the case of civil rights.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND].

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, as one of the sponsors of the broad civil rights bill which was introduced by Republicans last January, and as a sponsor of the bill we are discussing now, I wish to associate myself proudly with my colleagues in this important legislative endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, we propose civil rights legislation, as we have, because it is right. We propose this legislation in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln and Memorial Day just past. We propose this legislation because we are morally committed to do so.

Mr. Speaker, we propose this legislation because we feel that government by law is preferable to forcing people into the streets and into mobs and into the arms of extremists to assert rights which all Americans, and I repeat, all Americans, have died to preserve through the proud years of this Nation's history.

We invite the support of all Members for our legislation. In doing so we pledge our support to any workable, sound, and progressive legislation proposed by this House to cope with the grave civil rights crisis facing our Nation.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for giving me this opportunity to address the House. There are times in a person's

life when he becomes very proud of America and very proud to be an American.

I can recall landing with the amphibious forces in North Africa, the landing in Italy, and I recall not too many days ago hearing Astronaut Cooper as he talked to a joint session of Congress telling us about his orbiting of the earth. These are great moments in the life of an American.

Today, as a part of this Congress, I am very proud of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY], I am proud of the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR], and the others who have supported this legislation. I am particularly proud of the manner in which the Speaker, Mr. McCORMACK, has handled the proceedings of this House; I am proud of Members on both sides of the aisles as they have resisted the pressures to attempt to keep gentlemen from speaking who had these special orders on a very important matter that involves all of America today. It seems to me one of the greatest issues facing America is this problem of race relations and the giving to each American an equal opportunity.

Today democracy in America is anemic, and until this Congress, until the people of America, assure each and every citizen an equal right to share in all the benefits and all the privileges of this great country, this democracy will not be a healthy democracy. So it seems to me that as this legislation is presented, we here in the Congress should pick up this challenge and do our best to make certain that our democracy is not going to continue to be an anemic democracy, and that all Americans and the world can be proud of this Congress and its leadership in making certain that all American citizens have their equal rights and their equal opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with 25 of my Republican colleagues in introducing the "Equal Rights Act of 1963." Set against the backdrop of serious racial difficulties, the enactment of this legislation can assure the equal protection of the laws to which every citizen is entitled.

The bill I have introduced would grant broad authority to the Attorney General to act in behalf of Negro citizens currently being deprived of their constitutional guarantees. Events as current as those reported this morning on the front pages of newspapers across the country dictate that this Congress take responsible action in the area of civil rights.

Under the provisions of the legislation I am offering, there would be authority for the Attorney General to take the necessary legal steps to bar segregation and discrimination in any business which supplies accommodations, amusements, food or services to the public.

Beyond providing this legal tool, this bill would make those State or local officials who require or encourage segregation or discrimination subject to a legal suit. The rights of an individual citizen are greater than the desire of any official to enhance his status and must be guarded on that basis.

My bill also contains the so-called title III provision which was passed by the House during the Eisenhower administration, but failed in the Senate. This legislative language would give to the Attorney General the authority to institute legal proceedings against State or local officials where they are depriving or denying an individual his right to equal protection of the laws because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Mr. Speaker, this is the second occasion I have had to introduce civil rights legislation. Earlier this year, I offered a bill to assure voting and employment rights. This first bill also would provide financial assistance to schools seeking to desegregate.

Hearings have been conducted on this first bill by the House Judiciary Committee. Yet, to date, it has not had any backing from leading administration officials who profess to be vitally concerned with these problems.

I feel this new bill—H.R. 6740—and the earlier bill—H.R. 4034—can bring to bear a number of legal sanctions. These will help to reduce racial tensions in our country and assure the Negro and others suffering the inhumanity of discrimination the protection which is rightfully theirs as American ctizens.

Mr. Speaker, we are a nation of laws. No man nor no group of men is above these laws. To that end, this Congress took action nearly 100 years ago to amend the Constitution and reinforce this democratic principle. Through the amending process, the several States ratified this congressional action and the 14th amendment became the law of the land.

We are today confronted with the same kind of racial injustice that led to that action of the 1860's. It is, therefore, our responsibility to make certain that this vital guarantee is uniformly applied. The people of the United States look to us for that kind of determined action.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] and I would like to thank the Members who participated in this colloquy and all Members who allowed us to put our remarks in the body of the RECORD. The two of us who controlled the time on this subject further would like to express our special thanks to the Speaker for the fair and impartial manner in which he presided over this session here today.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINDSAY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I do not want this day to come to a conclusion without paying tribute to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the majority leader for their repeated demonstrations of fairness and the protection of the rights of the minority in this House today. This has been clearly demonstrated, and I hope as time goes on and as other speakers may follow, whoever they may be, we may take from the pages of today's RECORD a record of the protection of the rights of the minority in the House of Representatives at all times.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY] for bringing this important, timely, and valuable discussion before the House today. In addition to commending them I wish to associate myself with the concern for the rights of all citizens which they have so ably voiced.

Any person on the floor of the House today, and indeed the American people as a whole, should no longer have any doubt as to where the sincere concern and support for individual rights lies.

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, as one who has introduced legislation to insure civil rights for all citizens, I rise in support of this important legislation and trust that the distinguished Committee on the Judiciary will report a meaningful bill that will allow the Congress of United States to right a wrong that has prevailed for too long a time. The legislative process, it seems to me, is the correct road to follow on this vital subject and I sincerely trust that action will no longer be delayed. It is my belief that the racial unrest that is manifesting itself today will be quieted if we take the responsible action of recognizing the rights of everyone to first-class citizenship.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, every American citizen has a personal stake in the legislation which many of us introduced yesterday, legislation to enforce constitutional rights including my own bill, H.R. 6736.

If we, the free people of a free nation, genuinely believe in freedom and in the dignity and worth of every human being as the moral and legal basis of our free way of life, then we cannot rest in good conscience until all our people are assured the equal protection of our laws.

Despite the clear and unequivocal guarantees contained in the U.S. Constitution, our daily experience confirms repeatedly the dismaying fact that millions of our fellow citizens are not free; they have never known equal opportunity or what it means to get an even break; they do not receive equal protection of the laws.

The Constitution, however, is not a self-enforcing document. It requires interpretation and application by the courts and implementing legislation by the Congress. In the area of civil rights, the courts have spoken frequently and clearly and decisively and have given life to the principles of the Constitution and to the highest ideals of our people. Congress, unfortunately, has been slower, more hesitant and less clear about its own responsibility in this regard.

Congress cannot open the hearts and liberate the minds of those who insist on practicing discrimination in their personal lives, but we can and must deny to segregation and every other form of racial discrimination any shadow of public sanction or support.

This is not coercion. It is prevention. It is not our purpose to punish or to

intrude, but to protect people and to enforce the law of the land, equitably and humanely. If, in seeking to accomplish this end, it should interfere with local customs or institutions, it will only be because those customs and institutions have been built upon an indefensible foundation—injustice, discrimination, and disregard for the primary rights of human beings. Our freedom cannot extend to the point where we are free to deprive others of their freedom, whether we live in the North or in the South.

We owe a great public debt of gratitude to our Negro citizens who have refused to resort to violence in their struggle to obtain a minimum recognition of their rights. They have willingly suffered abuse, brutality, deprivation, and humiliation to obtain rights which should always have been theirs without question and which the rest of us take for granted.

How long can we expect restraint, if we do not join wholeheartedly with those who seek nothing more than justice? How legitimate are our appeals for moderation, if all we mean is to perpetuate the status quo? How much respect for law and order can we expect, if the law is not used to protect the underprivileged and the disadvantaged?

As a matter both of principle and of prudence, Congress must not delay in equipping the Government with authority to protect quickly and effectively the legal rights of all our people, regardless of color, religion, or economic position, whenever these rights are threatened. This is the entire purpose of our Republican civil rights legislation.

The means we propose would be simple and effective and they are constitutionally sound. Our bill provides what the Constitution already implies, that places licensed by public authority to offer service and accommodation to the general public must not discriminate or segregate against part of that general public because of race or color, and it empowers the Attorney General to institute legal proceedings against State or local official proceedings against State or local officials who deprive persons of their legal rights to equal protection of the law on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin.

There is nothing partisan, Mr. Speaker, about this bill or about the civil rights bill we jointly introduced in January. Nor does this legislation seek to substitute for the even more fundamental necessity of personal commitment and private action in the field of civil rights. We call upon all people of good will to join with us in this noblest endeavor of our times.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, although the statements today have no doubt been permeated with politics, I think that the proceedings today have been all to the good.

No matter what our motivation, it is gratifying that at long last both major parties are setting their sights on meaningful civil rights legislation.

I for one do not care which party gets the credit. If Democrats and Republicans team up to obtain a breakthrough in the wall of inhumanity and hate, America itself will get the credit. And that is fine with me.

I congratulate and join with all my colleagues who are yearning to be a part of a Congress that faces up to the challenge of our times. The day I can cast my vote for mutual self-respect and human dignity will be the finest in my own public life. Let us all work together in a spirit of brotherhood toward that shining moment in history.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my distinguished colleagues in introducing a civil rights bill which will go far toward insuring all Americans the rights they have been so unjustly denied, in the most critical areas of race relations today.

This bill will prohibit businesses operating under State authority from denying their services to members of the public solely on the basis of race or color. Furthermore, it will extend private and Federal authority to bring civil suits to prevent further deprivations of constitutional rights.

This will be a tremendous source of new strength for the efforts to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations and in public education. Our Nation is not free so long as we deny any American child equal education, equal opportunity, indeed, equal existence.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I am particularly sensitive to the impact of the recent events in some parts of the Nation. These events are grist for the Communist mills which daily proclaim our inability to secure the promise of our Constitution even to our own citizens.

But it is not for international opinion that we must pass this legislation. We must do it because it is right and because it is just.

The time for deploring the growing tension in our race relations has long since passed. A firm expression of congressional conviction is needed more than ever before.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I submitted the following statement to Subcommittee 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, for consideration during the current hearings on civil rights and in support of my bill, H.R. 3148, to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

The struggle of man for freedom is both a foreign and domestic problem for the United States. Abroad we are fighting the Communists so that men around the world might enjoy freedom. At home we are struggling with our neighbors to maintain a dual society.

Many of our citizens who would be willing to fight a war and to die to see a man be fully free in South Vietnam or Cuba would face violence rather than allow a Negro his full freedom at home.

It is a matter of conscience. We have already seen the day pass when new legislation makes a significant difference. Not the law, but lack of intention is at fault here.

Nevertheless, as a lawmaker I must try to make use of the tools at my disposal. I have sponsored the civil rights bill, H.R. 3148, and state that each section is self-evidently justified. It will do for my neighbor what I would have him do for me. It should be passed not because it will solve the problem but because it will help. It is a small step, but it is in the right direction.

We have been witness to a lot of meaningless and childish statements concerning civil rights lately—both pro and con. What we need is mature reflection not only on the questions of integration and equality, but on man's dignity, our neighbor's and our own.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have never appeared before the House for a cause that I felt more deeply about than the cause of civil rights.

The civil rights we ask for is a basic and acknowledged American right.

Since coming to Washington as the Representative of the First District of Iowa I have come to realize much more the meaning and importance of the American ideals under which we function here. This Capital area is the focal point of this great Republic, a place where more has happened to benefit people than has happened anywhere else in all the rest of history.

And we have learned from our history that as we give more freedom to others we have more freedom ourselves. In doing this we have served ourselves and our system well. Following this precedent we have assured a spiritual growth that has also given us great material benefits and many comforts.

It is not hard for me to see that these advantages I have mentioned would have been even greater had we been more zealous in our efforts in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, it has been just 100 years since our most American American, Mr. Lincoln, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. It was 100 years ago last December since he said, in making a plea to Congress for his proclamation—that we should remember that—

As we give freedom to the slave we give freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and in what we preserve.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that in reading the newspapers of recent weeks and the visiting of the schools in the District of Columbia, has revealed to me the awfulness of the problems that arise when the ordinary civil right of the people are not recognized and granted.

I would also like to say that it is awfully late in the history of the free world to still find a need to sponsor a bill in the Congress of the United States implementing the oft stated principle of freedom and equality.

It is not only late, but it is a tragedy of monumental significance, to note that the spirit, aims, and ambitions of our forefathers have not yet been fully implemented.

Mr. Speaker, I speak with urgency and with deep feeling on this important subject. I voice the hope the better spirits and judgments will soon prevail and that we can more fully implement the moral forces on which this great American ideal is built.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

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## HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN XXIII

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE] is recognized for 30 minutes.

BW June 8, 1963
Number 1762

BUSINESS WEEK

The race crisis

# Coming to a head

**The Negro drive for civil rights has moved faster than anyone might have expected, North as well as South**

**With segregation laws being knocked down by the courts, difficult decisions now are squarely up to businessmen**

**Pres. Kennedy's Administration now accepts it as a national problem, and plans to take stronger action (page 24)**

**Faster than anyone** might have imagined a year ago, the racial issue is building up steam.

In the past few weeks, the Negro drive for equal rights has ceased to be a series of local outbreaks. It has spread to a lengthening list of cities, North as well as South, and the federal government regards it now as a national problem (page 24).

Bolstered by Supreme Court decisions, the Negroes have gone on the offensive. Even in such hard-core states as Mississippi and Alabama, they have turned the tables. Thus, next Monday's scheduled attempt of Negroes to enroll at the University of Alabama in the face of Gov. George C. Wallace's pledge to "stand in the schoolhouse door" and bar their way no longer looks like a pioneering Negro attack on a barrier but like a last-ditch stand of segregation.

**Balance of power.** With the struggle no longer so one-sided, businessmen find themselves more than ever in the middle of a no man's land. As long as state and local segregation laws stood, they could as a group remain on the sidelines. Now that legal supports of segregation are being struck down by the courts, they are faced with direct demands by Negroes and must make difficult decisions that inevitably offend one side or the other.

In dozens of cities, businessmen who cater to the public are being asked to serve Negroes as well as whites, and employers are being asked to employ or upgrade Negroes. And those who have substantial community influence, as many businessmen have, are working as never before to preserve the economic interests of their cities.

**Paramount question.** Even in the Deep South, the crucial question is no longer one of die-hard resistance but of when: Will adjustments to Negro demands come fast enough to head off serious social and economic trouble?

Last week, for example, 212 prominent Tuscaloosa businessmen and other leading citizens signed a petition asking Gov. Wallace to stay away from their city, the site of University of Alabama, and not interfere with the court-ordered enrollment of Negroes.

This came after a business group headed by George A. LeMaistre, president of City National Bank, and Harry Pritchett, real estate man, worked for months promoting peaceful acceptance of the inevitable integration of the university. One of the group, J. C. Duckworth, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Assn., sums up their thinking:

"We have two examples—Oxford, Miss., to the west and Clemson, S. C., to the east. Both towns have their Negro student, but one has federal troops and the other doesn't."

In a dozen speeches to business groups, LeMaistre emphasized "the economic effects of violence as in Little Rock." Since Little Rock, and its sharp drop in capital investment for years after its school crisis, most businessmen seem convinced that the price of trouble is too high.

**Compounding an ill.** Racial trouble is especially destructive when it comes on top of other problems. Merchants in downtown Birmingham, for example, have been hard pressed by competition from outlying shopping centers. Negro boycotts and white customers' fear of violence have cut volume further.

Federal Reserve figures regularly show Birmingham sales to be under those of other Southeastern cities. "This is obviously caused by unrest in the community," says Chamber of Commerce Pres. William M. Spencer. The city's Committee of 100 also reports some letters from companies saying they will no longer consider locating there.

Birmingham's economic trouble is not new. Employment has dropped about 18,000 since the peak of 1957, and capital spending has fallen rapidly in the past few years.

**Moral concern.** Some cities claim to be guided by principle, rather than economic self-interest.

In Charlotte, N. C., five leading hotels and motels just opened their rooms and restaurants to Negroes, and Mayor Stan Brookshire says: "This community is voluntarily facing up to what it thinks is right. This action represents acceptance of the principle that discrimination based on the color of a man's skin is legally and morally wrong and economically unsound."

Chambers of Commerce and other business groups in Atlanta, Raleigh,

Greensboro, and Durham, N. C., have publicly urged businesses that cater to the public to give equal service to Negroes. In Durham, 40 of the main employers said they would not only integrate work forces but would also be willing to train unqualified Negroes for better jobs. Biracial committees, which Negroes once battled hard to obtain, are now functioning in a dozen cities in the South.

**Still there's trouble.** Despite such concessions, trouble lies ahead. Part of the menace comes from Negro impatience. Far from satisfied by their gains, Negroes see only a vindication of their struggles and a spur to fight for more.

"Negroes are fed up—the ferment is increasing," says Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP regional director in Atlanta.

North and South, Negroes are stepping up the pace of their marches, picketing, and sit-ins, provoking mass arrests and sometimes violence on both sides. Negro willingness to risk violence shows up in a city such as Gainesville, Fla., where Negroes retaliated against a white attack by dragging a white man from his car and beating him.

Says Paul Anthony, field director of the moderate Southern Regional Council: "You get a sense of real militancy and an anti-white feeling that we haven't experienced before." The council notes that "we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

On the other side of the coin, Negro aggressiveness crystallizes white resistance. Even in cities with a reputation for moderation, some whites have lost sympathy with Negro tactics. After nine days of Negro mass demonstrations in Greensboro, N. C., Mayor David Schenck noted: "As a result of the large demonstrations, our group of moderates is shrinking . . . I've had trouble lately getting people to serve on biracial committees."

Chamber of Commerce Pres. John Harden adds: "A few weeks ago, the directors of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Assn. independently passed resolutions urging equal treatment of all people. Today I am sure the Chamber directors wouldn't pass such a resolution."

**Trouble up north.** Housing and job opportunities are among leading new racial issues in Northern cities.

In Philadelphia, local chapters of CORE and NAACP picketed and demonstrated against alleged bias of building trade unions on municipal projects. Blackjacks, bottles, and fists have been used freely. Last week, NAACP negotiators wrung out of the trade unions an agreement to hire a Negro plumber, steamfitter, two apprentice electricians, and two sheet metal workers.

One irony of the week-long picketing at building sites: The NAACP included among its targets a school that had been designed by a Negro architect and was situated in a Negro neighborhood. However, construction continued despite picketing.

**At the White House,** the President appealed to 100 business executives to order integration of their Southern stores, hotels, theaters, restaurants.

### The race crisis

# Kennedy decides on action

**Lights burn late** at the White House. Congressional leaders clear the decks for action they had not contemplated even a few weeks ago. The civil rights issue is officially a national problem now.

Washington realizes that the battle of Birmingham gave Negroes a sense of unity and success. The impending showdown with Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama over admission of Negroes to the state university creates urgency. The Administration fears that the pace of picketing and sit-ins will step up as schools and colleges let out for the summer.

**Trend of feelings.** Negro moderates become more militant as the crisis grows. The legal-minded NAACP (National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People) is faced with losing the initiative to the Freedom Riders and sit-in students of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality). So it, too, moves into the streets.

NAACP discloses plans to picket building projects throughout the North where unions discriminate against Negroes. And a spokesman for 125 NAACP lawyers announces: "I'm not going to wait for the aid of the Justice Dept., and the reason is that my people are not going to let me."

Until now, the Administration has boasted that it was making more progress in civil rights through legal action and persuasion that it could by more dramatic means. It has made a record in helping Negro voter registration, promoting employment among defense contractors, and barring discrimination in federally assisted housing.

**Legislation.** Next week, the President will ask Congress for two significant civil rights measures:

- To prohibit discrimination in commercial places that engage in interstate commerce, which includes getting supplies from out of state—such as films for movie houses and food for restaurants. Stores, of course, are a main target.
- To speed school desegregation, perhaps by authorizing the federal government to take part in drawing up desegregation plans and to act as conciliator in disputes.

Many businessmen such as chain

The New York Times Magazine 6/9/63 R+R Rel

SRC

In Birmingham—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (right) and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy lead a march of Negro demonstrators.

# 'Not Token Freedom, Full Freedom'

**To a reporter who has covered the racial struggle, the alternative to granting the Negro's demand is violence, for Southern white 'gradualists' have let time run out.**

By CLAUDE SITTON

ATLANTA.

*They say in Hinds County,*
*No neutrals have we met,*
*You'll either be a Freedom Fighter*
*Or a "Tom" for Ross Barnett.*

THE preacher in the blue-denim jumper snapped his right arm forward like a pitcher throwing a fast ball. His left foot slapped the floor. And 300 teen-agers swung into the chorus of the Negro protest movement's version of the labor-union song from the east Kentucky coal fields, "Which Side Are You On?"

Scenes like this one in the hot, crowded basement of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., can be seen nightly in some corner of the South. Although the lyrics refer to Jackson, Miss., Negroes — integrationists and Uncle Toms—and to Mississippi's white-supremacist Governor, they have meaning for all Southerners.

Long-suppressed discontent over segregation, frustration aroused by token racial change and a touch of black-nationalist fever have generated a social upheaval of unforeseen suddenness and intensity. Whites have made what seemed to them significant compromises. But their response has fallen far short of the Negro's insistence upon "Freedom, NOW!"

The drive for equality has penetrated into the segregationist heartland—the cities and towns of the lower South, the rural Black Belt and even the Mississippi Delta. The whites in these areas have been stripped of one legalistic defense after another. The resulting desperation has driven some of them to seek relief in the ranks of the right wing and others in the contemplation —and sometimes the execution—of violence.

The rising pressures from both sides indicate that the string is running out for the Southern moderate. He has sought to keep the peace by swallowing an occasional dose of desegregation but only when it was forced upon him by a Federal judge or by Negro demonstrations.

IT seems clear that the moderates and even the sane segregationists who value the region's future welfare more highly than its customs must set about the task of extending full equality to Negroes. The alternative, at best, will be recurring crises that will sap the vitality of the South and the nation. The choice can no longer be postponed until some pleasantly distant tomorrow.

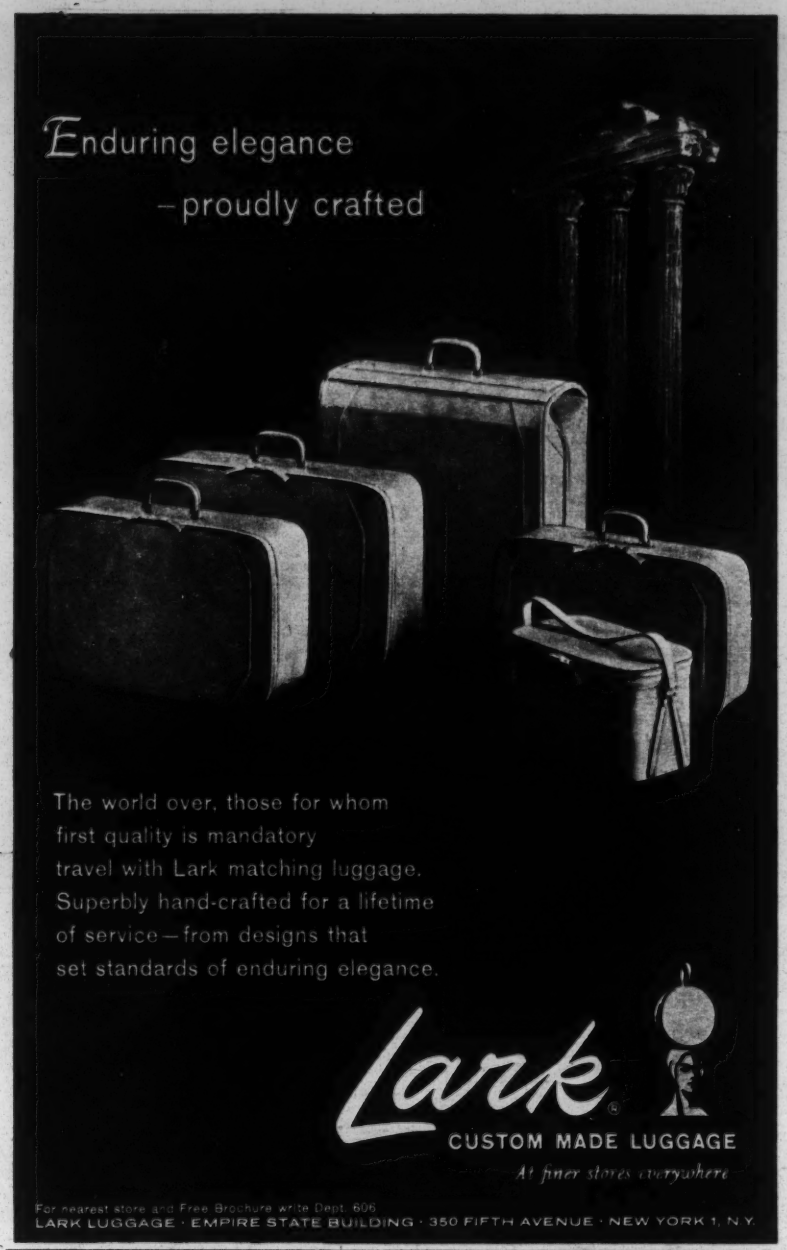
Those who question the need for urgency, who persist in picturing the Southern Negro as a subservient cuffy, fawning gratefully over scraps from the master's table, lack vision, hearing or both. In his home, his lodge and his church, he has never concealed his desire for first-class citizenship and now that he is proclaiming it in the streets, who can say that he is happy, patient and satisfied?

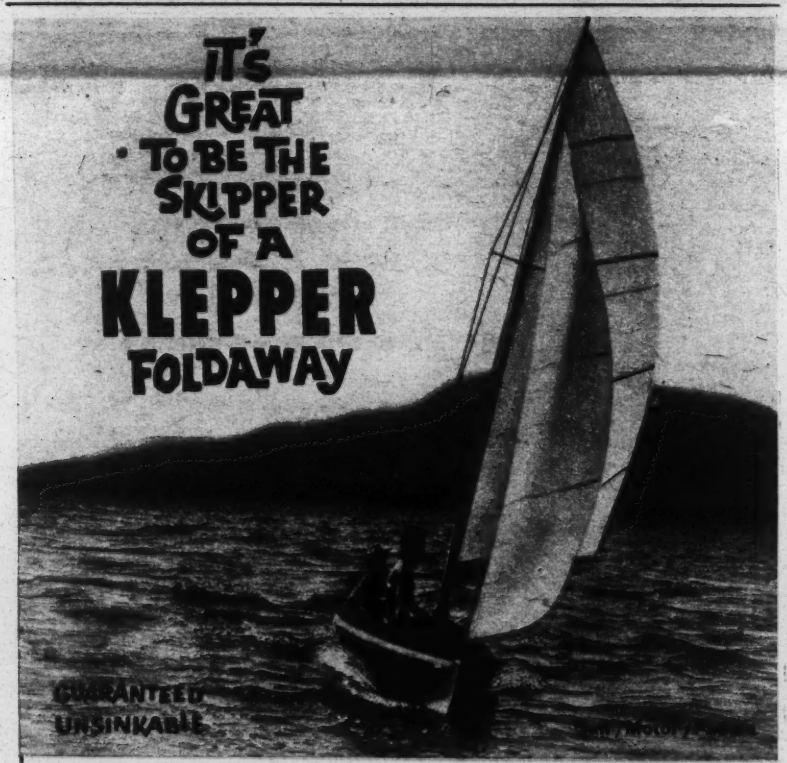
Negroes like to say that the Emancipation Proclamation freed them physically and that the Supreme Court decision against public-school segregation freed them mentally. The evidence supports them, for it was not until after the historic 1954 ruling that the initiative in the civil-rights struggle passed to them from the white liberals.

The drumbeat of thousands of feet on the sidewalks of Montgomery, Ala., in 1955 signaled the quickening pace of the campaign for equality as Negroes boycotted buses in one of the earliest mass protests.

Five years later, the silent but symbolic presence of four college students at a Woolworth's lunch counter or North Elm (*Continued on Page* 78)

**CLAUDE SITTON** is Southern Correspondent for The New York Times, based in Atlanta.

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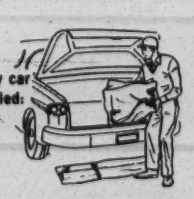


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Negroes walk in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, which began in 1955. It signaled the quickening pace

# 'Not Token Freedom, Full Freedom'

*(Continued From Page 21)*

Street in Greensboro, N. C., touched off a wave of sit-in demonstrations that swept the South. Then came score upon score of Freedom Riders bound for the bus and train stations of Jackson, knowing that Parchman Penitentiary waited at the end of the line.

The Negro was talking, too. The few whites who listened dismissed the statements of civil-rights leaders as the mouthings of extremists, yet those leaders knew, if they did not say, that they were actually racing to keep up with their people.

There was the Rev. Fred Lee Shuttlesworth, later to be slammed to the sidewalk by a fire hose in Birmingham, telling a throng in a Greensboro church: "We don't want token freedom. We want full freedom. What would a token dollar be worth?" And then, eyes shut tight and right hand pointing to the ceiling, shouting: "You educated us. You taught us to look up, white man. And, now, we're looking up!"

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, fresh from Montgomery and the bus boycott, had an explanation for what was coming to be known as the new Negro militancy. "When people see a way out, they become aggressive," he said. "When they don't, they give up and find themselves adjusting to their plight."

IN one biting sentence, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, summed up the demand that the Constitution's pledge be fulfilled: "What we're saying to you, Mr. White Folks, is this: 'You wrote it and all we want you to do is live by it.'"

The reply was tokenism in the upper South and something less in the hard-core states. Two crises came and went, at Albany, Ga., with little more than mild expressions of concern and a friend-of-the-court brief from the Justice Department. It took a series of mass demonstrations this spring, culminating in the Birmingham riots, to shake white complacency, in the North and South.

WHITES are now being forced to consider whether they are willing to pay the rising price of segregation. Is it worth herding children to jail by the hundreds, setting dogs upon adults or knocking them down with jets of water so powerful that they chip the bark off trees? Is it worth the violence that has stemmed from such repressive measures, or the economic and social toll exacted?

The cost of future episodes may make Birmingham seem like a small down payment on a very large mortgage. The determination of Negroes to cast off the shackles of racism leaves no doubt on this score. The point is made by James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. That organization, which grew out of the lunch-counter sit-in demonstrations, is providing the shock troops who are carrying the civil-rights struggle into the rural areas of the Deep South.

Sitting in his office at "Freedom House," a modest structure just off Atlanta's West Hunter Street, he speaks quietly but firmly.

"There's going to be a considerable amount of violence if major changes are not made," he says. "I dare say that 85 per cent of the Negro population, if not 95 per cent, does not adhere to nonviolence or does not believe in it. They are allowing the nonviolent movement to go ahead because it's working, and I think it's imperative for the Government to permit it to work."

Mr. Forman takes exception to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's deprecation of the Freedom Walk. The student committee and the Congress of Racial Equality are sponsoring this series of efforts by whites and Negroes to carry on the demonstration begun by William L. Moore, a white integrationist who was slain near Keener, Ala., as he trudged toward Jackson bearing placards urging equality. "You just can't keep a man down and deny him all his rights and then expect him to fight the battle on your terms," he says.

Although Negroes have seized the initiative, their leaders are still hopeful that whites will join them in the struggle before it is too late. "The country, I believe, is becoming aware that the people are really serious about getting their civil rights," observes Mr. Forman, "that what happened in 1960—when we had the sit-ins—was not a fad, that it is growing, that the nation, itself, must grapple with the problem, 'Which Side Are You On?'"

If whites decide to make the effort, it must be a sincere one. Empty promises will no longer suffice. And a resort to subterfuge will only intensify the Negro's bitterness and further undermine his faith in America.

THIS is apparent in the words of the Rev. James Bevel, one of Dr. King's more militant disciples. Like many other lieutenants in what Negroes call "The Movement," he dresses in work clothes, bibbed overalls and a plaid shirt.

"I used to be tricked by white folks," says Mr. Bevel, who comes from Cleveland, Miss., in the heart of the Delta. "But white folks aren't going to trick me any more. We are supposed to be a democratic nation: We're going to have to make democracy work or throw it away. You can't tell anybody in Asia or Africa that we have a

of the campaign for equality. Then came the 1960 lunch-counter sit-ins at Greensboro, N. C. (center) and the 1961 Freedom Riders (here Alabama Guardsmen ring one of their buses).

democracy when we're using Hitler tactics."

Some observers believe that men like Mr. Bevel represent the wave of the future. If they do, gradualism will get short shrift. "Some punk who calls himself the President has the audacity to tell people to go slow," he says. "I'm not prepared to be humiliated by white trash the rest of my life, including Mr. Kennedy."

The Bevels are the inevitable end product of the terror and hoodlumism employed by racists to deny the right of Negroes even to seek redress of grievances. This is particularly true in Alabama and Mississippi. The attacks on sit-in demonstrators in Jackson, the shooting of a voter registration worker in the Delta, the use of electrical prod poles in arresting Freedom Walkers at the Georgia-Alabama line can only encourage retaliation in kind.

Many of these acts of violence could have been prevented had the moderates exercised their power to control the extremists. It has been demonstrated repeatedly in the South that an assertion that law and order will be maintained has been all that was necessary. But having abdicated this leadership to the demagogues in the past, the moderates now find it difficult to recapture.

Moreover, the moderates have assisted the more militant Negroes in their rise to power by undercutting established local leaders. These whites have pleaded for time

*(Continued on Following Page)*


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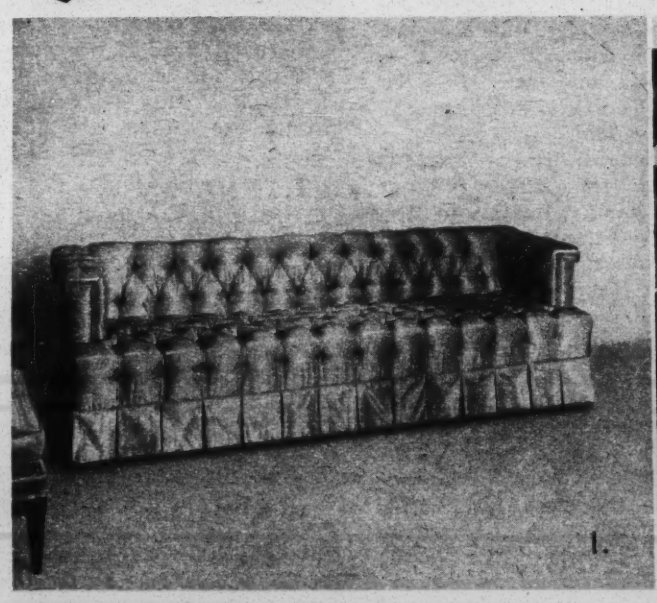

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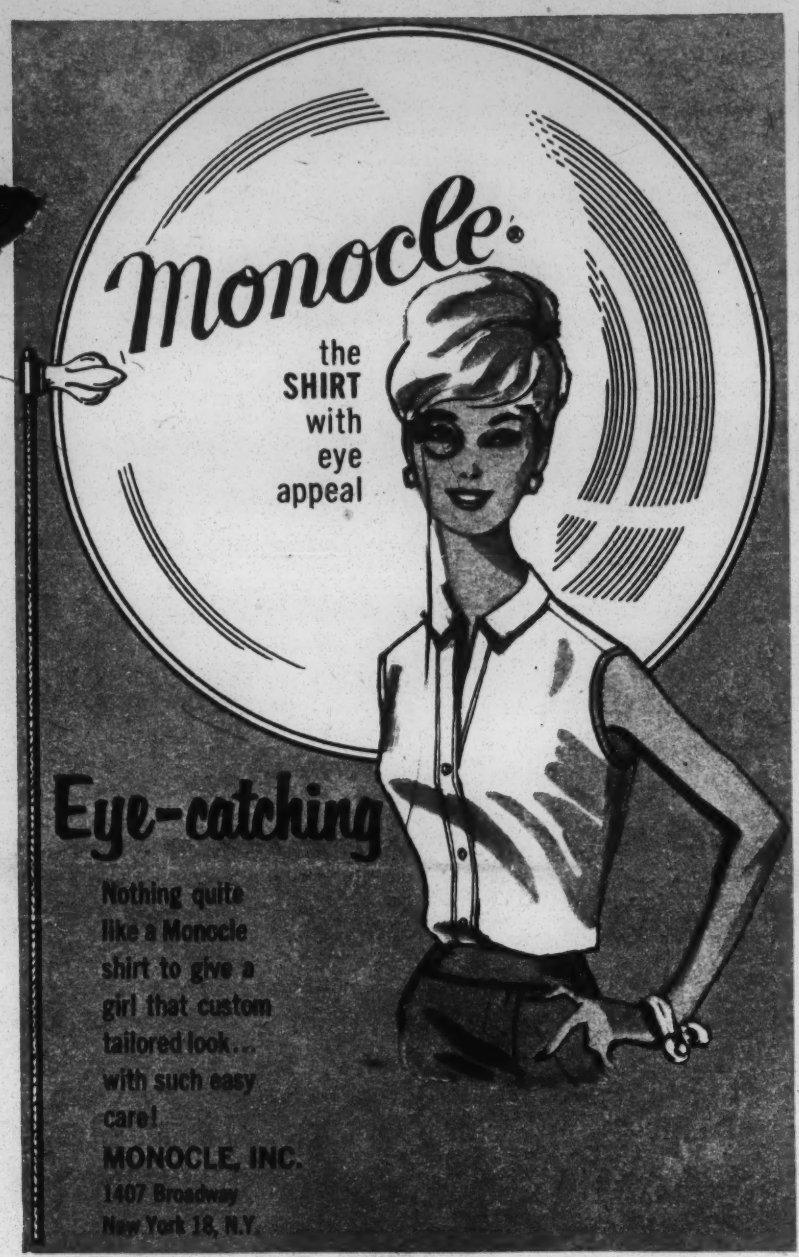


*(Continued from Preceding Page)*
and when it was granted have failed to use it for constructive action. They have sent responsible Negro leaders back to their followers with pledges and then have failed to carry them out.

The public position of the moderate likens him to the mugwump, that political bird of the late 19th century. Instead of advocating step-by-step-desegregation, he has rested placidly on the fence with his mug on one side and his wump on the other of the controversy. The inescapable conclusion is that the moderate has used an honorable term to screen dishonorable inaction.

THERE are impressive signs in some areas that moderates now realize the predicament of the South and are willing to take measures to remedy it. Leaders in Greensboro, Charlotte, Durham and Raleigh, N. C., Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., and Atlanta are advocating steps that would result in "open cities" with little or no segregation or discrimination in facilities serving the public. But even these bold proposals may be too little and too late.

This question is raised by the 15 executive committee members of the Southern Regional Council, a biracial organization that long has called for equal opportunity.

"Equality is an American ideal," they say in one of their few public statements. "It has become also a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency.

"In the United States, and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then—which we are beginning to do now—they might have been in time. They are no longer."

DESPITE the explosiveness of the situation, the South and the nation have time to work out a solution. It need not be a drastic one. A degree of gradualism is built into the social system.

Experience has shown, for example, that if every lily-white lunch counter in the Deep South ended segregation tomorrow there would be no flood of Negroes seeking service. One reason is that many of them simply cannot afford it.

If every segregated public school system adopted a free transfer policy, there would be no lines of Negroes knocking on the doors of white classrooms. Residential segregation, as it has in the North, would limit the number of applicants. And the less qualified would be discouraged by the unquestionably higher standards of the white schools.

A similar situation exists in employment. Years of deprivation have imposed a cultural lag on the Negro. Southern employers who have honestly sought to desegregate their work force have had difficulty in finding sufficient numbers of qualified personnel.

FURTHER, most Negroes are as anxious as most whites to avoid unpleasantness. They have no desire to force themselves on others. Those who sincerely fear that desegregation will lead to repeated racial incidents might consider the words of William B. Hartsfield, Mayor Emeritus of Atlanta. "The Southern Negro is the greatest incident-avoider in the world," he once said.

Nevertheless, Negroes do want, and will continue to demand, the right to move freely in this society without being constantly reminded of their skin color. There is much that can be done to assure them of this right.

They contend that, at the least, the Federal Government can put an end to the police brutality that constitutes one of the chief handicaps to their efforts toward self-improvement. Present Federal laws in this field are considered so inadequate as to be useless.

A second major complaint is the slowness with which the lower courts have moved to implement the 1954 school desegregation decision. Only some four-tenths of 1 per cent of the Negro students in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy are now attending classes with whites.

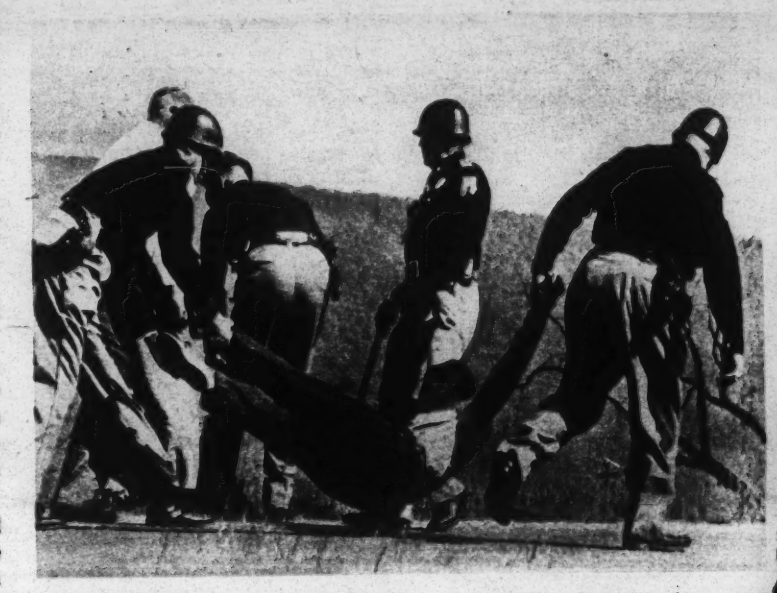
THE delay engaged in by the courts in handling this and other civil-rights issues is hardly surprising when one considers that a number of Federal District judges are segregationists. What is surprising to many Negroes who supported President Kennedy in the 1960 election is that some of his appointments to the judiciary are men of this type.

Stronger advocacy of civil rights by the Administration all along the line is plainly a necessity for the resolution of the current crisis. And the President and his aides now appear to be moving in that direction, if somewhat belatedly.

However, any lasting settlement must have the support of the South's white leaders, most of whom are of a moderate persuasion. To achieve it, they must be willing to take far greater risks than they have in the past. But these risks cannot compare with those that would be incurred by continuing the inaction of the past.

These leaders might begin by making an attempt to inform themselves of the Negroes' most pressing desires. Their failure to do so until now has been pointed out editorially by The Greensboro Daily News:

"If some of the South's white leadership has not, in the French queen's imperious language, said, 'Let them eat cake,' it has at least failed to acquaint itself with the currents and crosscurrents of this revolution. By failing to recognize that change is inevitable—that the Negroes' status as a race just 100 years away from slavery has been vastly transformed — these leaders now confront situations in which reasonable reactions are no longer control."


IN ALABAMA — A Freedom Walker is arrested at the state line.

ONCE they know the extent and nature of the problem, the moderates might begin a campaign designed to win public support for the measures needed to solve it. If these officials, business executives, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and editors put as much energy into seeking a solution as they have into dodging any involvement in the dispute there could be little doubt over the outcome.

The urgency is emphasized in a statement given to the judiciary committee of the House by representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "We can see that time has run out," it says. "It has run out both in terms of the patience of the Negro community and it has run out in terms of our successful delusion that a moderate effort is enough."

see p 2 & 3 for speakers scheduled

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RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
Division of Higher Education and the
American Missionary Association
Board of Homeland Ministries
United Church of Christ

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE TO MEET IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

As American race relations enter a period of extreme tension and rapid change, the nation's oldest forum for the discussion of racial problems is preparing to meet in Nashville, Tennessee. The 20th Annual Race Relations Institute will draw some 150 lay and professional workers in the field of intergroup relations, representing both public and private agencies located in more than half the states in the nation.

Meeting on the campus of Fisk University from June 24 to July 6, the participants will hear prominent speakers from government agencies, civil rights organizations and universities, who will analyze the fast-moving developments in race relations today and also provide background information on the psychological, sociological political, economic and religious aspects of minority group problems in the United States.

"The general purpose of the Institute," according to its director, Dr. Herman H. Long, "is to orient leaders of local communities in the problems and methods of implementing better intergroup relations."

Dr. Long is Race Relations Secretary of the American Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ's Board for Homeland Ministries. This division and the Council for Christian Social Action of the same church are the sponsoring agencies for the Institute, which has been held yearly since 1943. The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches and Fisk University will also assist in the presentation of the Institute program.

The concern of the present Administration in the present crisis is reflected in the number of federal officials who are scheduled to address the Institute during the two-week period. These include John Doar, an attorney in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, who will speak on the work of the department in securing the right to vote for Negroes in the South. Mr. Doar was present in Greenwood, Mississippi, during the mass registration drive this spring.

The Institute will also hear from the general counsel of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Clyde C. Ferguson, on leave from his position as professor of law at Rutgers University. He will discuss the program, objectives and recommendations of the Commission, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Commission's life has been extended twice since then and it is currently up for renewal again in Congress.

Federal action to provide equal job opportunities in governmental agencies and in firms holding government contracts will be outlined by Hobart Taylor, Jr., executive vice-chairman of the

President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. He will also discuss the means by which citizens can assist the work of the committee in filing complaints against discriminatory practices and in assuring compliance with the executive order which set up the committee.

Brooks Hays, special assistant to the President and former congressman from Arkansas, prominent in the Little Rock crisis of 1957, will also speak to the Institute. He will discuss the crucial developments taking place today from the perspective of a southern moderate who has pressed for peaceful change for many years. Mr. Hays is also a prominent lay leader of the Southern Baptist Convention and was once its president.

Two federal officials in the housing field will explain the implications of the President's executive order barring discrimination in federally-financed housing. Speaking for the Federal Housing Administration will be Albert Thompson and for the Public Housing Administration, Hubert Jackson. Both are from Atlanta, Georgia.

The role and contribution of private organizations in promoting better human relations and equal opportunities for all American citizens will be described by representatives from a wide range of organizations, including the N.A.A.C.P., the American Jewish Committee, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Council and others.

Other topics to be included in the Institute program illustrate the varied ways that questions of race affect the lives of all Americans today. Participants will hear talks on race and international affairs, the current status of school desegregation, both North and South, race and religion, the historical background of American race relations, and the role of white liberals in southern racial change.

Problems of America's other minority groups, as well as their future prospects will be covered by speakers on the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. The question of anti-Semitism today will also be discussed.

Rounding out the Institute program, in addition to the addresses mentioned, which form the basis for seminar discussions, will be workshops and clinics for further intensive discussion. These will emphasize employment problems, community action and religion and race.

CGB
6/10/63

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U.S. News & World Report 6/10/63
VOLUME LIV—No. 23 WASHINGTON, D.C.

# A NEGRO REVOLT BREWING IN NORTH?

**Northern cities are next, in the growing campaign of Negroes for faster, more complete integration. Pressure is on for new moves in schools, housing, jobs. Worried politicians see tension rising, in a situation loaded with political and racial dynamite.**

A threatened revolt in the North against continued segregation of the races suddenly is being forced into the open by Negro leaders.

A growing number of racial incidents in Northern cities gives weight to the threat. Trouble has flared in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago and Boston, among other places.

Negro organizations are moving away from dependence on courts and toward direct pressures to bring about change.

Politicians regard the whole racial situation as loaded with dynamite. It is causing President Kennedy to appeal for more voluntary integration and to lay plans for seeking new civil-rights laws from Congress.

Negro leaders insist that cities in the North move in three fields.

**1. Schools.** Negroes demand elimination of the school segregation that grows out of housing patterns and the flight by white families from mixed neighborhoods to all-white areas. To gain this end, Negroes are attacking the neighborhood pattern of school districting, asking assignment of pupils on a basis to promote bi-racial classes.

**2. Housing.** Negroes demand an end to customs and practices that prevent them from moving into white neighborhoods. They describe as "racial ghettos" the areas into which Negroes often are crowded in Northern cities.

**3. Employment.** Negroes demand that employers begin actively recruiting Negroes for jobs in order to overcome inequalities in employment opportunities.

The militant new attitude of Negro leaders broke into the open on May 5, in a speech by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Representative Powell made the prediction that Washington, D. C., "is going to be the scene of one of the worst race riots in the history of America" unless something is done to ease racial tensions.

Mr. Powell, in an interview on page 37, observes that, in his opinion, the Negroes now have whites "on the run" in this country and should keep them there.

The race situation took a dramatic turn on the evening of May 24, when Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the President's brother, met with a group of Negro leaders in New York City. The resulting exchange of views proved politically explosive.

James Baldwin, a Negro author, said the Negroes warned Mr. Kennedy about the possibility of "a major clash between Negroes and whites in the North." Mr. Baldwin said that Mr. Kennedy was "shocked at the passion displayed" by Northern Negroes and "we were a little shocked at the extent of his naïveté."

Earlier, Mr. Baldwin had been quoted as saying that "the spinelessness of the Administration has had a terrible effect." The Negro author added that "it is incumbent on Washington now to take

*(continued on next page)*

## SHOULD PRESIDENT "RISK HIS LIFE" FOR INTEGRATION?

—USN&WR Photo

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

CHICAGO

President Kennedy—even at "risk of his life"—should personally escort two Negroes when they attempt to enter the University of Alabama on June 10, said the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Negro integration leader told a news conference here on May 27:

**"Governor Wallace has said that he would present his body in order to prevent enrollment of the students. If the President were to be present when the students seek to enter the university, it would be a creative and dramatic act with great moral significance."**

A newsman suggested that such a move might endanger the President's life. Dr. King replied:

**"The risk to his life is not the major consideration. The Negro risks his life every day. The consideration is, 'Am I doing the right thing?' The President should have full protection. But he must also stand up for what is right."**

# VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH

*In May, violence growing out of racial troubles was reported in a number of Southern cities. In the same month, police reported this in Northern cities—*

■ **PHILADELPHIA,** May 27-31—More than 40 people were injured, including 22 policemen, in a series of melees at a picket line around a school-building job. Pickets representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were protesting alleged bias against Negroes in labor unions. On May 31, unions agreed to accept some Negroes in skilled construction jobs.

■ **BOSTON,** May 25—Four were arrested in a fight that started between a Negro youth and a white youth near a housing project in suburban Roxbury. A crowd of 50 to 75 people gathered, but dispersed when police arrived.

■ **CAMBRIDGE, Md.,** May 14-15—About 60 were arrested in Negro demonstrations attended by heckling white youths. At one point two policemen drew guns to disperse a crowd of angry Negroes. Then other police arrived and the incident ended.

■ **NEW YORK,** May 14—Two were injured, 17 plate-glass windows were smashed in 14 shops, and a hotel was evacuated after a bomb had been reported placed there, in the aftermath of a Harlem rally to spur support for Negroes in Birmingham, Ala.

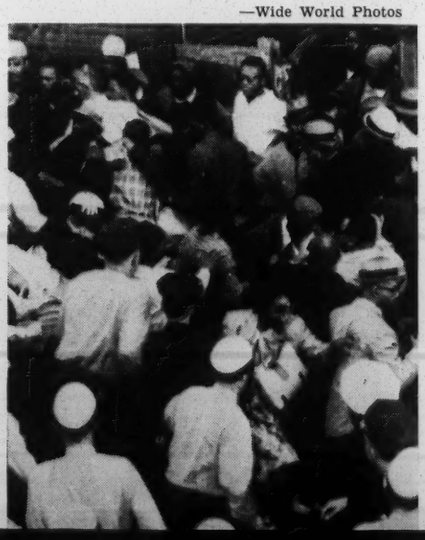
■ **CHICAGO,** May 13—Negro and white policemen were watching an often-robbed garage on the West Side when four Negro youths ran out. One was felled by a police shot after ignoring orders to halt. A crowd gathered, threw rocks at the police.

■ **ST. LOUIS,** May 5—Police moved in to break up a dice game in a Negro section. The players, all Negroes, resisted. A crowd gathered. Rocks were thrown. Twenty policemen and eight dogs quelled the disturbance. Police verdict: "A crime problem, not a racial one."

Philadelphia police haul bleeding Negro picket into squad car for trip to hospital. Melee at school-construction site grew out of charges of union bias.

Four days later, clashes between the police and pickets were still going on, until agreement was reached with unions to hire some Negroes on the project.

—Wide World Photos



[continued from preceding page]

a moral position and stop playing politics."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a professor of psychology at City College of New York, described the meeting with Robert Kennedy as "tragic." He said:

"There was no communication. . . . There were times when we just broke out into hysterical laughter . . . the laughter of desperation."

Dr. Clark interprets the Negro viewpoint in an interview starting on page 38.

Attorney General Kennedy was described as "jolted" by what he heard from the Negro leaders.

***Wheels start turning.*** It was after that dramatic May 24 meeting that the Department of Justice and the White House started wheels turning toward further action on race relations.

Work was rushed on drafting of new civil-rights bills strengthening the hand of the Federal Government in dealing with racial discrimination.

President Kennedy urged State Governors to use their positions of leadership to promote equal opportunity for Negroes. He invited a group of businessmen to meet with him to discuss jobs for Negroes.

Attorney General Kennedy met with executives of retail stores that have outlets in the South.

There was discernible a new air of urgency about the civil-rights problem in Washington. A look around the country showed why.

In the South, demonstrations broke out in Jackson, Miss., Baton Rouge, La., Tallahassee, Fla., High Point, N. C., Chattanooga, Tenn., and Charlottesville, Va.

***Worse trouble to come?*** In the North, as racial incidents spread, there came one forecast after another of more and worse trouble yet to come.

Chicago's Urban League director, Edwin C. Berry, said, "Chicagoans are sitting on a tinder box."

The chairman of New York City's commission on human rights, Stanley Lowell, said on the WNBC-TV "Searchlight" program:

"There's been a tidal wave which is coming across from Africa and is sweeping through the South and is going to reach the North, and it's going to engulf us here in New York and in other places, as well, in the North."

In Philadelphia, the labor secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Herbert Hill, announced the beginning of a nation-wide drive against racial segregation in labor unions, and said:

"The arena of combat for the NAACP has moved from the courtroom to direct, mass action."

Ra R Rel.

INTERVIEWS: A REVOLT BREWING?

# WHAT NEGROES IN THE NORTH ARE REALLY AFTER

**The North, accustomed to scolding the South about its treatment of Negroes, suddenly discovers this: Negroes are demanding better treatment in the North, too.**

**Why? How do Negroes really fare in the North? What more do they want? And how do they propose to get it? By violence?**

**For answers, "U. S. News & World Report" turned to two Northern Negro leaders.**

**Representative Adam Clayton Powell, New York Democrat, was interviewed in Paris on his way to an international conference. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, psychologist, was interviewed in New York. His interview starts on page 38.**

## "Now's the Time to Keep the White Man on the Run"

At PARIS

**Q Mr. Powell, exactly what is it that Negroes in the North back home are after?**

**A** Complete desegregation. Not necessarily integration, but desegregation. They want to move out of the "black ghettos" into other areas where they might want to live. Only this way can segregation in the public-school system in the North be broken down. Public-school segregation in the North is as rigid as in the South, because Negroes in the North live in black ghettos.

Secondly, they want equal job opportunities, including upgrading. Per capita income in the North for a Negro family is much less than for a white family.

Thirdly, because most Negroes are Democrats, they want more recognition in patronage than they have received from Democratic leaders in the big cities.

**Q Are these the same things they want in the South?**

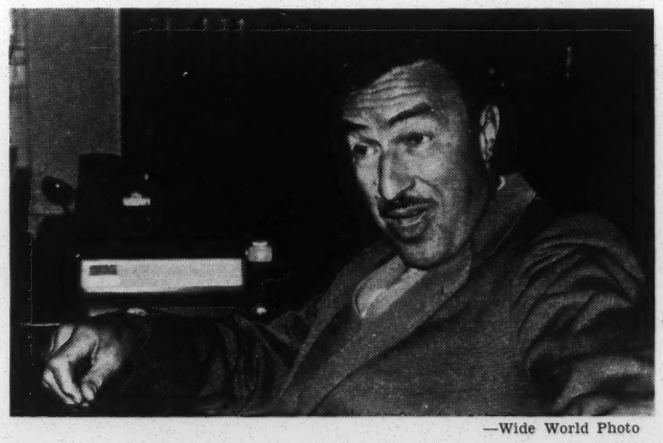
**A** Absolutely. It must be realized that there is very little difference between the North and the South, except that I would say there is more hypocrisy in the North and more honesty in the South.

**Q You have been quoted as saying that Negroes now have whites on the run and this is the time to keep them running. Is that right?**

**A** Absolutely correct. The white man is afraid today. He's not afraid because he outnumbers Negroes. He's not afraid because he controls the instruments of power, such as the police in Washington, where the Negro population is 56 per cent and the police force is 86 per cent white.

But all of a sudden—in Birmingham, Ala.—he has come face to face with the fact that this numerical superiority and this naked power can no longer contain the black mass. He has seen little children stand up against dogs, pistol-packing policemen and pressure hose, and they kept on coming, wave after wave.

So the white man is afraid. He is afraid of his own conscience. He's afraid for the future of the United States if he allows this image of Birmingham to continue to be spread abroad. And, because he is more or less religious, he is afraid of judgment. And so now is the time to keep him on the run.



—Wide World Photo

Representative Adam Clayton Powell

**Q Do you mean that the white man is on the run because of Birmingham?**

**A** As a result of Birmingham. Birmingham has been the catalytic agent which has changed the picture of the United States radically in the past weeks.

**Q You mentioned Washington, D. C. What more do the Negroes want there? Some people say they have everything —equal rights to Government jobs, voting rights, homes in good neighborhoods, acceptance in restaurants, parks, hotels, theaters and swimming pools. What else do the Negroes want in a place like Washington?**

**A** We have just concluded hearings before my Committee [House Committee on Education and Labor] on discrimination in the nation's capital. And what you have just said is exactly true for a group which I call the "black *bourgeoisie*," the upper class. This is a group that is better off than the average Negro anywhere in the United States. But 70 per

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cent of the population of Washington, D. C., is at the other extreme of the spectrum. Three times as many Negroes are unemployed as whites. Seventy per cent of the people on the relief rolls in Washington are Negroes.

The Government does employ Negroes, but private industries do not. We can't get Negroes into some companies. We can't get Negroes into the department stores. We can't get them into the police force. The police force recruits whites from outside the District of Columbia while there are able Negroes in the District. We cannot get them equal hospital facilities.

The number of dropouts and pushouts in the school system is tremendous, with no employment opportunities for them, and the Board of Trade in Washington, which is the controlling group, refuses to do anything in this area. They told me they do not have the power. But three days after telling me that, when the Attorney General of the United States put a little pressure on them, they suddenly produced 350 jobs for Negro youths. On May 7 they said they didn't have the power. On May 10 they produced 350 jobs, and they could produce more. All this was produced in testimony before my Committee the last of May.

**Q Mr. Powell, do you feel Negroes are entitled to more rights than whites have?**

**A** This is something that has been cropping up recently—it's been called preferential treatment. It's been advocated by such outstanding organizations as the Urban League—a leader of the Urban League in Washington, Mr. [Walter B.] Lewis, so testified the other day.

I disagree with this 100 per cent. I do not believe in preferential treatment for Negroes at all. All I'm asking for is that the doors of opportunity in every area be opened, and then let the Negro take his own chance on whether he will succeed or not.

This is what's happened in Federal Government employment. The door of opportunity has opened. Negroes are taking Civil Service examinations and, as you've just said, have a tremendous percentage working in the Federal Government.

**Q What do you think is the meaning of the growing militancy of Negroes in the North?**

**A** Barry Goldwater [Senator from Arizona] was recently asked by editor Charles Stone of the "Afro-American" this question: "If you were a Negro, would you be patient?" And Goldwater replied: "Hell, no."

The Negroes' militancy is based on the fact that they're now finished with their first century of freedom. This is the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. Negroes now are on the threshold of the second century of emancipation, and they don't need to be patient any more. And they don't believe in gradualism.

They are happy with the Supreme Court decisions but are not happy with the enforcement of those rulings. And it's very interesting to note that the Supreme Court itself in recent days has given up the doctrine of deliberate speed, and, in this ninth year since the 1954 decision holding school segregation unconstitutional, has now ordered immediate integration.

The Administration has not done all that was expected because the President of the United States has not called for forceful civil-rights legislation and has not forced the housing agency to live up to his antidiscrimination executive order in housing. Bobby Kennedy has been doing a very good job, but, here again, the timetable has got to be stepped up by the Administration, and the President must now personally enter into this area.

**Q Do you think there is a real possibility of violence if Negro demands are not met more fully or promptly?**

**A** Yes, I do. Martin Luther King, in a national periodical, said before Birmingham that he believed that the power of nonviolence had now come to a place where it was no more than—and I quote him—"a tactical military maneuver." And one of the great things that Martin Luther King did in Birmingham was to go from bar to bar, from pool parlor to pool parlor, urging people not to be violent and to give up whatever weapons they had. But I do not think that anyone can control the black mass any longer. The only way it can be controlled is for the white majority to give the black mass what is long overdue and to give it immediately.

# "The Negro Is Tired of Waiting"

*What is behind the growing militancy of Negroes in the North? Are Negro youths turning to the Black Muslim movement? Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a psychologist who works with Negro youngsters in New York City's Harlem district, answers such questions in this exclusive interview.*

At NEW YORK CITY

**Q Dr. Clark, there have been numerous outbreaks of racial violence recently—not only in the South, but in the North as well. And there have been predictions by some Negro leaders of more serious race trouble ahead. Do you think that a Negro revolt is brewing in the North?**

**A** I think that the term "revolt" is a misleading term. The Negro is not plotting to take up arms against his country. But Negroes are impatient for their rights as American citizens. They want these rights now. This impatient insistence of Negroes to free themselves from racial injustices and cruelties takes many forms.

**Q What forms is it taking?**

**A** It takes the form of seeking redress through the courts, through the exercise of political power—and it has taken, in recent years, the form of direct action.

**Q Do you mean violent action?**

**A** No, direct action does not mean that the Negro will initiate violence. Responsible elements of the Negro community are certainly not inciting or even subtly suggesting to Negroes that they take violent action, because it is quite obvious that the Negro, being in the minority in America, would only be the victim of violence. He could not hope to gain justice or equality by advocating violence.

**Q Do you see a serious danger that this campaign by Negroes will lead to violence in the North?**

**A** The Negro does have to take into account the strong possibility that the mere insistence upon his rights as an American citizen might bring about violent reactions on the part of those who would want to deny him his rights. The Negro seems to be prepared to accept this violence directed against him if this is the only way that he can obtain his rights.

**Q Do you find a growing militancy among Negroes in the North in asserting their demands?**

**A** It appears to be an increasing militancy. The Negro has always been disturbed about the inferior status assigned to him in America. But there is a difference, I think, be-

tween the Negro's reaction in the early part of the twentieth century and now.

**Q How would you describe the mood of the Negro today?**

**A** The mood of the Negro today is that he must have the same rights that every other American citizen enjoys—no matter what the cost. He seems prepared to make the supreme sacrifice if this is necessary. And he wants those rights now. He is tired of waiting.

**Q What about the Negro youth?**

**A** The Negro youth, as I see them here in my work at Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, seem increasingly alienated from white America. The Black Muslim philosophy of hatred for whites has permeated their thinking to a disturbing extent. In general, Negro youths seem to feel that they cannot hope for justice from white America and that, therefore, they must experiment with techniques of complete isolation—separation from the whites.

**Q Do you think the Muslim movement is going to attract a large following among Negro youth?**

**A** I don't know whether it's going to attract a large following, in the sense of membership and total identification. But the Muslim movement does seem to be terribly attractive to them as a philosophy and a point of view. Many of these youngsters who express to us the Muslim philosophy say, "We're not Muslims. But what the Muslims say is true: You can't trust the white man."

**Q Is the Negro as impatient in the North as in the South?**

**A** Oh, yes. There's no question that the new demonstration of insistence and urgency on the part of the Negro is not regional. It is more dramatic and clear-cut in the South. In the North, sometimes you get the feeling that the Negro is not too clear as to how he can express his dissatisfactions, because the problems which he confronts in the North seem to be more subtle and complex. The facts of Negro ghettos, segregated schools and pervasive job discrimination in the North are symptoms of the serious and explosive problems which exist in the North.

**Q In the North, Negroes appear to have already many of the things for which they are demonstrating in the South. Why, then, are Northern Negroes so unhappy?**

**A** The key part of your question is that phrase "appear to have." Actually, the difference is that, in the South, you have the flagrant signs of discrimination and the direct expressions of bigotry. The rules are fixed: "This is a white school. That is a Negro school." Or, "This is a white man's job. That is a Negro's job." In the North, things are not so clear or honest.

**Q Do you think the Negro's situation in the North is as bad as it is in the South?**

**A** In some respects it is worse, because it is less clear.

**Q Do you really mean that Negroes have fewer opportunities in the North than in the South?**

**A** No, I would not say that.

**Q Or fewer rights in the North?**

**A** No. I think what you have in the North is a form of "gentlemen's agreements," and a white power structure that is much more subtle in expressing its discrimination and prejudice and philosophy of white supremacy.

**Q What is it, specifically, that Negroes feel they do not have in the North? What do they want?**

**A** They are protesting against segregated schools. They are protesting against rigid racial segregation in housing—a containment of the Negro population in restricted areas, in racial ghettos. They are protesting against the conspiracy of real estate and financial institutions to maintain this segregation in housing.

And Negroes are protesting against racial discrimination in jobs that is as insidious in the North as throughout the South—in spite of State laws against discrimination in employment. New York City is offered as an example of liberal legislation and practices on this subject. Yet the fact of the matter is that even here the overwhelming majority of Negroes and Puerto Ricans are relegated to menial, low-paid jobs and are exploited by labor unions as much as by employers.

**Q How do Negroes intend to overcome these situations in the North? Do they demand new laws?**

**A** My personal opinion is that there are no new laws necessary in a State like New York. We have very good laws against discrimination in employment and against discrimination in housing. What we really need is effective enforcement of these laws.

**Q How about the courts? Do Negroes believe that laws and courts can handle this problem?**

**A** Obviously, laws and courts cannot handle this problem totally, but they are very important. The Supreme Court of the United States has been a most significant factor in precipitating the present confrontation between whites and Negroes on the moral and constitutional issues of race in America.

—Black Star Photo

**Dr. Kenneth B. Clark** is professor of psychology at City College of New York. His study of the effects of racial discrimination on Negro youngsters was cited by the U. S. Supreme Court in its ruling against segregated schools. He was one of the Negroes invited recently to talk with Attorney General Robert Kennedy about the demands of Negroes in the North.

But the Supreme Court cannot enforce, itself. It is up to the executive and legislative branches of our Government to see that the laws are, in fact, implemented. And, of course, in this case, there is also the Negro. The Negro is now taking into his own hands the responsibility for seeing that his rights are not ignored.

**Q You spoke of segregated schools in the North. Aren't Northern schools integrated?**

**A** No, we do not have integrated schools in the Northern urban areas. Oh, the schools are not labeled "white school" and "Negro school." You do not have segregation by laws. But you do have in the North a *de facto* segregation that is just as damaging to Negro youngsters as the segregation that exists in the South.

The bulk of the Negro youngsters who are being turned

# . . . "Employers will have to actively recruit Negroes"

out of these segregated Northern schools are functional illiterates. They have not been taught to read or speak well. They are deficient in arithmetic. They are not equipped to compete, with any hope of success, for other than menial jobs.

**Q Why is this?**

**A** Because the schools that are attended by most Negro youngsters in most Northern cities are inferior to the schools attended by most white youngsters. These children are the victims of criminal educational neglect. It almost seems that these schools are deliberately preparing Negro youngsters for a menial status in life.

**Q How do Negroes expect to overcome this Northern style of school segregation? Do they want to do away with the system of neighborhood schools?**

**A** There is nothing sacred about the neighborhood school any more than there was about the little red schoolhouse.

**Q Do you want Negro youngsters to be transported across town to other schools?**

**A** There are many ways to obtain more democratic schools in America. School boards can reorganize school-district lines, taking into account the importance of having racially balanced schools. And certainly they could be sensitive to the relationship between balanced schools and the placement of new schools.

I think that, in the schools of America today, there must be a special type of crash program to see that Negro pupils are brought up to a respectable and acceptable level of academic performance.

**Q Do you want Negro pupils to be given special treatment because they are Negroes?**

**A** Well, Negroes are being treated as Negroes now, to damaging effect. So if they must be treated as Negroes for beneficial effect, this must be done.

## HIRING MORE NEGROES—

**Q Do you apply this same view to jobs?**

**A** The job discrimination against Negroes has been so widespread and has continued for so long that you may have to engage in some kind of compensatory positive discrimination to overcome the effects of this long-standing injustice. I think that employers will have to go out and actively recruit Negroes as Negroes.

Obviously, an employer cannot employ an incompetent Negro merely because he is a Negro. But, if it is necessary for business and industry to develop specialized training programs in order to be able to employ a representative number of Negroes in skilled managerial and executive positions—then this must be done. Furthermore, business and industry should insist that our schools should start educating Negro youngsters so that they can be incorporated into our economy.

**Q In the past, Negroes have argued that the law should be color-blind. Are Negroes now asking that they be given special treatment because of their color?**

**A** One cannot rectify past injustices by pretending that they didn't exist. The Negro in America has clearly been damaged by past practices of segregation and discrimination. If we're going to correct this past damage, we're going to have to correct it by direct, effective action which takes into account the nature of that damage.

We can't tomorrow say: "All right, we're not going to have any more segregation, we're not going to have any more discrimination. We're going to treat all Americans as if they are Americans, and therefore everything will be right." This is nonsense.

During the transition period from injustice to justice, it is my personal opinion that we cannot pretend that there are no consequences of past injustices. We've got to face those consequences and do whatever is necessary to rectify them.

**Q Even if it means becoming color conscious?**

**A** Absolutely, because the problems are problems that resulted from color consciousness. It has to be resolved by color consciousness until we get to that ideal state where we need no longer worry about a person's color.

**Q Does that mean that the Negro wants the law weighted on his side?**

**A** Of course not. That would be discrimination. He's not saying that you must pass laws that give Negroes privileges and rights not enjoyed by other American citizens. But he is insisting on removal of the special forms of oppression from which he has suffered because he is a Negro. And this evil must be corrected by whatever action is required.

**Q On housing—how do Negroes intend to overcome the kind of segregation that exists in the North?**

**A** By opening up living areas to all people, regardless of race. Now in big urban areas we have this problem of whites fleeing from the central cities into the suburbs that are, in effect, white sanctuaries where real estate, banking and political barriers are placed in the way of Negroes who want to move there.

**Q How do you overcome this "flight to white sanctuaries"?**

**A** I think there is only one way, really, to overcome this, and that is to deal with the problem of segregation not in terms of just the municipality—the city itself—but to deal with it in terms of the entire metropolitan region. We need regional social planning.

**Q How are suburbs kept closed to Negroes now?**

**A** Banks will not finance home purchases by Negroes in those areas. Real estate brokers generally will not show or sell Negroes homes in white residential sanctuaries. And public officials, either directly or indirectly, participate in or accept this conspiracy against Negroes.

**Q Many people express puzzlement over this: They say Negroes at this time are making progress in many ways, and they wonder why, as Negroes make more progress, they become more militant—**

**A** One of the reasons people don't understand this is that they don't understand history. No totally oppressed people ever revolt or rebel. Now I use your word "revolt" in this sense: The Negroes' revolution comes as a consequence of what white liberals call progress. The closer a human being gets to a goal, obviously the more restive he gets in wanting that goal.

## "NO COMPROMISE"—

**Q Do you mean that the closer the Negro comes to equality the more insistent he is going to be?**

**A** That is right. The more insistent he is going to be. And this is not peculiar to Negroes. Now I am speaking as a psychologist. There are only two ways that America can avoid the embarrassment of racial difficulties. One would be total oppression. The other would be total equality. There can be no compromise.

**Q Where do you think all this trouble is leading?**

**A** I feel that we are really now on the threshold of a truly democratic America. It is not going to be easy to cross that threshold.

But, if we do not create a more democratic society very soon, then we are really in trouble.

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6/15/63

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# Kennedy and Baldwin

R+R

*"Suddenly I looked at the Attorney General and understood that he did not understand us and for just a minute I felt for him. We were, after all, saying something quite un-American. We were talking against tinkering. We were saying that even the most effective political manipulation is basically unacceptable to Negroes. It didn't mean anything for him to tell us that this Administration has done more in this area than any other Administration. We were asking him to stop thinking about this as the special problem of a particular group of people and to begin to think about it as an American problem."*
– DR. KENNETH CLARK, the psychologist, remembering the visit of James Baldwin and friends to the Attorney General of the United States on Central Park South, May 24, 1963.

All parties present seem to agree that communication broke down in the confrontation of Robert F. Kennedy with a group of Negroes assembled by James Baldwin. Baldwin picks a special moment after which any sense he had of people talking to one another departed. Jerome Smith, an exhausted veteran of Martin Luther King's itinerant non-violent army, was telling the Attorney General what he had endured from policemen in the South; Robert Kennedy is said to have answered: "A lot of people have had a hard time." The reaction the Attorney General recalls was "hysterical" laughter; the reaction Baldwin remembers was despair. At one point, the Attorney General brought up and dismissed the suggestion that the President escort two Negro students this month into the University of Alabama; it would, he said, be only an "act." "But that's what we want," someone replied, "an *act*." The President's brother was talking about a piece of stage business; the Negro was talking about the affirming gesture. One word, two meanings.

The Attorney General was sitting with persons one thinks of as examples of the security and success which some Negroes have found in America: James Baldwin, the novelist; Lorraine Hansberry, the playwright; Harry Belafonte and Lena Horne (she having flown in from Hollywood on a few hours' notice); and Clark, who has been a resource for the Supreme Court. Yet the central figure was none of these. It was Jerome Smith, a 25-year-old wanderer from jail to jail, a man with fierce contempt for a government which would protect the "free world" but cannot protect him in Alabama. "All of us said

that Jerome was the whole thing. If the Attorney General couldn't listen to him, he couldn't listen to anyone else," Baldwin told a reporter later.

Consider the figure of James Baldwin. He is fashionable now, and how extraordinary is his difference from the Negro who used to be fashionable. Walter White was all executive competence. Marian Anderson was endurance and calm. Baldwin is exhaustion and tension, a rag doll pulled on the one side by a child who loves and on the other by a child who hates. He is a waif, an outcast, living in a waiting room between Harlem and our America; yet he is on the cover of *Time* and the Attorney General calls upon him for counsel – and does not get it.

The real shock to the Negroes was their suspicion that the Attorney General of the United States felt so helpless. They listened to his explanation of how difficult it is for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to improve justice in the states and cities of the South. "Mr. Kennedy," Lena Horne said, "you've never been a Negro questioned by the FBI." How *could* he understand? How many can remember seeing a Negro FBI agent? Yet that is the least of it. It would be elementary justice for the FBI to hire Negroes, but it would make very little difference in Lena Horne's complaint. For she is saying the cops are on the other side. Just how many white American women as wealthy and comfortable as she have unpleasant memories of an FBI investigation? Miss Horne could have added that although Jackson, Mississippi, will hire Negro policemen, they will not be permitted to arrest white people.

When the Administration began considering a civil rights bill, the first suggestion that occurred was a section affirming the right of a Negro to be served lunch in any mercantile establishment dealing in goods produced in interstate commerce. But the desegregation of lunch counters has already been accomplished or soon will be all over the South, and by the Negroes themselves. So here we have a bold assertion of the interstate commerce power by a government which seems otherwise powerless to prevent its citizens from being bombed. James Baldwin and his friends are all for law – as is Governor Wallace of Alabama – but they're trying to say something more important than "protect us from the rowdies and the dogs and the swinging clubs and the jails." They're asking for more than legal rights. Though no restaurant, hotel, or theater in Washington, D. C., would bar a Negro today, as they did 20 years ago, last week a prominent Washington funeral director (white) refused to accept the body of a four-year-old Panamanian colored boy; the dead are still segregated. A labor gang on the street is still either all-white or all-black; the truck driver is white, his helper is Negro. A guest for lunch with the Attorney General remarked last week how struck he was at how Southern the scene was as Negro waiters bent to pour coffee while the Attorney General wondered aloud what Negroes are thinking.

The Baldwin meeting left Robert Kennedy feeling rejected: "We seem to be shut out everywhere," he said. He most earnestly wishes to be the honest broker between contending interests. But he cannot be broker to the official South because he offers the threat of Progress to people whose oldest pride it is to be inflexible; and he cannot be broker to the Negro, because he is offering the poor token of Progress to people whose sudden pride it is to find themselves revolutionaries. A political order which for 100 years has needed to think of the Negro only as a voter now confronts him as marcher, as rebel.

And what do the marchers want? Martin Luther King puts it in three words – "all, here, now." They want to *qualify*, and they will not qualify so long as they are done for, as servants are done for. A few thousand more Negroes hired or upgraded on the job this year will make little difference. We are dealing here with prolonged, massive neglect. The neglected are certainly not all Negroes, yet by the nature of their condition and the urgency of their protest, the Negroes are today the only face of the poor which enforces itself on a public otherwise determined to flee as far as it can from the spectacle of the poor. Who sees West Virginia? We are talking about one-tenth of the population of the United States, 12 percent of whom are out of work. When we think about where the Negro lives, we have to think about all our slums; when we think about him unemployed and untrained, we have to think about the darkening future of all the unskilled; when we think about the schools his child has to go to, we have to think about all our blighted schools. Finally, we can solve his problem only by engaging all our own. The festering hostility in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles – as well as Birmingham – is rooted not in segregated public accommodations or even in segregation by neighborhoods, but in resentment at being so long and so hopelessly at the bottom. That is why Kenneth Clark was so precise when he came up with the word "un-American" to describe the nature of the Negro's insistence. Massive deprivation does not lend itself to our national habit of fixing and tinkering. Fortunately, there have been recently some faint and hopeful signs this thought has got through at the top in Washington.

# Rise in Radiation

Radiation from nuclear tests will be at least twice as high in the US this year as it was in 1962, and perhaps more than that. The amount of leukemia-producing Strontium-90 deposited in the bones of American chil-

The New Yorker
June 15, '63
R & R Rel.

THE NEW YORKER

# THE TALK OF THE TOWN

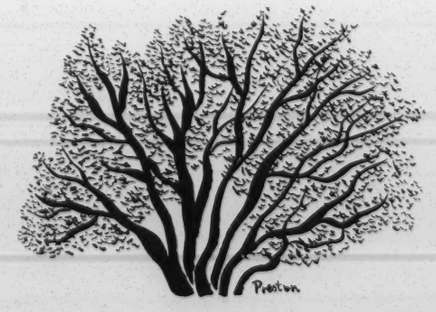
## *Notes and Comment*

ONE mild, sunny afternoon last week, we boarded a No. 4 bus at Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, rode to Lenox Avenue and 110th, and began a long, slow walk through Harlem. It was a sleepy day in the city, and the only thing that seemed to set 110th Street apart from any downtown thoroughfare was the number of small children playing on the sidewalk and in the street itself, chattering in Spanish and English, many of them wearing keys around their necks for entering their homes while the adults were out. The games were the ordinary ones—drawing with chalk upon the pavement, jumping rope, and playing baseball with bats improvised from wooden sticks broken off cracked window frames. There was an odor of uncollected garbage, but a city garbage truck was creeping slowly down the north side of the street.

We turned the corner uptown on Eighth Avenue and noticed a drugstore, much like any other, except that the products featured more prominently than cosmetics were powders for cockroaches and a salve for curing rat bites. On the avenue and the side streets leading to 125th Street we counted sixty-three men, standing outside bars and in the doorways of apartment buildings, engaged in casual conversation, staring off into space, or simply pacing back and forth. Two fist fights, partially in earnest, broke out on the corners of 119th and 123rd Streets. Since approximately thirteen per cent of the Harlem labor force is unemployed (more than twice the percentage for the city at large), and since the problem of over-population in Harlem is notorious, the "No Loitering" signs on nearly every building seemed to create a certain restlessness in the occupants, who simply could not find a legally sanctioned wall against which to lean. Billboards on the brick façades of several buildings announced the forthcoming election of Schaefer Beer's "Miss Beaux Arts" from among eight pretty, smiling Negro girls, none of them very dark.

At Harlem Square, on the corner of Seventh Avenue, a meeting was in progress. Among the speakers on the platform (obtained, after some resistance from Mayor Wagner, by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee) were Sylvester Leaks, who was introduced as representing Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslim movement, which favors complete segregation and seeks to gain government of the blacks by the blacks; William Worthy, a Negro journalist whose passport was withdrawn by the State Department after he made a forbidden trip to China; and Conrad J. Lynn, a defending lawyer in several Negro cases before Northern and Southern courts. A crowd of seven or eight hundred people had gathered around the platform, which partially obscured the front of a bookshop advertised as "The House of Common Sense and the Home of Proper Propaganda." (The store features books by and about Negroes, and is sponsored by a movement that favors the immediate return of Negro Americans to Africa.)

William Worthy was speaking when we arrived. He suggested the formation, by Negroes, of a Freedom Now Party, to propose Negro candidates for public offices. "Think about it," he said. "Talk about it. Kick the idea around. We may not win many offices, but with one out of ten Americans a 'Negro' [he apologized briefly for his use of this word, which is in disfavor among Black Muslims, who prefer the term "Afro-American"], we can make our voice heard in the land." There was applause when Mr. Worthy sat down, and he rose again to say a few more words. "Do you know what would happen if Fidel Castro were President of the United States instead of John F. Kennedy?" Mr. Worthy said. "Bull Connor would be given a fair trial and then shot. Ninety-five per cent of the police would have to flee to South Africa for political asylum. J. Edgar Hoover would be thrown into an *integrated* cell. If that didn't cure him, he would be left there for life." The crowd laughed and applauded.




Mr. Worthy sat down again, and the crowd continued to grow. The next speaker was Conrad Lynn, who, in a hoarse but articulate shout, heaped derision upon Martin Luther King. "King says, 'If blood flows, let it be our blood.' Well, I have news for him. There is going to be a lot of *white* blood flowing in this country—in the North and in the South—until the Negro is accepted as an American citizen. The law is an instrument of oppression. Take it from me; I'm a lawyer and I know. Well, we have guns, and we are going to make our presence felt. When Mayor Wagner refused to let us have this platform, I went as a member of a delegation to City Hall. A Negro policeman was among the whites barring our way—a stooge for the white Boss Man. Perspiration stood out on his brow. Well, we got this platform, and we are going to get our rights. This evening, at nine o'clock, we are going to have a celebration in honor of the victory of Jomo Kenyatta, in Africa. When this meeting is over, I want you all to line up for a protest march to the United Nations, and then to come with your flags to our celebration. I was at a meeting recently, down South, and some white man looked around and said, 'The niggers in this crowd outnumber us two to one!' He didn't count the 'niggers.' He was just scared. They're scared because they have a guilty conscience. Well, we have power, and

we're going to use it!" The crowd stamped and milled and became so restive that the five policemen who had been lounging on the fringes of the gathering shifted uneasily. One of the policemen left to make a telephone call.

Just then we spotted a friend in the crowd, a young Negro woman who has lived in Harlem all her life, and walked back with her to Lenox Avenue as another speaker began to shout.

"There's going to be trouble," our friend said. "The families of some of these people have been on relief for three generations. They have energy and no work on which to spend it. Every night now in Harlem, there's a rumor that some white policeman has abused a Negro. On a hot summer night, it wouldn't take much to set off a riot—not isolated violence but a kind of revolution. Five years ago, it was still a problem for social workers—jobs, education, housing in which children wouldn't wake up to find rats in their beds. Now something will have to be done on an enormous scale or there's going to be murder."

We walked into the restaurant of Muslim Temple No. 7, on Lenox Avenue, bought a copy of the Black Muslim newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, and sat down at a table.

A waiter came up to us and said, "I'm sorry. We don't serve integrated couples. Not since Birmingham."

"Should we stage a sit-in?" our friend asked us, half seriously.

"No," we replied, and went with her to have our coffee farther down the street.

•

WEST COAST INTELLIGENCE: On windy days, a San Francisco radio station issues "small-car warnings" for the Golden Gate Bridge.

## *Creative Chat*

EVERYONE knows that a book that is read in a few hours may have taken several years to write, but how many know that a three-day conference may be the fruit of a similar gestation? At any rate, that was the case with the Conference on Education for Creativity in the Sciences, being held this week at New York University, at which a hundred scientists, spearheaded by Jerome B. Wiesner, special assistant to President Kennedy for science and technology, are discussing such questions as:

Which educational practices tend to diminish and which to encourage scientific understanding and creativity?

How can students be further stimulated toward fruitful scientific activities?

What institutional environments will encourage individuals to perform most effectively in education, government, and industrial laboratories?

Is scientific creativity on the individual and institutional level being stimulated in other countries in ways that would be applicable and valuable here?

This powwow owes its existence to nearly five years of meetings held monthly during the academic year, on Saturdays, in the business office of Dr. Myron A. Coler, who is the director of the Creative Science Program of N.Y.U.'s Division of General Education and founder and president of the Markite Corporation, originators and manufacturers of conductive-plastic precision potentiometers. Oh, for an asterisk! A precision potentiometer is an electromechanical device, weighing anywhere from a fraction of an ounce to approximately twenty-five pounds, which converts changes in mechanical position (typically, the rotation of a shaft) into corresponding changes in electrical voltage.

Very well. We called, by appointment, on Dr. Coler in the Markite Corporation's offices, at 155 Waverly Place, and found him in a book-lined room, seated at a curved desk. A lean man with a mustache, wearing gray flannel trousers, a dark coat, and an alert, sensitive expression, he rose to greet us and, when we asked how about scientific creativity, began to pace around the room. "I have notebooks on the subject dating back to 1932," he said. "I became interested in the fact that one could have at one's disposal all the tools for making something but then never make it. How do you get to use the tools? In 1941, I became a consultant to N.Y.U.'s Division of General Education, and in 1956 Dean Paul A. McGhee, who likes to encourage non-academic research, said to me, 'How about some work on the subject of creativity in the sciences?' So I turned over some of my courses and took half a year to work out a program. I don't like this word 'creativity,' but when you look for substitutes you get neologisms. You might ask, Why another program? Well, I didn't think much of what had been done in the field, for the following reasons: One, my first area of worry was that it wasn't being properly approached on an interdisciplinary basis—engineers were talking to engineers, and so on. Two, the approach was too often anecdotal—the focussing on the achievements of an individual can utterly obscure what makes them happen. Three, there was a tendency to cite so-called outstanding creative people—Einsteins, Beethovens, Newtons—on whom (a) we don't always have sufficient information, and (b) who are so exceptional that what one learns about them may not be useful. And, four, there was a great deal of fudgy thinking in this creative area—people have often confused creativity with novelty."

Dr. C. sat down, stood up, and started to walk around again, in a rather small area. "I thought it would be good to get together an interdisciplinary group, not too large and not too small, of people who had *done* creative work and would be reasonably compatible," he said. "I got up a list of eighty-odd names, and from this there evolved a group of twelve, including me. All of them have at least two areas of strong interest and competence; I think you'll find that creative people are always more than one-dimensional."

Dr. C. handed us a list bearing, besides his own name, those of Dr. Nicholas E. Golovin, a member of President Kennedy's scientific advisory committee; Dr. H. Herbert Fox, senior chemist at Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc., manufacturers of pharmaceuticals; Dr. Harold W. Mohrman, director of research of the overseas division of the Monsanto Chemical Company; Dr. Anne Roe (Mrs. George Gaylord Simpson), professor of education at Harvard; Dr. Harold K. Hughes, professor of physics at Indiana State College; Dr. Ellis B. Blade, Markite consultant, and his wife, Dr. Mary Frances Blade, associate professor of mechanical engineering at Cooper Union; Dr. Morton I. Teicher, dean of the School of Social Work at Yeshiva University; and three N.Y.U. faculty members—Sidney G. Roth, director of the Office of Research Services; Russell F. W. Smith, associate dean of the Division of General Education; and Dr. Morris I. Stein, professor of psychology and director of the Research Center for Human Relations. "We meet in this room at nine-thirty in the morning, have coffee and cake, talk, argue, read and discuss papers, invite distinguished guests to talk, and generally concern ourselves with the problem of scientific creativity," he said. "What is it, how does it happen, how is it fostered—can it be isolated, measured, nurtured, predicted, directed, and so on. At twelve-thirty, we go out for a rather long lunch at one of five restaurants in the neighborhood; I think this promotes a continuing flow of discussion better than having a box lunch sent in. We come back around two-thirty for another couple of hours or so. We've focussed our discussions on

VJ, PAV, MLV, BAJ

R+R Rel.



# THE WORLD □ AMERICAN SURVEY

## Race Against Violence

WASHINGTON, DC

SOME people in America are saying that racial segregation died when Mr " Bull " Connor loosed dogs on Negroes in Birmingham. This remains very much to be seen. The sort of extremism that the Governor of Alabama chose to personify this week may be a dying gasp. Nevertheless, over civil rights President Kennedy faces the challenge that has been lying in wait for him from the start. This is to fight with passion for an imaginative and generous racial policy which he believes to be right. The unworthy alternative is to sound the alarm that the Negroes are getting out of hand but to try to devise some solidly cautious formula that will keep the country at least a step ahead of violence, without risking a real showdown with southern and other conservatives—and without getting to the real roots of the racial tumult.

Perhaps there is a lesson for the Administration in the plight of southern businessmen who are discovering that they are damned if they do and damned if they don't. If they give equal treatment to everyone in their shops, theatres and restaurants, the White Citizens' Councils and other segregationist groups attack and boycott them; if they refuse to do so they become the targets of Negro demonstrations and boycotts. This, however, means that at least they have not much more to lose by doing what is morally right than by persisting in what is clearly wrong.

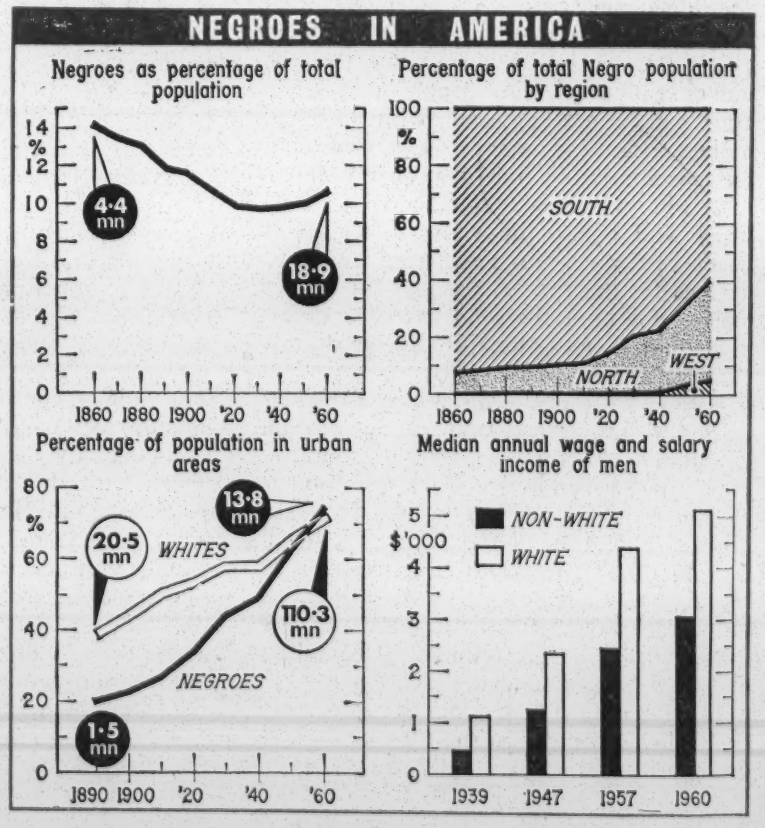
In his broadcast on Tuesday, President Kennedy appealed to the hearts of his fellow Americans, not just to their heads or their pocket-books. Nevertheless, many liberals dread that the American dilemma may be falsely resolved by further instalments of what has come to be called tokenism. They feel certain that token concessions cannot solve anything as far as the Negroes are concerned and may well aggravate Negro unrest. Vice-President Johnson expressed the matter well when he said at Gettysburg that " to ask patience from the Negro is to ask for more of what he has already given enough." But will Mr Johnson and other Administration leaders go all out against the southern determination to talk to death legislative proposals that will bring about really significant changes if these are introduced in Congress ?

Unhappily the factor chiefly favouring the passage through Congress of decisive legislation is the grave prospect of further violence. Even white Southerners now shrink from that extreme of their own peculiar logic. They have been made aware that more and more Negroes are unwilling to submit any longer, without putting up a fight, to outrages, daily humiliations or murders such as that in Mississippi this week. As one Negro leader has said, Negro demonstrators are " sitting down " because they are tired of being made to feel ashamed of being black. Gradualism is in disfavour with increasing numbers of Negroes, not without reason. Since the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 on racial desegregation in schools, Negroes have spent millions of dollars and suffered many hardships to have that decision implemented. But at the rate at which this is being done—viewed by many southern whites as alarmingly fast—it is claimed that it will take another ninety-three years to end the colour bar in education. Yet the issue in the schools has ceased to be one of abstract justice and has become a life and death matter for Negroes. Automation threatens to shut them out permanently from almost any job unless they can improve their standard of education. Fear and frustration regarding not their own but their children's futures are what chiefly embitter them.

To offer tokenism to Negroes in this mood is to wave a red rag at a bull. A few Negroes inducted at bayonet point into hitherto lily-white southern universities will not bring about the change of heart for which the President appealed. Nor is opening even a swimming pool to Negroes the epoch-making event Atlanta, Georgia, seems to think it is. Negroes are looking for bigger changes than these. It is said, for instance, that Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in American life. The churches have failed to lead. And, while some southern Chambers of Commerce have evidently been nagged by the ugliness of their communities' public image into deciding that the more blatant and brutal segregationist upholders of " law and order " have become expendable, cities like Birmingham do not yet seem to have repented to the point of displaying either generosity or conspicuous courage.

Belated recognition that racial tension is bad for business does not clear the channels of communication that have become so sadly clogged. The biracial committees now being touted as a worthwhile approach to the South's problems are in fact a device that is at least thirty-five years old. Yet the Mississippi advisory committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, consisting entirely of Mississippians, recently expressed " profound shock " at the extent to which Negroes are denied the protection of the law in that state. People who did not know about this did not know many Negroes.

One result of the lack of communication is deep Negro suspicion of almost any white proposal. All too often such suspicion may be soundly based and it has to be taken into account even when it is exaggerated. The Attorney General, Mr Robert Kennedy, was almost certainly right when he said that a real



**SPANISH HOOTCH**

# Bad Cheer in Galicia

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

FOR the northern tourist, enchanted by the sampling that even a modest purchase entails, the Spanish wine shop is a splendid institution. For many a Spaniard, wondering how much water—or worse—has leaked into those imposing arrays of barrels, it is an argument in favour of drinking beer. The argument is particularly strong in Galicia, at the north-west tip of Spain. During the last few weeks, semi-official sources have attributed more than thirty deaths and many cases of partial paralysis and blindness—some occurring as far away as the Canary islands—to doctored Galician liqueurs, notably the *licor café* and the *aguardiente de hierbas*. The fatal ingredient in these "drinks of death" has been found to be methyl alcohol, and the same poison has been found in Galician vinegar and tinned conserves.

An official, quoted by the Barcelona *Trade Review*, has estimated that the 450 million gallons of wine drunk in Spain in 1961 had been "baptised" with up to 25 million gallons of water. The wine sold for consumption by tourists probably suffers most: in one coastal hotel, a white wine which had begun life with a strength of about 14 degrees was registering barely 10 degrees by the time it reached the dinner table. But even the *vino corriente* drunk in Spanish homes contains, Spaniards say, "almost as much water as the milk."

Having "baptised" his wares, a distiller or *bodega* owner may add inferior alcohol to maintain their nominal strength; he may even base an entire product on dubious alcohol acquired cheaply from a backyard supplier. Barkeepers and their clients will call the stuff "*mata-rata*" (rat-poison), or worse, but—barring accidents—there will be no lack of outlets for it in the bleaker industrial areas. Unfortunately, in Galicia accidents have abounded.

Local authorities, fearing the impact of the Galician scandal on the region's exports and tourist trade, tried briefly to hush it up. The police tended to snap when barmen and topers telephoned or called personally, bottle in hand, asking for advice. The judge appointed to supervise a special enquiry was thought at first to be unduly secretive and was accused, by rumour, of trying to cover for certain influential personalities. But since the beginning of May, the Galician press has been allowed to report the affair fully and the police have coped valiantly with the hundreds of samples of apéritifs, liqueurs and vinegars delivered to them for analysis. Eight arrests have been made, thousands of alcoholic drinks confiscated, and the names of offending firms have been publicised.

For good measure, the press has informed its readers how to test their drinks chemically for traces of methyl alcohol. *Los compradores de alcoholes no deben dejarse sorprender* ("purchasers of alcohol should not let themselves be surprised") is the warning headline to a recent article. No self-respecting barman is now without his test-tube, filter-papers, sulphuric acid, potassium permanganate, potassium dichromate and spirit lamp. Even so, sales of spirits and liqueurs dropped seriously in almost every Spanish province last month.

**INDIA**

# Disputed Power

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA

PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN, who arrived in Britain for an official visit on Wednesday, is generally thought to hold a position under the Indian constitution like that of the monarchy in Britain. This view is challenged in a recent book by Dr K. M. Munshi, "The President under the Indian Constitution." As one of the architects of the Indian constitution, Dr Munshi attempts to prove that the president is a good deal more than a formal head of state. Dr Munshi played a leading part in the drafting committee of the constituent assembly which organised the Indian system of government; he was later minister of food, and is now an elderly but still scintillating light of the right-wing Swatantra party.

His book argues that the constituent assembly neither created nor intended to create a powerless president. It granted the president much more freedom of action (some members feared too much) than the British crown enjoys; in particular, the president is not bound to accept cabinet advice. The cabinet, constitutionally, is to "aid and advise," and suggestions for a formal provision that the president must accept its advice have, during the drafting of the constitution and since, always been rejected. The president's authority depends on specific powers, rather than on traditional sentiment. He can be impeached, which implies personal responsibility. He can refuse his assent to bills. He has certain legislative powers, and authority in an emergency distinct from his normal executive powers.

The core of these arguments, which do not convince most constitutional lawyers in India, is that the president has sworn an oath to defend the constitution and should have the power to do so, even at the cost of overriding the cabinet. Dr Munshi's purpose is political. On the face of it the book merely continues an argument that has been conducted among lawyers since the late president, Dr Rajendra Prasad, raised the same questions some three years ago. But its appearance now (it was written early this year) is no accident.

During the crisis last autumn, several voices on the Right suggested that the nation should look for salvation not to the prime minister but to the president. This doctrine rose partly from sincere patriotism, partly from political frustration. It did not get very far: the Queen need not fear that the president will start pouring a private foreign policy into her ear. But it is a reminder that presidential influence did play a substantial part in the removal of Mr Krishna Menon.

**PERU**

# Along the Inca Road

SINCE he is not yet on the army's black list, Sr Belaúnde Terry, who, according to unofficial results, won more than a third of the votes at last Sunday's general elections, will probably be allowed to take over as Peru's next president. His two rivals were Sr Haya de la Torre, the veteran leader of the Apra party, who won the most votes at the elections last year which the army quashed, and General Odría, who ran Peru in an authoritarian manner in the early nineteen-fifties. General Odría, who came third on the list, has already conceded victory to Sr Belaúnde; the Apra leaders are pointing to fraudulent goings-on in one of the areas from which they expected most support.

Sr Belaúnde is a youngish architect whose main political philosophy, so far, has been rather fuzzily based on the reopening of the ancient Inca highways. As president, he may surprise people. His middle-class following tended to fall off after his rather theatrical and bellicose response to the army's seizure of power a year ago. His Popular Action party calls itself left-wing; it may now have become so.

The check on whatever Sr Belaúnde hopes to do will still be the army. The older and more senior officers, while nursing their old vendetta against Sr Haya de la Torre, will probably be content if things in Peru go on much as before. But many of the younger officers, colonels and below, are becoming impatiently aware that unless there is reform there may well be revolution. Seeing themselves as Young Turks (or Nasserites, which is now the more fashionable term) they ache for an opportunity to take over from a system of government which they believe to be bungling, ineffectual and corrupt. Many Peruvians, who are not as a general rule well disposed towards the military, might be inclined to agree with them.

solution of the racial problem will come only when all Americans recognise the struggle for civil rights as involving them personally. Yet it is feared by Negroes and white liberals that this might mean patiently waiting for local authorities to experience a change of heart. The Administration may seek power for the Attorney General to institute suits to end racial segregation in the schools unless local authorities themselves come forward with plans to do this which satisfy Washington. But some liberals fear that Washington might be satisfied too easily by plans for token desegregation only.

Hitherto local authorities have been only too successful in dodging or defying federal rulings and laws aimed at racial segregation. Even Supreme Court Justices have seemed to be painfully climbing trees, encumbered by their robes, in order to try to catch birds. But the segregation birds they sought to trap have merely flown off into other branches and continue to flaunt themselves there. This spectacle, much to the fore over the past nine years, has benefited neither the law nor the Constitution. Therefore the Administration may now try sterner measures and over a wider front. But a law that seeks to prevent the exclusion of anyone from public places because of race will have difficulty getting through Congress. Progress has undoubtedly been made with registering Negro voters and the Administration hopes by this means eventually to break the South's ultra-conservative Democratic chieftains or to make them bend and in doing so to alter drastically the South's political structure. Yet it is doubted if this can be achieved in under twenty-five years unless federal voting registrars are introduced all over the deep South's rural counties. This would be resisted fiercely.

Mr Robert Kennedy has said that the situation of Negroes in northern cities is just as serious as that of the Negroes in the South and has called for what he describes as really drastic action. The northern situation has been aggravated by the exodus of Negroes from southern conditions. In the North it is not lack of voting rights that holds the Negroes back but economic discrimination which is practised against them by, among others, the powerful but predominantly white trade unions. The Negroes themselves, like these white trade unions, are well on the way to becoming a powerful pressure group. But, recalling the bloody labour strife of the quite recent American past, this prognosis is not entirely reassuring. The Administration may well be compelled to act as boldly as President Kennedy did over Cuba, if the centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation is not to witness a sort of restaging of the Civil War.

# Testing a Fresh Start

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S public reseizing of the initiative in international affairs, by his announcement on Monday that a fresh start is to be made in the negotiations with Russia on banning nuclear tests, gives him an opportunity of raising the question of a test ban to a new level both in Moscow and in Washington and of trying out the strength of the conciliatory approaches on the subject which have come to him from both cities recently. Incidently, he has also now a good justification for the discussions with Mr Macmillan which he could hardly have avoided on his trip to Europe without rejecting an old friend.

While Mr Khrushchev's readiness to have the nuclear negotiations taken out of the stale atmosphere of Geneva does not necessarily mean that a final breakdown is less likely, it does prove that he still wants to develop his contacts with the West ; this view, supported by the surprising freedom with which American experts have recently been allowed to visit Soviet atomic installations, will be confirmed if, as expected, agreement is reached this week on the details of the direct telephone link between Mr Kennedy and Mr Khrushchev. By choosing to head the new test ban talks someone as well liked in Moscow and as famous for his success in negotiations with the Russians as Mr Averell Harriman, Mr Kennedy has indicated that he is really anxious to achieve success this time too. His good faith is also demonstrated by his announcement that the United States will refrain from nuclear testing in the atmosphere as long as other countries do the same.

This promise will appeal particularly to Americans, who have just been warned that radio-active fall-out over the United States will go up substantially this summer as a result of the intensive atomic tests carried out last year. Although the public is assured, not entirely convincingly, that the increase will not be harmful, concern over it is one reason for the recent proposal from Senators Dodd and Humphrey, usually on opposite sides on this issue, that negotiations should concentrate on banning atmospheric tests, which are responsible for fall-out, leaving the relatively harmless underground tests until later. While the Russians have refused to consider such a solution, the fact that it has widespread bipartisan support suggests that the chances for getting a test ban treaty through the Senate may be improving, even though Republican criticisms of Mr Kennedy's new approach make it clear that the congressional struggle would be bitter. But, even if nothing comes of the re-examination in Moscow, the President's admirable speech on Monday—far more admirable than most American commentators seem to have realised—will at least have pinned responsibility for failure once more on the Soviet Union.

# Shocks and SSTs

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE supersonic transport is fast becoming the only type of aircraft in the world to be both preceded and followed by shock waves of damaging proportions. No such aircraft is built in America and none may be for another seven to ten years but the shock of Pan American World Airways' unexpected order for six 1,500 miles-an-hour Anglo-French Concord transports was so great that President Kennedy himself was moved last week to try to repair the damage to the prestige of the American aircraft industry. In a hasty insertion into a speech delivered shortly after the Pan American order had been made public, the President said that he had decided to ask Congress for enough money to build at least one experimental prototype of a supersonic design yet to be decided upon. If, after testing, this American SST is found to be "superior" to that being built by any other country, production will go ahead. But, the President added, "if these initial phases do not produce an aircraft capable of transporting people and goods safely, swiftly and at prices the traveller can afford and the airlines find profitable, we shall not go further."

In view of the firm commitment of Britain and France definitely to build a dozen or more supersonic aircraft, the President's caution has dismayed some observers. By thus delaying the final SST decision he and his principal adviser on aviation, Mr Najeeb Halaby, have condemned the United States to start production at least two years late. Not only will the Concord be in service well ahead of any American supersonic transport but the Russians are also known to be working on a similar aircraft and for propaganda reasons they will make every effort to score first—even if their SST turns out to be no more than a much-modified version of one of their jet bombers.

Critics, both in aviation and elsewhere, have been making much of the lagging pace of the supersonic transport effort in the United States but these critics, at home and overseas, overlook two important factors which dominate American thinking about the SST. The first is that at this point the United States has perhaps

LWD, VJ, PA, ML, SB, BP

R&R Rel. Newsweek



# Changing Attitudes In the White South

Man and boy, by birth and by choice, Federal Judge Seybourn H. Lynne was an Alabamian. But the question before him had long since been settled: no governor may defy a U.S. court order. And so, two days after hearing the case of U.S. vs. George C. Wallace in Birmingham, the silver-thatched judge enjoined Alabama's governor—*his* governor—from carrying out his vow to turn three Negro applicants away from the University of Alabama—*his* alma mater—when they arrive this week.

But, for two poignant paragraphs at the close of his opinion, Lynne departed from the impersonal voice of the law to speak for himself. "May it be forgiven if this court makes use of the personal pronoun for the first time," he wrote: "I love the people of Alabama. I know that many of both races are troubled and, like Jonah of old, 'angry even unto death' . . . My prayer is that all of our people, in keeping with our finest traditions, will join in the resolution that law and order will be maintained."

It was the prayer of a deeply disturbed South in a changing season. Spring was ebbing softly into summer, dappling the mountains green and gold, lighting the wild backwaters with lemon lilies and butterfly weed, setting the cultivators out into the dusty cotton fields. But a thornier harvest lay ahead. This was the summer of the Negro's discontent, a season of mounting pressure from Washington, from the North, and from mass-marching Negroes at home.

It would find the South at once united and divided, resigned and resistant, worried enough to yield a few steps, angry and fearful enough to be dangerous.

**The Choice:** Increasingly, the bent of the South's business and political leaders has been to keep the peace, even at the price of some desegregation. But they have given grudgingly, moved more by resignation and fear than by conscience, more by the dictates of good business than good morals. And, more often than not, they have given just enough—a hotel or a classroom here, a park or a lunch counter there—to buy time. Now, some are skittish and angry over the mounting Negro demands for more. Are they up to those demands? If not, the advocates of all-out defiance are waiting. These diehards are confident that the Negroes are playing into their hands and will at last be betrayed by their own rising militancy, uniting all whites against them.

Whatever the effects may be, militancy is bustin' out all over—and throughout the South, whites are finding it at once bewildering and provocative and frightening. To a Columbia, S.C., liquor dealer, it was like trying to crash a country club uninvited: "What are they gaining to be allowed in a place where they're not wanted or accepted?" To a retired assistant fire chief on New Orleans' modest Irish Channel riverfront, it meant the old order of things was changing: "They seem to have a contempt for us poor whites now. They don't make way on the sidewalk for the whites as they used to." To a Jackson businessman, it meant the South no longer knew its Negroes quite so well as it thought: "The Negro may still give you that nodding, servile sort of expression, but now you wonder what he's really thinking. Not only are we now afraid he hates our guts, but we are afraid he may be able to do something about it."

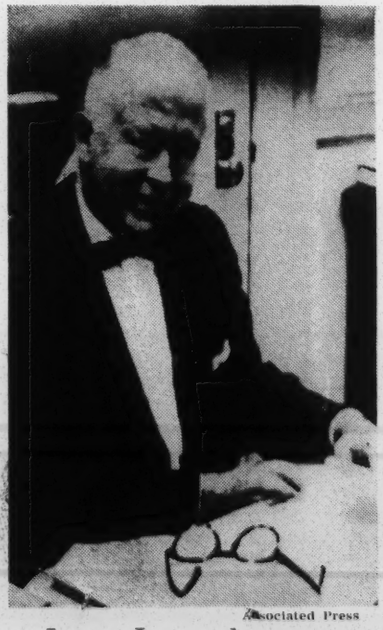
Mills Cowling

**Bitter-enders: Wallace (in dark glasses) and Barnett**

And to a Mississippi state legislator, it was plain topsy-turvy. "I rode a mule to school in Jackson 40 years ago," he says, "and I had a nigger mammy from New Orleans that almost raised me. We treated our niggers good. When they got in jail, they came to us to get 'em out. When they got sick, we got the doctor for 'em. The niggers just aren't ready to take care of themselves, even today . . . But all this pushing and shoving . . ."

Certainly, the South is still segregationist at heart. Incredulous at the spreading Negro rebellion, it still reflexively blames someone else for its troubles—the Kennedys, the Supreme Court, "outside agitators," Communists, the Northern press. But its own conscience has grown a bit prickly—more so than Southerners like to admit outside the family. "My wife is a strong segregationist," one Birmingham cement contractor told another over coffee in a Montgomery, Ala., motel. "She says once you give in to 'em, where's it gonna stop? But I don't know. We say we like the Negro in his place. But . . . look at what his place is."

"Oh, sure," conceded his colleague, a stauncher segregationist. "I guess if I was a nigger I'd be doing the same thing."



Associated Press

**Lynne: Love and a prayer**

**Conscience:** Others see the point, too. It struck an Atlanta architect on a construction site one day. "I saw the privies built, good toilets, with signs, one for white, one for colored. Then I looked at the white carpenters eating lunch in one spot and the Negroes in another, and I thought for the first time, 'Why should this be?'" And a Mississippian, afraid to identify himself, told NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming: "We keep saying, 'Nigger, you're happy, you hear? You're happy.' We say we've had 100 years of peace side by side with the Negro. But . . . it's been above and below."

Conscience apart, the mind of the South has grown increasingly fatalistic about change. By pollster George Gallup's count, the idea that desegregation is inevitable

grew from a 45 per cent minority view just before the 1957 Little Rock crisis to a 76 per cent consensus in 1961. "You spit into the Pacific for so long," a Little Rock businessman said sourly, "but when you notice no change in the tide, you sort of get discouraged."

And violence is a chastening experience. A subdued Ole Miss—bloodied by rioting over the admission of James H. Meredith last fall—enrolled its second Negro student last week without so much as a shout in anger. Tailed by an Army helicopter and a reconnaissance plane, Cleve McDowell, 21, an honor graduate of all-Negro Jackson State College, drove up from Jackson with two U.S. marshals and checked quietly into the law school. Gov. Ross Barnett's segregationist brain trusters—among them Citizens Council chieftain William J. (Mustache Bill) Simmons—pressed him to go to Oxford and resist. But university officials—worried about accreditation—helped persuade him to stay home, where he contented himself with an angry TV apologia: "The state of Mississippi cannot cope with the U.S. Army . . ."

**Quixotic:** In Alabama, even some of Wallace's admirers were troubled by his plans to stand guard personally on the last totally segregated state school system in the U.S. Injunction or no, he meant to go through with his plans even though it might "involve my personal freedom." But hardly anyone thought he could win. "Everybody understands it's a very quixotic thing he's doing," a friend conceded, "and they love him for it. But no one is fooled by its efficacy."

Indeed, the Wallaces and the Barnetts are a dying breed in the statehouses of the South. White defiance still runs deep in rural Dixie, in the black-belt towns and farmlands where the Negro population is high. But the South has been moving from the country to the city, leaving some of its heaviest ideological baggage behind. The urban South is acutely hungry for industry—and increasingly aware that race trouble is bad for business. Accordingly, it has softened the tone of Southern leadership—a shift that has been dryly characterized as Babbittry replacing bigotry.

More and more, the politicians have moved with the change. Most of the South's governors are moderates of one or another stripe, ranging from North Carolina's progressive Terry Sanford to Georgia's Carl Sanders, a law-and-order segregationist. Even Arkansas's Orval Faubus won his fifth term as the middle-roader in a field of six.

The erosion of farm-weighted election laws in the South under Federal court pressure is likely to accelerate the trend. It was the city vote—liberated by the courts from Georgia's old county-unit primary system—that plumped hardest for Sanders against former Gov. Marvin Griffin, who preached segregation with both cracker barrels. Even Ol' Marv thought defiance had its limits ("Being in jail kind of crimps a governor's style") but he had missed the real point. "Segregation," said one official with a surer instinct for survival, "is certainly not the issue it used to be."

**Chipping Walls:** Nor is it the inviolable faith it used to be. Negroes are swimming with whites in Durham, N.C., golfing with whites in Atlanta, going to movies with whites in Nashville, driving buses in Memphis. The pressure of Negro demonstrations—and the specter of Birmingham—are chipping the walls still more. Sometimes, where the climate is right, the rhetoric of change is explicitly moral. After a wave of demonstrations in Durham, N.C., Mayor R. Wense Grabarek—barely in office when the marching began—helped nudge through the desegregation of all the city's hotels, half its restaurants, and many of its downtown hiring offices. "I believe most of you will agree with me that the days of inaction are past," he said. "The time is here for us to re-examine our moral, social, and economic consciences."

Most often, however, appeals to conscience have proven less potent than appeals to pragmatic dollar-sense. When

Harold Moore-Durham Morning Herald

The new Dixie: Swimmers in Durham . . .

Gerald Holly-Nashville Tennessean

. . . moviegoers in Nashville . . .

Darrell Thompson

. . . and golfers on a public green in Atlanta

Atlanta's Chamber of Commerce came out for desegregation of all businesses serving the public, one official remarked: "The men who voted on that are not integrationists and they are not 'segs.' They are hardheaded businessmen." And Charles Grigg, a Florida State University sociologist who has studied biracial bargaining committees, concluded: "The trouble with getting professional civil-rights people in on these negotiations is that they always want to bring in brotherly love. And brotherly love has nothing to do with the terms of negotiation."

In that pragmatic spirit, white Birmingham businessmen—dealing mostly with Negro Birmingham businessmen—bartered a few grudging promises of token desegregation for peace. And after the Little Rock blowup, efforts to attract new industry ground to a standstill until after a moderate new school board had taken over, reopened the high schools Orval Faubus had closed, and quietly integrated them. "If the politicians would stay out of the act," said Everett Tucker Jr., the old-family segregationist businessman who heads the school board, "business leaders would solve the problem much quicker."

Most Southerners—even Southern moderates—seem sadly short on understanding of the meaning of the Negro's pursuit of that brightly feathered will-o'-the-wisp he calls freedom. "The Negro is making quite a push to prove some kind of point," an Atlanta industrialist who backed the Chamber of Commerce desegregation proposal told NEWSWEEK's Joseph Cumming. "I think the white man's reaction has been, 'Gee, we didn't realize'." Nor did the industrialist understand that the point might be more important to the Negroes than the privilege. "I don't believe they're going to eat in those restaurants in any great numbers," he said. "They're going back to turnip greens and pot liquor as soon as the people who brought the issue up have left town."

Moderates commonly complain that the Negro is pushing too hard, that he wants too much too soon, that progress would come in good time without pressure from Negroes or from Washington. "Nonsense," snorted publisher Ralph McGill, pacing his office at The Atlanta Constitution, hands jammed in his pockets and an unfinished column waiting in his typewriter. "There never has been any gain without Federal pressure or social and economic pressure."

**Calculated Risk:** If there is indeed a danger that pressure might alienate moderates, it is a risk the Negroes are prepared to take. Their leaders have felt a growing disaffection for the moderate, anyway, and they have come to regard his stock in trade—token integration—as little more than a subtler form of resistance.

The moderates are under even stiffer attack from the bitter-enders. While office girls stuffed envelopes and retailed lapel pins proclaiming NEVER (for 10 cents) in the anteroom outside, Mustache Bill Simmons, the *éminence blanche* of the Mississippi Citizens Councils, told a visitor last week: "The militancy of these demands makes the moderate position virtually untenable. It's all right when the Negroes talk in vague generalities about human dignity, rights, and all that stuff. But when they get bricks flying and a chanting mass streaming through the streets, it makes the liberals think." Yet, having won some concessions, the Negroes are unlikely to stop. "It's not human nature to be satisfied with half a loaf when you can get the whole loaf."

So militant whites—one Ole Miss professor calls them White Muslims—confidently watch the sparks of racial trouble flying about the North, waiting for a blowup that would bring the rest of the U.S. into step with them. "We're in a holding action," says Erle Johnston, director of Mississippi's anti-integration agitprop agency, the State Sovereignty Commission. "The more incidents that occur in the North, the more people begin to face the problem we have been facing, the more allies we get for a return to constitutional government." And Mississippi, at least, is dug in to await reinforcements. "The Federal government is going to have to take every inch of ground it gets in Mississippi," Johnston said.

With Wallace's own house divided in Alabama, Mississippi is indeed the last Southern state that belongs lock, stock, and statehouse to the bitter-enders. Of all the states of the Old Confederacy, Mississippi remains the poorest, the least urban, the most heavily populated with Negroes—and the most intransigent.

**Bennie Knows:** Despite Cleve McDowell's peaceful arrival last week, the Ole Miss explosion last fall had only hardened the lines. The Jackson Citizens Council—5,000 strong then—has logged in 1,000 new members since. The Sovereignty Commission cranked out a report praising the student rioters who "fought the enemy invaders barehanded, just as the Hungarians did when armed might was used to destroy them." In Mississippi, a candidate for lieutenant governor could—and did—sign on as a campaign worker the ex-cop, Bennie Oliver, who kicked a Negro demonstrator in a Jackson dime store two weeks ago—because Oliver "knows how to handle the racial problem."

"We don't have any moderates in Mississippi," a lawyer said, sipping black coffee in the den of his colonnaded Jackson home. "I don't think there's room for 'em."

Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**Mustache Bill Simmons: The lapel pins said NEVER**

That was one voice of a troubled South in a troubled season. George Wallace's—promising to call out the National Guard to "preserve the peace"—was another. And so was the anxious voice of a Raleigh, N.C., city judge—the voice of a South groping for answers.

Before Judge Pretlow Winborne were two young Negroes, arrested when they tried to sit in the white section of a segregated theater. The judge found them guilty of trespassing. But that didn't close the case.

"What they're really guilty of," he said, "is trying to be somebody, and who can deny them that right? When one sets about to do this, can it be done by intimidation, force, economic pressure? . . . No, never, it cannot be bought, nor can they be forced on somebody else.

"On the other side of the coin, the question could well be asked, where someone waits and desires earnestly to have respect, dignity, to live with esteem in his community, should not everything be done to give him that atmosphere . . . [in which] he can achieve his goals? If not, how does anyone expect him to achieve his goals?"

Judge Winborne paused.

"The answer is not here today," he said. "I wish to the Lord it were."

INDICTMENTS:

## Hoffa Again

In his time, James Riddle Hoffa, boss of the Teamsters union, has beaten such raps as wiretapping and fraud. Even in Attorney General Robert Kennedy's time, he has been dented so far by nothing worse than a hung jury (on charges of taking payoffs from an employer) while the Justice Department has scored 69 convictions on 149 indictments of his Teamsters associates. But Hoffa, currently under indictment for jury tampering, was hit last week by yet another indictment—and there were indications that this was the one that Hoffa-hunting Bobby Kennedy had been waiting for.

The latest, 53 pages and 28 counts long, was returned by a Federal grand jury in Chicago. It charged that Hoffa and seven real estate developers had conspired to defraud the sprawling (200,000 members in 22 states), spiraling ($200 million) Central States Teamsters Pension Fund by misusing $20 million in loans for fourteen projects in six states from Florida to California.

The Teamsters boss himself was accused of "fraud, deceit, misrepresentation," and of "overreaching" as a trustee of the pension fund in order to obtain rubber-stamping of the loans by fifteen fellow trustees, none of whom were indicted. All the defendants were charged with having relieved the borrowers of cash, stock options, and stock as "finders fees" and with having diverted approximately $1 million worth of the fraudulent loans for their personal purposes.

The coast-to-coast investigation of Teamsters trust funds was begun the week Robert Kennedy took office in January 1961. To direct what became a team of six U.S. attorneys and twelve FBI legmen, he picked Charles Zellender Smith, 36, a slender, soft-spoken Negro attorney with a tested talent for coming up with hard facts. As deputy prosecutor for King County (Seattle) he had come up with enough of them to put Hoffa's predecessor, Dave Beck, in prison for embezzlement. Though a Republican, Smith passed the Kennedy test: "He's good and we want him."

**Reappraising Files:** After following the trail to Chicago, Special Attorney Smith set up shop last August in a dingy, three-room office a few blocks from the city's Federal building. Within a week he put out dozens of subpoenas and ordered cartons of records lugged into the grand jury. Among them were some intriguing files from Real Estate Research Corp., Chicago's leading appraisal firm and adviser on the free-wheeling deals favored by trustees of the truckers' fund.

With such research, Smith was able to convince the grand jury that Hoffa and his co-defendants had repeatedly misrepresented the facts in making loan applications—in person, on the phone, or in writing—and always with the object of milking the fund of enough to take some cream off the top.

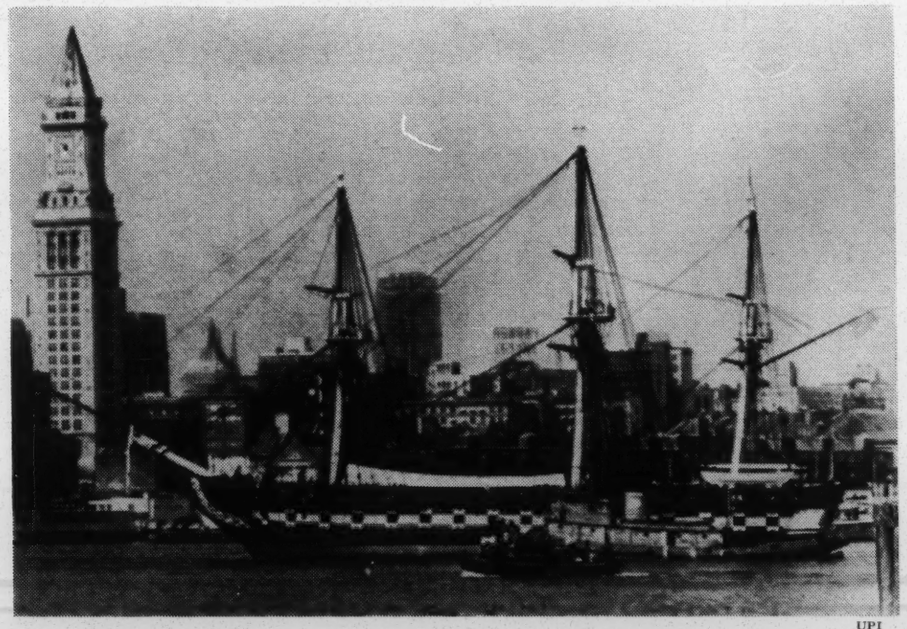
Among the instances of alleged hornswoggling which are richly detailed in the indictment:

▶Hoffa allegedly told Real Estate Research that $750,000 in debentures had been sold to raise money for North Miami General Hospital and that sponsors of the project had $200,000 in cash. He was accused of telling fund trustees that $500,000 had been spent adding a floor to the hospital and that Dade County had agreed to match any Teamsters loan. The fund approved a $2 million loan, but the government charged: no debentures sold, no cash, no new floor, no agreement.

▶A $3.3 million loan was made to First Berkeley Corp., New York, after fund trustees were told it had a net worth of $3.6 million. The government contended the corporation was worth less than $5,000. When the company was negotiating purchase of some buildings in Los Angeles, trustees were told the properties had been appraised at $4.2 million. No such appraisal was ever made, according to the government.

The indictment also accused Hoffa of diverting $100,000 from loans to extricate himself from the wreckage of the "Teamsters' model city of tomorrow," in Sun Valley, Fla. The head-on crash of this idyllic retirement project resulted in a Federal fraud indictment against him—a case that has been dropped because aspects of it are "necessarily embodied" in the indictment returned in Chicago.

Hoffa, who may well be developing a prosecution complex, got the news of the government's latest blast while planning to fly to Nashville for arraignment this week on charges of tampering with the hung jury in the extortion case in which he faces a retrial. His reaction, according to one of his lawyers: "He says he doesn't understand it. He's absolutely at a loss." What he stands to lose if convicted on the 28 counts of the Chicago indictment is $37,000 in fines and 140 years of his time in jail.



UPI

**Old Ironsides:** *As tugs maneuvered the 166-year-old U.S.S. Constitution at her Boston pier she sailed into a squall. Sen. Edward Kennedy wanted her at the New York World's Fair to do more for Massachusetts tourism; Bostonians feared she'd founder. Kennedy promised: "No storm will sink her, no New York pirate will steal her."*

SUPREME COURT:

## Stormy Water

"The present case . . . will, I think, be marked as the baldest attempt by judges in modern times to spin their own philosophy into the fabric of the law, in derogation of the will of the legislature."

The biting words spoken against the U.S. Supreme Court last week came not from a last-ditch states' righter but from liberal Justice William O. Douglas in his dissent from the majority in the Colorado River water-rights case. What's more, his bitter language was directed against his long-time associate and legal ally on the Court, Hugo L. Black, who wrote the opinion upholding Arizona's rights over California's.

For some 40 years, California and Arizona have been squabbling over the

EMMET JOHN HUGHES

# Letter to a Governor

Gov. George C. Wallace
The State House
Montgomery, Ala.

Sir:

You are right about a couple of things.

You are right that the North abounds in "citadels of hypocrisy." You can point to a New York, racially supposed to be quite an "open city"—with no less than 117 city schools whose 90 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments proclaim *de facto* segregation, as the whites quicken their flight to suburban racial shelters. You can point, too, to those lily-white labor unions whose leaders prate liberalism but practice discrimination. You can point to national unemployment statistics measuring the impact of automation—with a Negro jobless rate double the white—and forcing many a Negro to eye the machine as his most modern and ingenious foe.

You are right that the Negroes have broken, with regrettable success, at least one white monopoly: the preachment of racism. And even apart from raging Black Muslims, you might slyly cite—in your own defense—an occasional, inflamed Negro lament, as when a James Baldwin cries: "There's no difference between the North and South. There's just a difference in the way they castrate you."

You would be right, too, if you blandly noted that the Federal government prepared for the racial storm with little more than a policy of waiting-for-the-dust-to-rise.

You are, in these few things, right—partly.

You are, in all else, wrong—preposterously and destructively.

You are wrong about the law.

You castigated the Federal courts as "lousy" and "irresponsible." They wholly lack, in your elegant language, "the legal brains to try a chicken thief." So you have proven your superior competence by issuing the laughable judgment: "I am the law."

You are wrong—almost blasphemously—about freedom.

You insist that nothing around you threatens to "destroy" freedom but "the omnipotent march" of Federal power. In your neighbor-state of Mississippi, you discern no menace to freedom as Negroes are bombed, clubbed, or herded in garbage trucks to hog-wire enclosures. In your own state, your obstinate defiance alone summons the very Federal power you profess to dread.

You are wrong—willfully—about the South.

As for the Negro South, you etch in fantasy, as a model for the nation and a sanctuary for the black man, the "little country town" of Alabama—even though Negro emigration from this bucolic paradise has sped on so that nearly half the nation's 19 million Negroes now live outside the South. As for the white South, you recently ventured a remarkable observation: "There's a lot of prejudice and bias against us Southerners." To decry such uncharitable feelings in Negro voters or other critics in the North appears roughly as rational as to accuse Jews of showing "bias" toward anti-Semites.

You are wrong—most pathetically—when judged just by your own aims.

Yours is a stubborn, tedious exercise in self-defeat. You decry Communism, grieving that American Communists are "using" Negroes. The grief is wholly misdirected: it is the *whites* of Alabama who are being used—literally and rejoicingly—by Communist propaganda the world over. You denounce compromise on integration: "There isn't any middle of the road. You're either for it or against it." And so you state the case of Negro leaders for whom all appeals to "gradualism" and "tokenism" have become unbearable affronts. The only genius of your hate is to liven what you would kill.

And all this achieves the ultimate fantasy—the vision of yourself, gallantly alone, beating back the onrushing, outnumbering horde. You are wrong again. You are not alone. You are not even unusual. You belong to an old and populous breed: the race of men from all continents and all ages who imagine that the way to master reality is to defy it.

You are a French *colon*, incongruously moved from Algeria to Alabama. You are an Arab traditionalist, incredulously agape at the sight of Israel. You are an aged Tory imperialist, still blinking over the puzzle of how India got free.

There is a saving difference, however, for the American South. Your own state can give birth to a jurist who warmly confesses that "I love the people of Alabama," even as he admonishes you: "No legalistic formula is required to express the craving of honest, hard-working, God-fearing citizens for a moral order logically supported—an attitude long ago expressed when Coke informed King James that there was a law above the king." Your own South retains its historic power, unimpaired by your folly, to give birth to men of greatness. And these are the men who can earn the thanks of their nation as they strive to lead—not lacerate—the forces of change and the hopes of freedom.

R+R Rel.

FROM: OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

June 24, 1963

- By John H. McCray -

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE -- As Congress prepared its expected battle over President Kennedy's newest Civil Rights proposals, and state and local governments and leaders stirred feverishly to temper an unprecedented rash of racial disorders, some 200 of the nation's top sociologists and race relations leaders went coolly about the business of beginning their annual institute on race relations Monday, at Fisk University.

The group, together with the listed 27 consultants - respectfully dubbed "sociological eggheads", the ablest and brainest, in their fields opened the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute sponsored by the Board of Home Ministries of the United Church of Christ, and directed by the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association. The Institute, founded by the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson - a foremost scholar and sociologist - is directed by his successor, Dr. Herman H. Long, who heads the Race Relations Department.

Running for two weeks, the Institute has this general purpose, Dr. Long explains:

". . . to orientate leaders of local cummunities in the problems, process and methods of implementing better intergroup relations. It endeavors to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate techniques and strategies."

While some participants are from as far west as Hawaii, most come from the 30 states of the eastern half of the United States and the District of Columbia, and are employed by either public or private agencies. They attend daily sessions that are loaded to the hilt on a multitude of subject areas: Religious and moral implications of Human Rights, international implications of domestic race relations, psychological and historical aspects of the racial and cultural backdrop, problems in employment, housing, federal action in implementation of equal rights.

Consultants, about equally divided in number between whites and non-whites, conduct lectures, workshops, seminars and various clinics, replete with audio-visual aids and, with the dispassion of a physician prescribing aspirins for his patient's headache. Participants - the racially mixed audience - scribble notes, quizz consultants and engage other associates in debates from the floor and, exchange ideas and

experiences. Out of all of this develops a formula on methods and techniques for use back on the homefront. Methods and techniques are revised yearly to fit the newer problems which appear characteristic of the human relations field.

The Fisk University Race Relations Institute is generally conceded to be the best staffed and equipped in the world, and is operated on a professional, rather than emotional or partisan, basis. Its stature, influence is reflected in the number of topflight staff members of President Kennedy's administration who are serving as consultant and source persons in several categories. Presidential Assistant and former Arkansas Congressman Brook Hays gave the opening night speech. John Doar, Assistant Attorney General, headed the Institute's list of legal consultants. Clarence C. Ferguson, Jr., general counsel of the Civil Rights Commission, Hobart Taylor, Jr., executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunities, and Hubert M. Jackson and Albert L. Thompson, both of FHA's Intergroup Relations Division, comprised other federal consultants listed.

Dr. Max Wolf and Elliott Shirk, respectively of the Departments of Labor for New York and Pennsylvania, several professors and directors of state agencies and regional organizations are scheduled to lead group discussions during the Institute.

Other minority groups are being represented by consultants from the American Jewish Committee, the American Indian Center, Puerto Ricans, while the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference,

the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League and the Catholic Interracial Council furnish resource persons who specialize either in Negro approach to racial problems or, the interracial approach.

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fication for high office. A depressing aspect of the partial break-up of the British class system after the Second World War was that the values remained the same; a few more people were simply allowed to qualify for leadership. But the Profumo case questions these values. He was obviously no more fitted for leadership than thousands without his qualifications.

Perhaps the case has taken the British a little nearer to judging a man for what he is rather than what he seems to be. We say "perhaps" because a great attempt is being made to obscure the whole affair in a cold-war smoke screen. The fact that Miss Keeler also knew a Soviet Embassy official obviously needs investigating, but it is a minor matter compared to the morality of British public life. Unfortunately, the Labour Party seems to think this security risk a better angle from which to attack the Tories. If so, this can only mean that many of the younger Labour leaders have accepted the dominant values because they, too, have acquired the same kind of qualifications as Profumo. The end of the affair is yet to come, but it has already been epitomized fairly well by Jack Andrews, a London truck driver interviewed by *The Wall Street Journal*. "Macmillan and the rest of the Tories should start raising daffodils," said Mr. Andrews, "and let somebody else run the government." But the fellow probably votes Labour anyway.

## Highways to Profit

Rapid transit by rail, the only common-sense solution to the traffic paralysis attacking our streets and highways, got a big boost from San Franciscans last April when they approved a $792 million bond issue for a seventy-five-mile rail-construction project. Other cities are moving in the same direction. The transit agency in Washington, D.C., has recommended that rail transit be substituted for a projected highway-expansion program. Approved by the Senate, and now before the House, is a $500 million bill to aid urban mass transit (see "Rapid Transit: the Neglected Highway," by Senator Harrison A Williams, *The Nation*, May 4). These preparatory steps have already served a useful purpose by smoking out the opposition. For years Congress has been told by sundry patriotic lobbyists that any action tending to restrict highway construction endangered the national security. Tanks need highways, they said; guns need highways; the GI needs highways. But now, with the San Francisco development and the threat of a federal rapid-transit bill hanging over them, the lobbyists are coming to the point. The executive vice president of the American Road Builders Association recently warned of the harm which "talk of a revival of rapid transit" would do to the highway program. At a convention of road builders in Chicago, Commerce Secretary Hodges was urged to title his address: "Trends Threatening Highway Development in America through Curtailed Motor-Vehicle Use." An office of the Automobile Manufacturers Association declared that the real danger for cities was not too much traffic, but too little — and the decline in property values if highway needs are neglected.

The point at issue would seem to be not national security, but the profits security of the road-construction and auto industries.

# Freedom Now — But What Then?

REER

**Loren Miller**

Within the foreseeable future, eighteen million Negroes will burst the bonds of almost two centuries of isolation and surge into the mainstream of American life. Talents and energies now siphoned off into an all-consuming struggle against racial restrictions will be freed for application to man's fundamental problems. Moreover, the coming of that good day will end the enormous expenditures of human and economic resources long frittered away in the futile effort to preserve the segregation system. They, too, will become available for useful social purposes. However, it would be a mistake to assume that these profound changes will automatically usher in a society that will make full and effective use of these new potentials for social progress. We know better. Once before, almost a hundred years ago, a similar promise lighted up the American scene and was snuffed out after a decade of uncertain flickering.

In retrospect, it is apparent that one of the contributing factors to the failure of Reconstruction to sustain a hastily improvised political democracy in the South was lack of foresight and absence of planning for what lay beyond Emancipation. There were no guide lines for those who undertook the task of constructing a new social order to replace the old, which was swept away when two and a half million former slaves and a half-million disadvantaged free Negroes were incorporated into the American body politic. Everybody hoped for the best; nobody planned for it.

Abolitionists had glued their eyes on the destruction of slavery as an end in itself and, immersed as they were in the doctrine of the natural rights of man, they pitched their hopes for the best on a vague belief that individual merit would triumph in a society of free and freed men. Slaveholders had caught no vision because they could not admit the possibility that their peculiar institution could ever pass away; confronted with the reality, they were more than content to replace the old stratified order with another. Bedazzled by the glitter of white supremacy, poor whites were blind to the opportunity to

*Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil-rights attorney, is a vice president of the NAACP and publisher of the* California Eagle, *one of the country's oldest Negro newspapers. His article, "Farewell to Liberals"* (The Nation, *Oct. 20, 1962), aroused widespread interest.*

make common cause with Negroes for an assault on common problems.

The Republican Party stumbled into civil war with no design for Emancipation and consequently no blueprint for the problems inherent in victory. In an effort to supply Republican deficiency, Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens prodded their party into enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, but it fell under corporate leadership which quickly swapped the shaky democracy that had been created for the privilege of pursuing its own selfish ends. [See Walter Burnham's article, p. 545.] A new social order based on total exclusion of the Negro from political affairs, and his pursuant isolation, grew Topsy-like out of confusion. The history of race relations since that time has been the story of efforts to conserve and implement the Negro's isolation by the myriad devices of the segregation system and the complementary struggle of the Negro to batter down the walls of his Jim Crow prison.

The walls are tumbling down now and it is disturbing to find that we are ill prepared for the new Reconstruction that must be undertaken when—no longer if—the segregation system topples and the nation again faces the task of incorporating Negroes, eighteen millions of them this time, into an American body politic in all ways infinitely more complicated than that of 1865. It may seem to the outsider that the segregation system is a peculiarly Southern institution. Negroes know better. Its overt Northern manifestations are seen in the massive ghettos of Northern urban complexes and in the segregated public facilities they spawn. But there is more to segregation than that. Its spirit is all-pervasive and where it does not separate, it isolates to breed frustration, hopelessness, despair and hostility. Today's unpreparedness, akin to that of a hundred years ago, stems from the fact that intensive preoccupation with immediate and galling racial problems has minimized, almost precluded, consideration of what lies beyond victory. Attainment of civil rights, like Emancipation, has become almost an end in itself.

Like their Abolitionist forebears, civil-rights proponents, traditionally led by the NAACP which now shares leadership with Martin Luther King, CORE and the student movements, have been single-minded in outlook: Destruction of the Jim Crow system is their one aim. Segregationist heirs of the slaveholders cannot, or will not, admit that their order is done for; they content themselves with yelling "never" at the top of their voices. Liberals gave their hearts to gradualism a decade ago and implicitly decided then that their notion of the future was the incorporation of the Negro in an evolving society on a pragmatic, step-by-step basis. The Democratic Party which, by a strange and ironic reversal of roles, has fumbled its way into whatever there is of party leadership of the liberation movement, cannot blueprint an integrated commonwealth because its composition compels it to deny that it envisages such a development. Lying at the back of everybody's mind has been the tacit assumption that there was plenty of time to plan for the future. Nobody had foreseen the explosion of the past few years.

Birmingham brought the revolution to sudden climax. Why, nobody knows. Maybe it was the dogs, maybe singing school children trooping into Bull Connor's paddy wagons, or maybe the completely symbolic picture of the white cop with his foot on a Negro woman's neck. Anyhow, in the expressive Negro idiom, we have run fresh out of time. The future is upon us. And with victory in sight and inevitable, we are confronted with the searching question of where we go from here. In essence, the inquiry is whether civil-rights victory is an end in itself or only a beginning, a means to an end. At the moment, Negroes, whose answer is all-important and perhaps decisive, seem to regard it as an end. The slogans under which they march are limited in scope. The Freedom Now concept contemplates putting the submerged Southern Negro or the trapped Northern ghetto-dweller on a parity with his culturally deprived and disadvantaged white prototype. Fair housing and fair employment laws are designed to give the Negro equal access to existent supplies of housing and jobs, but fall short of coming to grips with the fact that vast reforms are necessary to provide an adequate supply of housing, and to stay the ravages of automation in those very categories in which Negroes must seek employment. The examples could be extended. This appraisal does not disparage Negro demands; they are valid and necessary tactical weapons in the struggle for equality. But as Whitney Young, National Urban League director, points out: "There are forces at work such as automation, urbanization and a host of others that, on the surface, are indifferent to race, which unless identified and remedial steps taken will find the masses of Negroes five years from today with a mouthful of rights living in hovels with empty stomachs."

White Americans also tend to regard attainment of civil rights as an end in itself when they talk about denials of such rights as being harmful to our international image, or by what they say about equalitarian housing and employment legislation, or even when they argue, as President Kennedy did recently, that Negroes should be secure in their constitutional privileges because it is morally right that they should enjoy them. Again, these views are valid as far as they go, but they neglect the fact that when the prisoner is freed, the jailer is given his liberty. Both may put their newly found freedom to good use by tackling the problem that made one of them prisoner and the other jailer in the first place. A quick glance will demonstrate how the denial of civil rights has affected, and still affects, the national welfare.

There are no ifs in history and we can never know who would have been elected to the Presidency, to state legislatures or to Congress in the past three-quarters of a century *if* the Negro had not been deprived of the ballot. We do know that isolation of Negroes bred the one-party system of the South and that, in turn, it isolated that section from the rest of the nation to the detriment of poor whites. Coincidentally, the one-party system aggrandized Southern Congressional power and gave Southerners their present life-and-death control over federal legislation. President Kennedy has complained that he is immobilized by Southern control of the House Rules Com-

mittee. Critical urban problems, federal aid to education, and housing issues, to pick a few examples, go unattended by Congress because their resolution will not fit a formula acceptable to the white South. We also know that labor organizations, agrarian-reform movements, trade and professional organizations, even service clubs, and the whole vast array of voluntary groups which play such a vital role in public affairs, have had to tailor their programs to suit the irrational demands of the segregation system.

The nub of the matter is that the existence of an unassimilated, and by definition unassimilable, racial group has had, and still has, telling consequences for the nation. Americans have lived with this fragmentation so long, and it seems so natural to them, that they assume its permanence and reckon that if they extend full civil rights to the Negro component, and stop right there, they will have settled the issue. On this reckoning rests the widely held assumption that civil rights is an end in itself.

Of course, attainment of civil rights and the wiping out of all racial disabilities would produce immense satisfaction among Negroes and, by the same token, would exert a considerable influence on national life. The Negro bloc would at once become a powerful pressure group, demanding and getting concessions on all sides. Negroes would attend better schools. The Negro relief recipient would get his fair share of the dole. The Negro market for gray flannel suits would be enhanced. Jobs would be shared and in time the Negro unemployment rate would be lowered to that of the national average. An elite would be created within the Negro pressure group to seek its own ends, sometimes at the expense of other Negroes. Something of that kind has already happened in the comparatively free Northern cities, with not a few middle-class Negroes staking out vested interests in the ghettos and retiring from the civil-rights fight with the feeling that all is well. In any event, the Negro racial bloc is going to persist for a long time to come and will inevitably function as a pressure center. The temptation to preserve and enhance that function will be great, with the conservatives of the middle class pulling in that direction; they are experts in the art of pressure and can be expected to hold fast to a familiar tactic. The gaping wounds of racial conflict can be healed within that context and Negroes have been forced to think in terms of race so long that it will be hard for them to lift their sights.

If, however, civil-rights victory is regarded as only a beginning and a means, and the end envisaged is that of reforms that will cure the social, economic and political malfunctioning in our society that results in poverty, old-age insecurity, disemployment, lack of

Ben Roth Agency

educational opportunity and other social plagues, the long-term yield to Negroes will be enlarged—provided, of course, that those ends can be attained. Freedom Now will be a more desirable prize if the model's freedom approaches completeness. Fair housing and fair-employment laws will become more meaningful if housing is in complete supply and within common economic reach, and if there is job security for all. In short, the enrichment of American life promises added rewards to all who are permitted to share in it. The Negro's quest for civil rights has always been two-pronged: The human desire to be treated as a man and the economic drive to get his fair share of what the nation has had to offer.

There is a ferment at work within the Negro community, North as well as South, which pretty well precludes the possibility that Negroes will stop short with civil-rights victory. The new militants who are emergent in terms of leadership are in revolt against the old in the Negro community as well as the old in white society. They are equalitarian in outlook and philosophy and where they now, correctly, see race as the prime inhibiting factor, they will learn soon enough that their civil-rights victory will not be complete without lowering of other barriers that produce inequities and inequalities. And as in the case of Alexander, the young always yearn for new worlds to conquer.

Perception on the part of Negroes that attainment of civil rights must be regarded as a means rather than an end will not solve the problem that confronts the nation. Whites must grasp and apply that lesson as well, but they must do it with their eyes wide open to the fact that Negroes have had their bellies full of paternalism and will have no more of it and that the Negro take-over of the civil-rights movement, no matter what shape it assumes, is permanent and will not be relinquished. However, whites must take the initiative in an offer of alliance and must have more to offer than is presently visible. At the moment, the American scene is singularly devoid of movements calculated to quicken the pulse of the bold and imaginative youngsters who triggered the national upheaval against racial discrimination and pulled the props from under the segregation system. Communism is a deservedly dead letter. Barry Goldwater's invitation for a retreat to the 1920s holds no allure and the cautious pragmatism of the New Frontier smacks too much of an application of gradualism to be attractive. The bogged-down labor movement has lost the verve that set Negroes flocking to its standard in the New Deal era. Who then shall sound the certain trumpet? The answer is that nobody knows. What is certain is that civil-rights victory will release a determined band of restless and eager Negro youth whose energies ought to be channeled constructively.

That constructive purpose can best be served by a broad political movement, in the widest sense of that term, comprehensive of pressing domestic and international issues. Whether such a movement can function within the formalism of our present two-party system is not clear. That will have to be determined on a trial-and-error basis. Negro militants who must be enlisted if such a move-

ment is to succeed are understandably chary about political action at the moment. Their success has been won outside of politics and they are cynical about political action in light of the manner in which civil rights has been used as a football by both parties. But time itself will drive home the lesson that problems entailed in incorporating Negroes into our tremendously complicated social and economic structure are political in nature and will propel the new militants into political action. There is no other road to reform in a political democracy.

Obviously, the nation can, and should, use the imagination that conceived the sit-ins, the pray-ins, the wade-ins and the Freedom Rides for application to other social purposes. And it needs to conserve and utilize the boldness and courage that led to the confrontations in hostile Southern cities. We can ill afford to waste these talents at a time when we desperately need new and creative approaches to both domestic and international issues. Incorporated and utilized to the fullest in a political movement of broad scope and purpose, they can hasten needed reforms; isolated in a racial pressure bloc, they may only broaden old schisms. That the nation needs to make full and effective use of these new potentials for social progress is not open to debate.

We are back where we began. The nation has been given a second chance to solve the problem that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed with Emancipation a hundred years ago: that of constructing a social order to replace an old one swept away when Negroes burst out of isolation and sought admission to the American body politic. We muffed the first chance and consigned Negroes to a new, and in some ways more galling, isolation, and in the process shackled the nation to the hobbled Negro. That first failure has haunted us ever since. Its consequences have become intolerable. We will achieve only half-success this time if we settle back and accept civil-rights victory as an end in itself. Foresight and planning can transmute that victory into a means for construction of a commonwealth as good as imperfect humans can build.

# Truth in Packaging . . . . . Senator Philip A. Hart

Almost every new law passed by Congress reflects—however tardily—some change in American culture, population or economic structure. The Truth in Packaging bill (S387), which I have introduced in the Senate and on which hearings have been concluded only recently, deals with the remarkable changes in the market place that began when pushcarts started to outnumber grocers.

Basically, the bill is designed to permit rational purchases in the supermarket aisle and it is written as an amendment to the Clayton Act—that venerable antitrust law that has now nearly reached its fiftieth birthday.

Unamended, the Clayton Act is like last year's trousers on a growing boy. It still serves to cover and protect certain sensitive parts of the nation's anatomy, but there is a wealth of bare ankle showing beneath the cuffs. The act assumes, for example, that if two competitive products are equal in service and quality, then the only remaining competitive factor is price. It makes no allowances for the new areas of non-price competition that have developed in the market place. And, certainly, packaging is one of them.

*Senator Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.) is a member of the Commerce and Judiciary Committees of the U.S. Senate.*

This can best be explained by tracing the evolution of the corner grocery into modern supermarkets so remarkably efficient that they can offer the housewife significant savings while simultaneously picking her pocket.

At this point, there invariably bobs into my mind (and usually into my narrative) the grocery store only a block from the house where I grew up. The owner's name—Mr. Edie—I remember quite clearly, though his face has been refracted by time and glimmers only dimly from the depth of thirty-five years. My mother chose Mr. Edie only after several weeks of tentative dealing, during which she carefully took the temperature of his integrity and price policy. That having been established, even I could be trusted to make the store trips.

Besides cash, all that was necessary to the purchase was a brown paper bag and the assurance that Mr. Edie would be there the next day in case an orange was missing or a clay bean turned up in the soup. The relationship, in short, was a very personal one. Mr. Edie provided both sales and service. Most of the packages you took home were ones that Mr. Edie had filled himself out of his bins of sugar, beans and cookies. There was no nonsense about weight or volume, either. Products came in pints, pounds or pecks. There were no fractional ounces, no "giant half-quarts," and you could tell at a glance how prices compared with those in the store down the street.

This, admittedly, is nostalgic, but believe me it is not wistful. The neighborhood grocery has given way to the supermarket for some very sound economic reasons.

First of all, the supermarket principle of fast turnover has grown hand in hand with the practice of pre-packaging. And the factory-built package has permitted mass distribution with resultant lowered costs.

Of course, pre-packaging has a number of disadvantages, too:

1. It deprives the consumer of an opportunity to examine the product.
2. It makes price and product comparisons difficult.
3. It makes it virtually impossible for the retailer to guarantee the product on any personal basis.
4. It tends to conceal price increases by encouraging manufacturers to "cut weight" instead of "hiking price" and invites competitive use of non-standard and sometimes deceptive package shapes.
5. It encourages the "cents-off" deals that are often fictitious.

In fact, the whole operative

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# John Junior

Not long ago I heard a public speaker declare, in elegant language and diction, that the Negro's equality would be coming in due time if only he'd be satisfied for now with the separate-but-equal doctrine. He went on to say that Southern white people were being maligned when, actually, they love the Negro and want to see him happy (in different schools, colleges, movie palaces, restaurants, churches and rest rooms). The gentleman spoke in the semi-hypnotic tone of an evangelist in possession of a final, unalterable truth. And I must concede his adroitness in the use of ringing phrases: Time Honored Custom, Paternal Love, Sovereign Rights and Equality-through-Evolution. There may have been more; if so, I missed it because I was thinking about John Junior.

John Junior and I were teenagers together in the late '30s when his father, Big John, worked for my father as a straw boss and loader of oranges into railroad cars. John Junior often came to the packing plant, as any youngster does, to be near his Daddy. Sometimes he brought a book with him and read it while perched on the loading platform dangling his legs over a side track of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company.

Occasionally I talked with John Junior; or, rather, I tried to. He, after all, was the straw boss's boy, I the son of the white bossman. I went to the white high school, he to the colored one across town. Each of us liked football but cheered different teams, he the all-colored Trojans, I the all-white Yellow Jackets. We had in common not one teacher, one pal, one neighbor, one pastor; not even a shared enemy. We swapped, at best, friendly half-embarrassed signals – a smile, a platitude or two. The one topic John Junior and I actually did share was the weather; somehow the Almighty had overlooked providing separate-but-equal rains, temperatures or lightning bolts.

A quarter-century ago, in 1938, I went away to college and learned, on coming home for the first vacation, that John Junior was making a fine school record and wanted to go on to college. It was something very few colored boys in Florida dared hope for in those days. But the boy's daddy, Big John, was more than a straw boss and boxcar loader; he was a preacher, too. The extra earnings might, just might, give John Junior that chance if he made up his mind to work hard and earn some of the money, too. Knowing John Junior's fondness for writing, I saved and passed along to him my college textbooks in English and journalism. The books were sent to him through Big John, because there still was between John Junior and me a barrier as real as a brick wall: notaingness in common. We were a mile or so apart, bounded, then and now, by a frontier known as Canal Street, whites to the west, coloreds to the east; two nations which didn't communicate and seemed not to know how. So I sent the books across the frontier by Big John. Handing them personally to John Junior would have been painful. The gift was from the white boss's son, a boy who had built-in status, assured by the pigmentation of his skin. Try to be friendly and I'd seem only patronizing; at least, that's how I felt.

That was the time, so I believe now, when a tiny spark of something-or-other lodged itself in my psyche. Maybe it was what the public speaker was calling True Social Conscience. The System was there, consecrated by custom and seemingly cemented by common acceptance, but that something-or-other kept whispering that the System wasn't what it ought to be. Even so, I had in those days matters of real importance to consider, such as my 1928 Essex coach, girls, baseball, parties and vacation. Sure I liked John Junior, and I think he liked me, and it was too damned bad the way things were. But since things *were* that way, why brood? Especially when the brakes of my car had sprung an oil leak that I had somehow to get fixed. He and I remained friends at the precise distance the System decreed.

John Junior might well be a patchwork character, pieced together from fragments of many Negro young people I knew in those separate-but-equal days of growing up. But he's not. He's Dr. John Rembert Jr., president of Gibbs College in St. Petersburg, Florida, with a doctorate and about all the other educational honors that could come his way.

Today, it would seem, the barrier ought to come crashing down, at least as far as we are concerned. John Junior and I are equals now, except that, in some fields, he is equaller than I am. Certainly we could meet and talk as equals, only there still isn't much to talk about. Canal Street has been widened and resurfaced and dotted with new buildings, but it is still there. The signs are up, White Men, Colored Men, White Women, Colored Women, The Management Reserves the Right. . . . Two nations, neither hostile nor friendly, coexist side by side, still without a common language. So I must continue to exchange with him the same despairing signals, knowing deep down that John Junior and I have in common only the weather, which the Almighty sees fit to administer on a non-segregated basis, very much as He did in 1938. The public speaker must have had somebody in mind when he painted his word-picture of love, harmony and equality-to-come. But he wasn't talking about anybody I know, on either side of Canal Street.

EMMETT PETER, JR.



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R & R Relations

CURRENT JUNE-1963

# RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES

**In the spring of 1963, man's relations to man, when the men were of different color, became increasingly strained throughout the United States and especially in its South. Organized Negro nonviolent action became more militant; the threat of uncontrolled violent action grew stronger. Violence could be temporarily suppressed by sending the U.S. Army into the states where it erupted; but the frustrations of the search for long-term solutions were emphasized by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission which proposed consideration of withdrawal of federal funds from Mississippi.**

## HOW ARE NEGROES RESPONDING?

*The leader of the nonviolent movement:*

**Martin Luther King, Jr.**

"Three simple words can describe the nature of the social revolution that is taking place and what Negroes really want. They are the words 'all,' 'now,' and 'here.'" (New York *Herald Tribune*, May 2, 1963)

*A roundup in a weekly newsmagazine:*

**Newsweek**

"In Greenwood, Miss., an NAACP executive from New York brought the message to a cheering voter-registration rally in red-brick Turner's Chapel: 'Any time one of these white men tries to insinuate that he's superior to you, stand up on your hind legs and spit in his face.'

"In New York, a young Negro student leader, on furlough from the civil rights battlegrounds of the South, smiled fleetingly at a white acquaintance. 'Sure I love my white brother,' he said. 'But I watch him.'

"In Detroit, a Negro newspaperman worried aloud: 'That look-how-much-we've-gained-in-the-last-fifty-years stuff—that sours on the young Negro's stomach . . . We're going to see violence.'

"On a sprawling Mississippi cotton plantation, a hollow-eyed Negro fieldhand sat under a naked lightbulb in his four-room shack and catalogued his assets: $1 in his jeans, no more than $10 coming on payday, only three beds for his eleven children, a diet so spare that the youngsters get milk only at school. Given one wish, what would he ask? His quick reply: 'Freedom.'

"Across the nation, such voices were abroad—the voices of the increasingly restless and militant mood of the American Negro. To many white Americans, the face was unfamiliar—disquietingly so. But the shift in temper had been long in the making, bound up historically with World War II, the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of 1954, and the emergence of Black Africa. Negro leaders, who tuned in long ago, smile at the discovery of yet another 'New Negro.' One said: 'You never asked us.' Now, the Negro no longer waits to be asked. Increasingly, he says out loud what he has been whispering in the family for years.

"The Negro's message:

"He is impatient—'fed up with Jim Crow,' says James Farmer, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality, 'and fed up with waiting.' Ironically, every inch of progress has intensified his hunger for a yard more. 'There has been more progress since 1954 than in the previous fifty

years,' Howard Zinn, a white professor at Atlanta's Negro Spelman College, says. 'But, while progress doubled, expectation increased fifty times.'

"He is more aggressive in his fight for equality. He will march against police dogs and cops and the certainty of jail in Greenwood, Miss., or Birmingham, Ala. For such abstractions as the ballot, he is willing in increasing numbers to gamble his livelihood and even his life. One leader said: 'He simply doesn't give a damn what happens any more.'

"He has shown new stirring of racial pride, spurred partly by his own achievements at home, partly by the rise of the new African nations. The chauvinist Black Muslims have encouraged him, but so have militant integrationists. 'For too long, we have been ashamed of our flat lips and broad nose,' says James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (and himself a pecan-hued man with almost Caucasian features). 'I like [the word] black. I like to use it. It's an attempt to have some identity. It . . . [tells] the white man, "what you used to call me is no longer a symbol of inferiority." To do this is to have an inner security.'

"He is ambivalent about whites, sometimes hopeful, sometimes doubtful, sometimes resentful, sometimes openly hostile. The view that white men are devils is neither a Muslim creation nor a Muslim monopoly. James Baldwin, the Negro essayist and novelist who is the intellectual voice of his generation, found the war years a turning point among Negroes. 'To put it briefly, and somewhat too simply,' he writes, 'a certain hope died, a certain respect for white Americans faded. One began to pity them, or to hate them.'

"His mood is freighted with dynamite. His leaders worry about the durability of his commitment to nonviolent action. 'The danger is,' a white Atlanta civil rights worker says, 'that Negroes may conclude that there is nothing so persuasive as a mouthful of knuckles.'

" 'There go my people,' Gandhi said in a remark much cherished by his American disciple, Martin Luther King, Jr. 'I must catch them, for I am their leader.' Negro leaders have indeed been forced to keep up with this shift in mood. But they have also found the increasing militancy a useful talking point. On fund-raising missions to corporate boards, Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, poses these alternatives: invest in positive assistance—or risk hostility and growing strength for the Muslims, along with rising crime rates and higher welfare costs. 'We were able to increase our budget,' said Young, 'from $270,000 in 1961 to $722,000 last year.'

**The rise of xenophobia**

"The shift also has injected a tougher and sometimes more nationalistic tone into the civil rights debate, stiffening the Negro leader's posture—and, sadly, constricting his lines of communication with whites as well. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, the longtime political lightning rod of Harlem, spoke in just such tones for a purge of whites from top executive positions in the NAACP. Negroes, he argued, must wage their own fight: 'We are prisoners. How can we expect our jailkeeper to give us freedom?' The NAACP has, in fact, been venturing more and more out of its accustomed arena—the courts—into direct action campaigns in the South. Nonetheless, it felt constrained to answer Powell in a pamphlet defending its own credentials and questioning Powell's in a title borrowed from Genesis 3:9: 'And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?' [Available through Readers Service]

"In the new atmosphere of militance, orthodox civil rights leaders no longer dismiss the Muslims, whom they regarded little more than a year

ago as not quite respectable. They are hardly friends, but they have found some points of contact. Few Negro leaders will quarrel with the Muslim assessment of the Negro's lot in the U.S. Walking away from a debate with Muslim leader Malcolm X in Durham, N. C., Negro civil rights lawyer Floyd McKissick said: 'It didn't make much sense for me to stand up there and defend the white man when I know he's wrong.' Some value the Muslims as a gadfly. 'They are disabusing whites of the paternalistic notion that Negroes are basically happy and want a little civil rights on the side,' says Negro writer Louis Lomax. 'Whites should know that when Negroes are kicked, they react.'

"Criticism centers instead on Muslim theology, Muslim chauvinism, and the Muslim program to acquire part of the U.S. for a separate black nation. 'You cannot integrate the Negroes and the whites without bloodshed,' the lean, coffee-colored Malcolm X said last week. 'The only peaceful way is for the Negroes and whites to separate.' But the Negro remains committed to equality *within* white America; the Muslims are still outside the mainstream with only 5,500 to 6,000 hard-core members. Even so, the currents that produced them remain. 'They're Islamic, while most Negroes are Baptists or Methodists,' says one Negro leader. 'If they changed to Black Nazarenes, they might sweep the country.'

**Nonviolence as a tactic**

"Most of all, the restive mood has added new problems to old for Martin Luther King himself. . . . He is troubled by the portents about him. 'I'm running into more and more bitterness because things haven't moved fast enough,' he told *Newsweek's* Karl Fleming. 'The Negro in the South can now be nonviolent as a stratagem, but he can't include loving the white man. . . . Nonviolence has become a military tactical approach.'

"Like others in his leadership generation, King banks less on the help of white moderates who will trade token integration for peace. 'We are moving toward a sort of tokenism that is now becoming institutionalized . . . a tranquilizer that removes the stress just for the moment.' He worries, as well, that the Albany-Greenwood-Birmingham police tactic of breaking up demonstrations is depriving Negroes of a channel for 'letting a lot of bitterness out in a creative way.' He adds: 'The Negro is shedding himself of fear, and my real worry is how we will keep this fearlessness from rising to violent proportions.'

"Beyond King, a new wave of leaders has sprung up—the young, tough, and highly pragmatic apostles of the 'student movement.' Starting with some spontaneous sit-ins in North Carolina three years ago, the student activists have flourished and earned their combat stripes in Albany, Greenwood, and other battlegrounds. They have borrowed King's nonviolent technique, but not his texts (they read Camus and Sartre more than the Bible and Gandhi) or his faith in the power of love. They find the church useful, if nothing else as a place to hold meetings and brace up their followers with prayer and song.

"They find the Muslims useful, too. 'We invited them to speak at a mass meeting we held in Albany,' says SNCC chairman Charles McDew, a square-built Brandeis University senior. 'Did the people like it? Man, you better believe it.' Some have even questioned whether integration is a Good Thing if it means accepting the values of white society. 'We are working for *desegregation*, not integration,' McDew says. 'We want an open society without restriction based on color.'

"If at last nonviolence fails, Negro leaders see peril ahead. Professionally, at least, they are optimistic about change. But they are fatalistic, too, about the cost of change. Many feel the battle will be tougher and more

dangerous in the North than in the South, where both apartheid and the steps of progress against it are more visible. In the Northern ghetto, Whitney Young says, 'the old signs and symbols are gone. The want ads don't say "white only" any more. *That* the Negro could fight. But it's frustrating when the gap in housing, education, employment gets wider instead of narrower. . . . Unless we do something, the Negro in the future will no longer react with resignation but with bitterness and hostility.'

"And those are the ingredients of trouble. 'We're liable to get some real violence—in Chicago, in Detroit, in New York,' Young predicts gloomily. 'And it will be tragic. But historically this is the only time America tries to do something. When the bridge breaks, they'll try to repair it.'" ("I Like The Word Black," *Newsweek*, May 6, 1963)

*Mr. Dunbar is the executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization of Southern leaders, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., devoted to equal rights for all. In an address to the Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Mr. Dunbar assesses the tendency to oversimplification in the discussions of attitudes of Negroes and whites toward each other.*

**Leslie W. Dunbar**

"One of the things we can still be happy about in our race relations is the fact that Negro Americans exhibit as many varieties of human nature, and self-interest, and intellectual bent as do the rest of us. I remember a conversation I had a year or so ago with a young white girl, who, with all zeal flying, was working with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. There had been a mass meeting the night before, and she was giving me an indignant, a horrified account of some skeptical comments made during the meeting by a local Negro banker. When she finished her tale I said that it didn't seem so much to me, that the gentleman had spoken just as I would expect a banker to speak. My young friend almost burst, in shouting back, 'But he's a Negro!'

"I may be mistaken, but there seems to me more than one way to create a stereotype. It also seems to me perniciously illiberal to insist that all Negroes must think and act according to the notion someone else may have as to how Negroes think and feel. . . .

"I have these last two years or so read an awful lot of writing . . . about the Negro mood, Negro thinking, the Negroes' 'self-image,' and the Negroes' opinion of white people. . . . But I have yet to read an analysis which fitted all Negroes, and I have encountered no generalization—except one—which seems to me to cover all the cases. . . .

"[The one] generalization about the Negro mood which *is* accurate and generally applicable . . . is suggested—but only suggested—by the word 'impatient'. . . . We can say with complete assurance that a major fraction of Negro Americans will no longer acquiesce in segregation whether by law, custom, or contrivance, and that that fraction is steadily growing larger. This means, of course, that segregation will end. You simply cannot have a segregated society without the acquiescence of the minority race. As soon as Negroes stop acquiescing, the country has but two choices. One is force, in the manner of South African apartheid [see page 21]. The other is desegregation. Jim Crow cannot live without Uncle Tom, and Uncle Tom is dying fast.

"Despite all the rich and wonderful variety and individualism among Negroes we can note, however, that there is probably more unity of interest and of political values among Negroes than exists within any other group of contemporary American society. No other group, not

labor, not business, and not farmers, has the same high degree of consensus about what its interests are and where they lie. I believe that every civil rights victory has intensified this unity, [and] that every new victory for yet a while will add to it further. . . .

"[A serious threat, however,] to the unity of the Negro movement . . . is the self-adulation engaged in by some of the more vocal Negroes, especially those who identify themselves with the so-called 'direct' movement, and by their psalmists. I suppose that to complain about this stamps me conclusively as not only a white man, but as one who is insensitive to old wrongs and new rights. Recognizing full well that my credentials as a critic will not themselves be recognized, I shall still remark that the Negro movement is capable of breeding its own diseases, and that the virus it needs to beware of just now is that of intolerance, an intellectual and moral intolerance of white people. . . .

"The areas of disagreement between whites and Negroes are . . . probably going to increase. If so, it will be a normal development, and not a cause for questioning the nerve or the goodwill of white liberals. In the 1930's and 1940's, liberals pretty much always supported whatever labor demanded; this is no longer so, and the earlier situation when liberals identified with farmers has been gone so long as to be all but forgotten.

**Who should set the pace?**

"The probable areas of disagreement are, chiefly, two: matters of timing and the singleness of Negro aims. As to the former, I decided for myself a couple of years ago to put my sense of timing on the shelf. I believe that the Negroes of our country have absolute right and privilege to press on any front whenever they decide that they should. I believe that whenever white liberals or government officials seek by either persuasion or maneuver to postpone Negro pressure for some legitimate objective, they —and not the Negroes—are guilty of the subsequent and inevitable estrangement. Because on any ground that I can conceive of—morality, politics, strategy, or even mental health—the pace of integration should be set by Negroes, not by white liberals and certainly not by white moderates and not by the Department of Justice. . . .

"Nevertheless, we need a clear-headed perspective. . . . Commonplace as it may sound, there is no more important truth for us to grasp *today* than an active understanding that we have come a long way these last few years, but have a long way to go. It seems to me crucially important that we all recognize this: If Negroes lose sight of how far we have come since, say, 1945, they will lose sight also of the fact that their own efforts have demonstrated that American political and legal processes can be made to work in the cause of freedom. If white people lose sight of how very much there still is to do they will consign the country straight to a holiday in hell. . . .

"[Finally,] I believe we have given disproportionate attention to studies, both literary and scholarly, of what Negroes think and feel and say. I think our scholars and our literary lights have given too little attention to what Negroes *do*. When I read the essays or the latest outcropping of social science research I get a feeling of the desperateness of the Negro mood. When I look around, though, I don't see Negroes acting desperately. I see them acting as though they thought it worthwhile to fight, as if they believed they were going to win. I see them using the established processes and institutions of our political democracy as if they believed in them. I see them acting as though they thought American society was worth integrating with." ("The Impatient One-Tenth," Address, Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Mar. 29, 1963)

## HOW ARE MODERATE MEN RESPONDING?

*The U.S. Civil Rights Commission consists of six members, three of them Southerners, and was set up by act of Congress to advise the President. In a unanimous report to the President on April 16, 1963, the Commission urged consideration of withdrawal of federal funds from Mississippi.*

*John A. Hannah, chairman of the Commission, is president of Michigan State University. Robert G. Storey of Texas, vice chairman, is vice chairman of the Southwestern Legal Foundation. The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh is president of Notre Dame University, Indiana. Robert S. Rankin is chairman of the political science department of Duke University, North Carolina. Spottswood W. Robinson III is dean of Howard University Law School, Washington, D.C., and Erwin N. Griswold is dean of Harvard Law School, Massachusetts. The full text of the interim report follows:*

**United States Commission on Civil Rights**

"Pursuant to its statutory duty to submit reports to the President and to Congress at such times as either the Commission or the President shall deem desirable, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights submits the following special report with respect to the status of equal protection of the laws in the State of Mississippi:

"Since October 1962, the open and flagrant violation of constitutional guarantees in Mississippi has precipitated serious conflict which, on several occasions, has reached the point of crisis. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has become increasingly alarmed at this defiance of the Constitution. Each week brings fresh evidence of the danger of a complete breakdown of law and order.

"Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten, and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote. Since October, students have been fired upon, ministers have been assaulted, and the home of the vice chairman of the State Advisory Committee to this Commission has been bombed. Another member and his wife were jailed on trumped-up charges after their home had been defiled. Even children, at the brink of starvation, have been deprived of assistance by the callous and discriminatory acts of Mississippi officials administering federal funds.

"All this affronts the conscience of the nation.

"The Commission is fully aware that the Administration has followed developments in Mississippi closely, that it has taken strong and vigorous action in assuring that violators of federal law are prosecuted, and that court orders are enforced. Despite the diligent and aggressive handling of each case as it has arisen, the nation must be concerned that the pattern of unlawful activity shows no sign of abating. Moreover, nine years after the Supreme Court unanimously decided that segregation in public elementary and secondary schools violates the equal protection clause of the Constitution, Mississippi has taken no step to comply with the law of the land.

"Since its organization, the Commission has been deeply concerned with developments in Mississippi. Its hearing scheduled for October 1962 in that State was first postponed at the request of the Attorney General of the United States, and finally canceled. On March 26, the Attorney General, after referring to the Barnett case, stated that:

" 'While this case is pending, I continue to hold the view that a public hearing in Mississippi by the Civil Rights Commission would not be appropriate. In the meantime, I hope that the work of the Commission staff can continue as in the past on the question of the operation of federal programs in Mississippi as elsewhere.'

"Since October the Commission has received more than 100 complaints from Mississippi alleging denials of constitutional rights. Investigation of these complaints, reports of our State Advisory Committee and other evidence confirm the conclusion of the Commission that prompt and firm action is now required. The Commission has concluded unanimously that only further steps by the Federal Government can arrest the subversion of the Constitution in Mississippi.

"The Commission notes the action taken by the President of the United States in employing the force necessary to assure compliance with the court decrees in the University of Mississippi case. It is mindful of the unequivocal public statements of the President expressing his belief that discriminatory practices are morally wrong. The Commission, nevertheless, believes that the President should, consistent with his constitutional and statutory authority, employ to the fullest the legal and moral powers of his office to the end that American citizenship will not continue to be degraded in Mississippi. We urgently request that:

**What the Commission proposed**

"1) The President formally reiterate his concern over the Mississippi situation by requesting all persons in that state to join in protecting the rights of U.S. citizens, and, in accordance with his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, by directing them to comply with the Constitution and laws of the United States;

"2) The President continue and strengthen his Administration's efforts to suppress existing lawlessness and provide federal protection to citizens in the exercise of their basic constitutional rights; and

"3) The Congress and the President consider seriously whether legislation is appropriate and desirable to assure that federal funds contributed by citizens of all states not be made available to any state which continues to refuse to abide by the Constitution and laws of the United States; and, further, that the President explore the legal authority he possesses as Chief Executive to withhold federal funds from the State of Mississippi, until the State of Mississippi demonstrates its compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

"The people of Mississippi and of the other States should know that according to information available to the Commission in fiscal year 1962, the Federal Government received from all sources in Mississippi $270 million. During the same period, payments from the Federal Government to the state, counties, municipalities, and individuals exceeded $650 million for grant-in-aid programs, U.S. Corps of Engineers construction contracts, military prime contracts, and direct civilian and military payrolls. Examples of additional federal programs benefitting Mississippi include area redevelopment loans and grants, small business loans, accelerated public works projects, and Federal Aviation Agency grants.

"Massive assistance to the economy of Mississippi has continued past the time when the state placed itself in direct defiance of the Constitution and federal court orders. For example, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency is proceeding with plans to build a $400 million moon rocket engine test center in Pearl River and Hancock Counties, Miss.

"Taking into account the need to comply with statutory requirements which limit the discretion of the executive branch, and recognizing that the location of large federal installations must reflect national needs, the Commission believes there is an overriding constitutional obligation to make certain that federal funds are expended in a manner which will benefit all citizens without distinction. The Federal Aviation Agency failed to take cognizance of such an obligation when it granted $2,180,000 for

the construction of a jet airport to serve Jackson, Miss., without questioning the airport's plan to build separate eating and restroom facilities.

"The financial benefits accruing to Mississippi and its citizens as a result of federal programs are necessarily financed by American citizens throughout the nation. The Commission deems it appropriate and desirable that the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government inquire into the moral and legal considerations arising out of a situation where, in large measure, the lawless conduct and defiance of the Constitution by certain elements in one state are being subsidized by the other states.

"The Commission does not want the people of Mississippi, either Negro or white, to lose benefits available to citizens of other states. Rather, its goal is that all citizens in the United States be assured the full enjoyment of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It is upon adherence to that great charter with its powerful moral premises that our survival as a free society depends." (*Interim Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights,* Apr. 16, 1963)

*The Commission's proposal was unanimously supported by the nine Mississippians (five whites and four Negroes) on its state advisory committee.*

**Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

We are gratified by the Commission's proposal that Mr. Kennedy consider a moratorium on federal spending in Mississippi, although we acknowledge the necessity for it with deep regret.

"We find that the existing conditions under which our Negro citizens must live are in the main intolerable, with a continuing deprivation of rights, and an ever-present threat of police brutality and economic reprisal against any citizen who attempts to break the established patterns of segregation. . . .

"[Mississippi] has brazenly espoused racist mythology as official policy, thus serving notice on some 42 per cent of the population that they are inferior in the eyes of the state. . . . It has encouraged the people of Mississippi to disregard laws and judicial decisions of the United States, and to place state loyalty above national loyalty.

"It has fostered a spirit of enmity toward our duly constituted National Government, based on false ideas of federal-state relationships in our American system of government. . . .

"Unless the Federal Government, too, is derelict in the fulfillment of its constitutional duties, it cannot forever ignore such gross irresponsibility, not to say subversion, on the part of the state government." (*Statement by the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,* Apr. 17, 1963)

*An editorial on the meaning of the report:*

**The New Republic**

"The Commission's recommendation carries the signature of the dean of Harvard Law School, the chairman of the political science department of Duke University, the vice chairman of the Southwestern Legal Foundation, the president of Notre Dame, the president of Michigan State University, and the dean of Howard University Law School. What seems to us an indiscriminate prescription for progress is thus written by men whose names call up images of the deliberate, the moderate. What direct sense of outrage must arise just from living closer than the rest of us, as they have, to the situation in Mississippi?

"That is the real point of their complaint. They have in effect put forward for our serious consideration an act of banishment which goes against the

habits of their lives, because they know no other way to contain the contempt for law they have found. They are, as we all are, frustrated by Mississippi. But they are also frustrated and maddened by what they plainly conceive to be the moral reticence of their government and their nation. That must be why they feel compelled to remind the President that the Attorney General has, despite the President's own go-ahead signal, four times asked the Civil Rights Commission to postpone public hearings in Mississippi. . . . It is natural that the Commissioners should think that this request represents equivocation; but it was also natural for the Attorney General to be cautious about anything that might further charge an atmosphere already hostile enough for the prosecution's cause. The Attorney General made, we think, the wrong balance between his professional necessities and the needs which not only the Commissioners but the Negroes of Mississippi have waited so long to see satisfied. He made, we think, the same wrong balance when he served Senators Eastland and Talmadge with the appointment of federal judges who had been committed, resistant segregationists. But we do not think of Robert Kennedy as an indifferent man; nor can the Civil Rights Commissioners believe *they* are the only men in this government who care. Still, they must have begun to wonder.

"The President may refuse what they ask, but none of us can refuse the urgency which has impelled them to ask it. The President has a proper distrust of fanatics; but he will be in peril to his duty to all Americans if he dismisses as fanatic any group of moderate men whom the sight of reality has driven to immoderation." (*The New Republic,* Apr. 27, 1963)

## WOULD ECONOMIC SANCTIONS BE LEGAL?

*The President says no:*

**John F. Kennedy**

"I don't have the power to cut off the aid in a general way, as was proposed by the Civil Rights Commission, and I think it would probably be unwise to give the President of the United States that kind of power, because it could start in one state and for one reason or another it might be moved to another state which was not measuring up as the President would like to see it measure up in one way or another. I don't think that we should extend federal programs in a way which encourages or really permits discrimination. That's very clear. But what was suggested was something else. And that was a general, wholesale cutoff of federal expenditures, regardless of the purpose for which they were being spent, as a disciplinary action on the State of Mississippi. I think that that's another question and I'm not—I couldn't accept that view." (Transcript of the President's Press Conference, *The New York Times,* Apr. 20, 1963)

*The senior Republican Senator from New York says yes:*

**Jacob K. Javits**

"For years I have attempted to amend appropriation bills on the floor of the Senate to deny the use of federal funds for discriminatory use, on the same theory adverted to by the Commission report: funds contributed by citizens of all states, and I would add, of all shades of color, should not under the Constitution be restricted to citizens of only one color. As far back as its 1959 report the Commission found that nondiscrimination could validly be required as a condition of the receipt of federal aid, and in connection with the field of housing, it found that this could be done either by Congress or by the President by Executive Order. Again in its

comprehensive 1961 reports the Commission repeated this principle, stating that 'federal financial support should be withheld from programs which are so administered as to discriminate on racial grounds.'

"The legal authority for this principle is clear beyond reasonable doubt." I think that the report of the New York County Lawyers' Association [see below] makes that clear. The Civil Rights Commission's present recommendation goes beyond their report "only insofar as it recommends withholding of federal funds for all purposes in Mississippi until the state demonstrates its compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States. I see no legal difficulty with this application of the principle: since the entire governmental machinery of the state seemingly is arrayed against enforcement of constitutional rights. . . .

"The question has now been put squarely up to the President of the United States. I believe it is his duty to do the following. It is not sufficient for us merely to ask or demand that the President instruct the government departments appropriately. I think our attitude must be more specific than that. I think it is now the duty of the President of the United States, if he feels that he needs legislation, to send us a message and ask for it. It is my judgment that he does not need such legislation, even to withhold funds. As a President can withhold funds appropriated by the Congress for the construction of bombers—which President Truman, President Eisenhower and President Kennedy have done—so a President can, it seems to me, withhold other appropriated funds including those from a state which is directly violating the Constitution of the United States. But if the President feels that he needs legislation, it is his duty to ask for it by special message to the Congress. . . .

"Secondly and very importantly, even if the President feels he does not need legislation and even if the Attorney General advises him that he does not need legislation, the President may himself be reluctant to make so critical and important a decision as this, in view of the statements of colleagues from the South that to cut off federal funds to Mississippi would be one of the most horrendous violations of the Constitution of which they know, then the President ought to do what was done, for example, by President Eisenhower in the case of sending the Marines into Lebanon, and ask the Congress for a concurrent resolution aligning itself with him on the question of policy which is here involved. . . .

"I believe the President has the necessary power. If he does not have it, he should ask the Congress for legislation. If he has—and I think he has—then he may desire the comfort of Congressional concurrence in an action which would be a drastic one, but which in my opinion the situation calls upon him to take. . . .

"The country cannot tolerate lawlessness. That is what it comes down to." (Address, U. S. Senate, Apr. 18, 1963)

*In a report on President Kennedy's Executive Order to end discrimination in housing (see* Current, *March 1963, page 48), the Civil Rights Committee of the New York County Lawyers' Association reviews the legal grounds for executive action in general.*

**New York County Lawyers' Association**

"The Constitution of the United States prohibits racial and religious discrimination by both the Federal Government and the states and their subdivisions. The due process clause of the Fifth Amendment contains the clear implication that the Federal Government may not deny any person the equal protection of the laws. . . . Similarly, the Fourteenth Amendment bars any state or state agency from denying any person the equal protection

of the laws. . . . Under these provisions, any federal or state action which discriminates against any person because of race, color, or creed is violative of the Constitution, and it necessarily follows that this applies equally to federal and state officials who carry out functions pursuant to federal housing statutes.

"The Constitution also imposes on the President the duty to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed' (Article II, Section 3), and the Supreme Court has held that this obligation includes the protection of rights, duties, and obligations growing out of the Constitution itself. . . .

"In addition, while the Fourteenth Amendment does not operate against purely private conduct . . . the Supreme Court has held in many cases, that the purview of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments extends to situations in which private individuals take on quasi-governmental responsibilities or accept public funds or other assistance in carrying on private functions. . . .

"Clearly, when the government itself sells or rents housing, it cannot discriminate or segregate. When it makes housing available through others, the same principle necessarily operates, for if it did not, the spirit and words of the Constitution would be a nullity for all practical purposes.

"It is not necessary that the statute under which the governmental assistance is granted contain such a prohibition, because the Constitution runs through the text of every statute which is enacted. . . .

"There is also a second ground which was apparently relied on by the President in support of the Executive Order. That is the government's power to insert reasonable conditions for the public good in contracts entered into between the United States and other parties. This approach is basic to the Executive Order. . . . Such a contractual clause would be in line with the public policy of the United States under the various cases previously mentioned. Similar federal authority has for some time been exercised with respect to employment under other government contracts in procurement for defense and other governmental purposes. . . .

"The following are the committee's conclusions:

"1) The Executive Order against discrimination in housing issued by the President on November 20, 1962, is based on sound and well-established constitutional grounds, and is well within the authority of the President —and his duty—to enforce the Constitution of the United States.

"2) The Executive Order does not establish any new rights which did not heretofore exist, but does establish procedures and directives for agency enforcement of such rights. . . .

"[We also conclude that] the power of the President to enforce the Constitution extends substantially beyond the scope of this Executive Order, and the executive power to implement public policy through the inclusion of contract provisions extends even further." ("Report on the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing," Committee on Civil Rights, New York County Lawyers' Association, Apr. 14, 1963, quoted in the *Congressional Record*, Apr. 18, 1963)

## WOULD ECONOMIC SANCTIONS DO ANY GOOD?

*The chief of the Washington bureau of* The New York Times *suggests that Mississippi might be treated as an underdeveloped foreign nation and given more, not less, aid.*

**James Reston**

"Mississippi is in trouble today partly because it is so isolated in mind

and spirit from the rest of the nation, and partly because it is so poor. The effect of the Commission's proposals, if accepted by the Congress, would probably not be to bring the state to heel, but merely to increase both its poverty and its isolation and to deepen the tragedy even more. . . .

"As a matter of fact, there is much to be said for the opposite of the Commission's punitive recommendations, not to reward Mississippi for its rebellious spirit, but to bring her closer into the prevailing discussion and economic well-being of the nation as a whole.

"Ironically, Washington has a policy for most of the underdeveloped areas of the world except her own. The way to bring along the 'underdeveloped nations,' this government believes, is to provide them with 'development grants' and 'technical assistance,' and 'investment guarantees,' and a cataract of teachers, technicians and industrialists.

"We preach 'interdependence' and 'partnership' among the Atlantic nations. We have a 'Peace Corps' composed of many of our finest young teachers and technicians all over the world and an Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

"Our fellow-countrymen in Mississippi will not thank us for the analogy, but many of their problems in both the hills and the delta are similar to the problems of the underdeveloped nations.

"Maybe the Commission is right, that persuasion has failed and only punitive power will prevail. But maybe not. It could be in the end that we need an Alliance for Progress in Mississippi, a people-to-people program, more student exchanges, more technicians bringing the new scientific revolution to the state, more interdependence, more 'partnership,' and more 'technical assistance.'

"After all, we have tried 'military assistance' without much effect." (*The New York Times,* Apr. 19, 1963)

*The executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund agrees with Mr. Reston's notion, but questions whether it could be carried out.*

**Fay Bennett**

"As we have discovered in our foreign aid programs, it is not enough to pour funds into impoverished nations if their officials are corrupt or if the social, economic and political systems keep the aid from being used to provide basic help to the poor.

"The same applies to Mississippi and to other areas in our country where semi-feudal patterns still prevail. An example of how federal aid was proffered but then lost because of local resistance to using it for those who need it most is the tractor driver training program in the Mississippi Delta which was to have been financed by Area Redevelopment Administration funds over a year ago. This project would have provided training to upgrade skills and job opportunities for 1,200 unemployed and underemployed farm workers (about 90 per cent Negro). The farmers wanted the program but political pressures brought about its cancellation at the last minute.

"On the other hand, I understand that federal training funds through the Manpower Development and Training Act are now being used in Jackson, Miss., but on a segregated and completely unequal basis. At last report there were only two programs set up for Negroes, and those only in woodwork, while many more programs, available to 'whites only,' were teaching auto mechanics and other skilled and up-to-date crafts.

"I would ask Mr. Reston how we can insure the proper use of federal funds for local programs so that taxpayers' money is not used to perpetuate undemocratic practices and unequal opportunity. Perhaps the Federal

Government should look into the possibility of installing special overseers in the same way that international unions do when they find a local union guilty of misuse of funds. In Mississippi the issue is not merely misuse of funds but the very development of human personality and fulfilling of human needs, to say nothing of the constitutional rights of free citizens." (Letter to the Editor, *The New York Times,* May 8, 1963)

*A former member of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice feels that federal aid can be "a powerful instrument for promoting civil rights" in the South.*

**Harrison J. Goldin**

"The Mississippi Gulf Coast is illustrative. The nonsegregated atmosphere of the military installation there spills over into the surrounding civilian communities, contributing to the relative decency with which local Negroes are treated. One might be persuaded that the Negroes in a county like Pearl River (of Mack Charles Parker fame) would well benefit from the planned erection of a NASA moon rocket test center.

"Indeed, the thousands of non-Southerners who would populate such a facility and its environs, and overwhelm by sheer numbers bigoted local whites, might achieve in a fortnight the kind of civil rights revolution that the Commission would welcome." (Letter to the Editor, *The New York Times,* Apr. 26, 1963)

A New York Post *columnist supports the Commission's proposal.*

**William V. Shannon**

"The Civil Rights Commission's recommendation to President Kennedy that he consider withholding federal funds from Mississippi until it stops defying the Constitution and the laws has not received a favorable reception in the nation's press.

"The *New York Post* has endorsed it, but other major newspapers, including *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times,* which strongly support desegregation, have editorially condemned the proposal as the wrong way to achieve a good objective, nor is the Kennedy Administration responsive, because cutting off the flow of federal funds to Mississippi would go counter to the approach it prefers to use in dealing with the recalcitrant sections of the South.

"But the proposal should not be allowed to die, for it has much to commend it and deserves serious consideration.

"It has been argued that since Mississippi is an economically underdeveloped and culturally backward area, what it needs is not less federal money but more.

"With the lowest per capita income in the nation Mississippi needs the kind of assistance which Point Four, the Peace Corps and foreign aid give to underdeveloped countries overseas. As far as it goes, this argument is undeniable. But we have to bear in mind that Mississippi has made enormous economic progress in the past thirty years without moving forward one inch in its treatment of Negroes. . . .

"In fiscal year 1962 Mississippi received $650,000,000 from the Federal Government and contributed in taxes only $270,000,000, a net gain of nearly $400,000,000. Undoubtedly if the nation continues subsidizing the state on this scale for another thirty years, some progress on racial discrimination may be made, but not necessarily. The correlation between economic development and enlightenment on racial matters is far from exact.

"Birmingham, Ala., is far more prosperous than Mississippi, but racial conditions are no better. Moreover, the students who have been making

life miserable for James Meredith at the University of Mississippi come from the state's middle-class families. They may suffer from cultural poverty, but they are not economically badly off.

"The crux of the issue in Mississippi today is economic and political power. The white businessmen, farmers and lawyers who run the state know that if they let the Negroes vote, they will lose their present monopoly of power. When I visited Mississippi three years ago, a rich farmer in a county that was almost half Negro said to me: 'Do you think I want to live in a county where the sheriff and the judge are niggers?'

"No matter how rich this farmer and his fellow members of the white ruling class become, they are not going to surrender political control to the Negroes if they can possibly help it. After all, if Negroes can win political office, they may become even more 'uppity' and demand higher wages or better terms on the loan from the bank or a full accounting of their share of the cotton crop at the end of the season. It is a blunt fact of political life that no ruling class yields power willingly to another group.

"The Federal Government is promoting a revolution in power relationships inside Mississippi. The question which the Civil Rights Commission really poses is this: Should not the Federal Government bring all its strength to bear in this struggle?

"The argument has been that the Commission's proposal would hit the state's poorest citizens the hardest. There is no need, however, to cut off humanitarian assistance such as federal aid to crippled children or the Hill-Burton program for building hospitals. The Administration could be selective in applying this financial squeeze. . . .

"The President and his subordinates in the executive departments do not need any legislation and do not have to invoke any novel constitutional doctrine to withhold money for these projects or shift them elsewhere. It is also well within their administrative discretion to slow down and hold back on Small Business Administration loans, area redevelopment loans and grants and military prime contracts.

"Economic pressure on Mississippi's businessmen would give them an incentive they do not now have to use their influence on the side of political progress.

"It is an old rule in politics to reward one's friends and punish one's enemies. If the Federal Government intends to be the Negro's friend, it should not go on rewarding his reactionary white enemies. The Civil Rights Commission has done nothing novel or unique in commending this ancient wisdom to the President." (*New York Post,* Apr. 21, 1963)

*From an editorial:*

**The New York Times**

"The cutting off of federal funds, as a coercive device, is not only wrong in principle but it would bear most onerously on the state's poorest citizens, including the very Negroes it is designed to protect." (*The New York Times,* Apr. 19, 1963)

*The executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, both of which support the Commission's proposal, disagrees:*

**Roy Wilkins**

"The *Times'* concern lest poverty-stricken Negroes suffer if federal funds are withdrawn is not well founded. They get so little of these funds by way of services or wages that they will not miss their withdrawal." (Letter to the Editor, *The New York Times,* Apr. 29, 1963)

*The editor of a bi-weekly Washington newsletter:*

**I. F. Stone**

"Suppose it was not the rights of Negroes but the rights of property which were menaced in Mississippi. . . . Suppose that when property owners tried to demonstrate, police dogs were set upon them. Suppose that when they tried to appeal to the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, the Mississippi legislature passed special laws . . . making it a crime punishable by five years in jail to make false statements to any federal investigator, providing that in such prosecutions the two-witness rule for perjury would be suspended and one witness would be enough. . . . Suppose bombs had been thrown, not into some poor NAACP or CORE office, but into (forgive the expression) A BANK. Suppose the Civil Rights Commission in desperation had then called on the President and the Congress to suspend all federal aid to Mississippi until it agreed to safeguard fundamental rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Q. Would this suggestion evoke a shush-shush of legalistic horror from the liberal pundits of the great newspapers? Or would the U.S. Army take over Mississippi tomorrow?" ("Suppose Not Negroes but Men of Property Were Being Beaten in Mississippi?," *I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly,* Apr. 29, 1963)

*A suggestion from Simple, a literary friend of a Negro poet and playwright:*

**Langston Hughes**

" 'I would tell Mr. Kennedy to send *not* less government money to Mississippi and such like states, but *more.* The government should not be stingy with them states at all. They need more schools to get educated, more vitamins to get vitimated and more light to get illuminated. They need the four-hour day and the three-day week, with less time to work and more time to play. They need things to play with, too, to take their minds off of race. Mississippi should be declared one big national park, a national Coney Island or Freedomland like New York has, with all kinds of rides and slides and shows and dancehalls and shoot-the-shoots and merry-go-rounds.

" 'But it should be all free—Dixie Disneyland subsidized by the U. S. A. with free Confederate caps for the children, free rootbeers and free popcorn for all, with dancing every day but Sunday. Sundays they should have free revival meetings with Reverend Billy Graham, Deacon Billie Sol Estes, Reverend Adam Powell, Rabbi Goldstein, Bishop Sheen and Brother Brodie in the pulpits, with Mahalia Jackson, Burl Ives and Tennessee Ernie Ford singing hymns, also Clara Ward and the Ward Singers from Las Vegas on the late watch and the Mormon Temple Tabernacle Choir from Salt Lake for Sunrise Services. All this would keep them white folks in Mississippi so happy, they would not have time to go chasing after Negroes with police dogs, or teasing Meredith.

" 'I would also send the best jazz bands in the country to Mississippi—Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Art Blakey, Benny Goodman, swinging Jimmy Smith at the organ, Mongo Santamaria, also Watusi to add a Latin beat—all this free, mind you, plus the best rock and roll singers in the world to entertain between sets. The Kennedys like art, they tell me. Mr. Kennedy, send a little of it to Mississippi! Send Dinah Washington and Peggy Lee. Also Pearl Bailey. Let them peoples down there have a little fun in life, so's they will not be so grouchy. Let the government pay for it. Don't cut off them poor white peoples. Be generous—kill them with kindness—make it 4th of July every day in the week.' " ("For Fun," *New York Post,* May 10, 1963)

Commentary June 1963
Race & Race Relations



## "MY NEGRO PROBLEM"—III

To the Editor of Commentary:

Whatever my disagreement with Norman Podhoretz's article "My Negro Problem—and Ours," I believe that Commentary is to be commended for publishing it and thereby helping to open up areas for discussion that have been closed too long.

Like Mr. Podhoretz's ideas or not, approve them or dispute them, subject him and his article to the analyst's couch, the important thing is not the way he rationalizes his experiences or the conclusions he comes to, but the fact that he brings into the open emotionally based prejudices that exist despite intellectual convictions. All people have emotional reactions often hidden and often inconsistent with their verbalizations. Is it possible that we shall ever attain full and satisfying integration without acknowledging—not accepting—them?

This would seem to be the point of this article and I regret that Mr. Podhoretz instead of writing simply of his own personal experiences proceeded to draw from them highly questionable generalizations and by such intellectualization to obscure the validity of this point.

I regret even more profoundly some of the attacks upon Mr. Podhoretz and Commentary for publishing the article. I understand passionate conviction and deep loyalties, but when righteous indignation veers on demagogy it must be deplored. I refer particularly to those who assail Mr. Podhoretz for questioning whether Jewish survival was worth six million innocent lives. A man can be committed to the survival of the Jewish community yet ask the question that Job asks: Is it worth it at such a price? (Incidentally, a question that was never asked of 6,000,000 victims.) High moral rhetoric will not answer the very real problem the article poses. Nor will silence eliminate discrimination and prejudice. . . .

By writing the article, Mr. Podhoretz has afforded us not only the opportunity to evaluate his attitudes critically, but the even greater opportunity of questioning ourselves and the contradictions that may exist between our own utterances and actions. Such self-exploration could be extremely productive. It might even help us to understand why discrimination, however subtle, is practiced today by so many articulate defenders of integration.

Joseph Willen

New York City

To the Editor of Commentary:

In the dark all cats are gray. So now in the light should all cats be white? You are saying the only hope for a Negro is to become white. It is cruel and insulting to wish a black man white. Think of pale hordes who risk skin cancer and other afflictions to achieve the "stigma" you would wish out of existence. Wish instead, Mr. Podhoretz, that the black man accept with delight the irony of having no choice.

(Mrs.) Zöe R. Sherwood

Poughkeepsie, New York

To the Editor of Commentary:

. . . Mr. Podhoretz's experience would seem to be neither very exceptional nor profitable—to himself or to others. It reveals nothing new about the "love" or "hate" content of the racial nightmare except perhaps that the use of these emotive words can only confuse and obfuscate any reasoned attempt to "solve" the black-white problem.

I was born in a small upstate New York town, and on the right side of the railroad tracks. That did not save me from being beaten up regularly on my way to school by a bigger Negro boy who finally solved my Negro problem for me by teaching me how to win by not fighting fair. Twenty-five years later my son, who had organized the first-graders in defense of the Scottsboro boys (he believed that they were first-graders, too) was similarly educated and emancipated by an equally tough and unscrupulous Negro roughneck in the school yard of the Newton, New Jersey high school.

Neither of us hates Negroes as a result of these experiences, nor thinks that as a race they are congenitally dirty fighters. But neither do we love them, nor they us, al-

though we both continue to aid the struggle for equal Negro rights. I don't love any of the many Negro leaders I have worked with, although it has been my good fortune to like and be liked by most of them.

Again, neither love nor hate will serve to exorcise the racial nightmare, whereas reason and good will can do, have done, a great deal, even in dealing with hate phenomena like the Black Muslims. The latter are unlikely to determine the future of black-white relations, precisely *because* they base themselves on the Hitlerian mystique of inter-racial "hatred."

. . . Negroes can fight for the right to be full citizens and whites can help or hinder them, preferably without the emotional complications of love or hatred. The dirtiness, the violence of that fight then becomes largely a matter of tactics, a clear, cold word which can be reasonably argued about.

JAMES RORTY

Columbia, New Jersey

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The article by Norman Podhoretz deserves no less than all the acclaim it has aroused. How wonderful it is that via this article we can "speak from the heart." The only hope for moving out of darkness is to bring light to the dark places within us. Congratulations.

(RABBI) BERNARD KLIGFELD

Long Beach, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz's article . . . is probably the most honest, straightforward personal examination of the roots of hate and prejudice that I have ever seen. He puts the psychological realities into perspective by juxtaposing them with his own personal experience. He substitutes truth for glibness, honesty for cant, and his soul for the illogical logic of rationalization. And he is right about the solution; the only way to destroy a barrier is indeed to destroy it. This is a classic essay which will have poignant meaning for generations to come.

(DR.) HARRY LEVINSON

Topeka, Kansas

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . Whatever may be true of Mr. Podhoretz's problem, our Negro problem, so called, is one of justice and injustice, to gain for Negroes in law and practice truly equal rights. This has nothing to do with likes or personal feelings. . . .

I have worked for equal rights for Negroes all my life. When I am asked if I like Negroes I answer "No." I add, of course, that I don't like whites either. I like some Negroes and some whites, but it never occurs to me to put my efforts at racial justice on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. Would members of the American Civil Liberties Union, for example, put their efforts on the basis of whether they like Communists or members of the John Birch Society?

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I was enormously impressed by "My Negro Problem—And Ours." It is the first time that I have seen an article by a white person that was frank, open, and expressed the concern and upset within the mind of a liberal. I think the tremendous sensitivity that Mr. Podhoretz shows and his analysis of the problem will prove of great value to people working in the field of human relations. . . .

O. BERNARD LEIBMAN

Queens College
Flushing, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Podhoretz deserves much credit for having the courage to be blunt and honest. His insight into the mechanism of prejudice that it is "a two way street" should add to our understanding of the issue. That envy as an emotion may take hold of the privileged is a truth often ignored. This is coming to the surface in the relief welfare issue. Also his remarks about the white middle-class liberals are painfully true. . . . And finally, it was refreshing to find an absence of the usual phrases that were applicable in the 19th century. The status of the Negro is changing from day to day. This is news to our sociologists.

The utopian solution Mr. Podhoretz suggests is not going to do us or our children much good. I do not have a better one. What troubles me in the confrontation is that the values and standards of our culture are being further diluted. This is happening, first, because our Jewish intellectuals are not grounded in our own heritage. And, secondly, the Negro leadership is politically oriented for short-term integration rather than cultural elevation and assimilation. Were they to emphasize the latter course it would not eliminate prejudice but would lift a cloud from our cultural and economic horizon.

Concerning Jewish survival Mr. Podhoretz says that there was "a memory of past glory." However, in the beginning there was slavery, as we proclaim on Passover night. It is the glory that followed a period of slavery that is unique and might serve as an inspiration to the Negro people.

(Dr.) Menahem Steinberg
Chicago, Illinois

To the Editor of Commentary:

To my mind, Mr. Podhoretz's article is a beautiful explication of what has been for too long lethargically taken for granted or left unsaid, if not avoided. My thanks for his insight and honesty and courage. . . .

Jon Aaronson
Civil Rights Club
Harpur College
Binghamton, New York

To the Editor of Commentary:

The intellectual agony, the personal courage, and the moral integrity evidenced in the article by Norman Podhoretz in your February edition have rarely been witnessed by this reader anywhere in the annals of American opinion and journalism. The will and the capability to show that popular panaceas may not be panaceas at all, and that our social problems may in fact have no solutions—all of this runs wholly contrary to the purposive optimism of American liberalism. But Mr. Podhoretz, a distinguished editor whose own credentials as a liberal are not subject to question, has not hesitated to take a look without the rose-colored glasses at a critical American problem. . . .

In one respect, however, the situation may not be so dark as Mr. Podhoretz reports, although in a more comprehensive sense it may be even darker. . . . From my own years in the South I think it accurate to report that in that region hatred is *not* the essence of racial differences. On the contrary, the typical white Southerner characteristically feels a form of love for Negroes, whom he has known long and well, but it is similar to the love that an adult feels for a small child. . . . The Southern white loves the Negro but feels that he is in some way inherently inferior and thus is not qualified to join white society on unrestricted terms. The analogy is not perfect, of course, because the adult expects that the child eventually will grow up whereas the Southern white characteristically questions whether the Negro will ever develop sufficiently to be fit for unlimited access to white society. Yet, the analogy holds even here, to some extent. . . . The hope in this situation is that once the Negro has forcefully persuaded his white Southern neighbor that he is not an inferior subhuman creature, something approximating the old love relationship will reassert itself just as it does between parent and child after the child himself has attained adulthood. . . .

The aspect of the situation which is perhaps far more somber than even Mr. Podhoretz suggested is to be discerned by taking a longer historical perspective. In virtually all societies of which we have any record there are patterns of discrimination no less odious than those which we now discern in our own society. Whether the substance of the discrimination be founded on racial distinctions, other visible physical differentiations, economic differences or whatever, it is apparently true that peoples everywhere have felt a need to regard themselves as inherently superior to some other peoples. . . . The conclusion is that even if we followed Mr. Podhoretz's prescription of intermarriage, and even if this eventually resulted in only a single worldwide racial type, people would presumably still find grounds on which to regard other people as inferior and thus to be discriminated against.

If there is a bright spot in this otherwise somber conclusion, at least with respect to America, it may be found in a continuing commitment to democratic values and a continuing effort to improve the practice of those values. Even hatred, fortunately, is an emotion which is not necessarily incompatible with democratic procedures, as long as the hatred is weaker than the commitment to these procedures. . . .

Vincent Davis
Department of International Relations
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

To the Editor of Commentary:

Mr. Podhoretz's article seemed to me to speak out honestly and clearly on an important part of the problem of racial conflicts and misunderstandings. I plan to use this article in a workshop discussion program of which I am chairman, because it so definitely reveals the individual and personal problems, and avoids the generalization and the stereotype. . . .

I am grateful that he had the courage to express his thoughts where restraint has

so often been suggested as the safer course. I hope this action leads to a more meaningful approach to our whole intergroup problem in these United States.

DAVID ARONSON
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I suspect that the Negro problem of Mr. Podhoretz (and ours) is really one of weariness. One senses a feeling of exhaustion and frustration among Negro leaders, who—at least in the courts and official sympathy—keep winning and winning, at what must be a fearful emotional cost, and yet have won so little compared to what must eventually be won. Historically, many great social and political upheavals have been preceded by corrective improvements. There is no denying that the status of Negroes has improved in every respect. The difficulty is, simply, that having a glimpse of what life can and should be like for them, Negroes (understandably) have lost the power to move gradually and prefer "deliberate speed."

Some great issues are never resolved. They may be modified or cease to matter. . . . To imply—as does Mr. Podhoretz—that we must now all face and resolve our individual ambivalences is to shirk the questions of the day. . . . The struggle to assist Negroes, in one way or another, to achieve more or less equal minority status is the only viable one. Any redirection in emphasis, however prophetic, may prove to be a luxury pursued at the cost of all the gains so far achieved. The question is obviously not that of equal minority status *or* miscegenation. The former is enough to think about and the continued struggle for it can be relied upon to produce its share of unanticipated, related agonies without musing on hypothetical issues which are best left to a future and, hopefully, more enlightened and less scarred generation. . . .

LLOYD KAYE
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

If Mr. Podhoretz had spelled out his basic outlook in "My Negro Problem—And Ours," his conclusions would have been less shocking than dull. His social ideal is a monolithic national culture achieved by a thoroughgoing assimilation. . . . This is but one step short of cosmopolitanism. To solve the Negro problem the Marxist cosmopolite proposes the classless society. Mr. Podhoretz recommends a monochromatic nation. . . .

The situation of the American Negro is that he is black in a predominantly white and hostile society. His background, neglected by the history books, is one in which he can take at least a little pride. And, if need be, he can weave a concept of "*négritude*" which includes Mr. Podhoretz's contributions of physical grace and vitality. The authentic Negro, like the authentic Jew, does not seek to disappear. They both rest their hopes on integration in a genuinely pluralist society, where the overwhelming majority will regard their neighbors' differences with equanimity, with understanding, and with approval.

NATHAN LEARNER
Quincy, Massachusetts

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Norman Podhoretz's solution of the Negro question—and the Jewish, it would seem—has all the weaknesses of utopianism. Before miscegenation can be seriously encouraged, a revolution in values must take place. Otherwise, like so much in utopianism, it is cruel, not at all humane. And to encourage—I should say sacrifice—one's own child is a kind of sublimated infanticide, with the right mixture of pleasure and pain for the parent. I would find Mr. Podhoretz more persuasive, incidentally, if he would lead the way. All this does not mean that Southerners are right in saying that before we propose integration we had better see that its logic leads to the question: "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" Certainly disturbing, the question may be easier to answer than we think. Like Mr. Podhoretz's proposal, the question is raised in a social vacuum. Only when miscegenation is normal will the question really pertain to actuality; and then it will no longer have any force or meaning. . . .

ISADORE TRASCHEN
Troy, New York

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

What a fine—yes, great—article that was on your/our Negro problem. Mr. Podhoretz is doing for the conscience and unconscious of "our persuasion" what Baldwin has been doing for his.

GERALD WALKER
Past President
Society of Magazine Writers
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Podhoretz has written of the relationship between the white man and the Negro with deep sensitivity and unusual

candor. . . . The cathartic effects of such candid soul-searching can serve to contribute a measure of progress in the troubled sphere of race relations. . . .

In spite of this, however, I feel moved to register a sense of uneasiness which the article has provoked in me. True, Mr. Podhoretz has honestly exposed a cancer, an operation which no doubt caused him, as well as many of his readers, considerable pain. But after so skillfully cutting through to the root of the trouble, having sighted it, he abruptly drops his instruments, as it were, and gives in to a terrible paralysis of movement, or at best a strong desire to escape from the scene of the operation. For in his concluding paragraphs. . . . Mr. Podhoretz has . . . called for total assimilation, for the disappearance of color differences through intermarriage. He has also invoked the terrible fate of six million innocent Jews—victims of German massacres—as an example of what awaits a group which insists on survival as a distinct entity; and he has questioned whether the centuries-long effort at perseverance was worth such a horrible price. . . . Without presuming to be "God himself" I would suggest to Mr. Podhoretz that survival, on a group level no less than on an individual one, can be a basic desire, and need hardly be justified. The sacrifice of so many lives toward that end is justification enough. . . .

MENAHEM DUNSKY

Montreal, Canada

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Mr. Podhoretz has made a moving confession of his early experience with Negroes but he went over the cliff when he said that in the culture of the streets when we were kids, there was an irreconcilable difference between us whites and the Negroes. I contend that not as many as he thinks shared his social trauma.

I grew up in the Harlem of the 1920's, and in my 7th Avenue Arrow A.C. there were Negroes and Spaniards as well as Jews. Our loyalty was to 7th Avenue, not to our color or religion. If I feared and hated any group it was the Irish of 8th Avenue. . . .

In my non-liberal Orthodox Jewish home, I would have been sharply scolded had I expressed any Jim Crow sentiments. . . . There was prejudice in my youth but it was against the *goyim*. It came from religious-survival motives having to do with intermarriage and from the bad dreams of pogroms. It came from an American Christian world which ignored us and tried to keep us in our place. . . .

I recall these fragments of the past to oppose them to Mr. Podhoretz's memories and to remind him and Mr. Baldwin, whose article in the *New Yorker* he refers to, that they have forgotten the lessons of the Jewish drama in America. . . .

Mr. Baldwin . . . says the Negro is sick and tired of the sin of gradualism. But gradualism is a sin only when history is permitted to move at the speed set for it by the majority culture. We Jews have forced history to move faster. Not by assimilating, but by becoming more Jewish; by accepting our identity, not our place; by learning who we were and who we are and letting America know it. Indeed, that is what Mr. Baldwin has so successfully done as a Negro.

There is a failure of communication here. But the fault is the Negro's as well as ours. He has only begun to tell us who he is, where he came from, what he wants. Equal rights are fine, but equal rights for whom? Why aren't there courses in Negro history in our schools? White bias is only half the reason: Negro weakness of will is also responsible.

Assimilation is as bad as extreme nationalism. . . . Mr. Podhoretz has a theory which, if pursued, would deprive the American of African descent and the American of other descents of the growth inherent in the marriage of cultures, not necessarily of blood. . . .

MICHAEL BLANKFORT

Los Angeles, California

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I would like to add my voice to what I am sure is the outcry raised by Norman Podhoretz's article. I can readily understand why Mr. Podhoretz thought of the child he was when he read Mr. Baldwin's piece; Mr. Baldwin's evident and fierce honesty tempts us all to emulation. All the same, there is a radical difference between Mr. Baldwin's "Letter" and Mr. Podhoretz's "Problem": Mr. Baldwin's piece is interesting in itself, Mr. Podhoretz's only as a memoir. . . .

Baldwin's solution seems to me wrong, but his right to express that solution undeniable. Podhoretz's solution, evidently an official recognition of the miscegenation practiced in this country since Negroes were first brought here, seems simple enough and satisfactory. What's wrong, then, with his "Problem"?

In the first place, it is a pseudo-problem. Mr. Podhoretz's Negro problem is his, rather than ours. His solution, furthermore, is in-

adequate. Assimilation is not a substitute for social pluralism. Also, it smacks of the conformity we all think we deplore, and suggests that the only way to protect ourselves from one another is to hide in one another. In this connection, let me answer Mr. Podhoretz to say that . . . the ovens of Auschwitz did not discriminate between assimilated and non-assimilated Jews, did not even insist upon consuming only Jewish bodies. Auschwitz was a terrible but inadequate attempt to solve the problem of minorities, in the crudest and most desperate way. White solutions to what white men choose to call "the Negro problem" have not yet reached that degree of crudity and desperation, but the nature of white exploitation of the Negro is obvious. . . .

My other objection to Mr. Podhoretz's article is the standard liberal objection, at which lately we have been learning to sneer. Whites have simply lost the franchise to express hatred of the Negro. We have, one way or another, hated the Negro long enough; even if we have not individually hated the Negro, we have behaved as if we did. Our job is certainly to understand our feelings about Negroes, as Mr. Podhoretz has earnestly tried to do; but we are no longer free to luxuriate in them. . . . There may come a time—soon, I hope—when Mr. Baldwin will lose *his* franchise to express Negro hatred of the whites, or when the social situation is so changed that private feelings, even of James Baldwin, are irrelevant and unimportant. . . .

R. L. Colie

Department of History
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut

To the Editor of Commentary:

I do hope Norman Podhoretz feels better now. If public confession in a compote of sociology, psychology, and philosophy doesn't help, what will?

Oddly enough, I know of a Jew (me) who didn't suffer the emotional and practical disadvantage of growing up in a racially mixed neighborhood. I didn't grow up thinking all Jews were rich either. . . .

Where I lived there were none other than Jewish boys to chase me home and beat me up. I never won a medal for track (which is why I was so consistently caught, I guess), but a kid named Goldstein did once shake me down for six marbles.

So there I was, a victim of Jewish cruelty. Some of those cruel Jewish boys were also pretty fast with carefree Jewish girls and aroused erotic notions within me. Some skipped school, too, and didn't wear scratchy coats and earmuffs in winter. . . . I don't mean to brag, but I'm sure I logged as many childhood hours cowering as did Mr. Podhoretz.

Mr. Podhoretz has come to the conclusion that the genuine, lasting answer to the Negro problem is (I'm not gutsy enough to use the brave word he did) assimilation. I hear tell some Jews have considered that road as their solution, too. But I do wonder if the Negroes are prepared to wait that long. I suspect many Jews aren't. . . .

Mr. Podhoretz is concerned that the integrated Negro of tomorrow may run aground on empty, middle-class values. If I were a Negro I would say that is my problem, not his. . . .

I'm going to go way out on a limb and guess that Mr. Podhoretz's traumas notwithstanding, millions of American Negroes are going to continue to press forward for equality—in jobs, in schools, in neighborhoods, in unions, in every place and everything. No one, least of all Mr. Podhoretz, has suggested anything better for them to do. And when that equality is achieved no one is going to be more surprised than Mr. Podhoretz, for then he will understand what Negroes have been after all this time. . . .

Gene Brook

Huntington Woods, Michigan

To the Editor of Commentary:

. . . Norman Podhoretz's piece will, I think, give rise to much bitter laughter since it fails in so many ways as a solution (even as an examination) of one of our sorest problems. It fails, I believe, because: (1) it offers only an account of an experience strictly limited in time and space; (2) it does not take into account the hundred or so years of harsh white supremacy that resulted in the Negro viewing *all* whites—Jew *and* gentile—as his omnipresent nemesis; and (3) it overlooks the value of a pluralistic society, seeing, instead, the only solution as lying in intermarriage. . . .

Elliott Gross

Monsey, New York

To the Editor of Commentary:

After reading and re-reading "My Negro Problem—And Ours" I am convinced that this essay too will serve as a landmark in the social essay along with Baldwin's. I was very moved by Norman Podhoretz's piece. And not simply intellectually. . . .

Why envy the Negro his grace, his physi-

cal skills? Why not ask what it is that prevents grace and physical skill from becoming a general property of the young? Mr. Podhoretz speaks of middle-class, white respectability—what does this mean but being cut off from the labor process, the work process, the creative process, as such? The solution is thus not the direct liquidation of the color line, through the liquidation of color; but rather through a greater physical connectedness of the whites; and a greater intellective connectedness of the blacks. . . .

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ
Chairman

Department of Sociology
Hobart and William Smith Colleges
Geneva, New York

July 1, '63
R+R Rel.

# RACE TROUBLE— IS IT THE SAME THE WORLD OVER?

**Race conflicts in the U. S. are drawing a wave of criticism from abroad. White treatment of Negroes is widely denounced as a horrible example to mankind.**

**But is this primarily an "American problem"? A check around the world shows that oppression, segregation, color bars are common in most countries. In many, racial antagonism is far worse than anything in America—and it's still growing.**

Look the world over and you quickly discover that race is a problem in almost every place where color differences exist.

Africa's blacks have the whites on the run in the Congo and Kenya—at a time of outcry against white rule in South Africa and Portuguese Angola.

Chinese are seeking to rally colored races of the world to their side in their battle with Russia for leadership of the world Communist movement.

Russia, on her part, is holding down the yellow races in her population. Negro students from Africa have been attacked by whites in the Soviet bloc.

Great Britain, after race riots, has cut down drastically on immigration of black and brown people.

Mulattoes, the propertied people of Haiti, are being oppressed by a Negro-supported dictatorship. In British Guiana, British troops are trying to prevent civil war between Negroes and persons whose ancestors came from India.

India, itself, is deeply divided by caste in which differing color often plays a role.

Many countries practice discrimination on other grounds besides race.

Ceylon has denied citizenship to hundreds of thousands of persons whose ancestors came from India within the last century. Christians, in Egypt, find themselves at a disadvantage in getting jobs. Arabs, in Israel, feel left out.

Yet the world, moralizing, tends whenever possible to point the finger of blame at the U. S. and its race problem.

To find whether other nations, too, have trouble in integrating, "U. S. News & World Report" asked its correspondents abroad for on-the-ground reports.

## BRITAIN: Race Feeling Runs High

LONDON

The British are using "Commonwealth segregation" to avert explosive race problems.

Race riots in British cities caused Parliament to end free entry of people from other Commonwealth countries.

What had become a flood of black people from the Caribbean is reduced to a trickle. Negroes who had been coming in at the rate of 5,000 a month are permitted to enter now at a rate below 500.

Only 50 Pakistanis are coming monthly, compared with more than 4,000 before the gates were closed. Immigration from India is down from 3,000 a month to about 600.

In Britain, the ratio of colored to white is about 1 in 100—compared with 1 in 9 in the U. S. In all of Britain there are about 500,000 Negroes. Yet race feelings run high.

Negroes are discriminated against in housing, jobs, restaurants and in pubs. Upper-class Negroes making hotel reservations often find no rooms available when they show up. Newspaper advertisements offering apartments frequently stipulate "Europeans only" or "no coloreds."

Mixed marriages are increasing, though. White girls with black men are a fairly common sight in London. Racial mixing, socially, is widespread in universities and does not seem to be frowned upon. There is no segregation in state-run schools, where the Negro proportion usually is not large.

Segregation, however, is extensive in industry.

Government-operated employment exchanges frequently are instructed by employers to send "no coloreds, Irish or Jews." In factories that do not ban colored workers, there is usually an unofficial "quota" for nonwhites. A majority of colored persons take the jobs that whites don't want.

Legislation to outlaw racial discrimination—similar to that President Kennedy is submitting to Congress—has been introduced in Parliament in each of the past five years but has been defeated repeatedly.

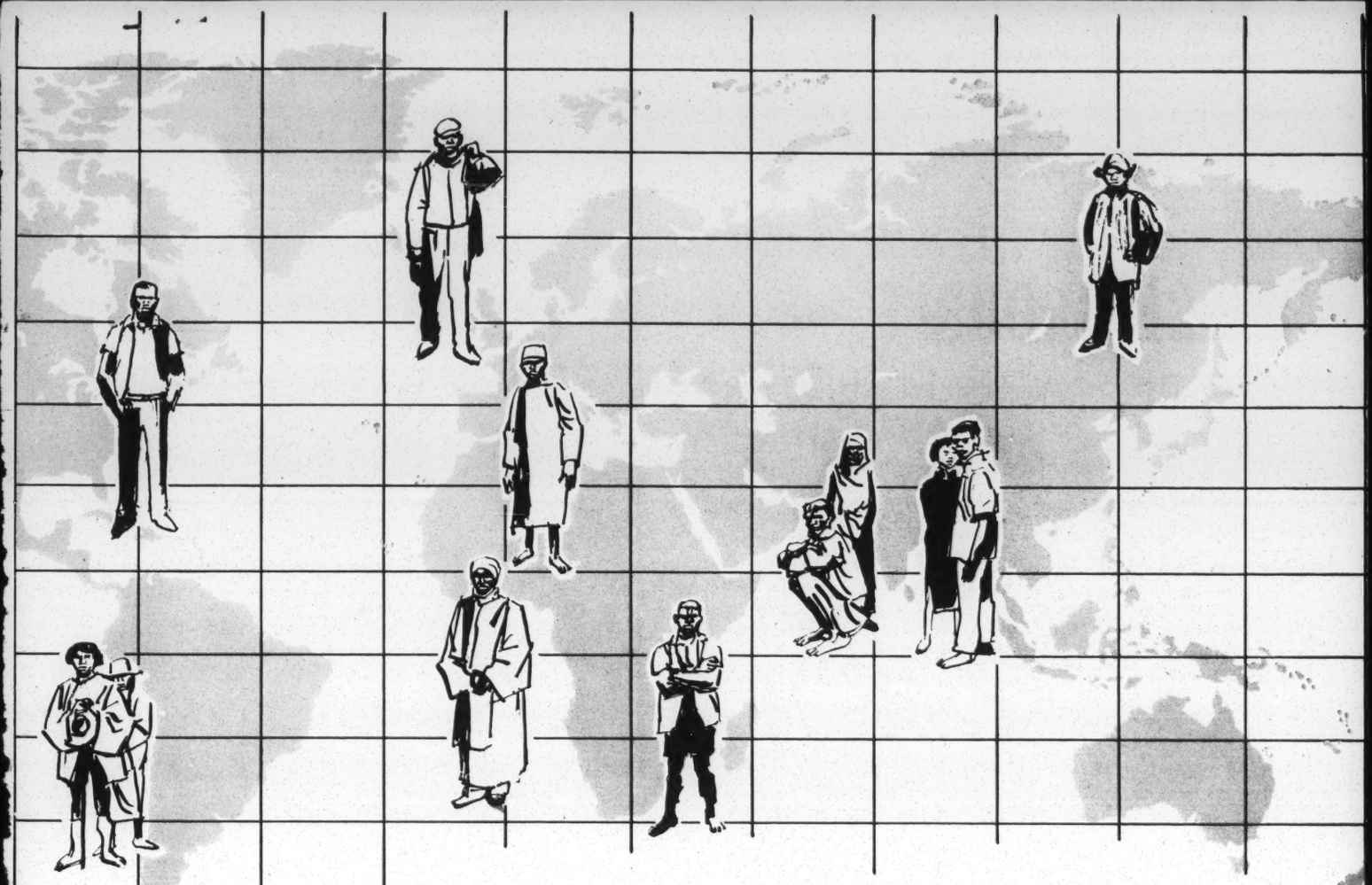
## AFRICA: Intense Hatred of Whites

LEOPOLDVILLE

Race feeling is strong here in the Congo and elsewhere in black Africa where hatred of whites is intense.

As a result, the white man's future on this continent appears to be anything but promising.

Travel through many of the newly independent countries of Africa and you find that, where the African once was treated as inferior to the white "colonialist," the situation today is reversed. It is the black man who is becoming entitled



to jobs and property, to the exclusion of the white man. Furthermore, one tribe discriminates against another—in fact, slavery is not unknown.

Kenya offers an example of the new twist to the race problem in Africa.

Kenya is to achieve full independence at the end of this year. Among the 7 million Africans is a white minority of 60,000—largely landowners—and an Indian minority of 165,000.

Kenya's black leaders say there will be no discrimination on the basis of race. Yet discrimination actually has begun. A white civil servant, who may have been born in Kenya and spent his entire life there, is likely as not to find his job taken over by an African of black skin. Idea is to "Africanize" the Government.

Thousands of white settlers, fearing what lies ahead, already have left. Value of rich farms, built up by whites, has been in a drastic decline.

Indians in Kenya live completely apart from both whites and blacks. There is little, if any, social mixing.

There is, moreover, little mixing among Kenya's 50 or more black tribes. Many fear domination by the Kikuyu tribe with its 1.5 million members. One tribe, the Masai, is of Nilo-Hamitic origin rather than Negro. It completely disdains association with other tribes and believes races should be kept completely separate. The Somalis of Northern Kenya want to secede and join their brethren in Somalia.

The Sudan, biggest country in Africa, practices both religious and racial segregation. The African tribes of the Southern Sudan, many of them Christian or pagan, are regarded as inferior by Arabs, who are Moslem. Few blacks, especially if they are Christians, can get jobs in the civil service. Intermarriage is infrequent.

In the Congo, the Lulua and Baluba tribes wage continual war. Around Leopoldville, the Bakongo tribe dreams of setting up a Bakongo nation. Many whites, since the end of Belgian rule, have been subjected to abuse, injury and even death by armed blacks.

The haughty desert tribe of Nigeria called the Fulani will not mix with the Hausas, who are of different stock. Fulanis consider themselves a superior race who ought naturally to be served by others.

Even in Liberia, discrimination is prevalent. "Americo-Liberians," descendants of U. S. slaves, run the country and do not mix easily with backward tribesmen.

"Integration" is not something that gets any real attention in black Africa.

## ASIA: "Ghettos" and "Untouchables"

TOKYO

Nowhere in the great arc of East Asia, from Japan to India, is there a country free of racial antagonism or of discrimination against minorities.

Segregation is not sanctioned by law in any area. Yet "separateness" of minorities is enforced by popular attitudes far more severe than segregation in the U. S.

In Japan, for instance, Koreans who have spent all their lives in Japan live in "ghettos" because of economic and social pressures. They are scorned by the Japanese and are "second-class citizens" by any definition.

Another skeleton in Japan's closet consists of the Eta, the "untouchables" of Japan, who number an estimated 3 million. They are descendants of executioners, butchers, leather workers, potters, undertakers and umbrella makers.

In feudal times they could go outside their own villages only between sundown and sunrise. The class and segregated villages were abolished in 1871. Yet today there are at least 6,000 Japanese communities that are almost exclusively Eta, among the poorest in Japan.

Many firms unofficially discriminate against workers of Eta birth. Even now it is almost impossible for an Eta to marry outside the class. Each year, young couples commit

*(continued on next page)*

# RACE TROUBLE—

## IS IT THE SAME THE WORLD OVER?

[*continued from preceding page*]

suicide because one is Eta and parents refuse permission to marry. Vast increases in spending by the Government to upgrade the Eta have not changed popular attitudes.

Discrimination confronts Chinese living in practically every country of Southeast Asia.

In Indonesia, a presidential decree in 1959 prohibited alien traders—almost exclusively Chinese—from trading outside the main towns. An estimated 300,000 village shops closed their doors. Forty thousand Chinese, "encouraged" by the Government and unwilling to become Indonesian citizens, left the country for Red China.

Indonesia's remaining Chinese are subjected to periodic rioting by Indonesian students. Chinese homes and shops in many towns have been burned and looted recently.

Thailand, in the 1940s, declared 10 provinces and four urban areas "out of bounds" to Chinese. Twenty-seven occupations previously dominated by Chinese were reserved for Thai nationals. Chinese were forbidden to own land. The nationality law was amended in 1953 to provide that children born of Chinese mothers should not be Thai citizens.

South Vietnam, in 1956, ordered 500,000 locally born Chinese males to adopt Vietnamese names, pay taxes and register for military service. All other Chinese males were automatically classified as foreigners, barred from 11 trades and lines of business in which most were engaged at the time.

The Philippines, in 1954, forbade Chinese to start new retail enterprises or to pass along retail businesses to their heirs. Since then, the number of Chinese trade outlets in the Philippines has declined from 18,000 to 12,000. Last year, Chinese were banned from rice and corn-processing industries. They cannot own agricultural land.

Even in Malaya, where Chinese make up 43 per cent of the population, they are heavily discriminated against. State constitutions make certain types and areas of land available only to Malays. Quotas maintain a 4-to-1 ratio of Malays in government service and the armed forces. University scholarships generally go to Malays.

Red China, in its foreign propaganda, calls upon Africans and Asians to throw off "the white man's yoke." Recently, in its quarrel with the Soviet leadership over Red doctrine, it has claimed to speak for the colored races—and has identified Moscow, more and more, with the white race.

At home, however, China's Reds are intent on wiping out the identity of minorities in the thinly populated plains of Mongolia and the mountains of Tibet and southwest China.

Inner Mongolia was given "autonomy," but the area was expanded to include large chunks of territory inhabited by Chinese. In Tibet and Sinkiang, Chinese settlers were brought in from the outside. Chinese got most of the Government posts and Chinese was made a compulsory second language in the schools. Land reform and a succession of purges stripped minorities of jobs, animals and land.

Racial, tribal and religious hostilities abound in Asia. Indonesia's Javanese majority has troubles with the Sumatrans,

*(continued on page 36)*

—Black Star Photo

**Negroes in Britain** are discriminated against in jobs, restaurants and housing. Race riots in cities have led Parliament to limit immigration of nonwhites from Commonwealth.

**Communist countries** preach brotherhood of races but often practice discrimination. Negro students from Africa were beaten by Soviet youths for dancing with Russian girls.

—Sovfoto

—Pix Photo

**British Guiana** proves whites aren't necessary to provoke a racial conflict. Trouble there pits Negroes against descendants of laborers brought from India. General strikes and ill feeling between two races fuel explosive situation.

—Pix Photo

**Teeming India** is plagued by the world's most persistent example of segregation. The caste system, although abolished by law, survives. Many light-skinned Indians look down on those with darker skins.

# RACE TROUBLE—

## IS IT THE SAME THE WORLD OVER?

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and South Vietnam's Catholic-dominated Government takes time off from its war of survival against the Reds to crack down on Buddhist priests representing the religious views of a large majority of the people. In Laos, as well as South Vietnam, discrimination is practiced against mountain tribesmen.

Yet everywhere in Asia, one hears biting criticism of racial discrimination in the U. S. Nowhere is that criticism stronger than in India—itself plagued by the world's most spectacular example of segregation.

This segregation is based on caste, an integral part of orthodox Hinduism. It divides Hindus into four main castes ranging downward from Brahmans, who provide the core of Indian cultural and political leadership.

Each caste, in turn, has hundreds of subcastes based on clan, region or occupation. Outside the caste system are perhaps 60 million "untouchables."

From ancient times on, "untouchables" have been condemned to menial tasks such as cleaning latrines. They were forbidden use of certain temples, and could use only a special entrance of their own into the house of a caste Hindu where they were employed. In some extreme instances they could not let their shadow fall across a Brahman.

Race plays a role in the caste system. History indicates that caste was imposed by light-skinned Aryan invaders against dark-skinned inhabitants of India thousands of years ago. Color lines, since, have blurred. Even today, however, a light-skinned Brahman from the North is considered socially above a dark-skinned Brahman of Southern India.

Modern India has abolished "untouchability" by law. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and others decry segregation by caste. But thousands of "untouchable" villages still exist in India near villages reserved for caste Hindus. In the Gujarat area near Bombay, a survey not long ago showed 1,732 villages where "untouchables" still could not draw water from public wells.

Despite some breakdown of caste barriers among educated Hindus, marriage advertisements still specify caste in most cases—and often mention a "fair complexion."

Even Christians and Moslems of "untouchable" ancestry still find themselves cleaning latrines of caste Hindus. Some Christian churches in South India seat persons according to caste origins. It will be generations, informed Indians admit, before the world's harshest segregation is abolished in fact as well as law.

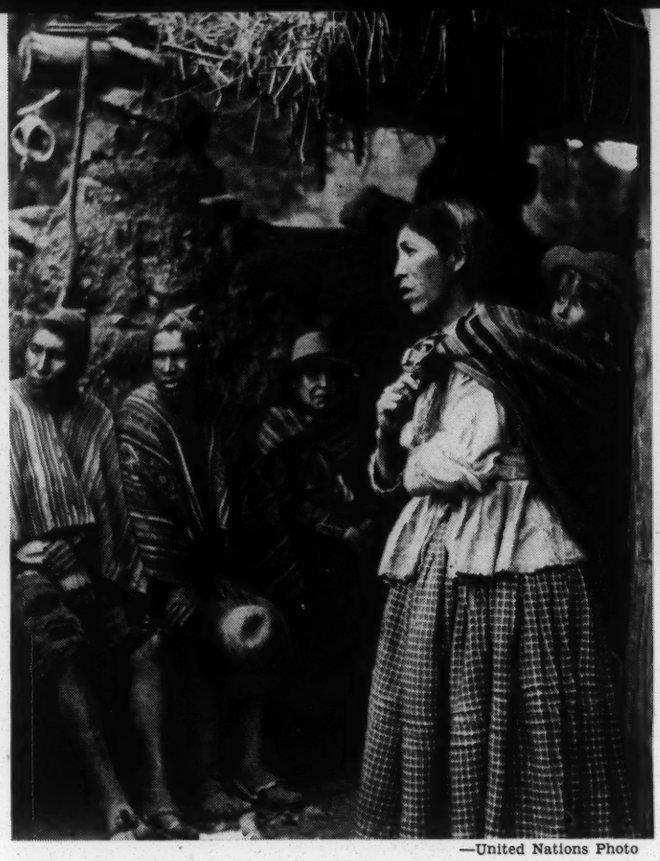
### LATIN AMERICA: Indians Are "Cattle"

MEXICO CITY

Latin America, in the past, often has been pictured as having little racial trouble. But Latin Americans, more and more, are becoming aware of race.

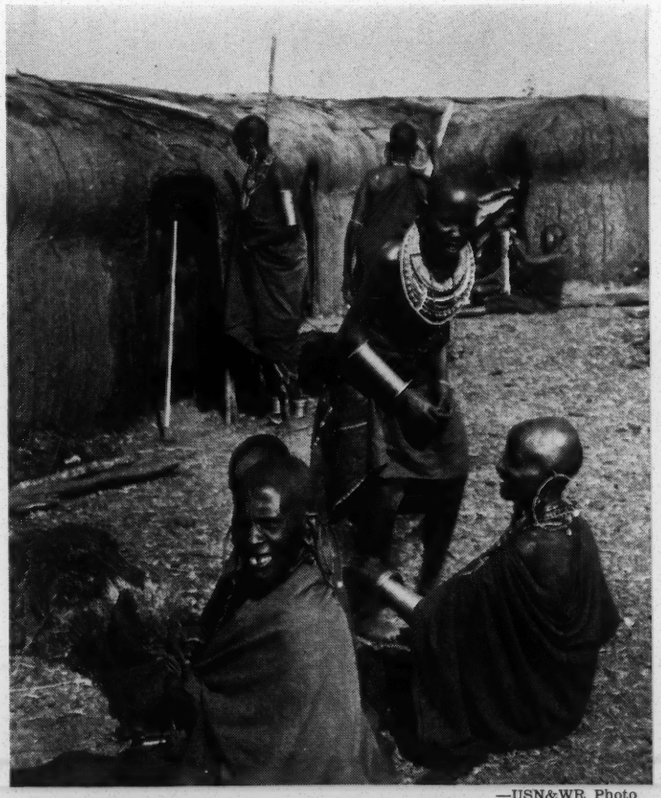
Bitter racial conflict is developing in British Guiana, on the northeast corner of South America. Guiana shows that it doesn't take a white man to make a race problem.

*(continued on page 38)*



—United Nations Photo

**Latin America** has a wide and growing variety of racial problems. In Peru, millions of Indians are treated almost as serfs and are referred to by whites as "cattle." In Mexico and other countries, persons of lighter skins tend to dominate the ruling classes. In Haiti, blacks now prevail.



—USN&WR Photo

**Black Africa** is in the midst of an upheaval that finds the black man gaining power and treating the white man as an inferior. In Kenya, nearing independence, Masai tribe scorns association with other tribes. A sizable Indian minority lives completely apart from both blacks and whites.

—Claude Jacoby Photo

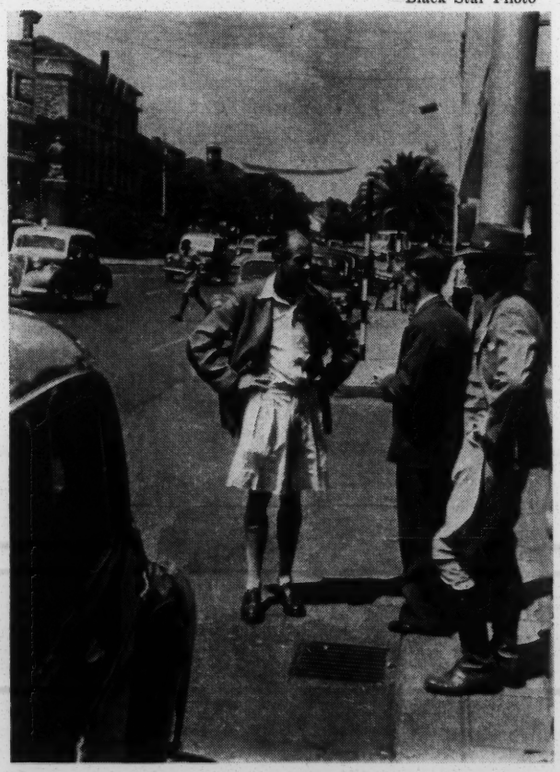
**South Vietnam** practices discrimination against mountain tribesmen. Government also deals harshly with Buddhist priests, who represent views of a large majority of the people. Just about everywhere in Southeast Asia, Chinese are victims of racial bars and regulations that often mean loss of jobs, property and rights.

—Annan Photo

**Indians in Canada** bump into many barriers in housing, jobs, recreation. French Canadians complain bitterly they are treated as "second-class citizens" by the majority whose background is English. Negroes also run into discrimination.

**White settlers** in Africa, fearful of a possible "blood bath" as blacks take over, are pulling out. Discrimination in Kenya has been reversed as Africans move into civil-service jobs held by whites.

—Black Star Photo



**In Indonesia,** discrimination against Chinese has full Government approval. Chinese traders are severely restricted and are subjected to periodic attacks by Indonesian students. Tribal hostilities also are the cause of flare-ups between the Javanese and Sumatrans.

—Wide World Photo

# RACE TROUBLE—

## IS IT THE SAME THE WORLD OVER?

[continued from page 36]

There, whites account for only 13,000 out of 560,000, as the country approaches independence. Negroes, and descendants of laborers brought from India, are almost equal in numbers—and racial trouble centers on them.

East Indians dominate the ruling party, and an East Indian, Cheddi Jagan, is Prime Minister. Since he came to power in 1961, however, there have been two serious riots involving Government and Negro-dominated labor unions.

A general strike, which began in late April, has heightened ill feeling between the two races and the situation now is considered explosive.

Elsewhere, it is the American Indian who often is discriminated against. In Peru, for example, millions of Indians are almost serfs and referred to by whites as "cattle."

Mexico and Brazil are held up as examples of countries where racial tolerance is the rule. Yet even in those countries, persons of lighter skins tend to dominate the ruling classes. In El Salvador, the social secretary of the country's leading hotel was fired when she allowed her skin to become too suntanned. Costa Rica, where 85 to 90 per cent of the population is white, looks dubiously on integration with other Central American countries which are predominantly Indian and of mixed blood.

In Haiti, the story is somewhat different. There, mulatto aristocrats who once were the country's coffee dealers and merchants have been imprisoned and killed, and their property has been stolen. President François Duvalier bases his power on the country's 90 per cent Negro majority, and employs street gangs and militia with a black-racist ideology.

### RUSSIA: Negroes Beaten Up

VIENNA

In the Soviet empire, segregation is not officially practiced. Communist doctrine preaches brotherhood of races and condemns racism as a capitalist product.

The actual picture, however, is rather different.

Largest nonwhite group in Russia is that of yellow-skinned Moslems, constituting 10 per cent of the total population. They are found in Soviet Central Asia and along the Volga River. Large numbers of Russians have been brought into those areas to reduce the predominance of Moslems. Most important positions in government, business and the armed forces are held by Russians.

Since 1957, there has not been a Jew on the Communist Party's ruling Presidium. Only one Jew is found in a leading Government post.

Friction between white and black now is developing.

Negro students from Africa have complained that they were beaten up by Russian youths after dancing with Russian girls. Africans also complain of harassment on trolley cars, on streets and elsewhere.

Similar trouble is developing in satellite nations.

Last February, most of the 350 African students in Bulgaria decided to leave the country when authorities banned the Pan-African Students Union. Bulgarian students, the Africans said, "were not even willing to sit next to us, and they called us 'black apes.'"

In Czechoslovakia, reports told of a springtime brawl in Prague during which a crowd of 300 young Czechs beat an African student for 15 minutes. That evening, two African students were beaten up, and an African diplomat found all four of the tires slashed on his automobile.

These and similar stories are disillusioning to Africans who once saw the promise of racial equality under Communism.

### CANADA: "Intolerance Is Widespread"

OTTAWA

In Canada, the "wrong" color, race or religion can be a severe handicap. By law there is no discrimination based upon either race or color. But a leading newspaper in Toronto recently noted that "intolerance is already widespread in Canada—directed not only at the Jews but at many other racial and religious groups."

French Canadians complain bitterly that they are "second-class citizens" dominated by Canadians of English background.

In Quebec Province, French Canadians have unleashed a campaign of terror to back up demands for secession from the other nine provinces.

Rigid quotas limit immigration of colored races from the West Indies and Asia. Canada's 32,000 Negroes often encounter discrimination in seeking jobs, meals in restaurants, or living accommodations.

A Negro couple in Halifax answered 60 advertisements of apartments without success. Negro tourists from the U. S. are sometimes turned away from resorts despite advance reservations and deposits.

Officially, Canada's 210,000 Indians are equal in every respect to other Canadians. Unofficially, they are often treated as pariahs, avoided whenever possible, and stereotyped as "dirty, drunken, shiftless Indians."

For example, an attempt to establish an Indian hostel in Winnipeg sparked emotional protests—even though the site was in a slum area.

In another Manitoba city, a survey revealed almost two thirds of the residents were prejudiced against Indians and halfbreeds.

Three out of four Canadian Indians still live on reservations—unable or unwilling to overcome prejudice and compete for jobs, housing and social acceptance on the "outside." One angry chief complained his band was suffering from lack of education, drastic unemployment, no medical care, unfair labor practices and indifferent federal officials. Here, as in the U. S., the problem of Indians—who once owned the country—tends to be overshadowed by that of Negroes and other minority groups.

Eskimos, numbering only a few thousand and seldom seen in urban centers, stir more curiosity than hostility. Even so, a Canadian white recently lost his job because he married an airline stewardess who is an Eskimo.

What turns up in Canada is just another version of the same story to be found in any part of the world which has differing races.

Mass murder on the scale practiced by Adolf Hitler in Germany against the Jews in the 1930s and 1940s is not countenanced by any government in the world today. But segregation or discrimination on a wide variety of grounds is being practiced wherever large minorities exist.

Even in countries where racial minorities are relatively small, you learn, there is racial antagonism. Often that antagonism is most violent in those countries which now profess horror at America's handling of its racial problem.

*Related articles on pages 30, 39, 58, 61 and 62.*

The New Leader
7/8/63

R+R Rel.

# THINKING ALOUD

# The Tightrope of Color

*By Daniel Bell*

MR. WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. is of the "radical right"—not in the political sense of an extremist who would disrupt constitutional processes, but in the original literal paradox of the term. He seeks to go to the root of the matter (as a radical does) and (as is the conservative habit) always comes up with the same answer: "You can't change human nature."

This is Buckley's finding, in a recent issue of the *National Review,* concerning the color question. Reflecting on James Baldwin's essay, *The Fire Next Time,* Buckley says that what the Negro wants is an "evanescence of color" and that this is an impossible demand. He cites two instances of Balwin's humiliations—the first involving an Irish policeman who yelled at him as a child, "Go back to Harlem where the Niggers belong"; and the second, which occurred more recently, involving a bartender at a Chicago airport who refused him a drink on the disingenuous ground that he was under 21. Then Buckley asks: "How can such meanness be cured by legislation?" . . . "What shall we do in the new order to that policeman and that bartender? Shoot them? It is more to the point to shoot human nature, whence the troubles really come. . . ." And in his far-out fashion, Buckley concludes: "Pass a law that forbids bartenders from being rude to Negroes and you have passed a law forbidding human beings from being human beings. . . ."

The trouble with this reasoning is that it elides a basic distinction between *prejudice* and *discrimination.* Prejudice is an "attitude" which is not easily changed, whereas discrimination is an "act" which can be barred. If a policeman is brutal to an individual, one can strip him of his badge; true, it may not stop him from being sadistic, but it restricts his opportunities for being so. Similarly, one can say that a teacher who is mean to a child is not fit to be a teacher. The answer, though, is not to shoot him (which is what a Russian has seriously proposed) but to fire him. By penalizing discrimination, one is asserting the moral judgment of the community against these wrongdoers.

The problem of discrimination *is* a problem of law because it involves the cardinal principle of the "rule of law"—the principle of generality. In a public place, or a place open to the public, every individual should be treated equally. So while one does not "cure" meanness by legislation, one certainly can penalize those who are guilty of it, just as one penalizes any act of cruelty.

A different kind of "radical right" (with apologies to Mr. Buckley) is the Black Muslim movement. It is an index of the fever pitch of the color issue that few Negro spokesmen are now willing openly to condemn the Black Muslims, although they were six months ago. Last winter, Kenneth Clark, the Negro psychologist of the City College of New York, opposed Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader, on a television program. Today, Professor Clark is quiet. James Baldwin has expressed some sympathy for the Black Muslim movement; so has Gordon Parks in a recent article in *Life*. And Adam Clayton Powell, that political chameleon, has openly allied himself with the Black Muslims.

Ideologically, Black Muslimism is a form of "chiliastic racism." To the Black Muslims, as C. Eric Lincoln has pointed out in his book, *The Black Muslim in America,* "every white man is a devil—the personification of evil. . . . In Muslim mythology, Black Man—'the Original Man'—was created by Allah, the one true God. The white man, however, is a 'made thing,' a beast, a synthetic man called into being by Yakub, the evil principle. . . . Since the white man is the son of the devil, the white man himself is a devil by nature and incapable of doing good."

In a paper he delivered to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Lincoln cites press reports of Malcolm X's reaction last June to the news that 120 people from Atlanta, Georgia were killed in a crash on a flight out of Paris. Speaking to a gathering of Black Muslims in Los Angeles, Malcolm X declared:

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that has happened. . . . I got a wire from God today [laughter]. Wait, all right, well somebody came and told me that he really had answered our prayers in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it because the Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But thanks to God, or Jehovah, or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."

In this respect, like every form of lower-class mil-

lenarianism, Black Muslimism's twisted hate creates an elan for its followers by an inverted form of superiority. It promises to its adherents a new order which will arise after the spilling of blood.

For the moment, the Black Muslims are in an enviable position. They preach a rhetorical militancy, but at no risk to themselves, since they will not engage in sit-downs, or demonstrate for jobs or voting rights, or conduct any other "integrationist" activity. Yet the movement constitutes a latent danger that could prove far more serious because it preaches a "righteous violence": When one can harness anger and aggression that derive from deep frustrations and resentment with an ideology that erases any guilt for murderous acts, one has all the passion of a *jehad,* or holy war. By lending respectability to such a movement the Negro intelligentsia is badly compromising itself.

WHEN ONE searches for the answer to the relevant question about the Negro agitation—why at *this* time and not before?—it becomes apparent that several elements have conjoined to precipitate racial tensions.

• The context is economic. For more than 15 years—during the period of relatively high employment from 1943 until roughly 1959—the Negro had begun to make economic gains, which were reflected in the increasing stability of Negro working-class family life. There was a new sense of expectation among Negroes for the education and advancement of their children, particularly as more Negroes came North. But the continuing high Negro unemployment rate of the last five years, which no one has wanted to notice until recently, has eroded these gains and increased the anxieties of the Negro community.

• The political promise made to Negroes has not been realized. The movement North has increased the Negro's political weight. In six states, the Negro vote is a virtual balance of power. The Kennedy victory (due in no small part to the rigged balloting in Chicago's colored South Side, which gave the Illinois electoral votes to the Democrats) gave the Negro leadership entree to the new Administration, but then they were told that civil rights would have to take a back seat to other political reforms.

• The new states of sub-Sahara Africa have heightened the color consciousness and pride of the American Negro. He has felt a new—and perhaps ominous—sense of the changeability of history, with the color issue coming to the fore on the world political scene. America's ardent courtship of the new African bloc at the United Nations could only, after all, increase the sense of discrepancy between the actions of the Government abroad and at home.

• Finally, there has been a new competition for leadership among the various Negro organizations. The Urban League had staked its claim to leadership on the grounds of increasing economic opportunity; the NAACP had taken the leadership in pressing for legal redress of Negro rights. But economic opportunities are increasingly difficult to find and legal progress has been slow, and both organizations have been unwilling, until recently, to mobilize the restive Negro community. In Martin Luther King Jr. and his theory of nonviolent resistance the Negroes found a new symbol and a new method of effective combat. In the dramatic action of the Freedom Riders and such revivifying organizations as CORE, the Negroes have found new leadership.

The present Negro mood has been compared to a revolutionary situation. Such comparisons are inexact. Revolutions usually occur when governmental authority has broken down, either because of corruption, an inability or unwillingness to act, or loss of support from the people. None of these conditions are true of the United States today. Unfortunately, what is true about *protest movements,* such as the Negro civil rights movement, is that when legitimate demands are thwarted and long overdue reforms that have been morally sanctioned are not made, then extremist elements take over. The failure of Congress to act can only compromise the moderate elements (already they fear the label!) among the Negro leadership.

With President Kennedy's speech on civil rights, the issue has shuffled back from the streets to the "legislative halls." And the issue has been joined not only politically—and sociologically as Mr. Buckley failed to see in his elision of *prejudice* and *discrimination*—but philosophically as well.

In a subtle sense, and not for the first time, the "right" is learning the old lesson that democracy is always a choice between relative rights. When the President proposed that all private establishments catering to the public be forced to serve all comers, Senators Goldwater and Dirksen raised the question of "infringement" upon property rights, and therefore of "freedom." In their litany, property rights is an absolute and freedom is an abstract noun. But can they be?

Is there not in this instance the rival claim of human personality not to be degraded by considerations (of race, color and class) which negate a person's right to be treated as an individual? Telling a storekeeper that he must serve everyone is an infringement on his use of property. But how ludicrous an infringement when weighed against the rival claim of equal treatment in a place of commerce!

Today, different rights are restricting the exercise of older, established property rights. This is not an abridgement of freedom; it is an abridgement of property. But the change has come about through free debate and through democratic consensus, and the legislative means of redress are still open. What we have, then, is not a loss of freedom, for we are being asked to choose freely between two rights.

JUL 15 1963

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July 10, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
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Dear Friend:

Some Further Reflections Upon the Revolution of Our Times.

During recent weeks it has become almost commonplace to describe as revolutionary the forward thrust of the Negro community in the United States toward the achievement of equal status and the elimination of barriers of discrimination and segregation. What seems to me to be overlooked is that the revolutionary character of the situation arises not only out of the immediacy and breadth of their demands. Its character derives equally from the nature of the response of the white community. That response, with some exceptions, has been resistant, grudging or inadequate.

It is a sad commentary upon our times that even the proposed "Civil Rights Act of 1963" sponsored by President Kennedy reflects a basic misconception of the role which the Federal Government should and must play in the vital areas of school desegration and the elimination of discrimination in places of public accommodation such as hotels, restaurants, theatres, bowling alleys and retail stores. Moreover, at this moment there are few, if any, voices that have been raised in protest against these halfway measures. On the contrary, even these palliatives are likely to be seriously challenged as the legislation undergoes debate in Congress.

The gap between what the Administration's bill proposes and what is urgently needed is perhaps most easily seen in connection with the issue of school desegregation. Since the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 it has been settled law that segregation in public schools violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Even before 1954 it was clear that segregation in public colleges and universities was invalid under that constitutional provision. Yet the fact is that today in the deep South less than 2% of the Negro public school population are attending desegregated schools. Unlike the situation in other parts of the country - about which more later - only a small part of this continued segregation can be accounted for or explained as a result of de facto housing segregation and the application of the traditional principle of

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fixing school district lines so as to preserve neighborhood schools. Furthermore, at the college and university level so few Negroes have been admitted to formerly all-white institutions in the South that it would be an exaggeration to describe the present condition as one of token integration. The proverbial Man from Mars might wonder that after almost a decade such a disparity could exist between the constitutionally guaranteed right to desegregated education and the almost complete nullification of that right in practice.

The answer, it seems to me, lies in the fact that until now the role of the Federal government has, in effect, been limited to providing a judicial system to which Negroes could resort for the purpose of securing the enforcement of their rights and, in particularly critical situations, to employing the Armed Forces to secure compliance with court orders. Otherwise, the Federal government has, by and large, remained indifferent, albeit the Department of Justice has repeatedly filed briefs amicus curiae in the Federal courts in support of the position of Negro plaintiffs and has intervened on occasions to institute contempt proceedings against defiant school and other public authorities. Otherwise - with the exception of several suits brought by the Department in the name of the United States to bar segregation in schools located in "impacted" areas built and sustained with Federal funds - the Federal government has left to the Negro community the burden of converting its constitutional rights into realities.

This situation in my judgment utterly misconceives what should be the role of the Federal government. In the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 it was recognized that the burden could no longer be left upon the Negro community to enforce its constitutionally guaranteed right to register and to vote. It had become obvious that reliance on the right of the Negro to resort to the courts on his own behalf was unrealistic. In my opinion it is no less unrealistic to expect that private suits can achieve desegregation in public educational institutions. The time has come, therefore, to recognize that it is no less vital to the national interest that there be an effective means of implementing the right to desegregated education and it is essential in this area as well that the burden be assumed by the Federal government.

To be viewed against this background are the limited proposals that are contained in the Administration's bill authorizing the Attorney General, upon written complaint by aggrieved persons, to institute suits in the Federal courts against public schools, colleges and universities practicing segregation. Before instituting a suit the Attorney General must certify that the complainant is "unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings." Such certification requires a further finding that either (1) the complainant cannot bear the expense of litigation or obtain a lawyer "directly or through other interested persons or organizations:" or (2) there is reason to believe that bringing a suit would jeopardize complainant's economic standing or result in injury or economic damage to himself or his family.

The first of these two conditions would, in effect, impose a "means test" upon persons seeking the aid of the Federal government for the purpose of securing the implementation of a Federal right. Obviously, such a test cannot be justified on the ground that it would result in avoiding unnecessary or unwarranted expenditure of public moneys. The entire cost of an all-out use of the Department of Justice to secure the right of desegregated education would amount to a mere pittance in the total Federal budget. Moreover, the national interest in assuring to every child that he will not be segregated in his education for life is of such great social value that it is ridiculous to weigh the matter in terms of additional cost to the Federal government.

The means test is further objectionable in that it does not even measure the financial responsibility of Negro parents in terms of their personal resources. It would, in effect, require such organizations as the NAACP Defense Fund to certify that they were unable to obtain sufficient charitable contributions to cover the expenses of legal proceedings. That the Government of the United States should assume such a posture seems to me to be both fantastic and indecent.

The alternative condition which the bill would impose as a prerequisite to suit being brought by the Department of Justice is less obnoxious but hardly less sound. The time has certainly passed when the danger of economic and physical injury to Negro families should be a consideration in determining whether they, rather than the Federal government, should bring suit to secure desegregated education. Like the first condition, it misconceives the interests involved. It regards the interest as being solely that of the Negroes seeking desegregated education. The interest is that of the entire nation.

What has been said above with respect to segregated education is, in my judgment, even more clearly true with respect to the provisions of the bill which would enact a Federal statute prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation. Undoubtedly, Congress has plenary power to adopt such a law in the exercise of the power granted by the Constitution to "regulate commerce among the several States," quite apart from its power to implement the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibiting the states from denying any person the equal protection of the laws. While thus far the debate before Congressional committees has largely been concerned with whether Congress should rest this part of the bill on the Commerce Clause or the Equal Protection Clause, that discussion misses the heart of the matter. Also quite beside the mark is the Congressional debate over "interference with property rights." Obviously, property rights will have to be curbed if human rights are to be protected.

What so far has not occupied the attention either of Congress or the press, is the fact that the enforcement of the proposed Federal rights with respect to public accommodations without discrimination would be, in effect, left to enforcement by private suits brought by aggrieved persons. True, the Attorney General would be authorized to bring suit upon written complaint, but only under the same restrictions as would apply to the institution of suits to secure desegregated education. All of the criticism levelled above against such restrictions upon the Department of Justice are applicable with respect to the public accommodation provisions of the bill. In fact they are here even more pertinent.

It is nothing short of absurd to expect that the Negro community will - or should - cease their demonstrations to achieve the right of enjoyment of places of public accommodation and turn instead to suits in the Federal courts on a case-by-case basis against each individual place of public accommodation. To expect the Negro community to yield its demand for equality now in exchange for the opportunity to carry on litigation seems quite fatuous thinking. Plainly, what is required is that the Federal government directly assume the responsibility for the implementation in the courts of the public accommodation provisions of the bill.

It would be a grave mistake to conceive of the revolutionary crisis of our times as a Southern phenomenon. Sit-ins and other demonstrations in Northern cities these past few weeks should be sufficient to disabuse anyone of such a thought. Indeed, what is happening in Northern cities should teach that the situation which the nation faces requires an entirely new approach even where there is an absence of state or local policies of discrimination or segregation, and even where there are commissions charged with barring such practices in employment, hous-

ing and public accommodations.

Thus, the Negro community in the North is no longer willing to tolerate segregated education on the excuse that it is the inevitable consequence of de facto housing segregation and can not be remedied until the Negro emerges from the ghettoes. This increasingly sharp struggle against segregated education in the public schools of the North reflects to a considerable extent the fact that schools in Negro neighborhoods have provided not only separate but unequal education. They have been not only overcrowded and understaffed but, all too often, staffed by the least qualified teachers. Little account has been taken and less has been done to provide in such public schools for the additional educational aids which children coming from culturally deprived and economically depressed homes require in order to realize their potentials as human beings.

Demonstrations by Negroes seeking employment on construction projects and demanding job quotas and sit-ins in apartment houses and real estate developments reflect, it seems to me, a basic lack of confidence in commissions as an instrumentality for remedying the accrued injuries of past decades. We are, it may be ventured, facing the consequence of limiting commissions to dealing with discrimination on the basis of individual complaints and on a case-by-case basis.

There has long been a failure to provide the Negro community with adequate social services. Instead the general community has thought in terms of "relief" to the destitute - and the Negro is no longer willing to accept that status. Even in such a prosaic matter as garbage collection, services have not taken account of the greater needs of crowded slum areas.

In large measure these shortcomings of Northern cities reflect indifference and apathy toward the poor in general. However, since the Negro makes up so large a part of our poor he has, in practice, been the principal victim. This has been especially true since he has been confined to the slums with little opportunity for escape from such surroundings.

In his struggle for decency and equality the Negro community is fighting a battle whose fruits will be enjoyed by all of the disadvantaged. It is paradoxical that the Negro, the least advantaged, should in his revolutionary struggle become the vanguard in the clash between the haves and the haves-not in American society.

We do, indeed, live in a revolutionary period. It behooves all Americans to apply themselves to the end that the revolution will succeed and that it will not degenerate into civil war.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

# RACE RIOTS OF THE PAST: A WORRY FOR THE FUTURE

**Look at U. S. race riots of the past, and you see why alarm is growing about the danger today.**

**Scores died and hundreds were hurt in such riots as those in Chicago and Washington, D. C., in 1919, and in Detroit in 1943.**

**Now race tension rises again.**

Americans once again are hearing worried talk about the possibility of race riots.

What's causing such talk at this time is the spread of mass demonstrations as a Negro strategy in their campaign for civil rights, and the repeated outbursts of violence that have grown out of those demonstrations.

Several times in recent months, large-scale race riots have been averted only narrowly as crowds of angry Negroes came face to face with crowds of angry white people.

To see what people are worried about now, one need only look at some of the race riots that have occurred in this country in the past.

***Detroit, 1943.*** Of big race riots in the U. S., the most recent took place in Detroit, Mich., in June, 1943. In that riot, 34 persons were killed.

The causes behind Detroit's riot were similar to situations that exist in many big Northern cities today.

Some 50,000 Negroes had swarmed into Detroit during the early years of World War II to work in booming war plants.

Housing was short, especially for Negroes, and thousands of Negroes found themselves jammed into an area known as Paradise Valley. There was competition between whites and Negroes for jobs and promotions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was demanding equal treatment for the newly arrived Negroes. Racial tension mounted steadily.

On June 20, 1943, a Negro and a white man got into a fist fight on Detroit's Belle Isle Bridge. It was Sunday evening and the bridge was crowded with slow-moving traffic. It was hot, and tempers were short. The fist fighting spread. Soon hundreds of whites and Negroes were swinging at each other. Sailors based nearby charged into the melee. Within an hour, it had turned into a full-scale race riot.

Rumors fanned the flames. One rumor, originating in a Negro night club, was that whites had killed a Negro mother and baby.

Whites were told that Negroes had attacked white women.

Negroes began charging through the streets, beating and stabbing whites. Groups of whites began attacking Negroes. Guns were brought into play. An attempt by whites to march into the Negro district was halted by police.

On Monday, as rioting continued, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed a state of emergency and sent 6,000 U. S. troops into the city. It took them two days to restore order.

When the fighting ended on June 23, there were 25 Negroes and 9 white persons dead, at least 700 persons injured. Property valued at several hundred thousand dollars had been destroyed.

***Washington, 1919.*** The year of 1919 was the worst for race riots in U. S. history. There were riots in at least 25 cities scattered across the nation.

One of the worst was in Washington, D. C., the nation's capital. It began on July 19. It was touched off, apparently, by newspaper stories alleging a wave of assaults by Negroes upon white women. White soldiers, sailors and marines began beating up Negroes.

Fighting spread. On the third day of sporadic violence, a mob of whites tried to invade a Negro section of the city. Negroes turned out in large numbers to fight off the invaders.

Finally, federal troops were ordered

## DETROIT SAW VIOLENCE EXPLODE 20 YEARS AGO

—Wide World Photo

Whites pursuing a Negro, extreme right, swarm across Detroit's main thoroughfare in one of series of disturbances that left 34 dead, 700 injured in 1943.

—Detroit "Free Press" Photo

**DETROIT TODAY.** More than 120,000 demonstrators jammed streets in a peaceful protest against segregation.

into action and, with the help of a heavy rainstorm, they managed to suppress the rioting.

Several persons were reported killed and scores were injured in this riot.

Negroes at that time numbered only about one fourth of the capital's population. Today it is estimated that more than 57 per cent of Washington's residents are Negroes.

***Chicago, 1919.*** A week after the Washington riot, an even worse riot began in Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, then as now, was being inundated by waves of Negro immigrants from the South, seeking jobs and an escape from segregation. In less than a decade, Chicago's Negro population had more than doubled. There was racial friction over jobs, over housing and over recreation areas.

As Negroes spread into white neighborhoods, whites began bombing Negro homes. In June, two Negroes were killed.

On July 27, at a Lake Michigan beach, a young Negro swimmer drifted into water customarily used only by whites. Some whites threw stones to drive him away. When the Negro sank and drowned, Negroes accused the whites of murdering him.

Fighting broke out between whites and Negroes in various parts of the city. Mobs formed. Negroes were pulled off streetcars and whipped. Several whites were stabbed.

On the fourth day of the riot, the militia was called out. But still the rioting went on. It lasted 13 days.

Final toll of Chicago's riot: 38 persons killed—15 whites and 23 Negroes; 537 injured—178 whites, 342 Negroes and 17 of unrecorded race. More than 1,000 families, mostly Negroes, were left without homes by burning and other forms of destruction.

During the next two months of 1919, riots broke out in other cities, among them Knoxville, Tenn., and Omaha, Nebr.

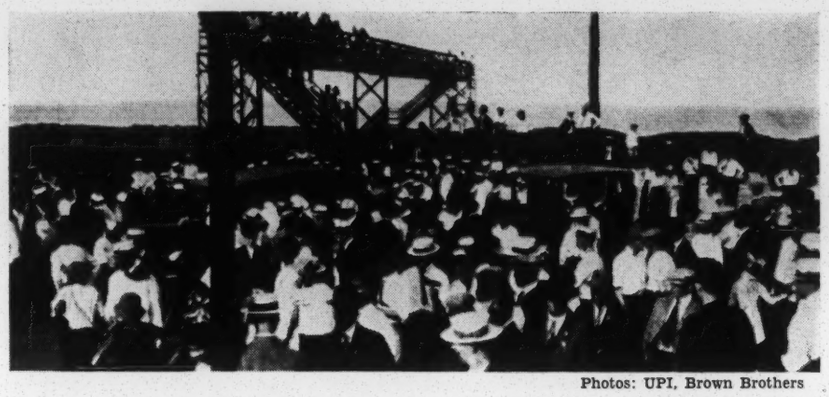
Two years later, in June of 1921, there were nine whites and 21 Negroes killed and several hundred people injured in a race riot in Tulsa, Okla.

For a decade after World War II, the nation got by with almost no racial violence. Then, with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools in 1954, the race issue began heating up again. Violence has accompanied integration attempts in many places.

So far, race war on the scale of 1919 and 1943 has been avoided.

Now, as mass demonstrations spread and violence erupts in one city after another, the worry grows: Is the U. S. in danger of another outbreak of killing in race riots?

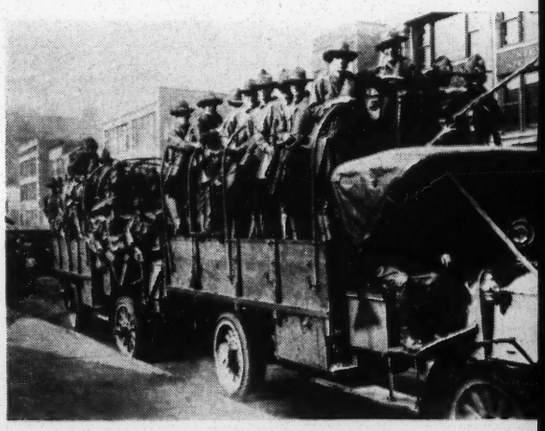
## CHICAGO ERUPTED IN RIOTS IN 1919



Photos: UPI, Brown Brothers

**Crowds leave beach after incident that set off rioting. A Negro boy had swum in area used by whites. He had been stoned, then sank and drowned.**

**Whites hurl stones at a Negro. In 13 days of terror after the drowning, mobs formed, Negroes were whipped, whites stabbed.**



**The militia was called out on fourth day in a futile attempt to quell the disturbances going on all over Chicago. In a year marked by riots, this was worst.**

**Negroes are escorted by police to a safety zone. Friction in city had been building for months as Negroes moved in from South.**

**Fire left thousands homeless. This was typical scene in the immigrant sections.**

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# The coming showdown in the race crisis

BY HARRY S. ASHMORE

Former editor, *Arkansas Gazette*. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize and the Sidney Hillman Award.

IN THE FIRST capitol of the old Confederacy, a little backcountry politician leaned across a big desk and barked defiance at the United States of America. The law according to Gov. George C. Wallace provides that the Negroes of Alabama shall have only those rights the white majority sees fit to give them; any effort to change this condition of servitude, by Federal court order or peaceful demonstration, will be resisted, even though blood may flow.

In New York City, a slender Negro author emerged from a conference with the Attorney General of the United States and charged the nation's leaders with naïve inability to recognize that massive racial violence impends not only in Alabama, but all across the land. The prophecy according to James Baldwin warns of a consuming fire, kindled by the white man's guilt, that could lay waste the whole of Western civilization.

These are the poles of an emotional charge that periodically shocks a complacent nation. They mark the new limits of an old issue. Somewhere in between lies the reality of the stubborn, complex social problem most Americans do not yet understand and can no longer avoid.

Governor Wallace can cause trouble, but he cannot prevail. The feudal system he seeks to maintain has been falling apart under its own weight for more than a generation. Now, he has been deserted by the responsible Alabamians who permitted, if they did not encourage, the intervention of his blue-helmeted troopers in Birmingham. Those whose power is recognized in the title Big

continued

ite-Negro relations in the U. S.?

PHOTOGRAPHED BY BOB ADELMAN

*Negroes join hands to keep from being knocked down by water from the fire hoses used in Birmingham. "Responsible"*



Mules are still balky, but they have decided to get back to making money.

Mr. Baldwin can lend momentum to the drive for Negro rights, but he can produce neither the millennium nor the holocaust. His tortured eloquence flutters the intellectual, and his revolutionary words thrill the alienated of all complexions. The mass of American Negroes do not reject the existing social order, but seek only to share fully in its bourgeois blessings.

This does not mean that there is no prospect of a wholesale collision between whites and Negroes that could produce the first full-scale race riot in a generation. The spark of violence glows in every major city, and in most it is being systematically fanned. Yet, after nine years of rising tension in the wake of the Supreme Court's landmark school-desegregation decision, the great struggle so far has produced only the number of corpses normally handled by a metropolitan police morgue on a hot Saturday night.

This is hardly a statistic to be cited with pride. But, even if angry events were to revise the figure upward, the record would still stand as a significant measure of the gap between the rhetoric and reality of the crusade for Negro rights.

Actual, organized violence is in fact an unthinkable weapon for the Negro leaders. But the threat of violence is presently their most valuable tool, made doubly so, ironically, because it was first fashioned by their declared enemies in the embattled fiefs of Dixie.

In the beginning of the current struggle, doom-saying was used as effectively to inhibit Negro progress as it is now being used to promote it. John Bartlow Martin, returning from a tour of the region in 1957, entitled his report: *The Deep South Says "Never!"* He had reported what he had heard, and most of those with whom he talked believed what they told him—that the white folks would rise up en masse if a colored man set foot across the existing boundaries of segregation. The Eisenhower Administration held a similar view of the Southern temper and, in the critical early years, neither took action to implement the Supreme Court decisions nor uttered a forceful word.

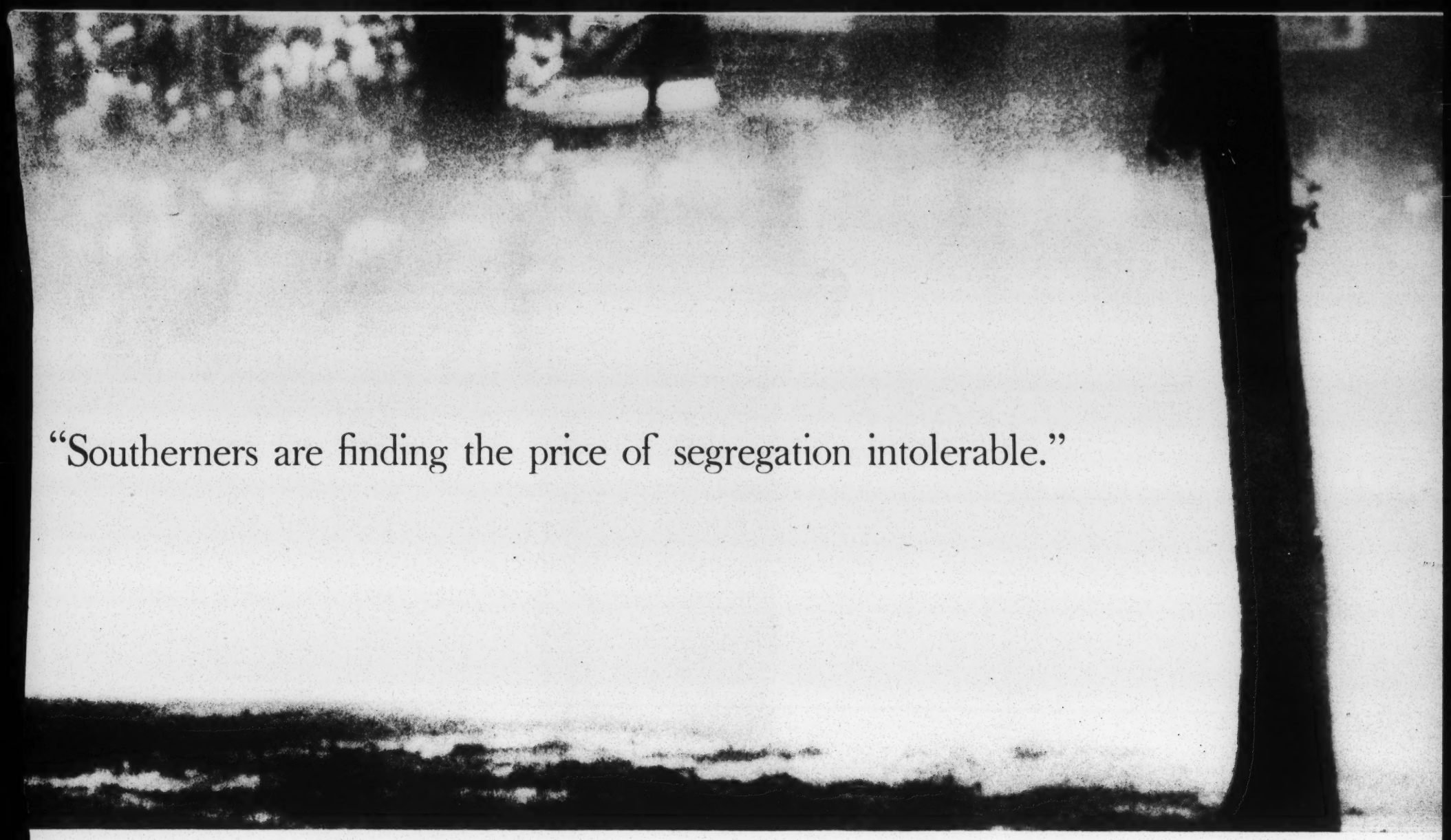
The premise met its first real challenge in Little Rock, when Gov. Orval Faubus employed state troops to turn back nine Negro children from Central High School. The subsequent melodrama tended to obscure a revealing fact: Even with the Governor's strongly implied blessing, considerable effort was required to assemble a mob sufficient to overwhelm a small force of dispirited local policemen. Most of the leaders and much of the rank and file came from outside the city, and many were from out of state. The Arkansas mob had about as much spontaneity as the regiment of U. S. airborne infantry that arrived to clear the streets in a brisk action of 15 minutes' duration.

DESPITE THE miles of shocking television film, and the handful of demonstrators, U. S. marshals and reporters who have been blooded, this has been the basic pattern of every Southern encounter since. The Citizens Councils still attempt to nurture the delusion that the white people of the South are ready to resume the Civil War, and they continue to encourage mob action by predicting it. Most politicians and too many newspaper editors follow the line. Overtly or covertly, the bullyboys are urged to assemble wherever there is an impending showdown. But in New Orleans, the front line was reduced to snarling women, and their weapon was spittle. At Oxford, Miss., a rallying cry was sounded by a tragic ex-soldier from Texas. There was a stirring moment when Gen. Edward Walker mounted a Confederate monument to harangue the crowd. But the thousands he had urged to march on Oxford didn't appear; it was a thin line that finally went against the tear gas of the marshals.

Superior Federal force and a demonstrated willingness to employ it obviously are controlling factors. But perhaps more significant is the absence of adverse mass reaction to such intervention. The psychological-warfare experts among the architects of massive resistance calculated that occupying Federal troops would solidify their support by stirring atavistic memories among the sons and daughters of the Lost Cause. Orators still cry out in the tone of Confederate bugles, but in fact the arrival of the Army has been greeted everywhere with a general feeling of relief that the situation is once again in hand.

There is not, in the end, any symbolic difference between a U. S. marshal's badge and a soldier's uniform. What counts is that every Southerner now must assume that sustained strife will bring in armed agents of the Federal Government, that they mean business and that there are more where they came from. Even when the resistance leaders fall back to the last resort of terror in the night, as the wilder ones usually do, they can no longer rely on sympathetic law-enforcement officers who look the other way. The ubiquitous FBI can't be reached or intimidated, and may have as many informers inside the Ku Klux Klan as it has in the Communist party. Little Rock's dynamiters were identified before the dust had settled and were in jail before the debris had been cleared.

The South's traditional capacity for unreality is such that these lessons could be taught only by demonstration. It has required a continuing assault to break down the elaborate Southern mythology that rested upon the assumption Negroes were really content with their lot and could be stirred to protest only by meddling Yankees. This belief served to ease consciences pricked by the unavoidable evidence of casual cruelty and pervasive in-




*Alabamians no longer back Governor Wallace in such action, the author says.*

equity. On the practical level, it was used to support the argument of the old-time peace officers that a tough line was all that was required to put down any incipient unrest in "niggertown." The formula was simple, and had been effective in the past: Rap a few skulls, throw the ringleaders in jail and run the agitators out of town. Eugene (Bull) Connor fashioned a considerable political career out of Birmingham's misplaced faith in force. But despite the dogs and fire hoses and overflowing jail cells, the Negroes kept coming, and it was Bull who had to go.

The tragedy of the era lay in the emotional refusal of the Southern white people to recognize that times had changed, and so had the quality, the aspirations and the capacity of the Negro community. Those leaders who pointed to the evidence and pleaded for rational adjustment of the moribund social system were accused of treason and for the most part fell silent. Thus, by a process of elimination, the hard-core states elevated to power men who were ignorant or blinded by prejudice, or both. For ten years now, Southern legislatures, city councils and school boards have been largely engaged in the enactment of laws that were calculated exercises in bad faith. Lawyers of standing have grown rich manipulating legal technicalities in briefs that could succeed only if they were endorsed by an exchange of sly winks between judge and counsel.

This sort of moral corruption cannot be confined to the single issue of race, and there are signs of spreading rot at every level of government. In these terms, as well as in lost economic opportunity, Southerners are finding the price of maintaining segregation intolerable.

The Southern experience with the racial problem is unique only in detail and degree. The American dilemma had its focus in the region until recent years, and in important ways Southerners have been specially conditioned by their tragic history and their comparative poverty. Yet as the Negro population has spread across the nation and concentrated in big-city ghettoes, white Americans everywhere have displayed a comparable inability to come to grips with the moral issue and the practical problems posed by these second-class citizens. Wherever circumstances and geography have permitted, there has been a white retreat before the Negro invasion, and the Southern mythology, with its overtones of white supremacy and its unfounded obsession with miscegenation, has gained general currency in white suburbia. Where contact has been inescapable, there usually has appeared a familiar pattern of economic and social discrimination, calculated degradation and, at the extreme, hysteria.

It is against this background that Negroes have moved, in less than a generation, from the passive role of supplicants to active participation in a mass crusade against the form and substance of inequality. To this point, the tide of history has run with them, and they have been supported by the national conscience. Even in the South, the devotion of most whites to the status quo has been countered by a sense of personal guilt. At the ethical operating level, the United States Supreme Court has systematically translated the Constitution's libertarian spirit into the law of the land. Having won every critical test before the bar, Negroes can now carry their protest onto the sidewalks of the Deep South with the full protection of the Federal presence.

The parallel between Southern white resistance and the Negro crusade is striking and significant. One begot the other, and, substituting black for white, the language, the symbols, even the characteristics of the most conspicuous leaders and organizations are interchangeable.

At the far limits are the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Muslims—both ostensibly committed to the same declared aim, absolute segregation of the races. Both are secret societies that indulge in mystical, quasi-religious activities and rig up the faithful in uniforms. Both are ardent dues collectors. Both have a great fondness for parades and rallies and unbounded faith in their ability to intimidate their enemies. Both preach unbridled racial hatred and covertly encourage violence. Many of the past national leaders of the Klan have wound up in prison, usually on fraud charges, and Malcolm X., the most active of the Muslim apostles, is a former jailbird.

Or consider General Walker and James Baldwin. Both are men of education and attainment, fully endowed with the status symbols of their respective trades. Both came late to the racial battlefield, and have long been isolated from the rank and file for whom they now profess to speak—General Walker in the course of a distinguished military career, Baldwin in the years of literary exile that brought him deserved recognition as a writer. General Walker is unable to turn his back completely on his red-necked followers, or Baldwin on the Black Muslims, although both are obviously socially discomfited. Both deal with the race problem in stirring terms of personal, apocalyptic visions: General Walker sees the Visigoths of communism already over the walls, and Baldwin thinks a dark-skinned host has assembled at Armageddon. These revelations give each an exclusive patent on the verities. General Walker finds even so stalwart an anti-Communist as Sen. Thomas Dodd "blind" on home-grown subversion, and Baldwin believes Martin Luther King has reached the end of his rope.

The most notable political leaders also pair out neatly. Orval Faubus of Arkansas and Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem are wily old professionals who have found in the race issue the key to

continued

*A Negro woman who was knocked down during a Birmingham demonstration is led away by friends.*



# "Orval Faubus and Adam

what appears to be permanent office. When he needs to be reelected, Governor Faubus simply hollers, "Nigger!" When Congressman Powell faces similar necessities, he cries, "Discrimination!" If this tends to cut them off from their political colleagues, who can't afford to say so, but with reason consider each a liability to his cause, it has its compensations. Powell is able to travel at public expense, and Faubus has the pleasure of operating the most comprehensive state political machine since the late Huey Long's.

THESE and men like them have made most of the headlines that mark the steady progress of the Negro crusade. They are eternally ready to provide reporters with a harsh word and a dire prediction. They are in fact prime figures in the action and reaction, and the history of the period doubtless would have been different without them. Yet they are symbols, not leaders. They have been able to unleash powerful emotions, but the task of controlling the resulting force for coherent purpose has been left to others. For the white Southern leadership, the failure is clear and final; segregation cannot endure. For the Negro leadership, the test is only beginning.

It is at least possible that recovery from the emotional excesses of the recent past will serve to further reduce the incidence and virulence of Southern bigotry. In the period of convalescence ahead, white Southerners will be required to form new institutions and arrangements to replace those they can no longer doubt are unacceptable to their Negro neighbors. They have no real choice except to examine the possibility that they have nothing to lose and much to gain by seeing to it that Negroes reach their declared goals of increased economic opportunity and unlimited access to the facilities and amenities of the community. Not the least of the benefits could be the restoration of the bonds of genuine affection between whites and Negroes that enriched the older Southern tradition.

An increasing share of the burden of creating the necessary conditions for this development in the South, and for maintaining them in the North, is passing to the Negro leadership. The process that has contained the manifestations of white bigotry has encouraged the expression of Negro bigotry—and this has had inevitable response among a people whose grievances are real.

There has emerged a set of Negro myths as dangerous and as debilitating as their white Southern counterparts. The basic proposition here is that no white man can really understand how a Negro feels. This, in effect, accepts the argument of white racists that Negroes are inherently different. Since Negroes can hardly be expected to equate racial difference with inferiority, the result is the spurious doctrine of black supremacy long preached on the street corners of Harlem and now heard in more respectable precincts.

At its crudest, the Negro mythology has produced the Black Muslims and their effort to exploit the emotional response of American Negroes to the racial unrest that doomed colonialism in Africa and Asia. The identification of the Black Muslims with the true sons of Allah is about as valid as the Ku Klux Klan's claim to the traditions of the Scottish Highlands. Negroes have been in this country as long as any other Americans, and there has been no mass immigration since the slave trade was banned more than a century ago. The his-

Clayton Powell both see the race issue as the key to permanent office."

toric relationship of American Negroes to Africa is now devoid of cultural or religious significance. It is purely a matter of pigmentation, and this, as they discover at every point of contact with genuine African nationalists, is of minor consequence.

At a more sophisticated level, it is argued that the unique Negro experience under slavery and enforced segregation has had a purifying effect on those who suffered it. Baldwin, who occasionally seems to confuse himself with Job, gives the proposition a religious cast, contending that the black man represents a kind of original white sin, which, by means never made entirely clear, must be purged. Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac and other avant-garde white novelists have attempted to distill out of the jazz, marijuana and uninhibited sex of the Negro Bohemian fringe the thesis that only alienation reveals ultimate truth.

THESE FANTASIES have led to public seizures of emotional segregation and have produced an outright attack on the older heroes of the Negro movement. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP is accused of selling his people down the river because there are white members on his board of directors. Adam Clayton Powell proclaims that Negroes cannot support any interracial organization that has white leadership. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who with considerable effect has devoted virtually his full time to service as advocate and negotiator for the Negro cause, is treated to derisive laughter simply because he is white. William Worthy, Jr., the controversial Negro journalist, has reached the remarkable conclusion that no white man can support the American Negro unless he also supports Fidel Castro. Here, as in the white South, passionate irrationality precludes effective discussion of the issue and of the practical means of resolving it. A leading Negro entertainer, shaken by the excesses of his peers, has privately confessed that he nevertheless has found it necessary to remain silent in order to avoid the dread epithet, "Uncle Tom."

The Negro mythology, like the white, constitutes a mirror image of reality. The degradation of the slums has crushed far more spirits than it has purified. Only the strongest members of any race emerge without crippling scars from a lifetime of deprivation, callous mistreatment and scornful abuse. That such individuals have now appeared in significant number to lead the marching columns of protest is a tribute to the older generation of white and colored leaders they have impatiently shouldered aside. It was the lonely battlers of the Urban League, the NAACP, the New Deal and the labor movement who brought about the reforms that freed many of the new generation from the ghetto and unshackled their militant spirit.

These dedicated young men and women, armed with pride and dignity, will find, if they look back, that they are still a minority among their own people. For most Negroes, the weight of oppression has eroded away the will and the capacity to seize the new opportunities and face the new risks. A high proportion have slipped irrevocably into the sloth and crime of slum life and constitute a social problem that is not affected by the argument that the fault is the community's, not theirs.

The Negro crusade, like any other, is fueled by emotion and does not welcome the dampening strictures of logic. As the only domestic social movement of current consequence, it has magnetic attraction for the sort of radicals and reformers who gave vent to their general protest against society by supporting the labor movement before the unions went flabby with success and affluence. For these, proud in their moral fervor, thrilled by vicarious martyrdom and comfortably removed from the scene of battle, the outcome of a given engagement is of little consequence. The situation is somewhat different for the tacticians in the field.

The most successful of these by far is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Upon the solid base of the legal successes won by the now-eclipsed NAACP, he has promoted the mass demonstrations that have penetrated Southern resistance even in the final redoubts of Alabama and Mississippi. For the front-line leaders, it has been, and will continue to be, a delicate balancing act.

Dr. King needs the emotional voltage, and the financial support, generated by the firebrands at the great rallies in the North and West. But he also needs an open line, usually routed through the Department of Justice, to the white men who must issue the orders to desegregate. He can hardly file a public dissent when Prof. Kenneth Clark of City College of New York takes issue with Attorney General Kennedy and proclaims that the Negro people are no longer going to beg favors from the white power structure. But Dr. King is in Birmingham, and Professor Clark isn't, and it is Dr. King who in the end will sit down and negotiate the compromise settlement that will mark another step forward for the Negro people.

Considerations of strategy as well as his Christian devotion to nonviolence sent Dr. King into the poolhalls of Birmingham to remind the boys in the back rooms that switchblade knives provide no answer to the dynamite of white hoodlums. So long as violence is directed against Negro demonstrators, elemental standards of justice and Federal guns automatically are on their side. Let Negroes initiate the attack, or even reply in kind, and the balance will shift—and without this essential support, Negroes again will be a helpless minority in an aroused white community.

Martin Luther King not only subscribes to, but has given real meaning to, the battle cry of the movement: No white man has a right to ask a Negro to wait any longer for equality. But, as a practicing Christian, Dr. King also has to recognize that every white man has a right to insist that the quest for equality not be marked by a trail of blood.

It is on this critical point that Dr. King has had to part company with a good many of those who have lately swung aboard the freedom train. He speaks for justice. They cry out for vengeance. There was a moving, simple eloquence in the statement Dr. King's followers issued after a truce had been worked out in Birmingham: "The city of Birmingham has reached an accord with its conscience." All his adult life, Dr. King has preached and practiced in the service of a mission to unite a national community put asunder by the inhumanity of slavery and segregation. He could no more accept the mad design of the Muslims for a separate Negro state, or the admonition of the intellectuals who urge that bitterness be nurtured in the ghettoes of the mind, than he could join forces with George Wallace, Ross Barnett and Orval Faubus.

These are the surface elements of a racial crisis moving inexorably toward a showdown. All are the product of the tragic American failure to resolve the great moral issue that has tainted the nation's free institutions and truncated its ideals —the failure that once before led to fratricide.

It is, as Gunnar Myrdal has said, a peculiarly American dilemma. The Negro crusade has the sound of revolution, and many frightened whites and a few loquacious Negroes see it as such. Yet its goal is the opposite of that set by dark-skinned revolutionaries abroad, who seek to drive out their white rulers and shape their destiny on their own terms. Here, Negroes are demanding only admission to a closed white society that has imposed its standards while callously denying full access to its protections and benefits.

The demand is made as a matter of right, not as a device to create a new social order. It cannot be rejected, or further postponed, without still more damage to our diminished libertarian tradition and to our tarnished religious ethic. The high price the South has paid for intransigence is now being levied against the nation as a whole. The white community's effective abdication of moral purpose has produced a paralyzing failure of will on the part of the political leadership. Only now is there recognition that we can't get on with the nation's urgent business until we have begun, at least, to take care of the Negro's needs.

The Supreme Court, in splendid isolation, has discharged its responsibilities. The Court has defined the national policy forbidding racial discrimination and laid down the ground rules for its implementation. This should have brought Congress to the necessary business of fashioning new laws to replace those that have been swept off the statute books. Tangled in its antiquated rules, intimidated by the uncertain temper of its constituency, Congress has indulged instead in a fruitless decade of angry recrimination.

EISENHOWER hoped until the end of his term that the race problem somehow would go away. Kennedy has understood that it will not, but he has given it low priority—and only now has he brought himself to use the full weight of his office to force the issue upon the lawmakers. If he succeeds, even if he only tries, we may be approaching the end of the long, costly season of default.

It is true that the ultimate solution will not be found in laws, but in the dark places of men's minds and hearts. But it is also true that laws are the manifest of the national purpose, and when government is unwilling, or unable, to provide them, there is no standard to which the wise and just may repair.

It is argued that the moderates have failed, and this is so. But it does not follow that moderation as a policy has failed. The fact is that it has not yet been tried. White, and now Negro, extremists have successfully blocked the scattered efforts to bring the leaderless mass of Americans to the kind of accommodations that will achieve harmony as well as justice. Yet this, surely, is the minimum essential, since Negroes and whites somehow must fashion the future on terms acceptable to both.

History and the peculiarities of our political system provide explanations, and even excuses, for our failure to live up to the moral imperative we have never denied. And the realities of the depressed Negro community make it clear that there will be no neat and orderly solution to social problems compounded by racial prejudice on both sides. But we have run out of options. The restoration of domestic tranquility demands nothing less than a renewed national commitment to the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, this time without reservations. END

Church in Venezuela that it is doing much to meet these many opportunities. In José Humberto Cardinal Quintero, Archbishop of Caracas, she has the inspiring example of a man of humble origin, sound training, love for his fellow man, complete dedication of self in service to his Lord. Unnumbered priests and nuns labor to alleviate the needs of body, mind and soul. Such schools as those operated under the Fe y Alegria (Faith and Joy) program are providing education for 10,000 children in some of the worst blighted areas of the country. Evangelistic campaigns, encouraging family participation in spiritual experiences, are introducing a stabilizing factor. Implementing the new approach to understanding the nature of the universal church encouraged by the late Pope John XXIII, a move is under way to devote more time and energy to strengthening the total witness of the church rather than fighting "heretical" offshoots.

The threats which the Roman church faces in Venezuela are to some extent those that face any servant of Christ in a secular, materialistic, godless society; widespread indifference and apathy in spiritual matters provide much stony ground for the seed of the gospel to fall upon. However, certain deterrents face the church and its work here which may stem from her own particular make-up. Her financial strength is too often dissipated in erection of unnecessarily large and ornately furnished churches. Her political stands identify her too closely with certain political parties and issues, thus making winning votes for men seem more important than winning men for God. The centering of power in the priesthood discourages an effective lay witness. Desire to enlarge the church statistically has sometimes resulted in application of a thin veneer of Christianity over a basically pagan way of life. Internal divisions, rivalry between orders, petty jealousies among members of the hierarchy—all can lead to detraction from the working of the Spirit. Permitting resort to the ways of the world in winning support for programs (conducting lotteries as a means of fund-raising, for instance) does not deepen a sense of personal responsibility and sacrificial involvement in the Lord's work.

Challenges, opportunities and threats face the Roman Catholic Church in Venezuela today. Nevertheless, because of the richness of her spiritual tradition, her political influence, her economic power and her highly developed organization, she has a chance to utilize her position as a channel of God's grace to the utmost. If she does so she will make one of the most significant contributions yet recorded in the history of the Western world to the preservation of spiritual values and of the principles of justice, freedom and individual dignity.

*To be continued*

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# Racism: Effects, Origins, Remedies

## The time for all-out, massive effort to eliminate racial discrimination is *now*.

J. OSCAR LEE

✦ IN ONE SENSE history is written in the color of a man's skin. As much as a man might like to ignore the fact of skin color, it nonetheless helps shape his earthly destiny. In the United States skin color to a great extent determines the boundaries of a person's world. Every American Negro, Indian and Oriental learns by hard experience that he is born into a race, lives and even dies as a member of that race. Race becomes a factor which takes precedence over a man's ability and the quality of his character. In the eyes of the discriminator, race is a more important factor than the essential worth that God gives to each man as a person. Racial discrimination is more than a moral fault in our society; it is a sin against both God and man, and a social vice which no nation can afford.

Racial discrimination and segregation are virulent forces pervading every aspect of our society. Racial discrimination exists in housing, employment, schools, churches, public accommodations—indeed, in almost every community activity and service. While it is important to realize that many individuals discriminate on the basis of race, it is far more important to realize that racial discrimination has a devastating effect on group behavior and on society's institutions.

Racial discrimination has innumerable social and economic effects. For many people it means lack of opportunity to acquire occupational skills or to use them if acquired. It often means low wages or none at all. It means a poor education in overcrowded schools or in segregated schools supposedly "separate but equal" but in most respects patently unequal. It means poor, often delapidated housing. For many who live in racial ghettos there is even a disparity in the availability of such services as sanitation, health facilities and police protection. Once I heard a prominent white citizen complaining about the filthy streets in "the Negro section" of his city. Actually, the sanitation department cleaned the streets and removed the refuse from what this man called "the Negro section" only twice a week, whereas the same services were available to other areas of the city five times a week.

The social and economic effects of racial discrimination are apparent. But who can gauge its spiritual and psychological effects? Who knows the meaning of its impact on family life and character development? Who can determine the significance

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of the disappointment that comes with the denial of opportunity to use one's abilities? Racial discrimination attempts to relegate men with dark skin to the periphery of society. Who can really describe the psychological damage that results from the insecurity of being forced to be a marginal man? How can one estimate the harm done when lack of opportunity as well as inadequate educational and vocational guidance causes many young people to be poorly motivated and to have low aspirations?

No society can be healthy if it denies full opportunity to any part of its population. Because racial discrimination prevents the nation from making the most efficient use of its manpower resources, the entire society suffers incalculable social and economic loss. But this evil damages us in a far deeper way. Our democratic heritage rests on the proposition that each person has an essential worth and dignity which must be respected. We affirm that all men have inalienable rights—as a famous report on civil rights succinctly stated them, "the right to safety and security of the person, the right to citizenship and its privileges, the right to freedom of conscience, and the right to equality of opportunity." As a nation we are committed to creating a society which makes these rights secure for all men. Moreover, many of the characteristics which determine the spirit and form of American life are rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, which affirms that every man is of supreme worth because he is a child of God. The beliefs that are used to undergird racial discrimination are contradictory to both that tradition and the democratic heritage. We are caught in a moral conflict between our ideals, goals and affirmations on the one hand, and the beliefs and practices of racism on the other.

### *The Roots of the Problem*

The foregoing diagnosis of the effects of racial discrimination leads naturally to the question of its causes. Discrimination is overt and covert behavior which unwarrantedly mistreats persons or groups; it is an act of exclusion which is prompted by prejudice—a rigid, inflexible attitude for or against certain ideas, persons or things. Prejudice is impervious to reason; the prejudiced person or group has a closed mind.

Prejudice, then, is a mental state which leads to, supports or justifies discrimination, and in order to understand discrimination one must consider the origins of prejudice—origins regarding which the social scientists themselves, we might note, have little real understanding. They are still unsure whether the factors they believe to be related to prejudice are causal or merely supportive. Let us look briefly at certain of these factors.

The most obvious is that prejudice creates social, economic and political advantages and benefits for prejudiced persons or groups. Many politicians, particularly in the south, have used the race issue as a



means of getting elected to office. Negroes are denied the right to vote in some areas of the south in order that political power will remain in the hands of whites. Economic advantage based on race is a factor which looms large in the history of the domination of colored peoples by Western nations. Also, prestige or status advantages are often based on prejudice. In our society a premium is placed on living in a suburban area with people of the same background —i.e., of the same race and class. This is the foundation upon which all-white suburban communities have developed.

Ignorance is another factor that causes or supports prejudice. Ignorance may be mere absence of knowledge, or it may take the form of false information, such as stereotypes in which one individual's characteristics are applied to a whole group. Physical and/or social segregation tends to lead to ignorance, since it creates serious barriers to communication.

Another cause of prejudice is belief in race or group superiority, which stems from the erroneous notion that the ways in which the people of another race differ from one's own are indications of the other race's inferiority. Further, it is erroneously believed that these differences are due to biological heredity and that nothing can be done about them.

History and tradition are factors which must not be overlooked in ascertaining the roots of racism. The historical background of a particular group of people in a society, or of the society itself, can cause or support prejudice. The history of the relationships between whites and Negroes in this country has contributed to the development and maintenance of racial discrimination and segregation. Also, racial prejudice has been cast into what may be called traditional behavior which discriminates against people on the basis of color. Such behavior is taught by one generation to another and thus perpetuated; prejudice is an *acquired* trait.

It is doubtful that differences in such physical characteristics as skin pigmentation and hair texture are causes of prejudice. But one must recognize that such characteristics tend to support prejudice in that they clearly locate and define its object.

Prejudice is generally characterized by fear and anxiety, whether conscious or unconscious, concerning the group against which it is directed. Fear is often manifested as fear of loss of power or fear of retaliatory treatment. Anxiety often takes the form of guilt feelings toward the victimized group. These considerations suggest that prejudice serves as an outlet for frustration. One psychological explanation

of prejudice, the scapegoat theory, holds that when an individual is prevented from doing what he wants to do, he is likely to strike out at something, and since he cannot or is afraid to hit back at what is really the source of his frustration, he seeks a substitute—such as minority racial groups.

This discussion of the effects and causes of racial discrimination leads to a consideration of what must be done to deal with the phenomenon. While it is true that racial discrimination permeates every aspect of our society, it is also true that many people recognize its dangers and desire to eliminate it forthwith. Pressure for its elimination has mounted considerably in the Negro community in recent months. Fortunately, the efforts of Negroes have in the main been nonviolent in nature. The key to the matter lies in how the white community responds. Will it permit its extremists to provoke violence, as has happened in so many places in the south? Or will it actively commit itself to creation of the kind of society in which justice and full opportunity exist for all people without regard to race?

### *What Must Be Done*

The effort to eliminate racial discrimination must move forward on a wide front, with citizens and private organizations stepping up desegregation activities in such areas as housing, employment, community services and education. A great deal has been done to break down local laws requiring racial segregation, but the far more important task is to eliminate the customary practices of racial segregation. There are many organizations working toward this purpose, but a more massive attack is needed —one which will require greater cooperation among these agencies, as well as more extensive resources. The mass media of communication have made a notable contribution toward elimination of racial discrimination, but much more needs to be done to dispel fear, to inform the public about ways to achieve the goal of a nonsegregated society, and to stimulate efforts toward its achievement.

Our nation's public policy seeks to establish a society offering full opportunity for all. Court decisions invalidating laws requiring racial segregation and presidential orders eliminating discrimination in employment, housing and the armed forces are indications of movement in this direction. State laws and municipal ordinances eliminating discrimination in such areas as employment, housing and public accommodations are valuable aids in achieving the goal. Many states and cities do not yet have such laws and some states and cities which do have them need to strengthen their enforcement provisions in order to make them effective. Even more important, state laws and ordinances ought to be buttressed and supported by federal legislation. A good start has been made by the federal government, but it is only a start. Executive powers need to be used more aggressively in crisis situations and in elimination of discrimination in those areas of government which have not faced the problem squarely. The use of violence by those resisting desegregation indicates the urgent need to find ways effectively to employ police powers to uphold law and order as well as to protect the safety and security of all the nation's people.

### *The Role of Religion*

Space permits only the briefest treatment of the role of religion in eliminating racial discrimination. That role centers on judgment, reconciliation and fellowship. Religious groups have been long on judgment; they have repeatedly said that racial discrimination and segregation are sinful. But more than words are needed. This is a time for action. Men must be reconciled to God and to each other, and racial discrimination prevents achievement of reconciliation. In the context of our nation, reconciliation means social action to create the kind of society in which men have full opportunity to participate as persons of worth.

But more than this is necessary, and religion has a distinctive role at this point. Religious groups must work to establish fellowship among people. Persons must be led to live together as peers and to share the depth of comradeship. People must discover that even though they may differ, they are drawn together by common aspirations, hopes, ideals, goals and interests. Thus fellowship can be the means of establishing human relationships of such quality that each person is able to realize the spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical potential with which God has endowed him. Such is the nature of true community.

Racial discrimination is a dangerous social vice which saps the strength and vigor of our way of life. If the nation is to be true to the democratic heritage and to its own genius, it must move forthrightly to eliminate this evil. To do so requires the massive and coordinated action of individuals, government and all the institutions of our society. Each person can contribute in his own sphere of human relationships. We must move from the moral and spiritual dilemma in which we find ourselves to the goal of full opportunity for every person on the basis of ability without regard to race, color or national origin. The time for action is now. We are challenged to achieve spiritual and moral integrity, which is the real basis of strength both today and tomorrow.

## *Attention, All Tourists*

✦ DON'T lose the round-trip ticket
Angel-punched at birth;
You'll need it at a wicket
When taking off from earth.

ETHEL ROMIG FULLER.

State, the Mormons continue to exert a powerful and beneficial influence in Idaho and throughout the Nation. Many of Idaho's leaders in government, in business, and in community affairs are members of the Latter-day Saints Church. Nor is this characteristic only of Mormons in Idaho or Utah, for members of the Latter-day Saints faith all over the United States exercise similar influence in affairs of business and State.

Here in the U.S. Senate, three of our colleagues are members of the Church of Latter-day Saints. Members of the Latter-day Saints faith hold seats in the House of Representatives. Others are serving or have served as Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Interior, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Treasurer of the United States, and U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Mormons have also distinguished themselves in the arts, in the field of entertainment, and in the world of sports, as well as in many other facets of American life.

The Mormon church is almost unique among Christian bodies in that it maintains a nonpaid clergy, deriving its church officials from among its members. As the Bible urges all Christians to do, Mormons tithe, giving 10 percent of their income before taxes to the church. Mormons are equally active in missionary work, with many young men and women of the Latter-day Saints giving up 2 years for voluntary missionary work both in America and in other lands. The Latter-day Saints Church maintains a youth organization known as the Mutual Improvement Association. This offers Mormon young people a combination social organization and personal improvement group, teaching them to speak well, to deal with people, and to lead better lives.

Thus, 100 years after the founding of the Territory of Idaho, the people of Idaho pay tribute to the contributions of the Mormons to our State and to our Nation. One hundred and sixteen years ago, Brigham Young and his hardy little band of Mormon pioneers arrived at the Great Salt Lake. Little could those men and women have then known the influence they would wield, or the benefits they would bring, to the mountainous land to the north—to the State of Idaho.

## RACE RELATIONS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the June 10 issue of the New Leader contains an article on the President's role in the crisis of race relations, entitled, "A Chance for Greatness," by Karl E. Meyer, of the Washington Post.

At the end of this article, Mr. Meyer says that "great business now beckons to President Kennedy." Earlier in the article, the point is made that "technology is not what differentiates America from the Soviet Union." Mr. Meyer adds:

> Indeed, the United States has fallen into a Soviet trap by letting ideological competition focus on gadgetry, and the Negro has given his country a chance to get out of the trap. The question that the racial revolt, North and South, poses is whether the majority of Americans can rededicate themselves to some purpose more ennobling than supremacy in supermarkets, superhighways, and superbombs.

I share this conviction, Mr. President, and I ask that the article to which I have referred be printed in full at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHANCE FOR GREATNESS

(By Karl E. Meyer)

WASHINGTON.—In a speech that was widely quoted in the Capital last week, Secretary of State Rusk spoke of the "deep injury" that racial injustice was inflicting on America's world standing. "Our voice is muted," he said, "our friends are embarrassed, and our enemies gleeful because we have not really put our hands fully and effectively to this problem at every level of our national life." Because of this, Rusk continued, American diplomats must conduct foreign policy as if they were in a foot race with one leg in a cast.

Yet as one reflects on the meaning of today's Negro revolt, it is possible to argue quite the reverse proposition. In the process of freeing himself, the American Negro may shake his own society out of the complacent torpor—indeed, the sleeping sickness—that is the pervasive national malady. If he can reawaken the dormant radical tradition in American life, the Negro could give a greater lift to national prestige than any conceivable feat in outer space. There are signs that a miracle of this magnitude might occur.

Not since the economic collapse of the 1930's has any domestic crisis so shaken the country. No longer the invisible man, the Negro has chased Cuba and Laos off the front page and forced his countrymen to confront an evil within remedial range. Magazines are thrusting deeper; not long ago, the New Yorker published James Baldwin's cry of despair—an essay on being black that has become the manifesto of a minority—and last month Life creditably ran a report by a Negro journalist on the Black Muslims that was free from the usual cliches.

It is difficult, too, to overstate the effect of television. The coaxial cable has made the country a single community and virtually every evening the news programs carry film footage that makes comment superfluous. An example was a report the other day on a sit-in demonstration in a Mississippi department store in which Negroes were dragged from a lunch counter and were stamped upon or had catsup squirted on their heads. This is a passion play with a hundred million witnesses—for once, one is grateful for television.

The word passion can be used in a double sense. No quality has been more absent from national politics, and in Washington one can feel the tingling of a long-sleeping limb. A fortnight ago, Attorney General Robert Kennedy had his now-famous encounter in a New York apartment with a group of Negroes rounded up by James Baldwin. The President's brother was shocked by the depth of passion. "He didn't get the point," Baldwin said afterward. "He was naive. He doesn't know paid. He just doesn't know."

The Kennedys are learning. The President is moving with a tide that may take him in directions hitherto uncongenial to his temper. This is the kind of problem that does not yield simply to adroit managerialism—and yet the White House has grounds for gratification. It has been the standing complaint that a lack of urgency in national opinion has tied the President's hands. There is now no lack of urgency; President Kennedy has come to a Finland Station in which the momentum of events can be influenced by his own leadership.

One path ahead, clearly, is legislative. Civil rights measures which a few months ago were considered unobtainable are now given chance of passage in Congress. The administration is belatedly presenting proposals that would broaden Federal authority in dealing with demonstrations against segregation in stores, theaters, hotels, and restaurants. This would finally ease the unfair burden placed on the courts, which, by virtue of political paralysis, have been forced to preside over a piecemeal social revolution and take the full brunt of the segregationist attack.

But a change of laws can only work if there is a change of heart, and here President Kennedy meets the more exacting test. He must be able to articulate the Negro cause in a way that makes change seem not only necessary but also wholly just. Thus far, he has dealt circumspectly with the race question, stressing the need for law and order and for community responsibility. Yet without being preachy, the President must surely use the pulpit of his office for a series of addresses modeled in the tradition of Lincoln (and not, for a change, of Churchill).

If Kennedy succeeds, his Presidency may prove more memorable than anyone dared to hope. One has the impression that a country sated with material wealth is ready for an appeal to the radical ideas of equality charted in the Declaration of Independence and sustained in a Civil War. A response to this appeal could be more decisive in foreign affairs than any grisly weapon the Pentagon could concoct. "In the final analysis," President Kennedy wisely observed before his election, "our foreign policy, our relations with other countries, will be most affected by what we do here in the United States. It was Franklin Roosevelt's compassionate actions here at home that built his great reputation abroad. What we are speaks much louder than what we say."

Hence one can argue that the Negro revolt in America is as much a national opportunity as a handicap. It opens a field for the compassionate action of a Roosevelt. A confirming statement comes from an unexpected source, Premier Sékou Touré, an African nationalist who is nobody's puppet. Asked in Ethiopia about the Birmingham riots, Premier Touré replied: "We cannot say that the American people are racists—racism exists everywhere, even in Guinea. We know that in the United States a fight is being organized by the government of President Kennedy. We approve without reserve of this policy by President Kennedy."

No American astronaut could elicit the same tribute; technology is not what differentiates America from the Soviet Union. Indeed, the United States has fallen into a Soviet trap by letting ideological competition focus on gadgetry—and the Negro has given his country a chance to get out of the trap. The question that the racial revolt, North and South, poses is whether the majority of Americans can rededicate themselves to some purpose more ennobling than supremacy in supermarkets, superhighways, and superbombs.

"We talk about ourselves these days," Walter Lippmann wrote a few years ago, "as if we were a completed society, one which has achieved its purposes and has no further great business to transact." Great business now beckons to President Kennedy, and Dean Rusk may yet bless the cast on his leg.

## EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES GROSSLY UNEQUAL IN OUR COUNTRY

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, for more than a century the pride of America has been its fine system of public school education. It was founded on the premise that education is the heart

trapped in institutions, that the habits of the past are dominating the present and future, that power is balancing power to the point of paralysis and that events are controlling men rather than the other way around."

I do not know whether it is too late for the problems I've talked about to be cleared up or the trend I mentioned to be reversed. But the effort would be well worth it.

And not, let me stress again, because of the concern on my part for the political future of any public figure.

I have laid this problem before you—and at the same time I have been laying it before the President—because the survival of the United States could well be affected by confidence or lack of confidence in the Presidency.

But the important thing will be whether the Nation recaptures a sense of motion, a dynamic that seems to have slipped away. The crisis of confidence, compounded of Cuba, of taxes, of "managed news," and of a general dead-center psychology simply must be overcome, as a matter not of politics but of sheer survival.

B&R Rel

## Law To Prevent Racial Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 25, 1963*

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, on June 27 I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill (H.R. 7329) that I regard as an effective instrument with which to put an end to the racial troubles now shaking the entire Nation. This proposed legislation would bar any person, irrespective of his race, creed, or color, from crossing a State line for the purpose of demonstrating in violation of law or otherwise fomenting lawlessness or inciting to riot.

I have been greatly encouraged by the fact that the response which has come to me with respect to this bill is highly favorable. Letters of endorsement have been received from all parts of the Nation. Of the many messages sent me, only one has expressed disapproval.

My bill has been referred to the Judiciary Committee, and I have respectfully requested the chairman of that committee to refer it to a subcommitee for study. So far no such action has been taken.

The country vitally needs this legislation and the public generally approves of it. I hope that my bill may be favorably considered in the Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member, and that it may be acted upon favorably at this session of Congress.

Although the President of the United States and his Attorney General brother may now be concerned over the current outbursts of law defiance and disorder in many places throughout the North and South, it seems to me that they display a strange blindness as to the essential causes of these riots and acts of law violation.

When I consider the disgraceful concerted defiance of law which has occurred in communities such as Danville, Va., in my own congressional district, it is perfectly obvious that the participants are responding to incitation from outsiders, people who are not Virginians, who do not know Virginia or her people, and who do not have the welfare of Virginians, black or white, at heart.

For various motives, these persons and organizations from afar have been stirring up the people to fever pitch and are working incalculable mischief. This situation is being reenacted in many places. In virtually every case the disobedience to law has been shown to have been methodically inculcated into what were ordinarily peaceful and peace-loving people. If we are to avoid a major tragedy on a national scale, these uprisings and organized floutings of law must stop.

The way to stop them is to prohibit outsiders from invading States where they have no business except to stir up disorder, or from conspiring to do so. The law I have in mind would have equal application to everyone. It would apply to the Ku Klux Klan and any kindred organizations; it would apply to the NAACP, or to CORE, or to the Communist Party. In short, it would apply to all persons who travel in interstate commerce for this sinister purpose. My bill is clearly within the purview and intent of the Constitution, and is something that is needed for the protection of the great bulk of our population, the law-abiding public that bears the responsibility of our industry, our government, and our religion.

There is nothing strange or novel about my bill when viewed against the background of existing law. Since 1910, when Congress adopted the Mann Act—18 United States Code 2421—this legislative body has enacted a substantial number of criminal laws to free interstate commerce of corruptive influence and to aid the States in law enforcement.

The Mann Act was aimed at the suppression of the white slave traffic. It prohibited the transportation of female persons across State lines for immoral purposes. Later, in 1919, Congress made it a Federal offense to transport stolen automobiles in interstate commerce—18 United States Code 2312—and this was later expanded to cover other kinds of stolen goods—18 United States Code 2314.

In 1934, Congress enacted the Fugitive Felon Act, prohibiting interstate travel to avoid prosecution for crime, and this enactment was expanded in 1960 and 1961—18 United States Code 1073, 1074. Clearly, if it is sensible to penalize interstate flight to avoid prosecution, it makes even better sense to prohibit interstate travel which is undertaken with the intent of violating the law. Such an enactment has the effect of deterring wrongdoing at its very inception.

Congress has seen the wisdom of this approach. In 1961 it enacted a law prohibiting travel in interstate commerce with the intent to carry on, or commit, any crime of violence to further any of a number of specified activities—18 United States Code 1952.

My bill merely carries this approach to its logical conclusion by penalizing travel across State lines with the intent to riot or violate State law.

The legislation I propose would have prevented some of the riots and community outbursts which have bothered the Nation at times for generations. Even the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud of the last century, with all its sadness and family suffering, might never have happened if such a law had been in existence.

Without exception, I feel that States are capable and desirous of enforcing the law on a local basis. This can be accomplished if they are protected from the vicious outside influence which snub our laws and ignore our comunity mores, resulting in the chaos prevalent among us today.

It is a sad day in America if our local and State officials are deprived of exercising their police power. This power historically rests with the localities and with the States.

I believe the law I propose is one that the right-thinking people of this Nation deserve. It will protect the sound, taxpaying, law-abiding element from the lawlessness and threat of riot and violence brought in by outside agitators.

The language of my bill is as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) Congress finds that the recent and increasing practice of certain persons and organizations, with diverse ulterior motives, to enter States, territories, Commonwealths, or possessions of the United States, of which they are not residents, for the purpose of fomenting disobedience to their laws has led and leads to violent disorders gravely disrupting the peace and threatening the welfare of the entire Nation.

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act to promote the general welfare and assure peace and order by prohibiting in interstate commerce, or from conspiring to do so, where the purpose of such travel is to incite to riot or to engage in the violation of any law.

SEC. 2 (a) Title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding after chapter 53 the following new chapter:

"Chapter 54.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Travel in for Unlawful Purposes.

"Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce with the intent (1) to incite to riot or to commit any act or engage in any conduct which would tend to incite to riot, or (2) to violate any law of any State, Territory, Commonwealth, or possession of the United States shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(b) If two or more persons conspire to violate subsection (a) of this section and one or more such persons do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to such conspiracy shall be punished as provided in said subsection (a).

"(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed in anywise to limit the exercise of jurisdiction by any such State, Territory, Commonwealth, or possession over any crime or offense committed therein or cognizable under the laws thereof."

# THE CHANGING MOOD OF AMERICA

## WHAT A NATIONWIDE SURVEY SHOWS

**Move around the country, talk with people on the streets, in their offices and homes, on the farms, and you find new moods settling over the country.**

**A staff team for "U. S. News & World Report" has just made such a grass-roots survey in every section of the U. S. Here is what people say about Kennedy . . . race strife . . . Castro . . . spending . . . business—the whole range of national affairs.**

The mood of the American people at this time is undergoing a sharp change.

War dangers no longer dominate thinking. Cuba remains a worry, but one that is slipping gradually into the background. People seem not as ready as they once were to risk a war over Cuba. Most still think Castro and Communism must be driven out, but they are baffled as to how this should be done.

Soviet Russia and Nikita Khrushchev are subjects that seldom are brought up in conversation these days.

Race issues, instead, have moved out front in people's thoughts. You find much sympathy for the Negroes in their drive for equal rights. Yet there is a widespread feeling—even outside the South—that Negroes may be pushing things too fast. There is a growing fear of a racial conflict.

President Kennedy, it's clear, is not as popular as he was a while back. Yet the President is obviously way out in front of any probable opponent at this stage.

No big trend has yet developed toward any one Republican as the 1964 nominee for President. Nelson Rockefeller, New York Governor, has slipped badly in popular support since his divorce and remarriage. Barry Goldwater, Arizona Senator, is popular in the South. He commands some support in the Midwest, but seems not to be widely known in many areas. Michigan's Governor George Romney is not yet making much of an impression outside of Michigan and Wisconsin.

People are worked up over taxes—often over State and local taxes. There's little talk or expectation of a cut in federal income taxes. Raised repeatedly is the question of how federal taxes can be cut in the face of continuing deficits in the federal budget—and a continuing rise in federal spending.

"Big Government," growing ever bigger and more powerful, is mentioned frequently as a cause for concern. Many people, including farmers, are irked by federal controls.

In general, it is local problems, not world affairs, that are concerning Americans most today.

All of these and other reflections of a changing mood are brought to light by a nationwide sampling of opinion made by staff members of "U. S. News & World Report." Hundreds of individuals were interviewed in big cities, in smaller communities and on farms all across the country.

It appears that those members of Congress who are inclined to go slow in pushing for broad new laws have their ears to the ground—in close touch with grass-roots sentiment.

Business, almost everywhere in the U. S., seems to be good. Unemployment may be a problem in spots, but it is not something which many people are talking much about. Even farmers are not grumbling any more than usual—if as much.

The American public, in fact, seems to be reasonably content—outside the South, where there is bitterness over the issue of race.

## TOP WORRY: RACE PROBLEM

*Sympathy for Negroes, but a feeling they're pushing too hard. Demonstrations feared, resented.*

Almost everywhere you go this summer the subject that people are talking about the most is the race problem. This is true even in areas where there are few Negroes.

"There's coming to be recognition that this is a problem in the North as well as in the South," says a broker in Minneapolis, Minn.

"The vast Negro migration to the North has made people aware of the race problem, even though we don't have it up here," says a grocer in Lake Mills, Wis.

**Fear of violence.** Widespread and growing is a feeling of fear—fear that the mounting racial tension is going to erupt in serious violence.

"I think there's going to be a race war," says a Rockville, Md., house painter.

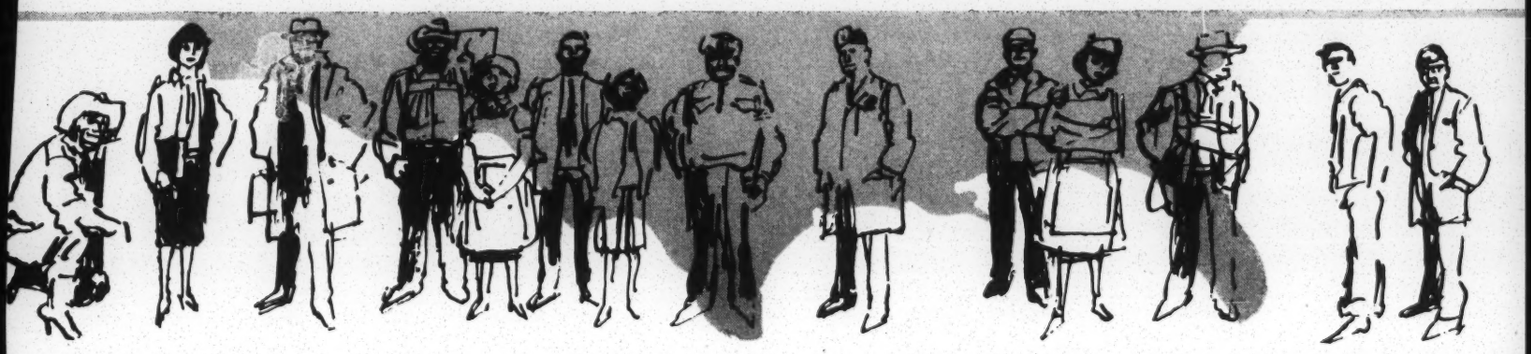
"There'll be a revolution in this country if present trends continue," says a Philadelphia stockbroker.

"With all these Negro marches," predicts a Chicago taxi driver, "there's going to be trouble and lots of it."

"I can see real danger of race trouble spreading all over the country," says a Huntington, N. Y., accountant.

In Old Greenwich, Conn., a real estate dealer reports that

**Across U.S., you find this: Business good, most people well off . . . Kennedy losing ground but still widely popular . . . Rockefeller hurt, Republican choice up in the air . . . Cuba fading as an issue . . . War fears receding . . . Worry No. 1: Race problems**



"people are badly scared about the way the racial problem is developing."

A banker in Cleveland, Ohio, says: "The attitude of people here can best be described as 'frightened.' There is real fear of physical violence—especially among our wives and children. For instance, the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra's 'pops' concerts in the summer are at the auditorium, and nobody wants to walk around there."

**Sympathy for Negroes.** Most people, especially in the North and West, express sympathy for the Negroes and a willingness to give them their full constitutional rights.

"It seems to me like Negroes ought to have the same rights as everybody else if they pay the same taxes," says a farmer near Burschville, Minn.

"I think it is time we did something about giving the Negroes their rights," says a Hays, Kans., housewife. "Just think what it would be like to be a Negro!"

"Negroes have waited a long, long time," says a student in the University of Minnesota. "Now they're on the move, and I think they've a right to be."

"Negroes are doing what I would do if I were a Negro," says an automobile dealer in Media, Pa.

"It's about time the Negro became a first-class citizen," declares a woman who runs a hotel gift shop in Philadelphia. "If Negroes didn't push they wouldn't get their rights."

A newspaper editor in Detroit thinks "people are unnecessarily concerned that the race problem might break out in another Civil War." He sees a shift in attitudes:

"Five years ago—maybe even a year ago—reaction was violent against Negroes. But all of a sudden there is a softening of language. People's consciences are beginning to gnaw at them."

A Birmingham, Mich., realtor puts it more simply:

"All of us are a little bit ashamed."

**Negroes pushing too hard?** Yet, even among people who say the Negro should have equal rights, you often find a feeling of resentment at the way the Negro campaign is being conducted.

There is criticism of Negro demonstrations. There is a widespread feeling that Negroes are pushing too hard, demanding too much too soon. Many warn that Negroes may be hurting their own cause by excessive militancy.

"The Negroes have not been dealt with fairly," says a college student in Lake Mills, Wis. "But these demonstrations just build up resentment."

A professor reports that "people at the University of Wisconsin are concerned by the growing violence attendant on integration demonstrations" and warns: "The violence may well recoil on the integrationists, making their cause less popular and their battle harder."

"The guilt complex of the white man has been worn very thin by the pushing for extreme integration," observes a freelance writer in New York City. He finds that "people whom I have always thought to be extremely liberal are against further action on civil-rights legislation at this time."

The idea is often expressed that integration might come faster if it is not forced. Typical comments:

"A lot of people who believe in civil rights don't want it crammed down their throats"—from an insurance supervisor in Wantagh, N. Y.

"I have no objection to natural integration but I am against forced integration"—a woman librarian in Baltimore.

"Race rights have got to come. But you can't force these things. It's like Prohibition. If you try to make me do this, I won't do it"—a Noroton, Conn., painter.

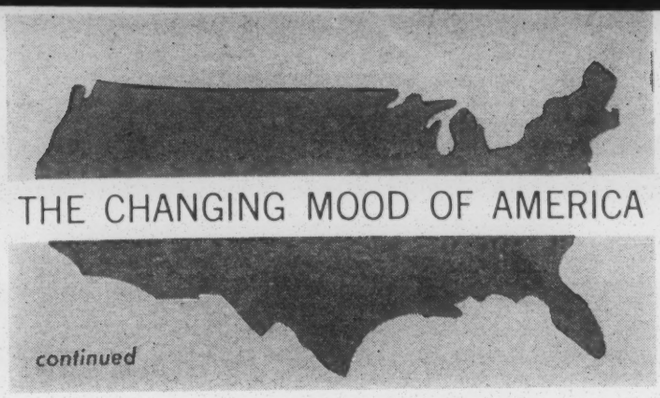
"People want to see Negroes get ahead, but don't like this forced integration. They think change should come gradually, not be imposed"—a Norfolk, Nebr., newspaperman.

**More than equality?** Some people feel that Negroes, in some of their demands, are demanding more than equality.

A woman in Santa Rosa, Calif., puts it this way:

"The Negroes' needs must be met. But when you put the

*(continued on next page)*



**NEGRO DEMONSTRATIONS** are arousing resentment and a fear of violence. Many people, although expressing sympathy for Negroes, suggest the marches may hurt their cause.

**BUS TRANSPORTATION** of Negro youngsters to schools in white neighborhoods is widely criticized as "artificial integration" and a threat to the neighborhood-school system.

**WHEN NEGROES MOVE** into a neighborhood, whites may move out. Many whites oppose laws that would forbid racial discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing.

—USN&WR ILLUSTRATIONS

Negro into a special and privileged position, you're not making him equal. You're giving him rights that even the whites don't have."

A farmer near Des Moines, Ia., says: "The way I read it, the Negroes are out for more than equality—they want supremacy. Nothing seems to satisfy them. They want more."

A New York publishing executive says he knows "for a fact" that "there is discrimination in reverse against whites" in at least one department of the New York City government. He cites this case: "A request was made in one bureau for additional white employes in order to maintain a racial balance. The request was denied, although it would have been granted had the situation been the other way around."

A civil engineer in Brooklyn, N. Y., charges: "In government employment there is discrimination now against the whites in favor of the Negroes. On the job where I'm working the Negroes are so lazy and incompetent they should be fired. But the bosses don't dare fire them."

A Cleveland businessman says: "I don't think Negroes or anybody else should get jobs on a quota basis."

**Neighborhood schools.** One Negro demand that meets widespread opposition is for the bus transportation of Negro pupils into schools in white neighborhoods—and the reverse transportation of white children into schools in Negro neighborhoods—for the purpose of achieving "racial balance" in school enrollments.

A Massapequa, N. Y., attorney calls that "discrimination in reverse." A Dallas, Tex., insurance adjustor calls it "artificial integration that does not get the result you want." A New York City housewife says: "It is foolish to spend money for bussing children to schools outside their neighborhoods when there is not enough money for books and other educational needs. Also, there is great need, especially in the cities, for children to maintain neighborhood ties. I know that, when my kids were in school, the school and the neighborhood were the center of their life and interest."

Nearly everybody outside the South agrees that nothing should be done to cause school segregation. But many agree with the idea expressed by a lawyer in Gastonia, N. C.:

"There's a lot of difference between ruling that Negroes are entitled to go to school with whites and decreeing that there must be mixing of the races."

**Civil-rights legislation.** Talking to people, you find considerable interest in the new civil-rights legislation proposed by President Kennedy—but a sharp division over whether new legislation is the answer to the problem.

Some people feel like the airline ticket agent in New York who said: "The U. S. is taking integration steps it should have taken the day after the Civil War ended." Or the New York book salesman who favors "giving the President all the power necessary to crack down on the South." However—

"You can't legislate human feelings," says the wife of a Wichita, Kans., rancher. "The solution lies in better education for the Negro and uplifting his economic status."

"Legislation will only bring out the old antagonisms and reverse the progress already made," warns a co-ed in Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

"There is support around here for improving the education of the Negro and allowing him to vote," says a department-store manager in Waterloo, Ia., "but I doubt the wisdom of some of these other measures Kennedy is proposing. They seem to me to go too far."

"Legislating on this race problem is just going to make people feel more race conscious," says an Arizona housewife.

**Public accommodations.** Among the President's proposals, the one seeming to stir the most controversy in the South

is the one to require that Negroes be served in business places that are open to the public, such as stores, theaters, hotels and restaurants.

"If that law on public accommodations is passed, there is going to be big trouble throughout the South," predicts a businessman in Columbia, S. C.

A Richmond, Va., newspaper editor gives this description of the result such a law would have in Virginia:

"The Kennedys' public-accommodations proposal would stir up enormous resentment if it became law. The hotel people and the big department stores and the big restaurants in Richmond wouldn't be affected much. They're desegregated anyway. But it would drive some of the smaller merchants out of business—small dress shops and milliners, for example. White women who keep those shops going just absolutely would not patronize a place where Negro women had been trying on dresses or hats. It may be regrettable, but it's a fact.

"The feeling against the public-accommodations bill isn't based solely on race. In this State, there is a strong constitutional feeling about property rights that transcends the civil-rights issue. Many businessmen who actually are indifferent to the race issue would bitterly resent federal invasion of their property rights."

This same Richmond editor predicts: "If the public-accommodations law passes, the political consequences to the Democratic Party will be appalling. It would generate mass desertions to the Republican Party, who could then elect Governors in at least two or three Southern States."

A barber in Columbia comments: "I am really shaken by Kennedy's proposal to let the Federal Government rule on the customers a man should serve. If that law ever passed, I would be out of business. I wouldn't have a white customer left if I had to open my shop to Negroes."

It's not only in the South that people are disturbed about the public-accommodations proposal. Many people in the North expressed ideas similar to this comment from a Baltimore, Md., car-parker: "I think if a man owns a business he ought to be able to say who he is going to serve."

A store owner in Media, Pa., relates: "A restaurant man here listened to a lot of people and let Negroes in. Now his white customers have all left and he's going broke."

**Housing for Negroes.** It is the idea of forced integration of housing that stirs most resentment in the North and West. A Petaluma, Calif., realtor declares:

"The right to dispose of a house is the owner's inalienable right—to sell or not to sell. If the right to invade a neighborhood is paramount, then it means the end of a lot of rights that people have to choose who they associate with. I'm excluded from a lot of groups that I can't join. We're all discriminated against in one way or another."

A vice president in a savings and loan company in Chicago reports "surprisingly little resistance" to pressure to hire more Negro workers but adds:

"The housing question brings on far greater emotions."

In San Mateo, Calif., an attorney says:

"I want the freedom to choose my own neighbors—not to be told whom I should buy from or sell to. But that applies to whites as well as Negroes. There are a lot of white types I wouldn't want to have next door."

Northerners are quick to point out instances where whites have moved out when Negroes moved into a white neighborhood. One man in Long Island City, N. Y., tells of a housing project in which half the space was rented to whites, half to Negroes. He says: "Three fourths of the white families moved out in about a year. The only whites left are those who can't afford to move out."

A minister in Madison, Wis., relates: "People pretend there is no racial discrimination here, but there is—of a subtle kind. The university has a hard time finding accommodations for Negro students. And it is harder to find them for American Negroes than for African Negroes.

"Recently a large corporation sent one of its executives to work in Madison. When the corporation called owners of houses advertised for sale or rent, the owners were delighted. But when they discovered the executive was Negro, then their property was always 'just rented.' People are full of righteous indignation about the way Negroes are treated in the South, or in Detroit or Washington, D. C. They're in favor of federal intervention for civil rights in the South—but not in Wisconsin."

**Equal rights—equal responsibility.** This idea is often expressed, in the North as in the South:

"The Negroes are in a tough position, but if they want equality, they should assume equal responsibility. They've got to have a chance, but to some extent they've got to earn equality."

Those words were spoken by a banker in Old Greenwich, Conn. Here are the ways some others put it:

"Negroes should improve themselves before they make so many demands for their 'rights' "—a Weston, Conn., banker.

"Negroes blame all their woes on the white people. They should correct some of their faults, such as delinquency and narcotics addiction, which can't be blamed on whites"—a print-shop owner in New York City.

## SIZING UP THE PRESIDENT

***Kennedy still popular, but disappointment in his performance . . . Will he win or lose a second term?***

When you talk to people across the country about their feelings toward President Kennedy and their evaluation of the job he has done, a wide variety of opinions come to light. The general attitude, however, seems to be a slight disappointment, coupled with consideration of the enormous responsibilities that the President must shoulder.

A retired journalist and agricultural expert in St. Paul, Minn., sums up his views this way:

"President Kennedy's popularity has certainly declined, but you can't put a finger on any one reason. Every man has his own judgment. For one it may be disappointment that Kennedy didn't do something he promised to do. For another, it may be something the President has done. Because there is no election, there is no focus of dissatisfaction."

To a banker in West Orange, N. J., the President "is not the leader he led us to believe he was in the '60 campaign. He is much more middle-of-the-road than might have been expected from the kind of campaign he conducted."

But, in Birmingham, Mich., a real estate man reports that "people are relieved about Kennedy because he has turned out to be as conservative as he is." He adds: "I think he's done a pretty good job. He's done better at controlling the labor unions than a Republican could do. Businessmen can't feel that he's definitely against them."

**Kennedy vs. the field.** Almost every discussion of President Kennedy's record brings out comparisons with Republicans mentioned as possible candidates for the Presidency in 1964. There are references to New York's Governor Rockefeller, Michigan's Governor Romney, Arizona's Senator Goldwater and Pennsylvania's Governor Scranton.

"I think Kennedy can be had this time if the Republicans stick together," says the president of a bank in Frederick,

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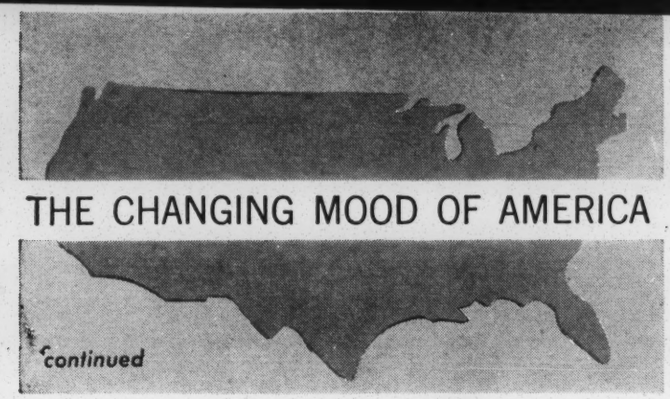
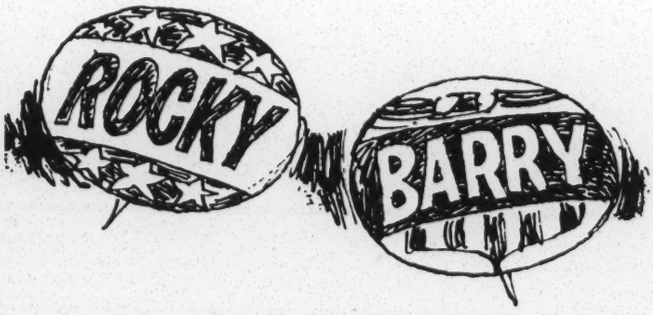


# THE CHANGING MOOD OF AMERICA

continued

**PRESIDENT KENNEDY** has slipped a bit in popularity, particularly in the South. Still, many voters believe that he has done a satisfactory job and is a cinch for re-election.

**REPUBLICANS** are not committed to any one challenger for 1964. New York's Governor Rockefeller attracts "liberals," while "conservatives" favor Arizona's Senator Goldwater.




**HOPE OF A TAX CUT** is fading across the country. People question how federal taxes can be reduced at a time when spending is on the rise and budget deficits are the rule.

—USN&WR ILLUSTRATIONS

Md. "There's no better man in the country than Goldwater, but I don't think he can be elected. Probably the Republicans will have to come up with someone a little more liberal. People are lukewarm toward Rockefeller. His family life is not too good. But I'd vote for Rockefeller before Kennedy. I think Romney would be the best nominee. And he could be elected. He's a self-made man and he understands business."

An Iowa farmer says, "I don't care much for Kennedy, don't think he knows what he is doing half the time. But Rockefeller doesn't amount to much, and Goldwater is too gabby."

To another Iowan, an insurance agent in Eagle Grove, Senator Goldwater "is a complete radical" who "shoots off his mouth too much" and "lacks diplomacy." He adds: "People around here are conservatives, but they are quiet conservatives. They don't like big talkers." This man, a Republican, says he thinks Kennedy "is doing an excellent job."

**Rockefeller's handicap.** Time and again, the matter of Governor Rockefeller's divorce and remarriage crops up.

Says the president of a Madison, Wis., bank: "Rockefeller's remarriage hurt him badly, particularly among women. They talk of nothing else. I rather like Goldwater, although some of his views are ultraconservative. And if his name is linked with the John Birch Society, it could damage his chances in Wisconsin."

In Medford, Oreg., a housewife says: "I'd never vote for Rockefeller because of his divorce and remarriage. When Rockefeller was with his first wife, he'd always look into the camera. Now, all he looks at is that woman."

And from another woman, owner of a gift shop in Philadelphia: "Rockefeller is very inadequate. His divorce would hurt him. I wouldn't want him as a leader. There are certain standards our country should live up to." As for Goldwater, she adds: "He knows as much about people as the man in the moon. He's big business. He's reactionary."

In Chicago, a woman cashier says that Rockefeller couldn't be nominated because of his divorce. "Adlai Stevenson was a much better man than Rockefeller, and he didn't have a chance because of his divorce," she believes.

**Some Southern Views.** "Rockefeller," says a businessman in Charlotte, N. C., "seems to be dead as far as the Presidency is concerned. It isn't just his divorce and remarriage, although he has been hurt by that, unquestionably. People just don't know where he stands on a lot of issues. He is not the sort of fellow a conservative Democrat would vote for just for the sake of voting against Kennedy.

"On the other hand, Goldwater is gaining in popularity all the time. He looks, talks and acts like a conservative. People have an idea they can trust him."

A housewife in the same city: "My husband switched from being a Rockefeller fan after 'Rocky' married 'Happy.' Now he thinks the sun rises and sets in Goldwater. As for me, I'm for Jack Kennedy."

"The Kennedys have sold out, lock, stock and barrel, to the Negroes," says a restaurant owner in Greensboro, N. C. "I wonder if the Republicans want to be known as the 'white man's party.' I have a hunch that the Republican 'brain trust' is encouraging that idea. And it may pay off."

From a newspaper editor in Columbia, S. C., comes this: "To say that Goldwater sentiment is on the rise in South Carolina is an understatement. He would carry this State easily against Kennedy. People here think of Rockefeller as just 'a Republican Kennedy'—with the same confused ideas."

Continued support of Mr. Kennedy is promised by a merchant in Augusta, Ga., although he concedes that his views would be "mighty unpopular with my customers if I harped on that." Still, he argues: "Kennedy has to be a practical politician. He has to have Negro support to be elected. So far,

what he has done for the Negroes hasn't hurt me. I sell to Negroes as well as whites, and I find their money is the same color as the money my white customers offer."

"In a way, Kennedy is a scapegoat," says a political leader in a large Southern city. "If Eisenhower were in office and the Negroes demonstrated as they have been doing in recent months, he would be blamed, just as Kennedy is being blamed now. The point is, the 'rednecks' in the South—the 'poor whites'—must have somebody to look down upon. That's why they fiercely resent anything that is done to hoist up the Negroes in the way of voting, education, equal accommodations and all the rest."

A farmer in Mecklenburg County, N. C., says: "Who am I going to vote for for President next year? Why, that fellow who is fixing to run against Kennedy. What's his name?"

**The Kennedy "image"—brighter or duller?** In other parts of the country, the President appears to have maintained a large measure of his popularity, although there is some creeping criticism.

"The Kennedy image is probably brighter now than at any time in the past," says a university professor in Madison, Wis. "In general, people like his style and his effectiveness. They approve his stand on civil rights."

A New York City merchant credits Kennedy with "stabilizing the economy of the country," and believes he will have no trouble in being re-elected.

"Kennedy will win if he runs again," agrees a diemaker in Middlebury, Conn. "It's a monstrous job he has. He has aged terribly. He's beginning to look like an old man."

A Detroit newspaper editor thinks Kennedy's strength is about the same. But, he adds, "There was a time when the public was aching to say of this man, 'He's the greatest.' Not any more. He didn't quite come off."

In Cleveland, another editor predicts that Kennedy will be re-elected, "although not as easily or as certainly as some months ago. The Republicans," he says, "have no one in sight with the strength, personality and gift of articulation of Kennedy. Rockefeller's divorce is too much of a potential cross to bear. Goldwater does not to me represent the progress of the future. He attracts those who yearn for the strength of stability."

"There are all kinds of popularity," says a lawyer in Seaford, N. Y. "For example, Kennedy will always be popular with women voters no matter what he does."

A New York City lawyer contends that Kennedy has been a success, "if you can call social prominence and social glamour success, but politically, he has not been a leader."

And to a bank officer in Flint, Mich., the President is "a great talker, but a poor doer."

**Up in the air: a Republican choice.** Even though the President's popularity may be waning among some of his former adherents, there seems to be no concerted swing toward any Republican champion.

"I was just thinking," muses a railroad conductor in New Jersey, "who the Republicans could put up as a candidate who could beat Kennedy. Kennedy's got them boxed in. Rockefeller's remarriage dims his chances; Goldwater seems to be against everything; Scranton may have the best chance."

"Kennedy does a lot of shooting from the hip, then doesn't follow up," criticizes a department-store owner in Lincoln, Nebr. "Take his tax proposals. There was a big noise, then the whole thing died down." But, he adds: "Goldwater was in town recently. I thought he made a poor impression."

A Cleveland economist voices this view: "If we don't get a tax cut, Kennedy will step up federal spending as much as he can, and that will make him a 'shoo-in' in 1964. Romney is too new, Scranton too dull. Rockefeller is a 'me-too man.' He's a dead pigeon because he married a young chick. Goldwater would provide the most exciting race."

A Milwaukee editor sees it another way. He comments: "Goldwater is held to be too right-wing. Romney is probably too local. That leaves Rockefeller as the only real hope."

In Grand Island, Nebr., a banker says, "Rockefeller is not liked around here. I don't think the divorce has anything to do with it. He was never popular. Goldwater is highly regarded, but I feel he would lose."

"Anyone could beat Kennedy in Montana today," predicts a rancher near Helena.

Some voters have little use for any of the possible candidates. Says an Iowa publisher: "No one around here cares much for Kennedy, but they don't like any of the Republicans, either. I wouldn't give you a nickel for any of them."

And from a farmer near Sioux Rapids, in the same State: "I don't really think it matters who is President. They all seem to act the same, spend money right and left."

## BUSINESS: IT'S GOOD, BUT—

***Automation is a worry . . . So is lack of unskilled jobs . . . Nation, generally, is enjoying good times.***

Business is described as generally good across the country. Concern is mostly hinged to increased automation in factories and the problem of finding jobs for young people who drop out of school.

On the farms, weather is the chief cause of concern. Some areas have had too much rain, some not enough. There are small pockets of grumbling about Government controls over agriculture, but most farmers are not too unhappy.

"Business is fine," says the president of a life insurance company in Philadelphia. "We are active in 20 States, and it's good all over." He adds:

"You know what I hear most talk about? Automation. Every body seems to bring it up—what the long-range effect will be. We're putting automatic elevators in this building. Everybody is buying computers, all kinds of new machinery. The big question is: What is it doing for jobs? My feeling is that it will make more jobs in the long run."

In Georgia, an executive of the Augusta Chamber of Commerce says, "Business is better than it has been at any time in the 35 years I've been on this job. One reason is development of water resources through the Savannah River projects. The ample water supply has attracted new industry."

"Things are very good in this area," says an auto-union official in Flint, Mich. "These last two model years are probably the best we've ever had. The plants are working two 9-hour shifts, and have been since the 1964 model run started."

**Business: "good" . . . "terrible."** A radio executive in Minneapolis reports that "business has been comfortably good for the past six or eight years. There has been no recession and no mushroom growth. This area has diversified industry with a strong agricultural backstop, and the farmers are in pretty good shape. Jobs are plentiful around Minneapolis, and there is almost no tax delinquency throughout Minnesota."

A newspaper publisher in Storm Lake, Ia., is convinced that people are prosperous because, as he puts it, "we raised our subscription rates and got only a few complaints and no cancellations. Usually, we really hear about it."

But the owner of a tailor shop in San Francisco demurs. "Business is terrible," he says. "It fell off last May during the stock crash and has never recovered. People have cash, but they fear the Administration. It's so lackadaisical, people don't know which way it is headed."

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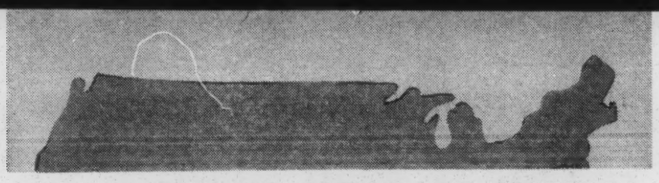
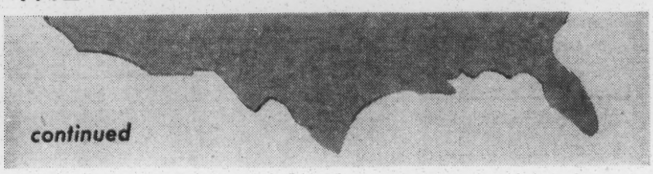


# THE CHANGING MOOD OF AMERICA



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**FARMERS COMPLAIN** about the weather, Government controls and low prices for their products, but seem to be not too unhappy over the state of agriculture and future prospects.

**FIDEL CASTRO** and presence of Russians in Cuba still rankle — but fewer people now seem ready to go to war over Cuba. Question is asked: How can the Russians be ousted?

**IN THE CITIES,** better transportation and urban renewal are much on people's minds, but there also is increasing worry over the steep, steady rise in local and State taxes.

—USN&WR ILLUSTRATIONS



In Brooklyn, N. Y., an ironworker in a shipyard reports that business is "in bad shape." U. S. shipyards, he says, "no longer are able to compete against foreign shipyards because of higher costs here."

**Automation: pro and con.** Automation is a particular worry to a toolmaker in Manchester, Conn., who says: "People are more worried about automation than anything else. They are afraid they are going to lose their jobs."

An industrialist in the same city, however, says that automation is the reason for a boom in the machine-tool business. Tape-controlled machine tools, he points out, "are making the conventional type of machine tools obsolescent. Old equipment will have to be replaced with fantastically improved new machines, and this will mean more jobs for toolmakers."

In Chicago, a labor leader says that an acute problem in Illinois is that the economy isn't absorbing young people. "The school dropout has almost no employment opportunities," he reports. "We have a paradox of a generally good economy, but with the hard core of unemployment steadily rising. Jobs in the construction industry have picked up, but there is talk of layoffs in the steel mills."

"I have a feeling that people are not spending," says a Methodist minister in Rockville, Md. "They are holding on to their money. There seems to be some fear that a recession is coming. Maybe there is some general fear."

From a Roman Catholic priest on Long Island, N. Y.:

"I am the administrator of a labor agreement for the electrical construction workers here, and this past winter was one of the worst we have ever had, as far as construction is concerned."

In Milwaukee, the employment situation is described as "not too bad" by a union official. "There are some weak spots," he admits, "but construction is booming and the breweries are going full blast. The packing houses are moving away, and that's put a lot of old-timers out of work who can't get other jobs. The International Harvester Company, which used to make tractors and engines and is a parts plant now, may move away. Of course, the American Motors body plant has given us a shot in the arm.

"Young people have trouble getting jobs, and there are more and more of them coming on, while people with seniority stay on the job. Negroes also have the feeling that they're losing out on jobs. It's hard to put your finger on it, but it's probably true that Negroes are the first to be laid off, the last rehired. That's because they mostly don't have seniority."

**Worry about unemployment.** An automobile dealer in Media, Pa., sees hard-core unemployment as "the biggest problem in the country. If unemployment could be corrected, there would not be so much Negro unrest," he says. "The trouble is there are not enough jobs for them. They are trying to get into the union, and the union men just don't want to share their jobs. There are not enough to go around."

"Our chief concern," says the manager of a Philadelphia hotel, "is the drop in spending as a result of the Internal Revenue Service ruling on expense accounts. It's hurting the restaurant and banquet business all over town.

"The hotel business is lousy. It's because of the jet age. People who used to spend the night now arrive in the morning and leave in the evening. All hotels find the same thing. Our business is down 10 to 12 per cent from last year."

A New York haberdasher complains that business in men's wear is poor. "You can't put your finger on what's wrong," he says. "I don't know why men are not buying or spending as much for clothes in proportion to their other expenditures as they used to. Their sense of values seems to have changed."

A bank president in Frederick, Md., reports "the best six months in our history, in net earnings. President Kennedy is

always trying to make you think that money is tight. It isn't. We've held our interest at 5½ per cent, and we're getting plenty of prime mortgages.

"The farmer is the only one who has had it rough around here. There was the drought last year. They got no hay to speak of."

Business is "on the upswing" in the Cleveland area, says a bank official there. "It's not unemployment that's bugging us, it's 'disemployment'—the disappearance of jobs," he reports. "There is increasing capital investment—up 40 per cent this year compared with 1962—but the total number of jobs is falling off."

An auto dealer in Lake Mills, Wis., describes business as "the best in my five years here—and I think it will keep up for a while. People are trading up in cars, and the most expensive models are selling the best," he says.

Auto dealers in many other areas agree.

**Views from farm country.** "The farm picture around the State is good," says a stockyard executive in Omaha. "In western and northwestern Nebraska, the crops are absolutely beautiful." He adds: "Farming today is an intricate, involved business that takes know-how. It used to be, if you couldn't make it in the city, you could always go back to the farm. Now it is just the reverse. If you can't make it on the farm, you can always go to the city."

From a farmer near Denison, Ia.: "I just sold some cattle, didn't make out too well. This business is always a gamble. You have to take the good with the bad."

"I think the break in the cattle market is the only weak spot in the picture," says a banker in Grand Island, Nebr.

Too much rain has been a problem in parts of the South. "My main worry right now," says a tobacco farmer in Lexington County, S. C., "is what a 10-day rainy spell late in June did to my tobacco."

"The farmers around here are being robbed blind," says a grain-elevator operator in Eagle Grove, Ia. "Do you know how much the farmer gets for the corn in a box of breakfast cereal that sells for over 20 cents? One cent! That's ridiculous. The farmers should be better-organized."

"The farmer is on the dole—and is sort of ashamed of it," comments a farm-equipment dealer in Iowa Falls, Ia.

In the view of a newspaper editor in Grand Island, "The majority of farmers here feel the farm program is a giant giveaway, doing no good. It served a purpose during the depression, but must we have it forever? The sooner we start getting back to a free market, the better. We can't scuttle it overnight, of course. We'll have to inch out of it."

But another editor in the same State, in Lincoln, looks at the problem this way:

"The feed-grain bill has worked out quite well. More farmers took part. The results have been better, and the farmer has more cash in his pocket."

# U. S. VIEWS OF THE WORLD

***Little fear of war . . . But Cuba and Castro still rankle . . . Russia? There's some optimism, but—***

American people, at this time, are not greatly concerned about foreign affairs. There seems to be no fear that war is imminent.

Even Cuba no longer is the hot issue that it once was, though nearly everybody is still irked by U. S. failures to get Fidel Castro, Communism and the Russians out of there.

Soviet Russia has receded, at least temporarily, into the background in people's minds. There's not much talk, either, about the war in Southeast Asia.

**Most say: No war over Cuba.** The idea of risking war over Cuba is widely rejected.

"You can't go in and declare war over a little island like that," says a Baltimore parking-lot attendant.

"I would like to see something done," says a New York City contractor. "Cuba is really a bone in our throat. But I wouldn't want to do anything which would drag us into war."

"I wouldn't do anything that would start a war," agrees a New Market, Md., grocer.

A Chicago savings and loan executive reports:

"There is apathy over Cuba. There were strong opinions at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion that we should have kept going. But I find no strong feeling now that the U. S. should go back in."

A Detroit newspaper editor describes Cuba as an issue that is "festering, dormant." He says "people are accepting the Cuban situation, but they don't like it."

Another newspaper editor, in Augusta, Ga., reports:

"What you hear about Cuba these days is mostly in the form of bitter jokes."

**A doubt that Russia would fight.** Not everybody is willing to go slow in Cuba. A few people say they are ready to risk war if necessary to get Castro and the Russians out. Most of those doubt Russia would fight.

"We ought to push this guy Castro out," says a New York City banker. "Stop pussyfooting around."

"We should go into Cuba when they don't expect it," suggests a New York liquor-store clerk. "If we don't, the Communists will take over all of Latin America."

"I'd risk war," says a Frederick, Md., banker. "But I don't think we would have it."

"I'd walk right into Cuba," says a Philadelphia insurance executive. "I don't think the Russians would fight."

**Baffled: What to do?** You still hear considerable grumbling about the way the Cuban situation has been handled. But many people express a feeling of frustration as to what should be done.

"People are confused," reports a Waterloo, Ia., lawyer. "Everybody wants to get rid of Castro, but nobody knows how to do it."

"I ask myself: 'What would you do if you were the President?'" says a Philadelphia newspaper editor.

In the opinion of a New York City writer:

"The difficulty of clearing up Cuba is becoming greater and greater. But all that is really necessary is the will to win. If they just had the will to win in Washington, then everything else would fall into place."

**A deal with Russia?** Some people see prospects as improving for some kind of working arrangement with Russia.

"I think the chances are perhaps better than usual," says a Philadelphia stockbroker. "There is little question that there is a real split between Russia and China. That's why Khrushchev is starting to put anchors to windward. I think Khrushchev is about as muddled up as Kennedy is."

"Khrushchev has more problems than we have," suggests an industrial designer in Riverside, Conn. "But we don't take advantage of that. We never take the initiative."

A San Francisco attorney says: "If I were Khrushchev, I'd be scared out of my wits about what the Chinese are up to. In the long run, the Russians will find they have far more in common with us than with China—and we with them."

Other people remain skeptical. Commenting on the chances for a nuclear-test ban or other agreement with Russia, a New York City salesman says: "I don't think any real

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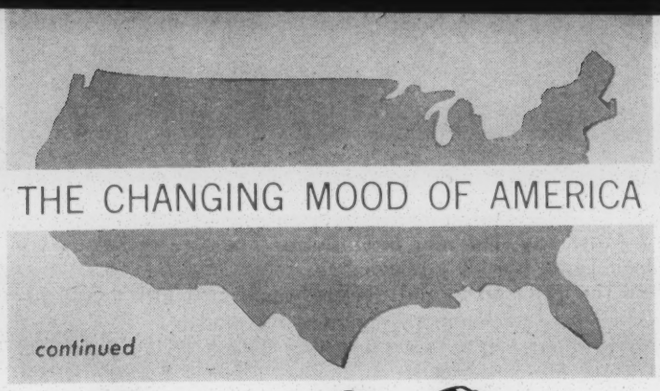

**UNEMPLOYMENT** continues to harass some areas, although the situation in big industrial centers has improved. Chief concern now is providing job opportunities for young people.

**BUSINESS** almost everywhere in the U. S. is described as good. Most businessmen are gratified that the economy seems to be stable — with no recession or mushroom growth likely.

**IN THE SUMMER** of 1963, Americans appear to be content, not deeply upset over anything in particular. The objective of most is a family vacation — a chance to relax in the sun.

—USN&WR ILLUSTRATIONS

agreement is likely. The Russians are horse-traders—they want one horse for one rabbit."

A management consultant in New York City fears that Khrushchev's current dispute with Red China "may make a deal with the U. S. more difficult because Khrushchev will have to act cautiously in order not to give the Chinese the impression that he is appeasing."

**Get tough with Reds?** Here and there, you'll find somebody who volunteers the idea that the U. S. should be firmer in its dealings with Communist countries.

A Bronx postal clerk thinks: "We should not only invade Cuba but we should act tougher all around the globe. Chiang Kai-shek wants to liberate China; we should aid him—with arms, but not American men. I'd like to see the Berlin Wall shot down. The Communists respect power."

A Huntington, N. Y., accountant prefers "peaceful moves to deal with Russia—if the deals are made on an equitable basis."

"It's important to find a way out of conflict with Russia, or else we will all be dead," says a New York City housewife. She adds this comment about U. S. involvement in the war against Communism in Vietnam:

"I shocked some of my friends the other day when I told them that if my son, who is in the Army, were sent to Vietnam and got killed there, I would go to Washington and blow up things."

## TOO MUCH WASHINGTON?

*Pros and cons on "big Government" . . . Concern over U. S. spending, debt . . . Doubts on foreign aid.*

Get people to talking about the Federal Government, and you hear complaints about its size, its power and its cost.

"Centralized government in Washington has become too big, too powerful, too socialistic," complains a banker in North Augusta, S. C. "It seems to me that the thirst for power is just insatiable. I hear people say that the Federal Government should use its power to kick the Russians out of Cuba, not to tell individual American citizens how to run their lives."

"We're getting the Government right down into our personal lives," says a lumber-union secretary in Oregon. "We're getting an awful lot of Federal Government. Look at the listings in the phone book. It's unbelievable it takes that much Government to run the country. The minorities demand the services. The workingman doesn't want the policing that goes with the services."

"We're learning that federal aid and federal control go together just like ham and eggs," says a tax consultant in San Jose, Calif.

"A little less do-gooding by the Government would be welcome," says a realtor in Marin County, Calif. "I think the benefits derived by the average citizen from the Government cost more than they are worth."

In Lake Mills, Wis., an executive in an electronics firm complains: "Washington is policing us too much, doing too much health and relief spending. And the records and books you have to keep—why, it just snows you under. I think most businessmen will tell you this."

One of the few who speak out in defense of big Government is a Philadelphia businesswoman: "The larger a country becomes, the more essential it is for the Government to intervene in local affairs."

Another is a Minneapolis radio executive: "Even we in the Middle West recognize the complexity of modern society and the need for more centralized controls. So most of us are resigned to more policing of our lives."

**Tax cut? Yes, but—.** Almost everyone agrees that a cut in the federal income tax would be welcome—but one person after another wonders how taxes can be cut unless spending is also reduced.

"It's remarkable," observes a Richmond, Va., newspaper editor, "how many people have the good sense to see that it doesn't make sense to cut taxes while Government spending and the public debt are going up and up."

"No tax reductions until the Government starts paying off the debt," declares a southern Oregon banker.

A Dayton, Ohio, businessman believes: "People would rather forgo a tax cut and have a balanced budget. They mistrust the idea of a tax cut anyway—giving with one hand and taking away with the other. The new expense-account law is a good example of that."

"I think the best thing the President could do would be to retire part of the national debt," suggests a Brandon, Ia., farmer. "That would really give people confidence."

The head of a Milwaukee brewery says: "What worries a lot of executives is the balance-of-payments situation. Foreign dollar holdings are dangerously high, and they could put a real squeeze on us that would hurt."

A Philadelphia insurance executive says: "People here are very much concerned about Government interference with business. This antitrust program is one angle."

There is widespread interest in the Government's space program—but a wide diversity of opinion about whether it's worth all the money it costs.

**Questions on foreign aid.** One form of federal spending that is questioned by many people is foreign aid.

"There is growing awareness that this foreign aid is a big giveaway," says a newspaper editor in Sioux City, Ia.

"You can't buy friendship," says a farmer near Neligh, Nebr. "You give these countries aid and they turn right around and spit in your eye."

A banker in Grand Island, Nebr., observes: "Here we are, building a big steel mill in India when our own industry is sick. Farmers see foreign barbed wire underselling domestic wire. This foreign aid has done little good."

A car dealer in Media, Pa., disagrees. "I am in favor of spending for foreign aid," he says. "It's a lot cheaper than going to war."

## PROBLEMS CLOSE TO HOME

*People worry about local taxes . . . Transportation . . . Schools . . . Teen-agers . . . Improving cities.*

Local issues—property taxes, rejuvenation of downtown areas of cities, teen-age behavior, the need for more and better schools—are foremost in the minds of many Americans in this summer of 1963. But often these concerns are temporarily shelved in the excitement of vacation plans.

"The big interest of most people around here is property taxes," says a lawyer in Massapequa Park, N. Y., a residential community on Long Island. "Most of the people who move out here have been used to paying rent and letting the landlord worry about the taxes. They just say taxes are too high. They want the State to pick up the tab for education, not realizing that the State's money comes from them, too."

It's a similar story on the West Coast. Says a sawmill manager in Dunsmuir, Calif.: "There's a big tax uproar around here this year due to much higher appraisals. Taxes are a sore issue, so people veto bond issues when they come up."

From a housewife in Lakeville, Minn., comes this word: "Everything costs so much. I think the State ought to cut down on taxes, not give away so much relief for bums, so people could save a little. There's plenty of work for everybody, but those bums on relief don't want to work."

"The big problem today," says the mayor of a small North Carolina city, "is overemphasis in spending on education. This thing of 'quality education' can be carried too far. Kids are being pushed beyond their capacity. Everybody can't be an Einstein. What is happening is that the educational frills kids get make them dissatisfied with the station in life for which they—or many of them, anyway—are fitted. Nobody, leaving school, wants to work with his hands anymore. Everybody wants a desk job. We're going to suffer from that in the end."

In Iowa, "people are worried about schools," says a newspaper editor. "We need school reorganization. People wonder if their children, from these small-town schools, will be able to compete with children graduating from modern, better-equipped schools in the big cities."

At the same time, the battle against rising taxes continues. "Rural Iowa made a desperate effort to get relief from property taxation in the last legislature and failed," reports an insurance agent in Eagle Grove, Ia. "It was like Pickett's charge. The power of farmers is slipping."

A Philadelphia lawyer reports that one of the big issues there is a bill that would provide bus transportation for all children who go to school, including parochial and other private schools. One of the arguments for the legislation, he says, is that "if the Government can afford to throw money into the sky for the space program, it can afford to give school kids an extra bus."

**Expense accounts, "phony" price tags.** "People I know complain about expense-account restrictions while Senators get thousands of dollars they don't even have to itemize," says a jeweler in Birmingham, Mich. "They also complain about taxes. My pet peeve is 'phony' price tags. Some items have brand-name price tags that don't mean a thing, like a watch with a price tag of $200 selling for $19."

Lack of money is not the reason for resistance to taxes in suburban areas, says a school superintendent in northern New Jersey. He adds: "People who think nothing of spending $30 to $40 on a night out on the town will argue heatedly in a public meeting over a tax increase of $30 spread over an entire year."

North Dakota, says a chemical engineer in Bismarck, "is getting more and more conservative all the time. We have a series of tax proposals before the people on referral now. We'll get a 'no' vote from two thirds of the voters." The "no" vote turned out even heavier than he expected.

A small-town newspaper editor in New York is worried over "the potential for juvenile delinquency brought about by the fact that kids coming out of school have no place to go—economically, not for recreation." He says there is a big need to open up job opportunities for young people, "and for a sort of moral rearmament program among teen-agers."

"We ought to do something about the obsolescence of our downtown buildings," says a real estate man in Petaluma, Calif. "We've lost taxes that way. But it will get worse before something is done."

And from an optician in Rockville, Md., comes this observation: "The thing we are talking about most and hoping for most is urban renewal. We'd like to see a new department store built here. It would bring business to everybody."

An oil-company executive in New York finds most people unconcerned over national or international issues. He comments: "They seem to be seeking an escape from their concerns by concentrating on everyday living. My friends seem to be buying more cars, enjoying themselves at picnics and parties more than ever before."

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The Christian Century ✦ EDITORIALS

A+R Rel.

# Tom Paines and Uncle Toms

✦ THE CURRENT racial revolution in the United States, like every other revolution, needs its Tom Paines—resolute, contentious, obsessed leaders whose fixed idea and single-minded purpose make them indifferent to precedent and propriety, impervious to threats to their person and independent of those dilemmas and paradoxes which in more prudent and deliberative men paralyze action. Nothing short of such a spirit and nothing less than such a focused determination can seriously challenge the deeply imbedded racial patterns in the United States, shake members of both races out of their lethargic moderateness and in this generation bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life. A tragic and shameful history in which the white man alternately promises and postpones equal status to the Negro now makes revolutionary leadership indispensable for the solution of the Negro's problems and the satisfying of his grievances. And, once more, there are Tom Paines, Negro and white, who are equal to "the times that try men's souls." Wholly committed to one goal—justice for the Negro—they break cherished images, defy immoral legalities, slash the red tape of genteel parliaments, alarm and embarrass their friends and sometimes in ways which to other men appear absurd demand for Negroes elemental human and civil rights. To say No to their goal or to deny to them the exercise of their method is to misread the nature of the revolution and to repudiate the future.

I

It is also a historical fact that the Tom Paines who make revolutions possible are seldom able to make the benefits of their revolutions permanent. And the ironic fact is that the very talents which make them superlative revolutionaries are the same ones which disqualify them for the building of new institutions on the ruins of the old. The true revolutionary has or soon develops an autocratic spirit. He insists that everyone adopt not only his ends but also his means. By demanding that others adopt his methods as well as his goals, that their zeal be as unruly as his own, he alienates the men who must put the pieces back together when the revolution ends. Moreover, the single-mindedness of the revolutionist, however well it may equip him for revolution, is not the stuff out of which communities are built. By fixing his whole being on one objective the revolutionary simplifies and sharpens the thrust of his own life. He does so, however, only by sacrificing other values which may be equal to his own but which his obsession precludes.

Life is relatively simple for the Negro and white Tom Paines who believe that racial justice is not only the most crucial issue in American society—as others would grant—but is indeed the *only* issue. Life is not so simple for those Americans—Negro and white—who view the racial struggle as the most important issue in a whole cluster of issues. To be at once committed to racial justice in all its ramifications *and* to peaceful protest against every kind of injustice *and* to an American community which offers more than mere peaceful coexistence between the races *and* to a Christian discipline which precludes brutal or boorish rebellion—this is not easy, and the men and women who are so committed deserve better treatment than they sometimes receive from the Tom Paines who with them seek a common goal.

II

It is pure bigotry to say, as some engaged in the racial struggle now do, that if one is not a Tom Paine in the racial battle he is necessarily an Uncle Tom. In addition to the tokenism, the gradualism, the groveling subservience of the white and Negro Uncle Toms on one end of the social spectrum and the white-hot rebellion of white and Negro Tom Paines on the other there are racial attitudes varying from depraved prejudice and ruthless discrimination to genuine commitment to a totally integrated society. Many Americans of both races who are not revolutionaries and who will not use revolutionary methods are nonetheless devoted to the Negro's cause—a devotion attested to by the fact that they sacrificed money, position, prestige and personal comfort to that cause long before it was respectable to do so. To reject such people as Uncle Toms because they will not support some particular technique in the racial protest, to let extremists set the pace and demand that everybody march to it or be humiliated, is to corrupt the revolution and postpone indefinitely the building of that new America which the revolution could make possible.

Who in the booing crowd has done as much as James Meredith to symbolize in personal courage and resolution the battle of a lone Negro against white politicians, white courts, white customs and white laws? Then why humiliate him and break his

heart because he refuses to chant in approved terms what the crowd wants to hear? Who in the madding Harlem crowd has done as much as Martin Luther King, Jr., to lift the American Negro's hope for freedom and justice? Then why smear his car with stinking eggs because he has a Christian allegiance which will not let him resort to violence in the pursuit of justice? Bigotry remains bigotry however much it changes its color, and bigotry is particularly tempting to the absolutist, white or Negro.

The racial struggle needs Tom Paines who irritatingly stir and drive the people, fomenting and stimulating the necessary social revolution, but it also needs Washingtons and Jeffersons who with sound judgment and the long view put a nation together. It needs Garrisons who stubbornly and everlastingly exasperate the people until they act for justice, but it also needs Lincolns who "with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right . . . bind up the nation's wounds." We need both; we need both simultaneously.

## McNamara Restricts Servicemen's Demonstrations

✦ SECRETARY of Defense Robert S. McNamara's order restricting the participation of military personnel in racial demonstrations stands upon sound principle and honored precedent. The air force had permitted its servicemen to take part in racial demonstrations if they were off duty and in civilian clothes and if there were no danger of injury to themselves or of damage to government property. McNamara's directive said military personnel may not participate in civil rights demonstrations during the time they are required to be present for duty, when they are in uniform or on military reservations, when their activities constitute a breach of law and order or when violence is likely to result. We hope that the secretary will now take a second step in the right direction and ban military personnel from *all* demonstrations for or against desegregation. It will be held that such a restriction would deny military personnel their right to freedom of speech and action. Obviously it would. But it has been long assumed in American military tradition that a military system cannot be democratic and that those who participate in the system, whether voluntarily or by conscription, must sacrifice some of their constitutional rights. The time may come again when a branch of the armed forces must be used to maintain order or to enforce the judgments of federal courts in racial disputes. Servicemen who are deeply and actively involved in the racial conflict could not be trusted to handle this responsibility with the detachment essential to justice. Moreover, servicemen who participate in racial demonstrations will inevitably find themselves battling each other from opposite sides of the conflict and will destroy that team spirit which is essential to military service. It cannot be expected that servicemen will be personally indifferent to the most crucial sociological struggle in American life or that they will not be individually aligned with one side of the struggle or the other. It can and should be required that they refrain from expressing their sentiments in the streets in public demonstrations.

## Public Libraries Desegregate

✦ ONE of the surprising and hopeful developments in the Negro's struggle for justice is the quiet and relatively rapid desegregation of public libraries throughout the nation—including the Deep South. This desegregation is far from complete, and many cities in the north still practice racial discrimination by locating public libraries in predominantly white neighborhoods. Even so, public libraries are far in advance of other public facilities in making their services available without racial discrimination. This encouraging report was released in mid-July by the American Library Association meeting in Chicago. In a 115-page report titled "Access to Public Libraries" the association announced that an integration program which has been in progress since the 1920s has now raised to 24 per cent the proportion of southern cities which have integrated library systems, the high being 55 per cent in Tennessee and the low, 7 per cent in Alabama. In many southern cities where schools are still rigidly segregated the main public libraries are open to Negroes: Mobile and Birmingham, Alabama; Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, Louisiana; Augusta, Macon and Albany, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina. The interesting fact is that library integration has occurred despite the low priority Negro leaders give to it compared with their concern about voting, housing, job opportunities, education and other public rights and services. The opening of libraries to Negroes has also occurred with minimum pressure in the form of demonstrations and lawsuits. There is strong evidence that total desegregation of public libraries in the cities of the south can be achieved without publicity and social disruption if Negroes give library access high priority in their struggle for justice.

## Test Ban Talks Raise Hopes for Peace

✦ IS THE improved relationship between the Soviet Union and the West cause or effect? Does Russia make conciliatory moves toward Great Britain and the United States because of its worsening relationship with China or does its relationship with China worsen because of conciliatory moves toward Great Britain and the United States? This hen-or-egg question is not irrelevant. If the new mood in Moscow develops from a growing Russian fear of the

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# RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES

## WHOSE REVOLUTION SHOULD IT BE?

*Mr. Lippmann believes that the only way for the moderates to dominate the revolution is to make it their own.*

**Walter Lippmann**

"For a hundred years since Lincoln freed the slaves, this country has relied upon the education of the Negroes and the persuasion of the whites to bring about that equality of status to which it is committed. We are now realizing that the present rate of change will not be fast enough. The redress of the grievances of the Negroes is for the new generation too slow. . . . History teaches us that when this point is reached in the struggle for what men regard as their just rights a revolutionary condition exists.

"Then the supreme questions are posed. Will the ruling and privileged classes take command of the coming changes? Or will they cling to their privileges and become the immovable object in collision with an irresistible force?

"The white people of this country, not only the white people of Alabama and Mississippi, are now at that crucial point where they must answer those questions. They must choose, on the one hand, between leading the movement towards equality of status and, on the other hand, standing aside and letting matters be decided by collisions between the Negro agitators and the Bull Connors. . . .

"We cannot count upon nonviolence persisting in the face of brutal and illiterate resistance. The outstanding danger is not that there may be rioting and brawling. For these can be suppressed. The outstanding danger is a loss of confidence by the Negro people in the good faith of the white people. This is where the turning point lies at the present time.

"If confidence is lost that there is a legitimate remedy for genuine grievances, there will be lost at the same time confidence in the doctrine of nonviolence. What will come after that it is unpleasant to contemplate. . . .

"The time has come when there must be a change in . . . the policy of leaving desegregation, which is a national commitment, to the conflict between private law suits and local authorities. The cause of desegregation must cease to be a *Negro* movement, blessed by white politicians from the Northern states. It must become a *national* movement to enforce national laws, led and directed by the national government. . . .

"If it is still possible, and I think it is, to hold and even to recover the confidence of the Negroes in the good faith of the whites, then this is the basic principle by which to do it. It is to make plain by word and deed that the Negroes are no longer a weak and isolated minority trying to push the nation into doing what the national law and American principles require it to do.

"Then, because the national power is behind the movement towards equality of status, that national power, which will be more than sufficient, can be exercised without violence, with wisdom, and with restraint. For it is the very weak rebels who feel that they must resort to the extreme measures." (*The Washington Post,* May 28, 1963)

# THE IMPACT OF AUTOMATION

**The coming of automation has created the possibility of unprecedented levels of production. Some social theorists feel, therefore, that the crucial problem in our economy is no longer the increase of productive capacity, but rather the distribution of burgeoning abundance.**

## ARE WE READY FOR ABUNDANCE?

*Mr. Ferry is the vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.*

**W. H. Ferry**

"What is especially new in the U.S. is abundance—the discovery that we have the capacity now to provide all the goods and services needed by all of our citizens. Americans—but not all of them—have more than they need of many goods and services, even with a good deal of obsolescent machinery and methods and unused farm lands. We have even created a formidable surplus of unemployed. It is my conviction, based on this stubborn surplus, that full employment has to be discarded as a national goal; that most of the widening pool of hitherto employable men and women will never again find sustained employment; and that this growing group of human rejects constitutes another totally new situation, one heavy with revolutionary implications. . . .

"New theories and new institutions are called for, not mere modifications or touch-ups of the old. Nor do I mean substitutions, such as substitution of socialist theory for classical economics. Socialist theory is as qualitatively threadbare as classical economic theory, and there just is not enough of it to cover today's conditions. Socialist incantations, like capitalist incantations, are largely directed to vanished circumstances." ("Transforming Economic Institutions," *Cambridge* 38, February 1963)

*Mr. Bazelon is a lawyer, and author of* The Paper Economy.

**David T. Bazelon**

"Because capitalism and its paper world were based on true existing scarcity, the drama of the system was to contend heroically with the scarcity of things in the world. . . . But the whole point about the new freedom, the new technology, is that it has made scarcity absurd."

Consequently, money is not real. "What made it *seem* real for so long was its scarcity. Since money is supposed to be spent on things, its scarcity can truly reflect reality only when that reality is made up of a general scarcity of things. It no longer is, except mostly by intention. Since the imagined scarcity of money no longer mirrors an existing scarcity of things, and since money that is not meaningfully scarce is not exactly money, the whole nature of the symbol has changed profoundly. . . .

"We are quickly approaching the point where the nation will have to make a fundamental decision about whether it can do without the whole baggage of historical ideas which were outgrowths of previously existing scarcities. There is probably no more profound personal issue that any of us will ever have to face than this one—can we stand prosperity? Can we give up the scarcity idea?" *(The Paper Economy)*

Committee Reporter
July 1963 R&R Rel.

# Race Relations: THE CRISIS OF TH

By Joseph Ross, Vice President, Americ

The widespread racial tensions in the United States today are symptomatic of a very serious illness in American society. The mass demonstrations in Birmingham, the picketing in Philadelphia and New York, the parades and sit-ins, freedom rides and mass rallies throughout the land, give new evidence of the desperation of American Negroes, 100 years after their legal emancipation.

What are the historical forces behind these events which are unfolding so rapidly before our eyes? Why are these events happening? Why do they occur in just this way? What is their underlying significance?

We must first of all understand that the era which produced the New Frontier of President Kennedy is fundamentally different from the era which produced the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The crisis of the New Frontier is a crisis of economic injustice rather than economic disaster. We have everything that makes for a healthy economy—except that one segment of our society does not share in it. If the conditions under which the Negro lives his life today were to permeate the entire fabric of our American society so that all the people of the land were affected, we would again have economic disaster. Unlike a disaster, which welds people of many different viewpoints into a common effort, an injustice splits people apart. It produces conflict between those who must bear responsibility for the injustice and those who are the victims of it. Thus, the mood of America today, in contrast to the 1930's, is a divisive mood. Its by-product is weakness and dissension and fragmentation, rather than strength and unity. This is the mortal danger

***Economically deprived in the midst of our affluent society, the Negro fights a non-violent battle for his rights.***

of our times.

Moreover, even though the Negro has gained much in the past thirty years, today he is politically isolated. He is politically isolated because the white liberal-Negro coalition of the New Deal, if it is still alive, can hardly be described as vital. The Negro rejects the tempo of change which the white liberal has set for him. Today it is the pressure of the Negro fighting for himself, conducting his own demonstrations, which is forcing Washington into a consideration of new civil rights legislation.

The Negro drive for more comprehensive civil rights legislation, coupled with direct action along the lines of civil disobedience is confusing. Why fight for laws, if you are not going to obey them? But the

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Negro is not trying to be consistent. He is simply trying to win his freedom in any way he can: he says he is fighting for morally just laws and disobeying only morally unjust laws, and he is willing to pay the legal penalty for his civil disobedience.

The persistence of discriminatory practices in the South, in the face of the NAACP sweeping court victories destroying the legal basis of Southern segregation, coupled with the persistence of discriminatory practices in the North despite an upsurge of Northern civil rights legislation, has shaken the faith of the Negro in the effectiveness of the law.

So it is that the young Negro militant has departed from the classic liberal tactic of fighting one civil rights battle at a time, instead adopting the strategy of direct non-violent action – sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, freedom rides, civil disobedience, and as yet unheard of techniques.

There is no organized master plan because there is no single dominant Negro leadership. The focus of activity may shift from moment to moment—from Jackson, Mississippi, to Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia. One week, demonstrations may erupt for civil rights in Washington; the next week, for open housing in Dearborn, and the third week, for *de facto* school integration in Englewood, New Jersey. In short, the Negro is expressing his resentment and frustration wherever he can, whenever he can, with whatever issues he can use to demonstrate that he is no longer satisfied with his traditional role in our American society. Until he achieves true, full

*(continued on page 34)*

This article is based on an address by Joseph Ross before the National Newspaper Publishers Association on June 27 in Detroit. Mr. Ross is President of Davidson Brothers Inc., which operates a chain of retail stores in Michigan, Ohio and New York State.

(continued from page 9)

# Race Relations:

equality, this pressure will go on, and solutions in one area will not appease his hunger for status and dignity in other areas of American life.

Whether the white man admits it or not, he suffers more from non-violence than from any other kind of pressure. Even if he retreats to the privacy of his home or the innermost recesses of his own thoughts; even if he says his conscience is untouched, it *is* touched. Governor Wallace and Governor Barnett are doomed men; the more postures they strike, the more they rationalize, the more they betray the guilt of their own conscience. When the Negro fights with bricks, bottles and rocks, the white man can fight back with physical weapons of his own; but when the Negro fights the white man's conscience with non-violence, the white man has no defense.

We are engaged today, not in a class warfare between working people and capitalists, but in a caste warfare of race against race. On the Negro side, employed Negro members of the working class are allied with middle-class Negroes and upper-class Negroes in fighting for the economic rights of the unemployed Negro. On the other side of the fence, among white people, discrimination against the Negro is being practiced by many labor unions as well as middle-class employers and upper-class social clubs. The conflict cuts across class lines and creates the confrontation on caste lines.

When I lived in Texas, a hurricane struck the city of Galveston and laid it waste. The state and nation were united in their desire to restore this city in the image of the rest of America. If the thousands of individual tragedies in Galveston had been merged into the national statistics measuring the wellbeing of the nation as a whole, this disaster would have been like a drop of water upon the ocean.

Today, the Negro is nearly as stricken as the people in Galveston, only there is no visibility to his condition. His statistics are merged into the national statistics and they lose their significance. The Negro has met the invisibility imposed upon him by American society with a technique of his own, a technique unique in the history of human society. For, in fighting back with non-violence, he pays the white man the supreme tribute. He says, in effect, "I know you have a conscience. I do not want to harm you. I just want you to see what my problem is."

The true struggle is within our hearts and not on the pavements of our cities.

What we are witnessing is a revolution. The Negro will win his revolution because he is a citizen of this country as much as we are; because it is the soul of America which is at stake; because there is something in America which, in the words of Thomas Wolfe, is "More kind than home, more large than earth—whereon the pillars of this earth are founded, towards which the conscience of the world is tending—a wind is rising, and the rivers flow."

R&R Rel.


# The Town Crier

**Serving Cochituate Wayland Weston**

Wayland, Massachusetts THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1963


## Firsthand -- Wayland Girl's Own Story Of Helping Negroes Win Vote In South

By LINDA LYNES

Hoeing cotton ten hours a day in the southern sun, eating meals with the field hands, singing with the choirs of small country Negro churches, and living daily life as the guest of a Negro farmer and his wife in West Tennessee, were elements of my introduction to the background and personalities involved in the civil rights movement.

Stares in grocery stores where we shopped with our hostesses, an order from the Sheriff to "Conclude your business and get out of the county," threats of being shot by local whites, and being treated with deference by adults purely because of the lack of color in our skin, were some local reactions we met in our integrated workcamp of northern students.

Greeting us as we drove into Brownsville, Haywood County seat, was the county courthouse, located in a square in the center of town. In front of the courthouse, as if proclaiming the justice to be found within, were two drinking fountains, one labelled "White," the other "Colored."

A hot dog party was given for us as a welcoming gesture. Among the receptionists were the 10 young people who were to be driven to Philadelphia as an exchange workcamp. In the dark, amid questions about the others' way of life, skin color was forgotten.

We went home that night with our Negro host families to what were to become truly homes for us. We had come in order to learn about the lives of the local people; as these people are farmers, we lived a farming life.

Early Monday morning our week began with a delicious large breakfast of fried ham, scrambled eggs, coffee, toast, and corn bread muffins. After breakfast we went to the fields at about 5:30 to learn to "chop cotton", which is to say, to weed and thin it with a hoe. The field hands with whom we worked were earning $2.50 a day and their three meals a day. After two weeks of chopping, ten of their 12 working hours, I was still not able to learn the accuracy and speed of one of my co-workers who said to me repeatedly, while she was helping me to finish my row:

"Now don't y'all worry if you cain't chop as good as me. I been choppin' fo'ty years now, I ain't never done nothin but chop. Look at y'all, readin' and writin' and all. I ain't never known nothin' but choppin' "

I, clumsily but truthfully added once that in spite of my schooling, I would be the ruination of my host if he depended on my ability as a field hand.

One of our first problems was determining how to address our host and hostess and how we wanted to be addressed. We quickly settled into the custom of calling adults by their first name prefixed with Mr. or Mrs. (pronounced "Miz".) We insisted that they drop the Miss for us, because of our age, but this was hard to establish, because they had never addressed a white man without the formality of Mr.-Mrs.-Miss.

My hostess spent her afternoons in the field but her mornings in the house. When we came to dinner the first day at noon, I concluded that she must have spent her entire morning cooking! We had meat in a sauce she had fixed, string beans and beet greens, two kinds of warm home-baked bread, a potato casserole, and a homemade baked dessert for which I never learned a name.

When I said to my host one day in jest, "Miz Katherine must do nothing but cook to produce so much good food," well, that decided it. The next morning I stayed home to help Miz Katherine.

I was not really surprised to find that she did a wide variety of chores, the same chores I've done at home. Here they were made more difficult by lack of vacuum cleaner and hot water, but simplified by the simplicity of the four room house. We picked beans and squash for dinner, and I tried to help fix the squash.

"How much water do I put in?"

"Not too much. An a little sugar and salt"

"How much sugar?"

"Jes' a little"

"How long should it cook?"

"You kin tell if it's done"

So, that was the trick to her good cooking!

Mr. Tom, my host, was very proud of his tractor, which saved him time and money.

One day while we were there he had to call a repair man to work on it. He told the girl who was living with me in his home that she and I had better stay in doors.

He had called a white man to do the job, and while the white man was willing to include a Negro's tractor among his jobs, (because as Mr. Tom put it, "A Negro's money is the same as a White Man's.") yet Mr. Tom said, "This man is mean, and he might not like it, you livin' with us."

One workcamper was told when he was shopping alone at a local store, that if he didn't leave, they would shoot into his hosts home.

When he told his hostess this and suggested he move, she said, "Don't you pay them no mind. They afraid we gonna get uppity. I'll tell you what: I'm jes uppity enough that I gotta right to keep whatever guests in my home that I want!"

The workcamper stayed and no one shot into his home.

The boy who drives the tractor for Mr. Tom told me that when he finishes high school he's going to join the army.

"It's the cheapest way for us to get an education, and besides, we can earn more money in the army than working on a farm. I don't think I'll have to shoot anybody though. I couldn't never do that, cause it's not right to kill another man."

One girl among the hands had just finished high school and was planning to go to a state college in the fall to learn to be a secretary. In discussing her hopes for the future and mine, I learned that she wants a job in New York City. When I asked her why, she said:

"I know a Negro's not treated like a white man even in the north but at least he can talk to white men, and some will treat him right. You're the first white person I ever talked to who cared about my ideas,

"I know it's hard to find a job, but it's harder here. My sister lives there, and she writes me about it."

When I asked the same girl a few days later what effect, if any, she thought the workcampers were having, she said:

"Oh, y'all are havin' a real good effect! When other colored folks see us talkin' to y'all, they see it can happen; and ridin' in the back of a truck with us, and choppin' ! And if any white folk's sees u'all, well, maybe they'll have to think.

"Course, it won't really change no white man's ideas, cause people jes think the way they's been brought up."

One day when my southern family were all listening to the radio report of violence in civil rights demonstrations in Philadelphia, Cambridge, Md., and Jackson, Miss., my host said, "We want our rights here just like they do, but we don't want no violence in Haywood County."

Three years ago Mr. Tom had been forced to deal with mortgage foreclosure and the refusal of the white merchants to sell him food, clothing, or gasoline, because he had registered to vote.

Several times we went visiting grandparents and friends, and we saw the contrast between the life of our home-owning host families and the life of the sharecroppers. Beds with homemade mattresses, straight back chairs, bare electric light bulbs, and gay voices were all that cheered many of these two-and three-room houses, one board thick.

When the temperature was 95 and we had been working in the fields, and we were offered water, we accepted with unusually deep gratitude, not only because of thirst but also because we knew that our hostess must have brought the water from a well at the next house.

### Linda Lynes — Forward-Looking Girl

Linda, the 18-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Lynes, had a concern for the "problem" during her freshman year at Swarthmore College, but like most northerners, including her 12 fellow workcampers, she was unprepared for conditions as she found them in Haywood and Fayette County, Tenn.

What is it really like on the battlefront for civil rights in the South?

Linda Lynes of Wayland spent three weeks there--first, as part of a Quaker workcamp working in the cotton fields and living with sharecroppers and then in the "voter registration field". . .the hardest work of all.

Whenever we went visiting, after introductions, there was always a time when we were trying to hide the awe we felt at the conditions we saw and trying to destroy the awe felt by the family at white men of good will. At this point we were introduced to the long line of children usually at least eight, often 15.

Knowing that white plantation owners, instead of paying their sharecroppers their share of income from the crop, gave them food and clothing, we could understand why the thin children wore such shabby clothes.

Then we would sit down on the porch and discuss local gossip: a friend's wedding, Sunday's sermon, the weather, the crop, the voter registration drive, where we northerners came from and in whose home we were living and how we liked chopping.

Once all of our bi-racial workcamp rode in the back of a pickup truck the 40 miles to Memphis to attend a meeting to discuss the economic difficulties of the farm life in West Tennessee and the delta countys in Mississippi:

Would it be possible to unionize farm workers? Would it have any effect on wage rates? What could they do about mechanization? Where was it possible to get crop loans and loans for equipment? how can co-operative farming make use of everyone's small plots of unplanted land?

These and other questions were primary in areas where most of the land is owned by poor Negroes or white men with sharecroppers and day laborers.

At that meeting it became especially clear to us that the civil rights struggle is inspired not only by the desire of the Negro people to be recognized as individuals with human problems, but also by the desires of these individuals to solve these problems. Our friends in the south, just like us and all our friends anywhere, worry about their financial needs and how to feed, clothe, house, educate, and bring up their children.

While we were living in Fayette and Haywood Counties, and while our host families were going out of their way to make us feel welcome, the police were going out of their way to make us feel unwelcome. They followed us often and frequently stopped cars with northern plates. The driver was required to show his license, auto registration, and permission to drive the car if it did not belong to him. Then he was subjected to a questioning something like this:

"What are y'all doing down here?"

"Visiting some friends."

"Are you a Communist? That's why you're makin' all this trouble, ain't it?"

"No I'm not a Communist."

"Well we don't want no Communists like you down here stirrin' up trouble. These niggers ain't intendin' y'all no good. There ain't no tellin' what they'll do. And I'm warnin you, you're not wanted and if you know what's good for you, you'll get out of this county."

One workcamper answered quietly, "You are the first man in this county who has not wanted me here."

Sundays we attended church with our hosts and hostesses and were invited to sing in the choir. We saw that religion is the dominant influence in these lives. Listening to their prayers for peace and love and justice, we could sense that, much as these people wanted justice, there was no hate in their hearts for the white men who inflicted injustice.

We will never forget the prayers, so often repeated, in which the minister or members of the congregation chanted in a beautiful voice words like these:

"Dear Lord, help us to show these guests that they are welcome here, and dear Lord, we know that there ain't no color in heaven, and, dear Lord, help all men to live a life of peace and love on earth so we'll be ready for that other life when we leave this one."

NEXT --Just who works against you on voter registration? Sometimes it's the Negroes. And what are the pressures in a small-town county?

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Work Camp Project
c/o Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati, Ohio

Send contributions for building materials for community center to this address.

Next work camp November 27 - December 1, 1963

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**A group of college students observed the life of Tennessee sharecroppers by staying with Negro families and instructing them on voter registration. In the above photo a new community center is being constructed at Somerville, Tenn.**

**NEEDED - $1,000** For this community center that now stands Roof high . . . . . This was built by workcampers and local Negroes working for civil rights . . . . . See Flyer "IT NEEDS A ROOF"

they could procure in a more attractive manner.

Let's face reality and see to it that today's serviceman has the same opportunity to contribute his talents and satisfy his potential as did his predecessors. Let's continue with the good, rich America.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Matthews' essay speaks for itself and is an excellent and eloquent testimonial in support of the cold war GI bill.

## ARE RACIAL RIOTS COMMUNIST INSPIRED?

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there has been much discussion lately in the halls of Congress as to whether the Communists have any connections with the Negro demonstrations which are turning into race riots in various cities across the country. Considerable material showing Communist connections with the riots has been placed in the record of the hearings being conducted by the Commerce Committee on the President's proposal to permit the Federal Government to infringe on private property rights of businessmen by forcing them to serve and sell to whom the Federal Government dictates. In view of the fact, however, that these hearings will not be printed for a few weeks and this issue is receiving such prominent attention, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the following materials:

An article from the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., dated July 23, 1963, entitled "Reds Active in Sit-Ins?" by Holmes Alexander.

An article from the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., of July 26, 1963, entitled "Despite Kennedy Claim Thurmond Cites Leftist Ties Among March Group" by Frank van der Linden.

An article printed in the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., entitled "Kennedy Aids Working With Leaders of March" by Frank van der Linden.

A column from the Associated Press which was printed in the Memphis Press, Memphis, Tenn., entitled "Riders' Linked to Communists."

An article printed in the Dallas News, Dallas, Tex., entitled "Mississippian Says Reds Behind Rides."

A narration of a television newsreel heard over station KTTV in Los Angeles, Calif., on June 25, 1963, entitled "Racial Demonstrations Communist Inspired?"

An editorial from the Birmingham News, Birmingham, Ala., on July 26, 1963, entitled "Reds and Race Issues."

A series of four articles which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., in July 1963, written by Bill Shipp.

An article printed in the Columbus Evening Dispatch, Columbus, Ohio, on July 12, 1963, entitled "CORE To Keep Pickets at Governor's Home."

An editorial from the Augusta Chronicle, Augusta, Ga., on July 27, 1963, entitled "A Bar to Racial Progress."

An editorial from the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., which appeared on July 28, 1963, entitled "The O'Dell Case" and an article from South magazine entitled "Martin Luther King's Traveler" which appeared in the News and Courier the same day.

An article from the Sacramento Bee, Sacramento, Calif., on July 23, 1963, entitled "North State Communist Draws Crowd of 1,400 at UC Speech."

An article from the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., entitled "Man Linked to Reds Worked Twice for King."

An editorial from the State, Columbia, S.C., on July 27, 1963, entitled "A Communist Voice."

An editorial from the Augusta Chronicle, Augusta, Ga., on July 24, 1963, entitled "Red Tinge in Savannah."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, July 23, 1963]

### REDS ACTIVE IN SIT-INS?

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—On January 16, 1958, when Director J. Edgar Hoover was asking the House Appropriations Subcommittee for funds to run the FBI during the next fiscal year, he said:

"The Negro situation is also being exploited fully and continuously by Communists on a national scale. Current programs include intensified attempts to infiltrate Negro mass organizations. The party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes—but are designed to take advantage of all controversial issues on the race question so as to create unrest, dissension, and confusion in the minds of the American people."

Mass demonstrations by Negroes in the North and South, to be culminated with a huge march on Washington next month, were not in the news, as they are now, when Director Hoover gave this dispassionate, succinct and informed statement of Communist intentions. Last week southern Governors Barnett, of Mississippi, and Wallace, of Alabama, flapped the Red flag in words much like Hoover's. But the Barnett-Wilson testimony before the Commerce Committee's civil rights hearings was too self-interested to be effective. Another red object—the red herring of McCarthyism—came scurrying into the caucus room where McCarthy once performed. The subject of Communist complicity soon got lost amid pious horror of "smearing" the Negro race and its leaders. Somebody suggested that J. Edgar Hoover be summoned as a star witness on the subject, but Chairman MAGNUSON was against it.

Fortunately, it is hardly necessary to call Hoover. A little page lifting through House Appropriations hearings shows that the FBI Director has several times asked Congress for money for the very purpose of investigating Communist incitation of the Negroes.

On March 3, 1961, Hoover told the House money raisers:

"The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the party fully exploited to further its ends."

By now the Director was giving names, places, and dates. He mentioned James E. Jackson and Joseph North, "national Communist party functionaries," who came around for the demonstrations at Richmond, Va., in February 1960. He quoted the Negro Communist, Ben Davis, the party's national secretary, as stating in March 1960 that Negro demonstrations are the next best thing to proletarian revolution.

Again, on January 24, 1962, Hoover came to the House Appropriations Committee for funds, and one of his arguments was:

"Since its inception the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been alert to capitalize on every possible issue or event which could be used to exploit the American Negro in furtherance of party aims, in its efforts to influence the American Negro, the party attempts to infiltrate the legitimate Negro organizations for the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred. In this way, the party strikes a blow at our democratic form of government by attempting to influence public opinion throughout the world against the United States."

Nothing could be clearer than that, I have names for future columns showing proved Communists ferrying between Havana and the demonstration sites in American cities, and showing known Communists at the dirty work of teaching Negroes and whites to hate one another.

But the point which Warren Magnuson's Commerce Committee ought to be honest enough to discover is already laid bare, and this is it:

The unhappy American Negro, generally immune to Communist blandishments and greatly preferring the American way, is now being solicited and tempted, organized and incited as never before by the worst enemy our country ever had.

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[From the Nashville Banner, July 26, 1963]

### DESPITE KENNEDY CLAIM THURMOND CITES LEFTIST TIES AMONG MARCH GROUP

(By Frank Van Der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Although the Kennedy brothers claim there is no evidence of Communist interest in the Negro equality campaign, Senator STROM THURMOND has files that show definite leftwing links among some leaders of the planned August 28 march on Washington.

The New York Times said Thursday that Bayard Rustin is deputy director of the committee planning the Capital march by 100,000 or more Negroes to press for passage of President Kennedy's civil rights bills.

The Daily Worker said a man named "Bayard Rustin" attended the 1957 Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. According to the files of the South Carolina Senator, the Daily Worker identified Rustin as secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a prime mover of the August 28 March, and racial demonstrations generally.

Rustin was one of eight "impartial observers" at the Communist Party's 16th National Convention, according to THURMOND, and a member of the American Forum for Socialist Education, cited by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee December 19, 1957, as a Communist front.

#### THE 1958 MARCH

Rustin helped Dr. King's 1958 march on Washington, which the Worker called a Communist project. Now Rustin turns up again in New York City as deputy director of the committee making detailed preparations for the mass march on Washington.

The coordinating committee consists of: Dr. King; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Sleeping Car Porters and only Negro vice president of the AFL–CIO; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League; and John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Times quoted Dr. King as saying the committee would request a meeting with Kennedy when the marchers converge on the White House, and would ask the President to create a Federal civil rights police force.

#### HUAC RECORD

The House Un-American Activities Committee also has a large file on Randolph, showing he has worked closely with various

leftwing groups for many years. He has called for a radical labor movement to promote "interracial brotherhood and the cause of the American working class and world peace."

An investigating committee of the Texas House of Representatives in 1961 said that Farmer, the CORE director, and Dr. King are members of the national board of the committee for a sane nuclear policy, which advocates that the United States stop all nuclear testing, and "which has many Communist-fronters among its guiding personnel."

The Texas legislative report incorporated into the Senate Judiciary Committee's official hearing record on the confirmation of the NAACP lawyer, Thurgood Marshall as a Federal circuit judge last year also said this about Farmer:

"He served as field secretary for the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) visiting many college campuses. * * * The SLID publication Revolt, says 'The League for Industrial Democracy is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a "new social order based on production for use and not for profit." That is a revolutionary slogan. It means that members think and work for the elimination of capitalism and the substitution of a new order.' "

[WASHINGTON.—Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's office said one of his top aides would meet here this afternoon with Negro leaders and Metropolitan Police to plan the civil rights march on Washington August 28. The Justice Department said John Douglas, assistant attorney general and son of Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, would represent the Attorney General at the conference. The New York Times today quoted Cleveland Robinson and Bayard Rustin, two leaders of the march, as saying they would meet today with the Attorney General himself. However, Kennedy's offices said this "was not correct."]

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[From the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn.]

KENNEDY AIDS WORKING WITH LEADERS OF MARCH

(By Frank van der Linden)

WASHINGTON.—Top aids to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy are working closely with Negro leaders of the projected civil rights march on Washington August 28 in hopes of preventing violence.

Assistant Attorney General John Douglas, who conferred Friday with the march leaders and Metropolitan Police Chief Robert Murray, said: "We are concerned that everybody realize this is quite an undertaking, and made it as orderly as possible."

Douglas, son of Illinois' liberal Democratic Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, heads the Justice Department's Civil Division.

Chief Murray said the conferees discussed "minute details" for moving the estimated 100,000 marchers through the Capital City. He has notified all metropolitan policemen to be on hand for duty that day, and has canceled all leaves. The Third Infantry at Fort Myer, Va., has a battle group of soldiers' standing by for emergency calls, if necessary.

A special office will be set up at Washington headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to register the marchers in advance. The cooperating Negro, labor, and church groups hope by this means to know the identity of the marchers and to screen out any considered undesirable.

The civil rights groups and the Kennedy administration are supersensitive to charges that some integration leaders have links with leftwing or Communist-front outfits.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the organizing committee for the march, and Cleveland Robinson, chairman of the policy committee, said in New York that they would meet the Attorney General here Friday. Kennedy's office said they would see Douglas, but not Kennedy himself.

"Fellowship," the official publication of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation," printed a profile of Rustin in its January 1963 issue calling him "executive secretary of the War Resisters League and race relations secretary, FOR, 1943–53."

"Milestones in Bayard's later life include his 5-year association with Martin Luther King, Jr., as secretary, adviser and organizer, his coordination of two youth marches for integrated schools in Washington, D.C., and a year earlier, a prayer pilgrimage to the same place that drew 40,000; work to establish a center for nonviolence at Dar Es-Salaam, Tanganyika, for the World Peace Brigade, the magazine said.

"To this we might add his participation with Michael Scott and others in a protest team to attempt to stop the French H-bomb tests and * * * opening of a New York office for the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee."

"Fellowship" calls Rustin a "friend" of Ghana's Communist President, Nkrumah.

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[From the Atlanta Constitution]

ONETIME RED ORGANIZER HEADS N.Y. OFFICE OF REV. KING'S SCLC

(By Bill Shipp, Constitution State News Editor)

A 39-year-old Negro, who has been identified as a district organizer for the Communist Party, USA, is now director of the New York office of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

He is Jack H. O'Dell, who resides at 488 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

Dr. King said on October 31, 1962 that O'Dell had resigned from SCLC. He said again on December 1 that O'Dell was no longer with SCLC. And one of Dr. King's top aids told the Constitution on July 18, 1963, that O'Dell was no longer with SCLC.

O'Dell, who works in the New York SCLC office at 312 W. 125th Street, has in recent months been engaged in fund-raising activities and mailing literature for Dr. King's organization.

Once in December, 1962, and on three occasions in January, 1963, O'Dell registered at the Waluhaje apartments in Atlanta as a representative of SCLC

In January 1963, O'Dell, Dr. King and other officials of SCLC flew together to Savannah on a Delta Air Lines plane.

O'Dell expenses for at least one of his trips to Atlanta were paid by SCLC.

Among those working out of the SCLC office in New York is Benjamin Van Clarke, 19, executive secretary of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters and a leader of recent massive night street demonstrations in Savannah.

Dr. King announced O'Dell's resignation last fall after news stories appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the New Orleans Times-Picayune labeling O'Dell a Communist.

Dr. King said at the time that O'Dell had worked briefly and temporarily as a technician in SCLC voter registration projects, but "ceased functioning there long before this publicity appeared."

King denied that O'Dell had served as southeastern director of SCLC.

"He has never had any administrative post in SCLC," King said.

O'Dell, born in Detroit, was identified with the Communist Party as late as 1958.

O'Dell, who also is known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, has been identified by Robert Morris, counsel for the Internal Securities Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate, as an organizer for the Communist Party, U.S.A., in the New Orleans, La., area.

At the time he was an organizer, O'Dell was employed as a waiter in New Orleans. O'Dell also has been identified as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Morris said that O'Dell also has given directions for Communist activities under the names, John Vesey and Ben Jones.

AT RIGHTS SCHOOL

He attended SCLC's civil rights school at Dorchester Center in Liberty County in 1962.

The SCLC "Citizenship Workbook," used at the SCLC school at Dorchester, lists J. H. O'Dell as a staff consultant on the voter education project.

The Reverend Andrew Young, administrator of the SCLC school at Dorchester, said O'Dell resigned from SCLC last fall, pending an investigation of his activities by SCLC.

"Nothing was found to indicate that he was a Communist," the Reverend Mr. Young said. "But the resignation was made permanent."

SAYS HE CUT LINK

O'Dell said in January of 1962 that he had severed all ties with the Communist Party.

O'Dell was an organizer of a "Freedom Rally" in Macon in 1962 at which Dr. King was the announced speaker.

The National Guardian, a leftist newspaper, carried an advertisement November 20, 1961, announcing that Jack O'Dell of SCLC would address a civil rights conference. O'Dell did not show up for the meeting.

In July 1958, O'Dell was called to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities which was then convened in Atlanta.

TERMED "ZEALOT"

O'Dell was identified by a committee counsel at the hearing as a dedicated zealot to the Communist cause.

At that time, O'Dell gave his employment as an insurance agent in Montgomery, Ala. His name was listed as Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

At the hearing, O'Dell contended "all the immunity the Constitution gives me as a Negro—the first and fifth amendments and any others" in refusing to say whether he was a Communist.

Richard Arens, chief counsel for the committee, displayed a Communist plan for activities in the South for the years 1955 and 1956. He said the plan was taken from the premises occupied by O'Dell in New Orleans.

Arens also said O'Dell was identified in 1957 as the top man in Louisiana communism since 1950 and as a former seaman who had been expelled from the CIO National Maritime Union for circulating a peace petition.

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[From the Memphis Press]

"RIDERS" LINKED TO COMMUNISTS: JACKSON POLICE NAME TWO WOMEN

JACKSON, MISS.—Police connected two white freedom riders with a Communist lawyers' group in Los Angeles.

The two, Rose Rosenberg, 55-year-old lawyer, and Jean Pestana, 43-year-old Hollywood lawyer who uses the professional name of Jean Kidwell, were arrested July 15 in the Greyhound Bus Terminal with 10 other riders.

Police gave newsmen copies of a report by the House Un-American Activities Committee on Communist legal subversion. It said:

"Rose S. Rosenberg was identified as a member of the Communist Party by former Communist Party members, Milton S. Tyre on December 14, 1951, and A. Marburg Yerkes, January 24, 1952, when they testified that

they had known Mrs. Rosenberg as a member of a Communist lawyers' group in Los Angeles.

"Rose Rosenberg testified before this committee on October 1, 1952, at which time she invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning her Communist Party membership."

The report said testimony of David Aaron before the committee on January 23, 1952—entitled "Communist Activities Among Professional Groups in the Los Angeles Area"—indicated Mrs. Pestana was a member of the Communist lawyers' group.

Mrs. Pestana said, in testifying this week in an assault case involving another freedom rider, that she was the wife of Frank Pestana and they made up a law firm, Pestana & Kidwell.

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[From the Dallas News]

MISSISSIPPIAN SAYS REDS BEHIND "RIDES"

JACKSON, MISS.—Brig. Gen. T. B. Birdsong, head of the Mississippi Highway Patrol, charged Thursday "freedom rides" were "directed, inspired, and planned by known Communists."

The charge brought an almost immediate denial from a New York official of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Birdsong told a press conference at least two riders arrested during efforts to desegregate Jackson transportation facilities attended a Soviet-directed seminar in Cuba last February.

He said 202 American students made the trip to Havana and heard addresses by 9 officials of Soviet Russia "to teach the students how to make sit-ins, walk-ins, kneel-ins, and freedom rides."

Birdsong told newsmen the Congress of Racial Equality was responsible for the freedom rides and was a Communist-front group.

Earlier this week, Gordon Carey, of New York, field director of CORE, told newsmen here he planned the rides in February.

Birdsong said the two riders who had attended the Havana meeting were:

Katherine Pleune, 21-year-old white Mimeograph operator from Chicago, arrested on breach-of-peace charges when she arrived as a freedom rider June 19, and James Robert Wahlstrom, 24-year-old University of Wisconsin student from Madison, Wis., arrested with a group of riders June 6.

Both were convicted and Miss Pleune is serving a 4-month sentence at the State penitentiary. Wahlstrom received a 4-month sentence, with 2 suspended, and is free on a $500 appeal bond. Each also was fined $200.

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[From KTTV Television Newsreel, June 25, 1963]

RACIAL DEMONSTRATIONS COMMUNIST INSPIRED?

There are growing indications of possible Communist influence in the nationwide racial situation. Today, Caleb Peterson, Negro president of the Hollywood Race Relations Bureau, states, "I suspect there is directly or indirectly Communist motivation behind the nationwide wave of demonstrations." And he adds, "Certainly here in Los Angeles there is no cause for protest marches." The recently formed United Civil Rights Committee now walks arm in arm with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Representatives of both groups appeared yesterday before the Los Angeles Board of Education. The chairman of the United Civil Rights Committee is Attorney Thomas G. Neusom, and the head of the United Civil Rights Committee's legal committee is Jack Tenner. Tenner also has been a member of the executive board of the NAACP.

Jack Y. Tenner, an attorney, of 7416 Rosewood, Los Angeles, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by David Aaron, attorney, in a hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 82d Congress, on January 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and April 9, 1952.

I now read from page 2507 of that official document:

"Question. Mr. Aaron, will you give us, in the pages of your statement, how you know Mr. Jack Tenner was a member?

"Aaron's answer. I believe he became a member of that group when he became a member.

"Question. Did you ever collect dues from him?

"Answer. Yes, I did."

And again, on page 2575 of that same House report:

"Question. Was Jack Tenner a member of the Communist Party?

"Answer by Mr. Yerkes: As I now recall, yes, sir."

This testimony from the official document of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Jack Tenner was born in Russia; became a naturalized citizen through the naturalization of his father. Continues to be active in liberal and progressive organizations, has been a member of the executive board of the NAACP."

"October 1 of 1952, Jack Tenner appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a witness; took the fifth amendment on all the questions relative to Communist activity and membership. But Jack Tenner now puts himself in the position of asking questions of law-enforcement agencies. Yet he, himself, refused to answer questions propounded to him by a duly constituted agency of the Congress of the United States.

"The same year Jack Tenner was identified as a member of the Communist Party, Attorney Thomas G. Neusom appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities along with other attorneys seeking to quash subpenas sent to the following clients by the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Neusom represented Fred Steinmetz, Ben Margolis, John W. Porter, William B. Esterman, Sam Houston Allen, Fred M. Snyder, Pauline Epstein, Esther Shandler, Robert D. Katz, Charles J. Katz, Richard L. Rykoff, and others. Neusom was representing identified Communists before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"And now the two, Jack Tenner and Thomas G. Neusom, are members of the newly formed United Civil Rights Committee, standing in judgment of law-enforcement agencies."

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[From the Birmingham News, July 26, 1963]

REDS AND RACE ISSUES

Yesterday Attorney General Robert Kennedy in a staement said that "based on all available information from investigation and other sources," he has found no evidence that "any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists or Communist controlled."

That is a statement which helps partially to clear up doubts. It is easily enough understood why some, perhaps even many, think Reds are or may be behind Negro activist movements. Disruption of the United States, of which there has been a terrible amount, clearly serves Communist purposes; whatever happens here indicating Negro versus white dissension or even, at times, open conflict, is rich material for the Communist propaganda machine.

But it would be misleading for reasonable whites to assume that in its basic organization or philosophies the Negro drive for a sometimes vague, sometimes concrete set of goals is fundamentally Communist contrived.

THE RED APPARATUS

To draw this conclusion would lead whites astray. It would malign Negro leaders on the local level, who in many cities have joined in the Negro effort and supported it. To call it Communist in genesis reveals failure to understand the nature of much of the Communist apparatus. For it is less clever than sometimes it is credited with being, and certainly not clever enough to organize this massive eruption.

But Communists are, on the other hand, adept at infiltrating, at using such an effort especially when thousands are involved, almost everywhere. Moreover, Negro campaigns for equality, as described by one or multitudes of Negro leaders and writers in the past, always have attracted both professional and amateur liberals. Among these have been Reds and other people who at times, though not actual Communists, have touched the Communist or Communist-front mechanisms. Thus it would be and is possible to draw connecting lines which show Communist or Red-front taints here and there.

THE O'DELL EVIDENCE

That this is the case was demonstrated by the good newspaper reporting of the Birmingham News' James Free, in Washington. He showed last year that a man named Jack or Hunter Pitts O'Dell has been charged with Red connections, and that he has been on the payroll of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Free also has revealed that, though Martin Luther King "accepted the resignation" of O'Dell, records show he had drawn SCLC funds after that "resignation." The Atlanta Constitution in a copyrighted article reports O'Dell now heads the SCLC New York office.

Reverend King's explanation of all this is pitiably weak.

The Atlanta Constitution State editor, Bill Shipp, this week has been running a series of articles on page 1 which show that the Savannah-based "Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters" has had ties with the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn. That organization is declared by the Justice Department not to be a Red front. But it is common knowledge that through Monteagle school have passed people who generally were regarded either as Reds or members of Red-involved agencies.

Moreover, the Constitution series also reports that the "Crusade," which is behind violent Negro demonstrations in Savannah, has headquarters in offices of the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union, rentfree. MMSW also has contributed to the "Crusade." The union in 1950 was expelled from the CIO on grounds it was controlled by Communists. In 1955 the Justice Department charged with the Subversive Activities Control Board that the union "is and has been made into an instrument for the promotion and advancement of Communist objectives. * * *" An appeal in the case is set for Federal court hearing in December, this year.

Seven members of the union are to be tried in Federal court in Denver next month on charges they fraudulently obtained National Labor Relations Board services through false non-Communist affidavits.

DANGER TO NEGROES

The "crusade" is headed by one Hosea Williams, a Negro Government employee who the Constitution says, was expelled as an NAACP vice president 2 years ago.

The Atlanta paper this week editorially noted that "communism has always fished in troubled waters," which is evident. But it added that "Negro groups that carelessly permit Communist-related contingent to hitch its shoddy little trailer to their bandwagon are doing a dangerous disservice to the Negro American's cause and should steer clear." The evidence suggests Negro groups have not always done so. Even now there seems footdragging on action to eliminate any suspicion.

This matter of the Negro and communism is not new. But the Negro in America, despite what he considers provocation for bitterness, has had an FBI-certified record of resistance to Communist lures generally. Even so, the matter yet evidently requires public and governmental attention to reassure all, including many Negro citizens, as to no such infiltration.

SOME LONDON ADVICE

Writing in the New York Times from London, C. L. Sulzberger a few days ago said that Communists showed in anti-Greek demonstrations there how they "can penetrate a protest group." Mr. Sulzberger added: "If this can occur in a relatively placid country like England * * * imagine how much more dangerous a similar experiment in human engineering might be in our own country and on an issue that can be excited by racist emotions." Mr. Sulzberger emphasized the danger of such Red intrusion in such as the Washington march.

That Communists are alert to this opportunity is certain. This now commands international headlines. Red China, by even the Soviet Union's official statements, has begun a campaign to divide the world on basis of race. It is no comfort that Red Chinese are using this device against the U.S.S.R., trying to win Asian and African backing through calling Russians part of a white power structure.

JOB FOR CONGRESS

It ought to be brought prominently to the fore in all civilized people's minds, white and Negro, that communism can find advantage in exploiting color conflict.

Mr. Kennedy's statement on the "top leaders" of Negroes therefore is less than wholly comforting. There is evidence that communism is not inactive in this matter. Alabama's Governor Wallace and others have raised the question of such infiltration. While Mr. Wallace may be suspected in Washington of trying to cloud any effort toward Negro achievement of declared goals, the question thus raised yet stands by itself as not fully answered. It is a matter the Congress should explore at once. And no politics, fear of antagonizing Negro votes, should retard such effort. Negroes themselves will gain by fullest revelations which do more than cover top leaders.

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[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 22, 1963]

RED-LINKED LABOR UNION GIVES FREE RENT TO CRUSADE

(By Bill Shipp)

SAVANNAH.—The Chatham County Crusade for Voters, the organization responsible for massive desegregation demonstrations here, is headquartered, rent-free, in the offices of a labor union that has been found by a government agency to be Communist-controlled.

The union, the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, has contributed money to the Chatham Crusade for Voters, and two of the union's officers are members of the 70-man executive board of the crusade.

The Chatham County Crusade for Voters is an affiliate of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The crusade is headed by Hosea Williams, 37, a Negro government employee who was ousted 2 years ago as vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The crusade is financed largely by "free-will" donations and a recent grant from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. The Southern Regional Council stipulated that none of its funds could be used for financing demonstrations.

The crusade's activities have included encouraging Negroes to register to vote and, more recently, massive night street marches which have ended in race riots. Dozens have been injured in the street fighting and thousands of dollars worth of damage has been inflicted.

In addition to the crusade, others operating out of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union offices at 416 Park Avenue West have included representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Crusaders Freedom Now Movement and the Rev. Andrew Young, program director for Dr. King's organization.

Reverend Young, the guiding force of the crusade's activities while Williams was in jail on peace warrant bonds during the past 2 weeks, said he has seen no evidence of Communist or union influence in the civil rights work of the crusade—or in other civil rights movement he has dealt with.

EXPELLED FROM CIO

The International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers was expelled in 1950 from the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The CIO said the Mine-Mill Union was ousted because it was controlled by Communists.

In 1955, the Department of Justice filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board charging that the union "is and has been made into an instrument for the promotion and advancement of Communist objectives and has been so used without the knowledge of the great majority of its union members."

Hearings began in 1957 and were concluded in May 1961.

Francis A. Cherry, an examiner for the control board, recommended in December 1961 that the board label the mine-mill union Communist infiltrated and bar the organization from bargaining under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Board Act.

Cherry said in his findings that the mine-mill union is "substantially directed, dominated or controlled by individuals who are (or have been) actively engaged in giving support to the Communist Party of the United States."

"The aid and support flowing to the Communist Party (U.S.A.) from the union and its controlling leadership have been real, substantial, and significant," Cherry said in the report.

The board concurred and on May 4, 1962, officially labeled the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers as "Communist infiltrated."

UNION APPEALS

The union has appealed the decision to the Federal court of appeals in the District of Columbia. The court has set a hearing on the appeal "on a date as soon after December 5, 1963, as possible."

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy outlined the Government's battle against subversive activities in a report to the President and Congress dated June 1, 1963. The Mine-Mill Union is the subject of a three-page section of the report titled "Communist Infiltrated Organizations."

Seven officials or former officials of the mine-mill union are scheduled to be tried in Federal court August 26 in Denver, Colo.

They are charged in a Federal indictment with conspiring to fraudulently obtain and use the services and facilities of the National Labor Relations Board through the medium of false and fraudulent non-Communist union office affidavits.

The seven, including one from the Southeast, Charles Wilson of Columbia, Tenn., were convicted of the charge previously, but the trial was overturned on a legal technicality by the court of appeals.

No officers of Savannah Local 870 are mentioned in the criminal proceeding.

The president of Savannah Local 870 is James Edwards. Edwards, along with Jesse Doster, the local's representative to the international union, are members of the executive board of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters.

Reverend Young said he has never met either man and he understands that they seldom attend board meetings because "they are out of town much of the time." Neither local union officer could be reached for comment.

Reverend Young said the union provides rent-free office space for the civil rights movement, but the crusade pays the utility bills.

Reverend Young said the union contributes "sometimes $50, sometimes $100" periodically to the crusade. But he added, "It is no more than a large church would give."

Reverend Young said he did not know the total amount donated by the union during the past year.

Public records in the Bureau of Labor Management reports in Atlanta show that local 870 of the Mine-Mill Union gave a total of $579 to the crusade and the NAACP during the fiscal year ending June 1962. A current report is not yet available.

KING NOT AVAILABLE

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was not available for comment about the relationship of the Mine-Mill Union to the civil rights drive. An aid told a reporter that Dr. King is "busy writing and won't have time" to discuss the union-crusade-SCLC relationship.

Reverend Young, however, discussed the civil rights drive in southeast Georgia freely and made available his personal file to a reporter.

During the questioning of Reverend Young, a youthful member of the crusade interrupted: "Any time that the Negro tries to get his rights as a first-class American citizen somebody tries to say he's a Communist."

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[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 23, 1963]

HIGHLANDER SCHOOL HELPED SET UP NEGRO VOTE CRUSADE

(By Bill Shipp)

SAVANNAH.—The Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, which aims to register and organize Negro voters in the 18 counties of the First Congresional District, had ties with the controversial Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade was organized here in January 1961 at a meeting attended by Miles Horton, director of the Highlander School, and 54 persons representing all counties in the district.

Horton was keynote speaker at the meeting which set the tone for the future of Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, according to Hosea Williams, president of the crusade.

Prospective adult citizenship school teachers from each county in the district were sent by the crusade for training at the Highlander School, Williams reported.

The school, which was closed when its charter was revoked in April 1961, has since reopened and has a new charter as the Highlander Research and Education Center in Knoxville, Tenn. Horton is director.

A Tennessee legislative investigation committee, which recommended the revocation of Highlander's charter in 1959, reported: "There were * * * admissions on the part of Miles Horton that he, himself, had been a member of some organizations listed as subversive" although he said he did not know at the time that they were subversive.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters is headquartered in offices at 416 Park Avenue West, Savannah. These offices are provided, rent free, by the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

This union has been found to be Communist-controlled by the Subversive Activities Control Board. The Board's finding is

now under appeal to the Federal appeals Court.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters grew out of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters, which has recently been involved in massive desegregation demonstrations here and which also operates from the offices of the Mine Mill Union in Savannah. Williams also is president of the Chatham Crusade.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters is an affiliate of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The crusade is supported largely by free-will donations and by recent grants for the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The Southern Regional Council is directed by Leslie W. Dunbar, an honorary lieutenant colonel on the staff of Gov. Carl Sanders.

The Savannah chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gave financial support to the crusade until it received the Southern Regional Council grant.

Then the NAACP voted to withdraw its support of the crusade. The reason for the withdrawal was not announced.

In a report to Wiley A. Branton, project director of SRC's voter education project, Crusade Leader Williams wrote:

"After the Crusade for Voters made public that it had received a $4,000 grant from the VEP for a 3-month voter registration program, the executive board of the local NAACP met and voted to stop sharing its funds with the Crusade for Voters. Officials of the Crusade for Voters objected due to the fact the grant was for only 3 months, but the NAACP board voted 20 to 10 to no longer share its funds.

"The passing of the NAACP's stop-sharing-fund motions actually matured the CCCV (Chatham Crusade). The situation demanded that the public become informed without a big display as to the real nature and purpose of the Crusade for Voters. The Crusade for Voters executive board voted to charter the organization and later apply for tax-exempted status."

Two officers of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers are members of the executive board.

Information concerning the crusade was made available to the Constitution by the Reverend Andrew Young, program director of Dr. King's organization and the guiding force behind the crusade while Williams was in jail on peace warrants.

The Southern Regional Council suggested that $3,000 of a $4,000 grant made last fall be spent in Chatham County and the remainder should be spent on organizing crusade structures in seven other First District counties. Jack Minnis, research director for SRC's voter education project, said, "We were very careful to be sure that the money was not spent" on direct action demonstrations.

When the first grant was made, there were 11,200 Negroes registered to vote in Chatham County. By March 1963, Williams reported that 14,000 Chatham Negroes were registered.

Williams also reported that the grant enabled the area crusade to organize or strengthen voter registrations in Liberty, Tatnall, Wheeler, Emanuel, McIntosh, and Burke Counties.

In May 1963, the Southern Regional Council approved a second grant of $4,000 to be paid in four equal installments to the crusade, according to SRC Director Dunbar.

When demonstrations erupted in Savannah, Dunbar said SRC asked Williams to account for the money and to show that none of it had been used in direct action campaigns. Williams' office assured SRC that the money was not used for demonstrations.

When Williams failed to answer formally SRC's queries, the grant was frozen with approximately $600 unexpended, Dunbar said. SRC did not contribute to the crusade in June and will not contribute in July, Dunbar said.

The aims of the crusade in the first district, according to Williams' report, are: (1) To get every eligible citizen registered to vote; (2) to get all registered voters to vote; (3) to interview all candidates; (4) to keep daily records on all public issues, public officials, political parties, etc.; (5) to operate adult citizenship schools and carry on continuous political education projects; (6) to coordinate the positive drive of all individuals so as to produce an effective political action program.

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[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 24, 1963]

LIBERTY SCHOOL AIDE PLAYS BIG ROLE IN CHATHAM CRUSADE

(By Bill Shipp)

SAVANNAH.—The administrator of the Dorchester Center in nearby Liberty County played a leading role in the desegregation activities of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters.

The administrator, the Reverend Andrew Young, who also is program director of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, received training at the old Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

Before its charter at Monteagle was revoked, the Highlander School received support from the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

An officer of the union, now under indictment on a charge of filing a false non-Communist affidavit, was one of the directors of the Highlander School.

The Reverend Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the Federal Government, has found the union to be Communist infiltrated. The Mine-Mill Union has appealed the finding to a Federal court of appeals.

The Reverend Young, who was jailed during demonstrations here, has directed much of the activities of the Chatham Crusade while its president, Hosea Williams, has been in jail.

The Reverend Young has said repeatedly that he has never encountered any Communist activity in Savannah—or at the Highlander Fair School—or at the Dorchester Center.

Among the old Highlander school directors was Charles Wilson of Columbia, Tenn., international representative of the mine-mill union in Tennessee, who was indicted by a Federal grand jury in Denver, Colo., on November 16, 1956.

He was charged with some other mine-mill officers with conspiring fraudulently to obtain and use the services of the National Labor Relations Board through the medium of false non-Communist union officer affidavits.

ON SCHOOL'S BOARD

Wilson was convicted December 17, 1959, but the conviction was overturned on appeal. He is scheduled to be retried August 28 in Federal court in Denver, Colo.

Wilson was listed in 1958 as a member of the 27-man board of directors of the Highlander School.

Two officials of the Savannah mine-mill local serve on the 70-man board of directors of the Chatham Crusade.

SCLC OPERATES

The Dorchester Center, a civil rights school administered by the Reverend Young, has trained leaders of the Chatham Crusade and the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, both headed by Hosea Williams.

The center is operated by Dr. King's SCLC and the Southern Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ.

Its students have included pupils who were expelled from Albany State College as a result of racial demonstrations there.

The center is under investigation by Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook.

NO EVIDENCE

Cook said Tuesday that the investigation has turned up no evidence of subversive activities. He added that Myles Horton, executive director of the Highlander School, had been to the Dorchester Center and to Savannah.

The center is currently financed by a $250,000 grant from Marshall Field Foundation. The grant is for 2 years.

The supervisor of teaching at the center is Mrs. Steptima Poinsette Clark, 65.

Mrs. Clark served at the Highlander School as director of workshops, 1956–57, director of education, 1957–61, and director of the literacy training program in 1961.

LONG IN STRUGGLE

She lists the affiliations in her biographical sketch, made available to the Constitution by SCLC.

She has a long history of involvement in civil rights struggles.

At the end of her biography, Mrs. Clark wrote: "In 1918–1919, I went door-to-door for the NAACP, getting signatures to petition the South Carolina Legislature that Negro teachers be placed in the public schools of Charleston. We got the teachers in, in 1920."

LOST TEACHER JOB

"Then in 1956 I refused to disown the NAACP and lost my job as a public school teacher in South Carolina as a result of my membership and interracial activities. Finally, in 1959, while directing the educational program at the Highlander Folk School, I was arrested for allegedly possessing whisky (which was found by the courts to be untrue, and the case dismissed). This attack was made on me, I feel to scare me, the only Negro resident, so I would leave. I stayed."

According to the Reverend Young, Mrs. Clark is the only former staff member of Highlander working at Dorchester.

The Reverend Young said, however, that he attended classes at Highlander. Before joining Dr. King's organization, the Reverend Young said he retained a New York law firm to investigate Highlander. He showed the firm's report to the Constitution. The report says that Highlander has never been labeled subversive by any Federal agency, although a Tennessee legislative committee recommended that the school's charter be revoked.

The goal of the Dorchester Center is to train teachers to establish "Adult Citizenship Education" programs throughout the south.

In the 2 years it has operated for that purpose between 500 and 700 teachers have been trained.

One purpose of the citizenship program, according to the SCLC, is to teach reading and writing to aid Negroes in passing literary tests for voting.

The schools also are aimed at giving "an all-round education in community development."

The SCLC furnishes the cost of travel to the training center, and pays tuition.

MUST ORGANIZE

Teachers graduated from the center are required to organize schools in their areas, provide a place for the classes to be held and select a "community coordinator" for the schools in their area.

The Dorchester Center already has established branch "Saturday Citizenship Clinics" in each of Georgia's 10 congressional districts and several clinics in South Carolina and Alabama.

Courses at Dorchester are conducted for 1 week during the third week of each month, according to the Reverend Young. Classes run from about 9 a.m. until as late as 10 p.m., the Reverend Young said.

Teachers who have been trained at Dorchester have gone on to establish "citizenship classes" in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

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[From the Columbus (Ohio) Evening Dispatch, July 12, 1963]

CORE TO KEEP PICKETS AT GOVERNOR'S HOME

Fair housing pickets will keep up their demonstrations at the Ohio Governor's mansion "indefinitely," a spokesman for the Congress on Racial Equality said Friday.

The Reverend Arthur A. Zebbs, of 1204 Windsor Avenue, a leader of the CORE-organized pickets who have ranged widely through the Statehouse during the past several weeks, said:

"We're trying to develop bigger and bigger demonstrations. We have more and more people joining us and we plan continuous, sustained activity at the mansion."

Among those who joined the 30 or more marchers at the mansion in a several-hour demonstration Thursday night was Oscar Smilack, Columbus junk dealer, who was dubbed "the financial angel" of the Communist Party in Ohio a decade ago.

Zebbs said the pickets are "asking Governor Rhodes to call a special session of the legislature this summer to act on a fair housing law."

The clergyman, a former Cleveland resident, said that in addition to picketing activities at the mansion in Bexley, "we're going to be looking into housing developments, real estate agencies, and banks where there is clear-cut racial discrimination."

Mr. Zebbs said the activities of the Columbus CORE group are being reported to CORE's national headquarters in New York.

However, "there is no actual coordination" with any other CORE demonstrations across the Nation, he asserted.

Mr. Zebbs said the local group is expecting the Reverend Elton Cox, CORE field representative from Chicago, to meet with them, probably next week, on the Ohio program.

The picket leader said he did not know whether Smilack was among the Thursday night pickets.

Mr. Zebbs asserted definitely that Smilack was not a member of CORE.

However, when Smilack was questioned by the Disptach Friday he acknowledged that he had been among the pickets and said he is a member of the Columbus CORE chapter.

Smilack would not discuss the controversy-laden days of the early 1950's when he was found guilty of nine counts of contempt of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission.

Smilack had refused to answer questions bearing an affiliation with the Communist Party and the late Ralph J. Bartlett, then Franklin County prosecutor hung the "financial angel" tag on him.

Friday, Smilack told the Dispatch, "I think it's very bad taste to bring up a matter like that—a political question—at this time."

Asked if he cared to answer the Communist affiliation question now, Smilack chuckled and said: "Of course not."

Smilack said he planned to join the marchers again Friday night.

The demonstrators may be one member shy Friday. Columbus police Thursday picked up on Ohio State University graduate student, Robert Henes, 24, of 110 West King Avenue, for investigation of grand larceny.

Henes, police said, has been among pickets recently at the statehouse.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, July 27, 1963]

A BAR TO RACIAL PROGRESS

Hunter Pitts O'Dell's association with both the Communist Party and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, revelation of which is now creating a storm of controversy in Atlanta, was noted by the Chronicle in an editorial last October.

We charged at that time that the Communist Party, U.S.A., after a multiplicity of unsuccessful attempts to win Southern Negroes over to communism, had succeeded in getting O'Dell, one of its most experienced organizers, into a key position with the SCLC. Latest developments in the O'Dell case have yet to prove that he is not still in such a position.

Atlanta Constitution State editor Bill Shipp, in a copyrighted story Thursday, said O'Dell—alias Jack H. O'Dell—is currently director of the SCLC office in New York City. Lending support to his story was the report of United Press International that an inquiry at the New York office Thursday morning produced the reply that O'Dell is still with the office as "administrator" of the New York operation.

King denied both stories, insisting that O'Dell's most recent association with SCLC was terminated on June 26. But Shipp and UPI stood by their reports. And a subsequent Constitution story noted that King twice before—on October 31 and December 1, 1962—reported that O'Dell had resigned from the organization.

According to highly authoritative information possessed by this newspaper, O'Dell is a concealed member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. During hearings before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the scope of Soviet activity in the United States in 1956, he took refuge in the fifth amendment. He refused to answer questions concerning his activities as a Communist Party organizer for the New Orleans and gulf area. Nevertheless, hundreds of documents seized by New Orleans police at O'Dell's residence in March of that year clearly established his key position in the Communist movement.

That O'Dell has been linked beyond reasonable doubt with the Communist Party does not necessarily mean that any of his SCLC associates are guided by Red ties or motives. But his continued association with King's organization after last fall and the uncertainty over his present status inspire distrust of the organization and harm the cause of racial progress.

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[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, July 28, 1963]

THE O'DELL CASE

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy persists in saying that he can't find any Reds in the civil rights movement. The reason he can't find them is that he won't look for them.

Anyone who is willing to dig can uncover ties between the Communist Party, USA, and the racial agitation that has hit America. Only last week, the Atlanta Constitution, the liberal newspaper of which Ralph McGill is publisher, revealed a close link between a man identified as a district organizer of the Communist Party and the Reverend Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Last Thursday, a headline on the front page of the Atlanta Constitution said: "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Reverend King's Office in New York."

The Constitution reported that O'Dell, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, has been a part of Reverend King's movement during the last 2 years. He was engaged in fundraising for the SCLC. In December 1962, and January 1963, he registered at the Waluhajae Apartments in Atlanta as a representative of SCLC. Early this year, he flew with Reverend King to Savannah on a Delta Air Lines plane.

Among those working out of the New York office directed by O'Dell is Benjamin Van Clarke, 19, a leader of massive night street demonstrations in Savannah. The Constitution also says that O'Dell in 1962 attended SCLC's civil rights school at Dorchester Center in Liberty County, Ga. The SCLC "Citizenship Workbook," used at the SCLC school in Liberty County, lists J. H. O'Dell as a staff consultant on the voter education project.

When questioned at a press conference in Atlanta, Dr. King accused Ralph McGill's newspaper of "McCarthy tactics" and of "yielding to the pressures of reactionaries." He confessed, however, that O'Dell had worked for the SCLC on two occasions, but "purely in the capacity of a technician." King angrily denied that O'Dell is now employed by the SCLC's New York office or that he had held an administrative post.

When a reporter for United Press International called Reverend King's New York office Thursday morning, he was told that O'Dell was an "administrator" with the "civil rights" organization. Later in the day, the same office told the UPI that O'Dell was not connected with SCLC and that SCLC had no knowledge of his whereabouts.

Attorney General Kennedy immediately rushed to Reverend King's defense, saying that the Justice Department had no evidence that the "civil rights" leader was Communist controlled.

The American public would like to know whether the Justice Department had evidence that O'Dell was on Martin Luther King's payroll. Did Bobby Kennedy have such evidence when he went before a committee of the U.S. Senate and gave the "civil rights" leaders a clean bill of health?

We urge Senators THURMOND and JOHNSTON to put the question to Attorney General Kennedy the next time he testifies before a congressional committee.

Bobby Kennedy should be pinned down on this point. Either the Justice Department had the evidence, and withheld it from the Senate and the public, or it was shockingly negligent in not knowing that a veteran worker in Communist causes was an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. O'Dell has been in the news for years. If the Department of Justice is negligent in this case, how much more of the overall pattern of Communist infiltration is it missing? O'Dell is not the only "civil rights" official with a Red record. The House Un-American Activities Committee has voluminous records of persons who have been affiliated with Communist fronts.

The Justice Department is required by law to investigate Communist infiltration in the United States. Its job, contrary to what the Kennedys seem to think, is not to whitewash political allies of the administration.

The Senate should hang the O'Dell case around Attorney General Kennedy's neck until he makes full disclosure of the records concerning Communist activity in the "civil rights" movement.

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[From South magazine]

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S TRAVELER

Almost 9 months ago a major associate of cash and glory seeking Martin Luther King was identified in press reports as a longtime, if sometimes surreptitious, functionary of the Communist Party.

This was one Jack H. O'Dell, alias Hunter Pitts O'Dell, alias John Vesey, alias Ben Jones, executive in agitator King's so-called Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As of last October, according to Birmingham

News' Washington correspondent James Free, O'Dell was a busy king bee pushing SCLC activities in the South.

O'Dell was busy at other chores earlier. He was kicked out of National Maritime Union at Galveston for circulating pro-Soviet-anti-United States propaganda. He later turned up as a New Orleans waiter, "took the fifth" when questioned by Senate probers, was identified by police in that city as a key Communist organizer in the South. Two years later he showed up at Atlanta, called himself Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a Montgomery insurance man, again took refuge behind the fifth amendment when asked about his Communist activities.

Last December 1, when asked about O'Dell's record, King said he'd looked into the matter, didn't believe the bulk of allegations but was tentatively accepting his associate's resignation pending further inquiry.

Less than a month ago, newsman Free reported that O'Dell had been on SCLC's payroll as late as January of this year, had been to Atlanta on SCLC business and was King's companion on a flight to Savannah, site of past and present SCLC depredations.

King himself is no stranger to commie-affiliated activities, spent much time in "workshops" at now outlawed Highlander Folk School, onetime mountain area for fellow travelers and such.

King hasn't been quoted on the disparity of dates between O'Dell's designation and continued chumminess of record. It takes time, of course, to check into a person's Communist background, especially when it's a matter of public record.

Maybe it's like King keeps saying, we all ought to be colorblind.

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[From the Sacramento Bee, July 23, 1963]

NORTH STATE COMMUNIST DRAWS CROWD OF 1,400 AT UC SPEECH

BERKELEY.—An overflow crowd of 1,400 persons turned out at the University of California to hear Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, the first Communist to speak on the campus in 13 years.

Lima, northern California chairman for the Communist Party, was permitted to speak as the result of action by UC regents last June 21 in removing the long-time ban on Communist addresses on the campus.

The speaker yesterday touched on such subjects as the civil rights movement, U.S. Cuban policy, U.S. Senate Dixiecrats, "far right" Republicans, and the late Pope John's peace on earth encyclical. The audience responded with polite applause and quiet demonstrations.

Lima admitted Communists had a hand in organizing the recent freedom march in San Francisco but said most of the 30,000 who participated were mobilized by others.

He called for a new charter for the United States to provide for uniform voting laws in all States with 18 the minimum voting age. He also asked for the reapportioning of all electoral districts on the basis of population, forbidding of all forms of discrimination, and the establishment of uniform minimum wage, unemployment and pension laws for all States.

"We believe that, in time, and in the light of their own experience, a majority of Americans will be persuaded to socialism as, indeed, the answer to the country's basic needs," Lima said.

He called the Communist Party the "touchstone in the fight for Democratic rights."

He attacked United States Cuban policy as "resistance to revolutionary change that threatens U.S. monopoly interests in Latin America."

In his comment on Pope John, Lima hailed the late pontiff as "one of the most remarkable figures of our time."

During a question and answer period after his speech, Lima answered a half dozen generally antagonistic questions.

One student asked if the Communist Party were the "shovel" Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had in mind when he spoke of burying the West.

"I hope not," Lima laughed. "He has more substantial tools than that."

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[From the Greenville (S.C.) News]

MAN LINKED TO REDS WORKED TWICE FOR KING—LEFT ORGANIZATION BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT, SAYS MIXING LEADER

ATLANTA.—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said Thursday that a 39-year-old technician who was linked by congressional committees to the Communist organization worked twice for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

King said the Negro, Jack H. O'Dell, of New York, left the Southern Christian Leadership Conference the second time June 26 by mutual agreement because of concern that his affiliation with the integration movement would be used against it by segregationists and race baiters.

The Senate Internal Securities Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee have linked O'Dell with Communist work.

At an Atlanta hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee, a committee counsel called O'Dell a dedicated zealot for communism.

At a New Orleans hearing of the Senate group, Richard Arens, chief counsel, said O'Dell was the top man for Communist activity in Louisiana.

King acknowledged at a news conference that O'Dell "may have had some connections in the past" with communism but "we were convinced that he had renounced them and had become committed to the Christian philosophy of nonviolence in dealing with America's social injustices."

EMPLOYMENT DENIED

He denied repeatedly a recently published report that O'Dell was currently employed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in any capacity.

The newspaper said he was director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's New York office. A staff employee who answered the telephone Thursday morning told United Press International O'Dell was still with the office as administrator of the New York operation. Later in the day the same office said he was not connected with the agency and had no knowledge of his whereabouts.

King told reporters he could not understand why anyone in his office would say O'Dell worked there "when he doesn't."

King said O'Dell worked for the group on two occasions—the second time after the Southern Christian Leadership Conference satisfied itself he was not a Communist as charged—but that his connection were severed for good June 26.

King said O'Dell first came to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after work on the Bronx Committee of Citizens for Kennedy in 1960 and that a letter of commendation for O'Dell was received from Robert M. Morgenthau. He is a U.S. attorney in New York who ran against Nelson M. Rockefeller for the New York governorship.

King said O'Dell was asked to resign temporarily after published reports that he had had some relationship with the Communist Party. After an investigation, he said, "we concluded he had no present connection" and he was returned to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff.

MUTUALLY AGREED

He said it was mutually agreed that O'Dell should leave the Southern Christian Leadership Conference again when "it became evident in Birmingham that the crusade for civil rights had reached the conscience of America and that Mr. O'Dell's employment could be used against the organization by segregationists."

King said the O'Dell issue was being used "in another attempt to forestall and hamper the true essence of today's civil rights struggle.

"It is another McCarthy-like tactic to destroy the movement," King said.

He acknowledged that communism can use the integration movement against the United States but he felt that efforts to prevent Negroes from full rights would be used even more.

"When they realize there is a determined struggle to get rid of segregation and that the citizens of good will are behind it, the Communists will then know that one of their best tools in destroying the American image is gone," King said.

He said the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will continue to screen staff members but that we are not an investigative agency and we will not witch hunt.

"I am not going to be intimidated by some committee," King added.

In testimony before both Senate and House groups, O'Dell refused to say whether he was a Communist.

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[From the State, July 27, 1963]

A COMMUNIST VOICE

Denials and derision have followed the allegations by Governors Barnett, of Mississippi, and Wallace, of Alabama, that Communists have played a part in the antisegregation demonstrations currently marring the American scene.

Without further comment on that score, we offer the testimony of an expert witness, James E. Jackson, editor of the Worker, successor publication to the Daily Worker, of the Communist Party of the United States.

In an editorial of July 21, 1963, the Worker has this to say:

"The selfless, and often pioneering role, of the Communists in the struggle for the freedom and equal rights of the people is unmatched by the members of any other political party in American life. The Communists, Negro and white, set a standard of leadership and service in the fight for the just rights of the Negro people that is only now being matched by numerous other forces and organizations.

"It was the Communists in the International Labor Defense who first made the issue of Scottsboro and the Jim Crow oppression of Negro Americans a cause that rang around the world. It was the Communists in the trade unions who raised the banner of struggle against racist exclusion practices and discrimination in employment. It was the Communists who were foremost among the organizers of the unorganized workers and sharecroppers in the South in the CIO's pioneering days. It was the young Communists who lit torches of hope and led exemplary struggles of the World War II generation for jobs and voting rights.

"Indeed, in the entire phase of the modern history of the Negro freedom struggle, the Communists have always played, and always will play, an honorable and dedicated role. The Communist Party of the United States wholeheartedly and selflessly supports the just struggle of the Negro people for freedom and integration in the political, economic, and social life of the Nation."

The socialist state always operates on the theory that the general run of the people are just too stupid to know what's good for them, and therefore the elite socialists must determine what's best for everyone. Then, of course, force must be applied to

make them do what has been adjudged best for them. In short, the individual has little choice in the matter, and without freedom of choice there can be no real freedom.

But the most amusing thing is that the leftist socialist hates the rightist socialist more than anything else in the world. Witness the unpleasantness between the Hitlerites and Stalin's legions in the 1940's. Nevertheless, rightist or leftist, socialists are socialists and have little regard for property rights and individual liberty.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, July 24, 1963]

RED TINGE IN SAVANNAH

A current series of articles by Atlanta Constitution State Editor Bill Shipp offers added insight into communism's exploitation of the American Negro's drive for equal opportunity.

In his first two articles, Shipp (1) described an arrangement under which the Chatham County Crusade for Voters in Savannah is headquartered in rent-free office space of a labor union that has been found by a Government agency to be Communist-controlled; and (2) documented a connection between the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters and the controversial Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn.

Activities of the two crusade organizations sparked the mass demonstrations and rioting that have plagued Savannah for several weeks.

The labor union which has provided office space and contributed money for the Chatham Crusade is the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The Department of Justice has charged that the union "is and has been made into an instrument for the promotion and advancement of Communist objectives." In 1950, the union was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations because, the CIO said, it was controlled by Communists.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade, an outgrowth of the Chatham organization, was formed in 1961 at a meeting addressed by Miles Horton, director of the Highlander School. Hosea Williams, president of the crusade, was quoted by Shipp as saying that that meeting, with Horton as keynote speaker, "set the tone for the future of SGCV."

The Highlander School's charter was revoked by Tennessee in 1959; it has since reopened with a new charter, new name and new home in Knoxville. But Horton is still director.

It was at a session of the Highlander School that the now well-publicized picture of Martin Luther King in the company of several known Communists was taken. The Chatham County Crusade is an affiliate of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In calling attention to Communist associations of some Negro leaders and Negro organizations, we do not suggest that belief in communism is the motivation of the Negro's push for equal treatment. This is the mistake made by many whites who blind themselves to the fact that most Negroes sincerely seek to remove the stigma of racial discrimination, without needing any additional motive.

But there is another side to the coin. The Negro's responsibility is to make certain his quest for equality is not directed—or even tinged—by the hand of Communist agitators. Obviously, communism seeks to capitalize upon racial turmoil—in Savannah and throughout the United States.

Responsible Negroes will shun the leadership, money and membership infiltration attempts of questionable organizations. Unfortunately, in Savannah and many other cities, the more irresponsible element has prevailed. This is reflected in the nature of their activities. It is reflected in their association with Red-tinged organizations and individuals.

## KHRUSHCHEV SHOULD GIVE THE WORLD AN ACT OF GOOD FAITH

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the U.S. delegation leaves today to sign a test ban treaty with the Soviets. According to news reports, Secretary of State Rusk will remain in Moscow for a few days after the treaty is signed to probe for the real motives of the Soviets in agreeing to this treaty.

Mr. President, this is like shutting the barn door after the cows have gone. The time to find out the Soviet's real motive, if we do not already know, is before the treaty is signed, not after.

All we have had from Khrushchev and his Kremlin crowd are soft words and bad deeds. His words without exception have proved a mask for deceit, treachery, and villainy.

The American Government has repeatedly stated, immediately following each new act of duplicity by Khrushchev, that before any new agreement was reached with Khrushchev, an act of good faith would be required. Khrushchev has yet to do an act of good faith. If his motives are peaceful, then Khrushchev should be willing to perform a peaceful act.

The American people do not trust Khrushchev's words and neither do I. The treaty to be signed next week is words. Heaven help us if Khrushchev's actions under the treaty are as treacherous as his other actions.

Let Mr. Khrushchev give to the world one act of good faith, and I believe that Americans will be less skeptical of a treaty.

Khrushchev is asking for a nonaggression pact. Before we agree, we should have a nonaggression act.

There are a number of opportunities for an act of good faith by Khrushchev. I, for one, could not support a treaty with the Soviets until after, and only after, one of the following acts by Khrushchev:

First. Let Khrushchev withdraw Soviet personnel from Cuba and carry out his promise for U.S. on-site inspections in Cuba to prove the Soviets are gone.

Second. Let Mr. Khrushchev tear down the Berlin wall and permit ingress and egress between this Soviet-occupied territory and the free world.

Third. Let Mr. Khrushchev cause the Communists to lay down their arms in Laos and Vietnam and stop the Communist war of aggression in southeast Asia once and for all.

It would not be unreasonable to ask Khrushchev to prove his good faith by doing all of these acts, for a really peaceful motive by Khrushchev would require these and much more. Surely, however, it is not at all unreasonable to ask for just one of the three. If Khrushchev will do just one of these acts of good faith, I, for one, would be more inclined to vote to ratify the test ban treaty which he offered.

The American people should not be asked to trust Khrushchev on the basis of his soft words. Their trust of Khrushchev should not even be asked unless the Reds come through with an act of good faith.

The time to find out Khrushchev's real motive is before the treaty is signed, not afterward. The only way to find out Khrushchev's real motive is to demand an act of good faith. His words are useless.

## TRIBUTE TO THE U.S. ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, quite often these days, we read of the anniversary of some organization, which, in many cases, has established a long and distinguished record of service to the American people going back to the very beginning of our Nation. An example was the celebration on June 14 of the 188th anniversary of the U.S. Army. Thus, it comes as somewhat of a surprise to find a governmental organization which is noting not its 25th, or 50th, or 75th anniversary, but its 1st.

I am referring to the U.S. Army Materiel Command, which completed 1 year of operations on August 1. Established last year as a result of a major reorganization of the Army, the Army Materiel Command performs the wholesale logistics mission for the Army, including research, development, procurement, production, supply, and maintenance. It is commanded by Lt. Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr.

General Besson, while commanding the Military Railway Service in Iran during World War II, was promoted to brigadier general, and until the end of that war, was the youngest general officer in the Ground Forces.

Skilled in logistics planning, and one who has pioneered a number of concepts aimed at attaining greater speed and efficiency in the Army's transportation system, General Besson's present position is the same type of job that General Goethels, of Panama Canal fame, had in World War I. His organization was called Services of Supply, aptly abbreviated to S.O.S. In World War II, these functions were again brought together in the Army Service Forces, only to be given back at the end of the war to the Technical Services. The Army Materiel Command, though different in approach from its predecessors, represents this same basic need for unified materiel services.

During its first year of unified operations under General Besson, the U.S. Army Materiel Command has made some significant step forward in Army materiel management, which have been summarized in a recent Department of Defense news release.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, this release on progress of the Army Materiel Command during its first year of operations.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

The U.S. Army Materiel Command, which provides the Army with its fighting hardware, will complete its first year of operation August 1, 1963, with cost reduction type savings of $252 million. It will also begin its second year with 6 percent less personnel and a 7-percent increase in workload as measured by the annual funding program.

In a year-end report of its major accomplishments, the Army Materiel Command under Lt. Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr., was

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take the Floor, as was done in criticism of Mr. Neilan and criticize the Life magazine article. Personally, I think it a sorry story, but true, and the truth often hurts as witness the reaction to Mr. Neilan's speech,

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE REACTION

One of the most telling reactions to Mr. Neilan's admittedly hard-hitting speech was that of Mr. John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Bailey chose to characterize Mr. Neilan as a sort of Rip Van Winkle character who had been asleep for many years and who was not up with the times. Stated another way, what Mr. Bailey was saying was that Mr. Neilan was being naive and just does not understand the way things work today. I would like to point out to my colleagues that there are all too few Ed Neilans in this country, who are willing to stick their necks out and subject themselves to attack for stating their beliefs. This point was well made in a recent article by David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. He said that maybe Mr. Neilan stretched his metaphor too far in his comparison of political immorality and the British sex scandal, but Mr. Lawrence added that it was time more emphasis is given to governmental affairs. In this connection, Mr. Neilan, it seems to me has rendered a real public service.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have risen to defend both Ed Neilan as an individual and as the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. If I may take a thought from the gentleman from Texas' [Mr. FOREMAN] comments last week, while Mr. Neilan's remarks may step on some toes in the Congress so there were cries of anguish, I am convinced that he expressed an opinion that is widely shared around the country and that it may be well for all of us to consider as future votes come up on such programs as the ARA. Perhaps also some members of the press will help settle this argument by evaluating the voting records of Members of Congress in relation to the pork barrel bills which contain self-interest legislation. How many of us are in a position to throw the first stone or challenge the outspoken allegations of President Neilan and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? Not very many and with continuing and planned Federal deficits it is time the facts came out.

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## A NEGRO ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. MCFALL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MCFALL. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Margaret L. Washington is a teacher in the Stockton, Calif., schools system. Stockton is the largest city in the 15th Congressional District, which I am privileged to represent.

She has written a thoughtful article which I wish to bring to the attention of the House. Mrs. Washington has suggested the establishment of a Negro Alliance for Progress, which is similar in concept to the proposed National Service Corps.

May I point out that the general plan is something which could be made applicable not only to help Negro families who leave rural areas to make their homes in cities, but also to others, regardless of race, who are faced with serious adjustment problems when they encounter totally new environments in large population centers.

The article deserves the careful consideration of all Americans who are interested in social progress for the people of our great Nation.

I am pleased to insert Mrs. Washington's work at this point:

A NEGRO ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

(By Mrs. Margaret L. Washington)

Momentous changes are the order of the day throughout the world—changes that affect every area of human life. But most people are so comfortable with the status quo that they have not taken cognizance of them. The change that people have resisted most is social change. Yet, social change is our most pressing problem—the granting of first-class citizenship to the Negro.

Halfway measures will never do. Although it has been worked at piecemeal for decades, the problem is far from a solution and is growing in magnitude, especially in the Nation's largest cities. A coordinated and concerted attack on a broader front than has ever been undertaken must be made if any solution is to be achieved.

According to the 1960 census, 73 percent of the nearly 19 million Negroes live in cities. One-third of these urban-dwellers live in the 25 largest American cities. Significantly, only four of these cities are in the South, pointing up the fact that decades of Negro migration was and is to northern cities.

Stating the problems of the cities succinctly, Charles E. Silberman writing in Fortune, points out that the chief problem facing the large cities should be given immediate consideration: "When city officials are talking about spreading slums, they are talking in the main about the physical deterioration of the area inhabited by Negroes." Also, he continues, "When they are talking about juvenile delinquency, the burden of welfare payments, or any of a large list of city problems, officials are talking principally about the problems of Negro adjustment to city life."

Negro leaders may give valid answers to this or they may simply say that since the whites got the Negroes into this predicament, they should get them out. Inasmuch as the whites have had 100 years to do the job, and the Negro is still a second-class citizen, the time has now arrived for the Negro to take the lead and work to secure for himself all the rights enjoyed by other citizens.

Since the Negro masses in the city ghettos have to depend upon the business, political, and professional members of their community for leadership, there is a paucity of dedicated, selfless leaders. For the businessmen, politicians, and a majority of professionals have a stake in the ghetto. It is there that they gain their livelihood and prestige. Therefore, the thinking of many Negro leaders about integration resembles that of most white integrationists. The Negro, they feel, should have adequate housing, equal treatment in public accommodations, equal opportunity for employment and education. This clearly is not enough. Equality means full participation by the Negro in everything that goes on in the larger community.

Moreover, a great many Negro leaders are not in touch with the masses in the Negro world, but are concerned principally with their own position in American society. They are busy getting as many status symbols as possible and gaining the acceptance of the whites. Such leaders, in thinking they are securing equality, are merely deluding themselves. Two recent and noteworthy incidents illustrated this delusion. One was the refusal of the Washington, D.C., Cosmos Club to accept as a member Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. Another was the refusal by a New York tennis club to accept the son of Dr. Ralph Bunche to its membership.

The truth is that Negroes in general do not wish to belong to white social clubs, exclusive or otherwise. It is the fact that those who apply for membership are so often rejected, regardless of their qualifications, that counts. Equality and complete acceptance will be achieved when the value standards, habits, and attitudes of the majority of Negroes approximates those of the whites.

Negro leaders must face up to the challenge of competing in a white world. No Negro business that is sound need fail because of integration. The same is true of the professions. I am not patronizing my dentist because he is a Negro, but because he is an excellent dentist. There is no basis in fact that Negroes would not continue to use the same services that have proved satisfactory for them just because they move out of the ghetto. There will, most certainly, be difficulties to surmount. Negro leaders, however, must rise to the occasion and work for a fully integrated society.

In calling attention to the dualism that obtains in Negro communities, Gunner Myrdal said in a recent address to the graduating class of Howard University, "I should not be fully candid with you if at this point I did not stress another implication of the integration of the Negro in the wider American society; namely, that the Negro professional middle and upper class will have to surrender economic monopolies which they have held, and are now holding, on the basis of prejudice." He then pointed out one of the main roadblocks in the Negro's path to first-class citizenship. "You cannot cry for the breaking down of the walls of segregation and discrimination," he continued, "while at the same time hoping to retain petty monopoly preserves among Negro clientele to give you a comfortable and uncontested economic safety." And, urging the Negro to strive for excellence, he said, "You must have the courage to choose a harder life in which your abilities will be tested against the norms established in the wider American society and, indeed, in the whole world."

As yet, it is only a minority of whites who favor the Negro's total participation in every area of American life, witness the school struggles that are going on in many cities of the North and West. The continued flight of the whites to the suburbs as the Negro communities in the large cities expand, point up the fact that limited integration is all that is desired by most whites who favor integration.

The findings of Professors Harry Sharpe and Leo Schnore, two University of Wisconsin sociologists, have serious forbodings for America's largest cities. Writing in Land Economics, a university journal, they said that nonwhites are well on the way to outnumbering whites in 50 of the Nation's largest cities. They predict that if the pattern continues, our large metropolitan areas may eventually consist of white rings surrounding nonwhite cities.

To halt these trends and solve the Negro's problems will require the undertaking of bold, new, and untried methods by both white and Negro leaders.

One way would be to promote wider communication and better understanding among whites and Negroes. The average white knows very little about the Negro. He not only knows practically nothing about his

social life, church, home life, or aspirations, but in far too many cases, entertains an entirely erroneous conception of them.

An indication of misunderstanding and poor communication is shown in a study of racial integration made by the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission under the direction of Dr. Harry Stettler. This study showed that of the 556 white and 527 Negro respondents, only 10 percent of the whites thought the Negro wanted more integration, while 80 percent of the Negroes actually expressed a desire for more. About 45 percent of the white group thought that "things are satisfactory as they are," contrasted with the figure of 12 percent for Negroes. Also, 84 percent of the Negro group thought there should be more contact between the races. The corresponding figure was 35 percent for the whites.

It is the Negro's responsibility to invest in his own future. If he would be free he must take the initial action in his community. He must show that he has both the discipline and the ability to carry on in his own behalf, even though he cannot do the job alone. Help must come from the local, State, and Federal agencies. The agencies' help, however, to do the most good for the greatest number, must be administered in cooperation with or through Negro self-help organizations.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission observed in its 1961 report, that the Government should not bear the exclusive or even the initial responsibility for the achievement of equal opportunity for all. "Nevertheless," says the Commission, "it bears a heavy responsibility, and one that—despite great strides—it has not yet discharged."

There is an immediate need for the Government to use some of its undischarged responsibility to help raise the standards of millions of disadvantaged Negroes who are crowded into the ghettoes of our large cities. In order to give effective help, I propose the Government set up a Negro Alliance for Progress. It should train people just as if they are to serve in the Peace Corps; train them to go into Negro communities to help in each such district to work with the masses in the slum areas, to give them purpose, motivation and incentive to improve their lot.

A Negro Alliance for Progress will not conflict in any way with the work of the NAACP, CORE, or the Urban League. It will be a self-help organization. Its leaders will work with the masses to help them prepare to use the rights that have been won for them, and to inform them of present and future opportunities. In some instances it would probably supplement some phase of work being done by other established organizations, especially the Urban League.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg says in the Negro Potential that Negro leaders must somehow convince the members of the race that equality cannot be bestowed; it must be earned. "Negroes must learn," he says, "how to utilize the opportunities now open to them. Only if they do so will they achieve the equality they seek." A community organized under a Negro Alliance for Progress will afford the average Negro slum-dweller the opportunity to earn equality.

A community Negro Alliance for Progress organization should be widely based. To form its official family, the leaders must reach out into the Negro community for representation from as many clubs, institutions, and organizations as possible. It must operate in community centers—those that are in existence now and those that should be set up by the Alliance. Its financing must come mainly from the participating organizations and the community at large; but the government should contribute to maintenance of staff and experts. It must carry on its work through a number of departments and committees. It must have an executive officer.

There should be departments of education, civic affairs, family life, child care, culture, and recreation. All workers must give volunteer service; its professional help being drawn from teachers, counselors, social workers, and college students within the community.

Since education is the surest way out of the slum, special stress must be put on this phase by the Alliance. At least two evenings per week should be given over the basic instruction in reading, arithmetic, and English, for those who cannot profit by attending the established adult education schools operated by city school boards. In this connection, the Alliance can give to the individuals counseling and guidance about the type of training that they need to secure technological employment and about the place to get such training.

The departments of the Alliance should carry on activities designed to help raise the standard of the community by promoting voter registration and neighborhood cleanup and beautification campaigns, family night get-togethers at the center, workshops and group discussion on housing, employment, education and respect for the law. Plays and talent shows should be sponsored, as well as a year around recreation program in which community youths can participate in wholesome activities.

The Alliance should sponsor a cooperative child-care center staffed by volunteers so that more able-bodied women, whose only reason for not working is caring for one or more small children, can participate. As there are many broken homes in the Negro community where boys, in particular, who need a father are growing up without one, the Alliance should sponsor a "big brother" guidance program in which men of good community standing take the responsibility of guiding a boy who has no father in his home.

An important function of the Alliance should be to give help to individual families. For example, a true instance which came to the personal attention of the writer involved a family of eight who moved to a western city from the rural South last year. Not only did they find many of the problems that they had hoped to have left behind, but they also found new and even more complex ones.

For 2 months they were obliged to live with relatives in an already overcrowded tenement apartment. At the end of that period the father, who has only a fifth-grade education, found work as a laborer with a construction company. He immediately moved into a four-room apartment in the same slum area. The children, five girls and one boy, range in age from 3 to 14. Four of the children attend school.

After 3 months the father was laid off from work and is now on State aid. The Alliance could bring this family into a self-help program by getting the father to take its basic training which would prepare him to get a skilled or semiskilled job. It could also assist him in finding a job that he could perform and thereby getting the family off relief.

They could then be guided in getting adequate housing in a low-rent housing project. The mother, through the homemaking classes of the Alliance would become a better and more economic manager of her household. Having finished elementary school, she could give assistance in child care as a matron on a part-time basis. She would be taught how to handle groups of children and how to maintain the program.

In this family, which serves here as a demonstration of many in various states of being, it could give the 14-year-old boy the counseling which he so badly needs. (He has been sent home from school twice for misbehavior and is becoming a problem.) He could through the Alliance be found an after-school job to assure him that he is a needed useful person. The lack of such assurances is the cause of much of the delinquency among Negro youth. He could be brought into the recreation program of the Alliance through membership in a youth club of his own age group, and the Alliance could provide youth sponsors to get the three school age girls into recreation clubs.

This family has not united with any church. An alliance to sponsor them would provide a welcome into the church of their choice. If the family has no choice, the family sponsor could introduce them to representative members of community churches, thereby helping them to become a churchgoing family with new ideals and aspirations. It can through the family sponsor get the father and mother to become registered voters, to join the PTA, and to become members of some of the departmental committees.

In this manner all families such as this one just cited could gain a sense of belonging not only to the Negro community, but also to the larger community. In that way the Negro would be solving his own problems.

It would not be the purpose of the Alliance to isolate the Negro community; the leaders must cooperate with white leaders in keeping the channels of communication open and work for Negro participation in all the affairs of the larger community.

The major solution to the Negro problem lies in the cities. Indeed, the major new frontier for civil rights today is in the Northern and Western cities. It is in these cities that the Negro Alliance for Progress should begin its fight against segregation and discrimination, by helping the masses to help themselves.

The Negro-city problem is America's problem. The extent to which its solution is hastened has implications for our well-being at home, and our success or failure as the leader of the free world.

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## END THE WORK MEASUREMENT SYSTEM IN THE POST OFFICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the work measurement system imposed by post office officials on postal clerks has caused a furor, and rightly so. Postal unions and individual employees have protested strongly to me and to many other Members of the Congress concerning the stress caused by this speedup program. I am convinced that these protests have merit and have introduced H.R. 1799 which would prohibit continued use of this type of system. Many of my colleagues have introduced similar measures.

We are all concerned with the adverse effect this onerous system has had on the health and morale of postal clerks. It is an attempt to speed up the work of distributing the mail to arbitrary levels, to levels that should not be expected to apply to all individuals under all circumstances. It is an attempt to apply an

**SPECIAL REPORT**

# YOUNG PEOPLE WITHOUT JOBS: HOW REAL IS THE PROBLEM?

**Hordes of idle teen-agers unable to find work—**

**Such is the situation portrayed by official statistics.**

**Dig into the trouble, however, and you get a different picture.**

**Many jobs are available. Idleness often is preferred to work considered "menial."**

**Unions bar many young workers. So do child-labor laws. Here is the story—in actual cases.**

Reported from
NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, DETROIT and SAN FRANCISCO

Nearly a million teen-agers—about 1 out of 6 of those in the nation's labor force—are looking for work and unable to find it.

That's 1 out of 7 white teen-agers; 1 out of 3 Negroes.

Yet jobs for the unskilled are going unclaimed from one end of the country to the other. Restaurants and hotels complain of chronic shortages of help. Farmers do, too, in harvest season. Home owners constantly are forced to do jobs that they would like to hire someone to do. Streets of almost every city are a mess.

Talk to Government officials handling employment problems, to employment agencies, job counselors, businessmen and others and you quickly find a wide range of explanations for what appears to be a paradox.

In some cases, union rules prevent teen-agers from getting jobs. In others, federal, State and local laws against child labor are a factor. Minimum-wage laws put pressure on employers to hold down on use of unskilled labor. Laws in many communities bar youths from working in excavations or from using power tools – including power lawn mowers.

Parents are singled out for blame by many in the employment field. Says an official of a New York agency:

"Today there is no such thing as telling a youth to get a job this week or else. Instead, parents often tell their children there is no rush to get a job—especially during hot weather. During a hot spell our traffic falls off 75 per cent.

"Many teen-agers would prefer to 'bum off the old man' rather than take jobs that are considered menial or that require hard physical work."

Another in the job-placement field said: "Today's teen-agers are functional illiterates. Even those who complete school lack real training or skills."

***Case histories.*** Examples abound to illustrate what is going on.

Recently, several jobs opened up in Washington, D. C., for grounds keepers – cutting grass, weeding, tending bushes and shrubs. Difficulties in filling the jobs are cited by a U. S. Employment Service official:

"A half dozen youths, out of work for months, turned down the job. They told me: 'That's field work. My folks did that down South and I'm not going to do it here.' Instead, they prefer to hang around street corners."

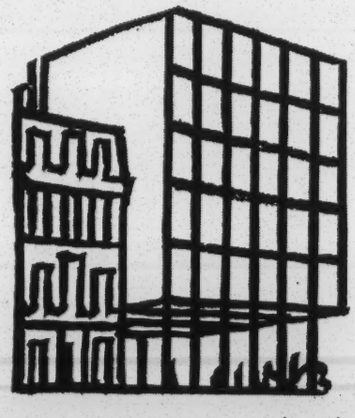
From a job-placement official in New York: "Newspaper ads show the great demand for kitchen and dish-washing help. Many white and Negro youths won't take the jobs. They feel that such work is only fit for Puerto Ricans."

A company in Detroit advertised for 50 salesmen to peddle ice cream from bicycle carts. Up to now, only half the jobs have been filled.

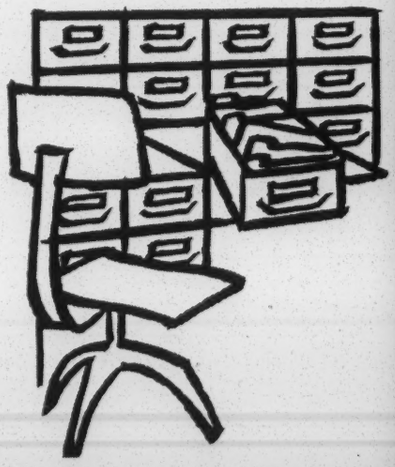
Says an official of the Michigan employment service: "We've got commis-

## WHY TEEN-AGERS LET A LOT OF JOBS GO BEGGING

YARD WORK is considered "too hard, too sweaty" by many teen-agers. A homeowner complains: "I can't get anyone to mow the lawn."



NEW BUILDINGS attract job seekers. Young workers often specify the street and building — and refuse to take jobs elsewhere in the city.



ROUTINE JOBS are spurned by some teen-agers. One girl left, after three days, a filing job paying $60 a week. Reason given: She was bored.

sion jobs—door-to-door selling—running out of our ears. You can't find people to take them."

From the owner of a Washington, D. C., shoe-repair shop: "I can't get any help. Nobody wants to be a cobbler. Kids today just want glamour jobs."

A Maryland lumber executive relates his experience in getting two workers to spread gravel in his driveway. "When I went over to pick up the workers, their mother said they weren't around. I asked why, since they had promised to do the job, and she answered: 'The relief check's just come in. Until they drink that up, you won't find them.'"

From the head of an employment agency in New York: "I recently got a job for a young girl as a file clerk at $60 a week. After three days she stopped showing up for work. She told me that she had gotten bored with the job."

This example of teen-age job attitudes comes from a Los Angeles job agency:

"Not long ago we got a job for a girl as a clerk-typist at $75 a week—$15 a week more than she was making in her previous job. She quit after three weeks. The reason she gave us was: 'They kept me going from 9 until 5.'"

Says a job expert in New York: "Kids today all want 'fun jobs'—like receptionist—and often turn down jobs that require effort."

***"Too far to walk."*** This "choosy" attitude about jobs shows up in city after city. One case is cited of the teen-ager in Chicago who turned down a job because the location required a six-block walk from the subway.

Jobs lacking in "status" often are rejected. A clerk-typist's job, for example, might be passed up. If that same job had the title of "administrative assistant," however, it would be snapped up—even at lower pay.

"Plenty of girls would rather not work than take a routine job," says one job authority, adding: "The trouble is that this attitude doesn't show up in the unemployment statistics that get all the headlines."

***"Music, Maestro, please."*** Just the other day a girl walked into a New York employment agency and asked for "a creative job, one with scope." What did she have in mind? Her answer: "I'd like a job suggesting to Leonard Bernstein what music he should play."

A number of employers report difficulty in hiring office help.

"We have trouble employing young girls unless we can show them that there are other young girls on the staff," says one businessman.

In some places, office workers specify exactly where they want to work. Says an official in New York: "Young workers used to state a preference for an area—say downtown Manhattan. Now they specify the street and sometimes even the building. Just the other day we were asked to find jobs for two girls in the Pan Am Building. They weren't interested in anything else."

Employers report that many younger workers have definite ideas about how much they should be paid.

For example, take the comment of a job-placement director in New York: "If you offer some girls jobs as typists for $65 a week, they will refuse and say that their friends are making $80. They won't settle for $65, even if it means no job."

Says the head of a West Coast job agency: "We get dozens of job seekers who absolutely refuse to go below a certain salary figure."

Parents often are blamed for teen-agers' job attitudes.

A job counselor in San Francisco says: "Parents are overprotective. At the parents' urging, an amazing number of girls who have been working less than a year will quit their jobs to take a three-month vacation in the summer. And these kids are from middle - class homes, not wealthy families."

Says a specialist in job problems of young workers:

"How can you expect today's youngsters to go out and dig for a job? They have been coddled and sheltered all their life."

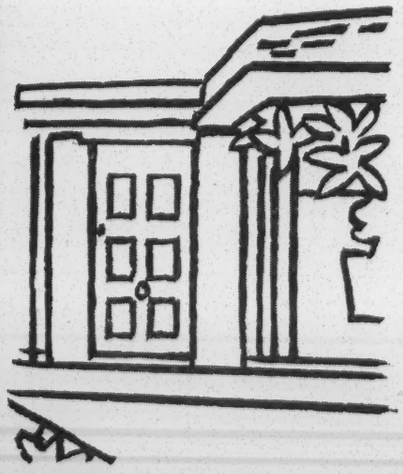
Another source of job trouble: insistence by parents that their children take college - preparatory work rather than business or vocational courses.

"Most parents won't let their children go to a trade school or take a commercial course," says one youth counselor. "But when their children don't make the grade and are not college material, they have no salable skills and training. Even so, these youngsters equate a high-school diploma with a white-collar job that pays well. They won't take anything else."

***When rules bar employment.*** As for those youngsters who are willing to work, many are finding out that unions bar them from getting a job.

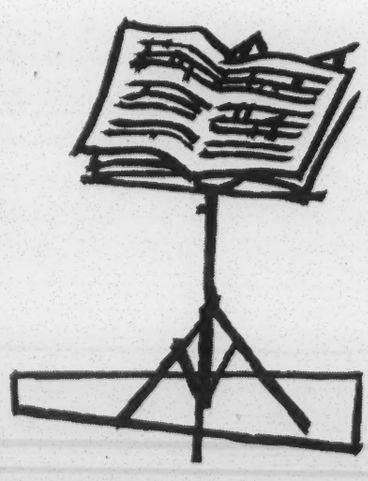
This experience of a West Coast teen-ager illustrates the problem: "I applied for a job the other day at a warehouse, only to find that you have to belong to the Teamsters Union. No union card, no work. It's a lot of red tape to get a card;

*(continued on next page)*



DOOR-TO-DOOR SELLING stirs little interest among young workers. "We have commission-type jobs running out of our ears," says one agency.

CLOCK WATCHING by youthful workers is criticized by many businesses. Some teen-agers have quit jobs that require working from 9 to 5.



"CREATIVE JOBS" are sought by many youths. One teen-ager's idea of desirable work: selecting music for Leonard Bernstein's programs.

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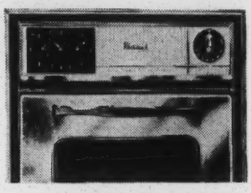
## Culinary Emancipator

*(epochal advance in prandial scheduling)*



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## Special Report

[*continued from preceding page*]

### . . . Many laws bar youths from "learning the business"

you have to know someone who knows someone."

Says a New York job-placement official: "Trade-union restrictions are a definite bar. Some craft unions confine their apprentice openings to sons, relatives or close friends of members."

A number of businessmen report that "teen-agers don't have a chance" when contracts contain union clauses—requiring all hiring to be done through union channels. Others blame unions for pricing young workers out of jobs.

An example of the latter is cited by a Los Angeles businessman: "The meat-cutter apprenticeship requires two years—at a starting pay of $90 to $100 a week. This is big pay for a boy who doesn't know very much. Employers are forced to hire experienced workers because they can get more output per dollar out of them."

***Laws vs. employment.*** Work rules set by law—at federal, State and local levels—are cited as another obstacle.

Youths under 18 are prohibited from using power tools in most places. Night work is strictly regulated. So are jobs considered to be hazardous—such as working in excavations.

Says an official in the U. S. Employment Service, "These rules keep kids out of jobs. For many school dropouts, all they can do is dig ditches. Laws should be reviewed."

From the head of a Macon, Ga., hardware and farm-equipment-supply firm:

"Before the restrictive federal laws on child labor, and before the Wage-Hour law, we had at all times a group of young men who were learning the business. Many were high-school boys who worked Saturdays and in summer; others were school dropouts or newly graduated.

"All were paid on the basis of what they were worth, which usually ran 50 per cent of regular wages. Now we cannot do this." The head of this firm goes on to say that there is a "great shortage of trained men in the hardware field at all levels."

And so go the reports—throwing new light on the teen-age job problem.

Many jobless youths, it turns out, could find work if they were not so choosy about the type of job or the pay. Many others, who really want to work, are bumping into bars set by unions or by labor laws.

That's what the experts say is behind the seeming paradox of heavy unemployment with jobs going begging.

U. S. News & World Report 8/19/63 R+R Rel.

## Exclusive Interview—

# A NEGRO BUSINESSMAN SPEAKS HIS MIND

**Will racial demonstrations, now spreading across the nation, solve the Negro's problems? Is the Negro actually a "second-class citizen"? If so, who is to blame—the white man? You get unexpected answers to these and other questions from a leading Negro businessman. He is S. B. Fuller, interviewed in Chicago by a member of the staff of "U. S. News & World Report." His conclusions: A Negro, like anybody else, can get ahead only by hard work and enterprise.**

At CHICAGO

**Q Mr. Fuller, are the doors of opportunity closed to the Negro in America today?**

**A** No, I don't think so. The Negro has the same rights that other people have in America—

**Q In what way do you mean?**

**A** He has a right to vote, he has a right to start a business for himself, and he has a right to find a job, providing there's anybody that he can sell his service to. But he has to learn to use those rights.

**Q Did you find it possible to get ahead?**

**A** Yes, indeed. I left Louisiana at the age of 15 years with a sixth-grade education. My people moved to Memphis, Tenn., and we lived there for eight years. Then I hitch-hiked my way to Chicago. I got a job here and found out that I could not get ahead working for somebody else.

In 1935 I had $25, and I took the $25 and bought some soap and started selling soap from door to door. And from that $25, it developed into this business today.

**Q Did you find racial barriers difficult?**

**A** No, because I sold my own people my own product.

**Q What is the value of your sales annually, would you say?**

**A** This year, it will run about 10 million dollars.

**Q Do you have markets in the South, too?**

**A** We have markets in the South for the colored only. We don't have any markets in the South where we sell to the whites. But we have white customers in the North.

**Q Has that market grown much in recent years?**

**A** Yes, it has a constant growth. We continue to buy out other companies—if we find a white company having financial problems, we buy it out. Then we keep the white employes and add to the colored payroll.

**Q How many employes do you have altogether?**

**A** We have on our direct payroll about 600 employes.

**Q How many of those are white?**

**A** About 20 per cent of them are white. And in our door-to-door selling, we have about 3,000 people selling and about 500 of those are white.

**Q Is there any friction? Do white persons seem to resent working for you?**

**A** No, the white people here are talking integration more than the colored people.

**Q What do you mean by that?**

**A** Here, in our organization, the white people are very sensitive about being treated as inferior in our organization. They are more concerned about discrimination than the Negroes are.

One thing that I find in my organization is this: If I don't watch very closely, the Negro bosses here will discriminate and hire all Negroes and no whites. I'm constantly watching them to see that they hire people on their merit and not on the color of their skin.

**Q Would you say, then, that racial discrimination is found among all races?**

**A** It is a universal human trait—and people use it, if they can do so, at a profit. When it becomes unprofitable, they forget it.

Here in our organization, it pays the white people not to discriminate against the Negro, and they don't. But the Negroes will discriminate against the white people because they are trying to get the white people out of some of these well-paying jobs and put some Negroes in them.

**Q In what way do they try this?**

**A** If a white man applies for a job, and if nobody else knows it, the Negro supervisor will not hire him. He'll hire another Negro.

**Q In general, what do you think is the answer to the race problem in this country?**

**A** Well, the problem is one the Negro has to work out himself. Negroes are not discriminated against because of the color of their skin. They are discriminated against because they have not anything to offer that people want to buy.

The minute that they can develop themselves so they excel in whatever they do—then they are going to find that they don't have any real problems.

An example is baseball. There was discrimination in the big leagues. But when the owners of the big leagues found out that Negroes could play just as well as whites, discrimination in the big leagues ended as far as Negro players are concerned.

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—Ernest Dellahoussaye Photos

*Mr. Fuller inspects operations at his cosmetics plant in Chicago*

**S. B. Fuller, at 58, has reached a level of business success attained by few men—white or Negro. In addition to the Fuller Products Company, which produces a nationally known line of cosmetics and allied products, he controls eight other corporations. Among them is a department store in Chicago, a real estate trust in New York, and the "Courier" chain of newspapers serving Negro readers in Chicago, New York, Detroit and Pittsburgh.**

**Born of poor parents in Louisiana, Mr. Fuller went to school only as far as the sixth grade. Moving to Chicago as a young man, he started the Fuller Products Company in 1935 on capital of $25. Today its gross sales come to more than 10 million dollars a year. While he opposes the views and tactics being used by "militant" Negroes, Mr. Fuller describes himself as an "integrationist"—pointing out that many of his employes are white.**

**Q Is there any justification, then, for Negro complaints about their lot in life?**

**A** They have some legitimate complaints, but not very many. They will find that you cannot sue a man and make him want to live next door to you. You've got to sell him the idea that you are just as good as he is, by performance. You must perform well in your job. You must train your youngsters. You must keep your community as clean as the white man's community. You must keep up the home as well as he does.

**Q If the Negroes have not done these things, why is that?**

**A** I don't think that the Negroes have been taught enough concerning this. Remember this: The Negroes have been free for 100 years, but, during that time, the white man has not told Negroes the truth. He has always taught the Negroes that they were at a disadvantage. He never told Negroes that they should do business for themselves, that they should clean up their own community and that they should accept community responsibility.

They have never told him this in plain English. Nor has the white man told Negroes what the white people say about the Negro when the Negro is not present. This is what they should start doing—telling Negroes in their presence what they say about them in their absence.

**Q Do you mean mention the unfavorable comments about Negroes?**

**A** Yes. If it's bad, then tell them.

**Q Are the racial demonstrations doing any good?**

**A** The demonstrations have made the white man know that the Negroes are dissatisfied. But he knew that in the first place. Beyond that, I don't think they have done any good. In fact, they have done harm in the picture they give of Negroes.

**Q Will the demonstrations continue, do you think?**

**A** Oh, they will go on as long as they get publicity from it. When they don't get any publicity, they will die out. I don't think the demonstrations will go on as much as 18 months longer.

**Q Do Martin Luther King and others of his views speak for the Negro people as a whole?**

**A** No, they speak for certain small groups of people. If they were speaking for the Negro people as a whole, you'd find more Negroes demonstrating. As it is, those who are demonstrating and "sitting in" are a very small minority of the Negroes.

**Q Are the Black Muslims really important in the Negro community?**

**A** No, they are not. The Black Muslims have a very small organization. It is tightly organized and its members are loyal to their cause, but their number is very small.

**Q Why is it that we hear so much about the frustrations of the Negro?**

**A** It's because they have been played up so much on the television, on the radio and in the newspapers.

**Q Do you ever hear of militant Negroes calling you an "Uncle Tom"?**

**A** No Negro calls me an "Uncle Tom." He can't call me "Uncle Tom" because I employ white people. And "Uncle Tom" never employed any white people.

**Q What about the charge of some militant Negroes that Negro moderates are subservient to whites?**

**A** I think that this is very dangerous—it is an attempt to muzzle free speech. I think that every man should have a right to his own opinion. I may disagree with him, but I defend his right to say it.

There are more moderates than we hear of, but some are afraid to give their opinion. They are being muzzled, they are somewhat fearful of speaking out.

**Q Do you find any other Negro businessmen getting ahead in the same way that you did?**

**A** I find a few, but I don't think that enough Negroes are doing so, because no one has sat down and told them of the possibilities of doing something for themselves.

**Q What about the argument that it is the white man or "society" that is to blame for the Negro's problems?**

**A** The crimes that you find in Harlem, for instance, are caused by the people of Harlem, and it's nobody's fault but that of the people of Harlem. I came from a very poor family and, in those days, there was not the crime that you have today. When I was a boy, they kept us busy doing something. Today it's hard to find a boy in Harlem to sell newspapers.

*(continued on next page)*

# . . . "I don't think that any law can make me second class"

**Q Do most Negroes, in your opinion, want integration?**

**A** I think that Negroes want integration—but not as the white man thinks they want it.

**Q In what way do they want it?**

**A** I think Negroes want to know that they have the opportunity to go wherever they want to go and live wherever they want to live. Whether they go there or not, they want the privilege of going there.

**Q Once this is obtained, do you think Negroes then would tend to stay together?**

**A** They would—they would follow their own patterns.

**Q Do Negroes today have the same ambitions in life as white people do?**

**A** They have the same ambition in life that white people have, but they don't know how to go about satisfying that ambition. They think that they can succeed by working for other people. The thing is, if all the white people worked for somebody else, then the white people would not be in the position that they are today.

**Q Will Negroes work just as hard as anybody else to get ahead in spite of all obstacles?**

**A** They will, once they have been shown the way. You see, Negro people do not understand that they must own their own businesses. They must give jobs—not just ask for jobs.

They have as much right to employ the white man as the white man has to employ them. They must remember that every one of us is born with a spark of divinity, but it's up to the individual to fan that spark.

## REAL "ROAD TO PROGRESS"—

**Q Is getting ahead in business and industry, then, an essential part of the Negro's progress?**

**A** It is the really essential part. I think there's no other road that leads to progress.

Let me say this: Negro people spend about 23 billion dollars annually in America. If they controlled 80 per cent of this 23 billion dollars, that would be about 18 billion dollars. Now, let's say they had 10 per cent profit. That would be 1.8 billion dollars as capital that they would have to work with every year. This would be power in their hands. And two things are power in America—the vote and the dollar.

**Q Has there ever been, in your knowledge, any race that has gotten ahead in the world without this ability in business and industry?**

**A** No, I never heard of any racial group in this country or any other country that was able to get ahead without participating in business.

**Q Are there Negroes supplying the Negro market for clothing and for food, that you know of?**

**A** A few.

**Q Are there Negro automobile dealers?**

**A** None that I know of.

**Q Are there Negro construction men—builders?**

**A** Very, very few.

**Q Who are some of the other successful Negro businessmen like yourself?**

**A** Well, John H. Johnson here in Chicago—he's a very successful magazine publisher.

There are a number of Negroes in the insurance business.

**Q Have Negroes done everything they can do to help themselves?**

**A** No, I don't think they have. They have failed to go into business. I'll give you an illustration: In Chicago alone we have millions of dollars invested in church property. I know of one church in Chicago that cost over a million dollars. But we have not had that kind of money invested in business.

Now, if those people could put a million dollars in their church, they could have taken another million dollars and started a business. And this would have helped them employ themselves and others, too.

**Q Do you find Negroes thinking about ways to take advantage of that market?**

**A** No. Too much is being said to them about civil rights and too much has been said about their being second-class citizens. I don't consider myself a second-class citizen.

**Q Can Negroes, do you think, consider themselves first-class citizens?**

**A** Yes—if they work at it. I don't think that you legislate quality in the man. Quality is developed from within. And

INTEGRATED OFFICE. Mr. Fuller tells his supervisors to "hire people on merit and not on the color of their skin."

I don't think that any law you pass can make me second class, because I am what I think I am.

**Q Did white people try to keep you from succeeding?**

**A** No more than they would any other competitor. In America, it's a capitalistic system and it's competitive. Of course, they are going to give you competition. When I started selling among my own people, there were white people out there selling to them, too. But there was no barrier because of my race.

**Q Looking at your own success, what is the secret of it?**

**A** First, a man must have determination. He must be ambitious. He must be enthusiastic over doing things for himself. He must have confidence in himself. I have confidence in myself. I have more confidence in myself than I have in anybody else. So I would not trust anybody to set a salary for me, because I realize that I will pay myself more than anybody else would pay.

I have a sixth-grade education. But last year I paid an in-

# . . . "Negroes must learn to risk their capital"

come tax on over $100,000. How else could a sixth-grade scholar have a job in America that paid him over $100,000 a year unless he was in business for himself?

**Q Why are Negroes reluctant to get into business? Are they afraid to assume responsibility, do you think?**

**A** Yes, I do think so. There have been some failures in Negro business; there are failures in all businesses. But Negroes must learn to risk their capital—not put it in other people's banks and draw 3 or 4 per cent on it, when they could use it among themselves and make 10 or 15 per cent.

**Q Would you say that today it is still possible for a Negro with a high-school diploma to make good?**

**A** Oh, yes. It's still possible for a Negro with a grammar-school education to make good. I have a young Negro who sells—he's 24 years old. He came from Lexington, Miss., and I've taught him to sell, and he's averaging now from $10,000 to $12,000 a year selling from door to door.

## "LAWS DO LITTLE GOOD"—

**Q Will laws passed in Washington assure the Negroes the things they really want?**

**A** The laws are going to do very little good, because in the North the Negro has every legal right that anyone else has. In the South, there is legal segregation—but in the North we don't have it. So when the white people in the North keep away from the colored people, it is because it's not an economic advantage to get together.

**Q What about the Negroes in the South?**

**A** The only way the Negro in the South can solve his problem is to continue to press for the ballot—not for sit-ins and not for eating at the lunch counter and not for the other rights. First, there must be the right to vote. Once he starts voting, you will find the racial issue in the South will disappear.

**Q Is the racial conflict in this country going to spread? Will it result in bloodshed?**

**A** No. I think the racial conflict in this country is at its height right now. From now on it's going to have a trend downward.

**Q Do Negroes still tend to feel inferior?**

**A** Yes. Negro people are just as good as anybody else. This they must know. But they cannot convince others until they convince themselves.

I have found no barriers to me in business. I am a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, of the National Association of Direct Selling Companies. I serve on committees, I can be elected to any office that I aspire to in these organizations. There is no discrimination that I find in these organizations.

**Q What about the charge that well-to-do Negroes tend to ignore the rest of the Negro community and its problems? Is there any truth to this?**

**A** No, I don't think so. I am working with the churches and all the civic organizations in Chicago. I am a member of the board of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, I'm a member of the local Chamber of Commerce, I work with the YMCA, I work with the Urban League, I work with all of the civic organizations in the community.

I am trying right now to organize a group to buy a hospital in the Negro community, and I'm also the treasurer of the Midwest Baptist Home for the Aged. I am in civic affairs and I find all the other Negroes here in business are doing the same thing.

**Q What would be your advice today to a young Negro coming out of school?**

**A** My advice today is, first, go to school and get a good education. It's not up to the teacher to see that he gets it. It's up to the student. When a Negro child goes to school, he must concentrate on his work.

Then, when he comes out of school, come out with something to offer, a talent that he can sell.

**Q But we hear that the schools available to Negroes often are inferior, that they don't offer a good education—**

**A** Well, I think that the schools that the Negroes attend here in Chicago have about the same facilities as other schools. Anyway, it's not so much the facilities of the school that count as the attitude of the student.

**Q Will demonstrations encourage Negroes to work harder, become more self-reliant?**

**A** No. I find that the Negro today does not have as much ambition as he had 25 years ago.

**Q Why is that?**

**A** I think the trouble is that no one tells the Negro that he's responsible for himself—being unemployed. When I was a boy nobody helped us. You had to help yourself, and you had to learn to "do." You had to have the know-how plus the do-how.

My mother died when I was 17 years old. She left six besides myself. The relief people came and offered us some relief, but we did not accept it, because it was something of a shame for people to receive relief in those days. We were embarrassed just because the relief woman came to talk to us. We did not want the neighbors to know we couldn't make it for ourselves. So we youngsters made it for ourselves.

**Q What kind of work did you do?**

**A** I sold from door to door. I started selling from door to door when I was 9 years old, and have been selling ever since.

**Q Do you feel that some races have more of an aptitude for business than others or more of an ability to sell?**

**A** No. It's all in the desire. Any time that you can create a desire in the Negro to sell, he's just as good a salesman as anybody else.

**Q Do you have Negro salesmen serving white customers?**

**A** Yes, in some places we do.

## WHY OUTLOOK IS BRIGHT—

**Q Are you generally optimistic on the future of the Negro race in this country?**

**A** Oh, yes.

**Q Is America, do you think, a good place for Negroes?**

**A** America is the best place for the Negro in the world. America is the best place for any man in the world.

**Q Is the Negro basically unhappy, do you think?**

**A** I think the Negro is very unhappy, but it's not from segregation. He's unhappy because he is unemployed.

Some of the leaders will tell him he's unemployed because he's a Negro, and that segregation is the cause of his being unemployed. But that is not true. We have unemployment in America, and the Negro is the last hired and the first fired because he doesn't do any of the hiring or the firing.

**Q What is the answer, then, to the Negro's future?**

**A** Work. And not only that: He must work and he must save his money and he must pool his money. If he wants integration, he must hire white people just as he wants white people to hire him. [END]

Newsweek Aug. 19, 1963

# LETTERS

***When the editors of NEWSWEEK asked public-opinion analyst Louis Harris to conduct a survey of American Negroes, it was with the hope that by giving thoughtful people the facts, the magazine could make a contribution to greater understanding in the current racial crisis. The response was immediate and gratifying. "The Negro in America" has elicited more interest than any article in the magazine's history. It is unusual for NEWSWEEK to devote its LETTERS section to the same subject for two weeks running, but then, so was the size of the response.***

My congratulations on a stunning achievement. After these many years of tenth-removed speculation on the color question, it is a relief and a revelation to read NEWSWEEK's factually grounded, excitingly written account of it. All who worked on the article deserve the general reader's gratitude and warmest wishes.

Norman Cousins, *Editor*
Saturday Review
New York City

Even the most hard-bitten segregationist must have had a twinge of conscience after reading "The Negro in America."

Robert L. Daniels
Des Moines, Iowa

The American Negro's drive for securing the equal rights and opportunities denied him so long is certain to culminate in the removal of all existing racial barriers. Policies of discrimination and segregation directed against the Negro in the past solely because of his race must inevitably yield under the weight of the Negro's present militant march toward full citizenship.

A lack of information about the aspirations and goals of the Negro has resulted in much fear and misunderstanding of the Negro's social revolution. Your special report will most certainly help to dispel much of this fear, while at the same time aiding both white and Negro citizens in gaining a clearer insight into the significance of the current civil-rights movement.

John E. Babiarz, *Mayor*
Wilmington, Del.

I want to commend you and your organization for what is, in my humble opinion, the most objective appraisal of the fundamental factors which determine the basic drives of the contemporary American Negro.

Marquis L. Harris, *Resident Bishop*
The Methodist Church
Atlanta, Ga.

I can no longer have NEWSWEEK come into my home. Twenty pages of Negro propaganda are too much. If I wanted to know all the Negroes' wants without any information as to their obligations, I would subscribe to Ebony.

(Miss) Mary S. Yoste
Vicksburg, Miss.

Your survey of the Negro situation is typical of your thorough coverage of a difficult subject. I have read it carefully and feel that you have rendered a real service to your readers and to the entire cause of racial understanding.

David S. Cook, *Assistant to the President*
General Dynamics
Rochester, N.Y.

The wonderful job you did in your issue on the American Negro is something you can be mighty proud of, and I congratulate you on it.

Walter W. Heller
*The Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers*
Washington, D.C.

I would like to congratulate you for your excellent report on the American Negro. I think that I am qualified to rate this report since I myself am an American Negro who lives in what I and the city of New York term as one of the greatest of all depressed areas, the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn.

But I don't blame the people themselves for what this section has become; I blame those American whites who herd us into ghettos and tell us that we have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And in a funny way, we do have these rights. We have them as long as we don't move into white neighborhoods or marry whites or try to take their white-collar jobs.

But then I can't blame the whites for not wanting to be equal to an American Negro. Who would want to be equal to a person who can't get a halfway decent education because of the color of his skin and is doomed to be a third-class person in a nation where there is no class distinction?

Naturally, I do not expect this letter to radically change the status of the American Negro, mainly because I am only 16 years of age. But I do think that those whites who openly and privately discriminate against us should think about my age and the way I feel toward them. Because there are millions of American Negroes my age; and in at least ten years we will all have children; and we will teach them a little lesson we learned while we were growing up: that "prejudice means hate, and hate is a universal word."

(Miss) Elsie Bennett
Brooklyn, N.Y.

If I know my fellow Americans—whatever their color—the majority will want the facts and will be willing to form new judgments in accordance with those facts.

It is harder to convince a man who is prejudiced than one who is merely ignorant; but patience and prayer will eventually prevail where prejudice exists, I am sure.

If we all could enter sympathetically into the hearts and minds of our colored brothers-in-Christ, if we could make their humiliations and frustrations our own—if only in imagination—no American would rest until equal rights had been guaranteed them.

Sister M. Venard, C.S.A.
Fond du Lac, Wis.

It distresses me deeply to witness the spectacle of a nation dedicated to equality, yet considering our minority groups as permanently inferior. I am not ashamed to admit I shed tears of humiliation and resentment as I read "The Negro in America." I am going back to my elementary-school classroom this fall with renewed determination to teach as never before those democratic attitudes and values in the hope that future generations will consider all human beings as members of the human race.

(Mrs.) Jean E. Cook
Yucaipa, Calif.

My newest resolve, as a result of reading your July 29 issue, is to start saving money to be able to migrate back to Europe—Ireland or Scotland—where my offspring must not be eventually colored.

If 2 per cent of the American Negroes wish to return to the homeland of their ancestors, to whom they are racially homogeneous and where they would have equal status, I being white wish to return to Europe; and this is beginning to become a longing.

Ralph McKinnis
Ashland, Ore.

I am black, an active Episcopalian, and a retired Air Force officer. I was born and

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raised in the crime-infested slums of Detroit, Mich. I have known despair, but I simply refuse to be defeated. I have been integrated for fourteen years, and I am not impressed with the so-called white world. I have served in the Episcopal Church and in the Air Force to make this a Christian world. I identify myself with the new Negro who has emerged since the Korean War with a fierce pride in his black heritage; and I, therefore, identify myself with the struggle and challenge of the new nations of Africa; for this is the source of my pride.

**Cornelius Milner**
Columbus, Ohio

Your staff and Mr. Harris's interviewers deserve a vote of thanks from those of us who have been concerned, but only superficially informed, about the civil-rights crisis now engulfing this country.

Thank you for undertaking this project and publishing such a comprehensive analysis. I now have a much better understanding of the problem, as I am sure many of your other readers do ... and this is a prerequisite for solution.

**Gene R. Schaefer, *Director***
WABCO Mass Transit Center
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Every American should read your July 29 issue, reread it, and then read it again.

**Sen. Daniel K. Inouye**
Washington, D.C.

When you chose interviewees, you missed us: the Negro youth of the nation. Because it is what we believe and fight for that will greatly determine the future of the U.S., I feel sure you will want to include our voice.

We are not fighting to live next door or go to school with whites. Our leaders do not run for office to sit next to whites in Congress and on committees. We couldn't care less whether or not we work next to whites.

What we will have is: the right to go to the schools which offer the best teachers and facilities; to live where we want to live; to work on jobs which are satisfying, allowing us to use and develop our skills; to join with others in deciding our national fate. We intend to enjoy this country we have helped to build. We intend to see that people like Wallace, Barnett, Faubus, and other fear-driven whites do not deprive this nation of the rights and justice our Constitution guarantees. We are terrified that irrational, ignorant men like these also sit in Congress. We are humiliated that their voices are heard overseas and that our country and way of life is thereby judged.

We are proud that we—who are accused of being Communist-inspired—and those who join us in this fight for justice, freedom, liberty, and human dignity are instrumental in reminding stagnant, indifferent Americans what it really means to be a free citizen of the U.S. When President Kennedy asked us what we could do for our country, we heard him.

**Beverly Coleman**
Los Angeles, Calif.

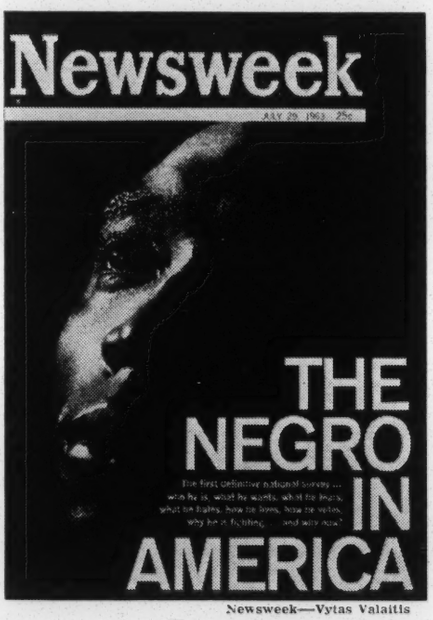
Let me congratulate you for a highly significant contribution to the discussion of one of the major issues of our time. I have read the article more than once. From a research standpoint, the Harris study is an excellent and penetrating one.

**Glen W. Trimble**
National Council of the Churches of Christ
New York City

Yours was a thorough, objective, heartening piece of reporting, and one much needed in the present crisis.

Years ago in the first world war, I served for a time as a white chaplain in a Negro regiment in France. My eyes were opened to the vast chasm between our boasted defense of democracy and our denial of it to one-tenth of American citizens, many of them offering their lives for this country.

On my return to the United States, I joined the NAACP and have been a director for twenty years. We white citizens wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. All our Negro citizens ask is that we practice what we



Newsweek—Vytas Valaitis

pledged "our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor" to in the Declaration.

It is a long hard fight, but we fight to win, for we fight with God for His children. Yes, thank you, for this great issue of NEWSWEEK.

**S. Ralph Harlow**
Oak Bluffs, Mass.

Perhaps what will remain on my mind the longest was Vytas Valaitis's thought-provoking cover photo.

**Vicki Harlin**
Phoenix, Ariz.

The Negroes are not and were not dissatisfied. Neither were they mistreated. They did not think so until you Communists fanned them into this hatred.

**Lisa Keeling**
Albuquerque, N.M.

Your issue on the Negro was outstanding.

**Sen. Abraham Ribicoff**
Washington, D.C.

The Montgomery bus boycott was conducted brilliantly by the Reverend King but was not a complete success until the NAACP won a case before the Supreme Court declaring segregation on buses unconstitutional.

Also, while Negroes are demanding their rights with greater vigor, many Caucasians and predominantly white organizations also are taking a stronger stand.

**Alfred Baker Lewis, *Treasurer***
NAACP
Old Greenwich, Conn.

NEWSWEEK has rendered a real service to the nation and to the Congress.

**Rep. William S. Moorhead**
Washington, D.C.

I am in strong sympathy with the Negro cause. All citizens of this country have the same rights and should be able to exercise them. These rights include the right to live where one pleases, eat where one pleases, and work at any job which one is capable of performing well. However, they also include the right to associate with whom one pleases, and even the right to be stupid, and the right to be bigoted. Therefore, I believe that while laws prohibiting discrimination in public places owned by everyone are fully justified, I feel that public laws prohibiting discrimination in private businesses are as wrong as the discrimination itself. There is here a conflict of rights.

But a boycott, as you point out, can be a powerful and perfectly moral weapon. I think that if a responsible organization (such as the NAACP) were to publish a list of firms which they were convinced deliberately practiced racial discrimination, many people would join in a boycott. I know that I would.

**Joseph R. Hearst**
Danville, Calif.

As you have stated, facts are needed by a democratic society in its search for solutions to complex problems; and we are grateful to NEWSWEEK for this report. My hope is that many of our ministers will read this issue as they work for justice and understanding.

**Yoshio Fukuyama, Ph.D.**
United Church Board for
Homeland Ministries
New York City

You have rendered the nation a great service. You have made a contribution to the whole cause of human rights and race relations that no other magazine has made.

**Benjamin E. Mays, *President***
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

I believe that most Americans want the Negro to have a try at the numerous equalities he desires. I wonder, however, if the public realizes that the Negro will have to give up all the fun of being a Negro. There may no longer be a white person around to bail him out of jail, no one to give him his clothes, no one to pay his doctor bills, and maybe the Internal Revenue Service will crack down on him and make him declare his income. Together with equal rights will come equal responsibilities, which will be hard on the Negro. He will soon find that the life of white folks is much tougher than the free and easy one he had been used to; and when he gets drunk and doesn't turn up on the job, his boss may not accept his time-

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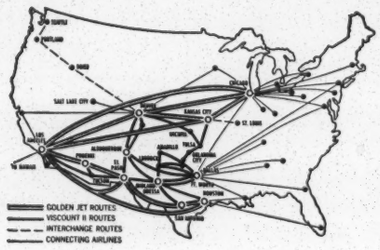


"(They offered) special service to all who requested it"

*—actual comment from Survey*

*Unknown to Continental Airlines operating personnel, Dun & Bradstreet's trained researchers flew 68,382 miles over our routes. They checked every phase of our passenger service. The above finding is part of their report.

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worn excuse that he had to go to his grandmother's funeral. When he fails to make a few payments on his nice house in a white community, he will find himself back in colored town again. But I wish him luck.

John H. Allen
Ormond Beach, Fla.

A most comprehensive review of, perhaps, the most basic problem of our time.

Wallace Johnson, *Mayor*
Berkeley, Calif.

Genuine peace and goodwill among the whites and Negroes will come only when the white decides to stay in the community rather than run out of it after the Negro family has moved in. To say it will come before under any other circumstances or conditions is irrational and unrealistic.

David C. McNair
New York City

The results of your survey are most thorough and informative and have the ring of authenticity. Your appraisals may well serve as a guide for our future course in this vital issue, so important to the concepts of freedom and equality in our country and our relations with half the nations of the world.

Arthur Dore
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America
New York City

The civil-rights question is of grave importance to this nation, and it is imperative that the public be given an understanding of its motivations and goals.

Rep. Louis C. Wyman
Washington, D.C.

Your poll on the modern Negro in America floored me (not knocked out, just stunned). Your honest approach, thorough preparedness, and symbolic conclusions matched all I have experienced in the last 40 years of my life in New York City and in the Navy.

David Weisman
Little Neck, N.Y.

The Negro does not want equal opportunity. He wants privilege, and he wants it legislated for him.

Kenneth L. Swantz
Los Angeles, Calif.

Your issue on the American Negro was extremely well done. I was particularly pleased that you contacted the grass-roots people for their views. It is my conviction that while it is important to contact those who are regarded as leaders, it is equally important to get the opinions of the people who make the leaders strong.

I have never aspired to leadership in a formal sense. It makes me feel grateful that there are some people who appreciate my concern about civil rights and the strengthening of our national democracy.

Although not everyone will agree with the results of the poll or some of the conclusions, I believe all must admit you have done an outstanding public service.

Jackie Robinson
New York City

SEE BACK for Letters to the Editor concerning this story.

R & R Rel.

Newsweek
THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE
7/29/63

# THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

HISTORY would mark it: the summer of 1963 was a time of revolution, the season when 19 million U.S. Negroes demanded payment of the century-old promissory note called the Emancipation Proclamation.

For white Americans, the events are plain enough: Negroes marching against police dogs and fire hoses. Negroes overflowing the jails, singing as they ride off in paddy wagons. Negroes lining up for the vote in the long-taboo registrars' offices of the Mississippi Delta. Negroes sprawling inside New York's City Hall in an around-the-clock lie-in. Negroes pausing to mourn a fallen leader named Medgar Evers—and taking to the streets again as soon as they had buried him.

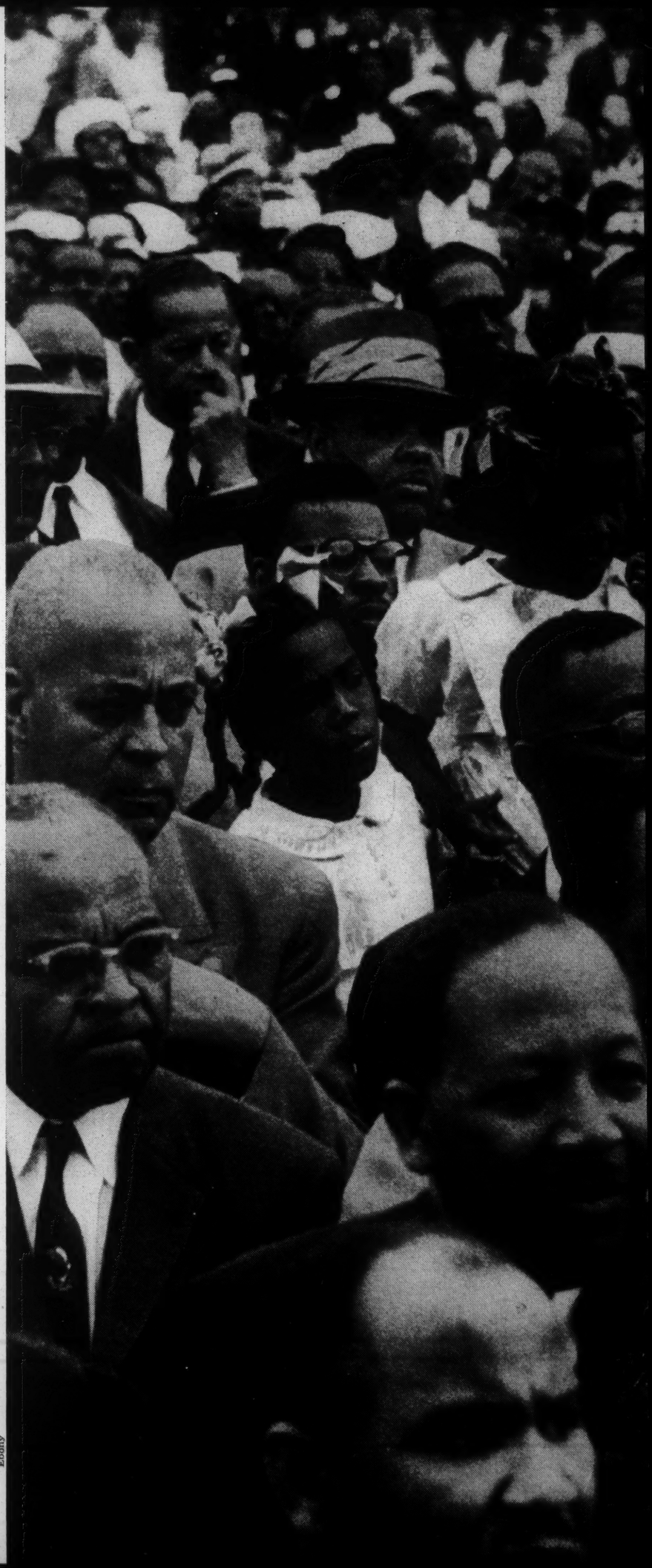
But where did the revolution come from? The wellsprings of the river of Negro protest lie in a world as remote and as unfamiliar to most white Americans as the far side of the moon—the dark side. Who are these revolutionaries? What do they want? How deep is the tide of protest? How will Negroes fight—and how hard?

Revealing answers emerged last week in Louis Harris's first national poll for NEWSWEEK—an unprecedented anatomy of a revolution in full stride. While NEWSWEEK reporters exhaustively interviewed 100 Negro leaders, a Harris task force asked the same questions of 1,157 Negro men and women carefully chosen as a cross-section of the Negro community across the nation (page 17).

Their findings:

▶The wave of protest is an authentic, deep-seated, broadly based revolution. It has won the allegiance of vast majorities of Negroes wherever they live and whatever their age or economic lot. Its leaders are militant partly by choice—and partly because they have no choice.

▶The Negro wants no less than an end to discrimination in all its forms. He wants a better job, better



Ebony

pay, a better home. He wants the right to join the white man—to live next door if he chooses, to work beside him, to send the kids to school with his, to eat at his restaurants and stop at his hotels and pray at his churches. And the Negro is hungry for a bigger share in the plenty—for dishwashers and clothes driers as well as human rights.

▶The first-rank heroes of the revolution are Martin Luther King Jr., the NAACP —and, to a degree stunningly close to unanimity, John F. Kennedy. Nine out of ten would vote for Mr. Kennedy against any of the GOP front-runners—against liberal Nelson Rockefeller as well as conservative Barry Goldwater.

▶The revolution is anti-Jim Crow—not anti-white. Negroes have their doubts about the white man; two in five think he wants to keep them down, and one Negro in five is so deeply alienated he is not sure he would fight for the U.S. in a war. But Negroes overwhelmingly reject the anti-white separatist doctrine of the Black Muslims. Most think the white man is better than he used to be and will get better still.

▶The revolt is committed to non-violence —though one Negro in five thinks some violence is inevitable. Negroes would far rather work at the bargaining table and in the courts than on the streets.

▶The Negro will, nonetheless, do what he feels he must to win. Three in five would boycott a store if asked, and roughly half say they would join a demonstration or go to jail for the cause.

▶Above all, the revolution is one of hope. Even in a toe-to-toe facedown with whites, a majority of Negroes—trusting in God, justice, or their own talents as street fighters—feel they could prevail against 10-to-1 odds. But Negroes don't think it will come to that; in any event, they certainly will not call off the revolt. They think things are already getting better. They are playing to win. They think they can.

The revolt has deep roots in the world of the American Negro. That world was born in the rural South, where Negroes still live in old, unpainted shacks with collards in the garden, petunias in a coffee can on the front porch, a slab of Hoover ham frying on the stove at daybreak, a dime-store picture of Christ or an almanac ad for Sweet Railroad Mills Snuff tacked on the wall.

But the Negro has been moving steadily from the country into town, into the cluster of railroad-red houses in the section just beyond the tracks known to whites as Catfish Row or Baptist Town or maybe Niggertown, into Birmingham or Raleigh or Buttermilk Bottom in Atlanta, where a lucky man can find a decent job. The Negro has been moving North as well—an exodus that will continue. Southern Negroes are no longer so sure the North is the other side of Jordan, but two in five would go if they could.

Sometimes the Negro escapes the worst of the ghetto—if not to a $50,000 house with a pool in Atlanta's Collier Heights or a terraced luxury apartment in Harlem, at least to that citadel of the American dream that nearly every Negro now shares: a home of his own.

If he is not lucky, a Negro winds up in the slums, where the unemployment rate soars to 25 per cent, where families crack and break, where one family in eight sees its kids forced out of school by need or lured out by the streets, where even the crime rate, though rampant, pays poorly ($5 for a stolen $90 suit), where numbers runners sell hope, saloons and narcotics pushers peddle oblivion, and nationalist street-corner orators fan the coals of alienation.

**Why Now?** Yet Negroes think they can make theirs a better lot. But why are they striking out now? Not, ironically, because things are so desperate but because they are more hopeful than ever. The Negro breakthrough into action after a century of grievance is propelled by the cumulative impetus of his own economic gains, his advances in education and leadership, and the shining temptations of a white man's prosperous world. The fight is not so much a revolution of despair—Negroes tend to feel they are doing better all around than they were five years ago—as a revolution of rising expectations. It is, in a sense, a television revolution. There is a TV set in nine Negro homes out of ten, poking out an antenna that senses the white world and its ways as never before. In a world of hungering men, even a soap commercial can throw sparks of revolt if its setting is a modern suburban kitchen.

Perhaps the American Negro has always been in revolt, since the churches first set his eyes over Jordan and his heart on freedom, since the field hands swapped the first subversive tales of

**'We have beseeched. We have implored. We have supplicated. We have entreated. My definition . . .**

how an underdog named Br'er Rabbit had put one over on Br'er Fox, since the first Underground Railroad escapes in slavery days and the first recorded sit-in in 1871. But the milestones in the march toward 1963 were World War II, the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948, the emergence of an independent Black Africa, and—most important of all—the Supreme Court desegregation decision in 1954. Three Negroes in five doubt the revolt would have come so far without that ruling.

In the years since, Negroes have built up a new leadership cadre—young, talented, articulate, educated, middle class, and, most of all, militant. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 thrust Martin Luther King Jr. into the front rank—and, with him, the strategy of nonviolent mass protest. With that strategy erupting and spreading from Birmingham this spring, leaders and followers alike have forced even Northern Negroes to revise their old image of their Southern cousins as sleepy-eyed, countrified Uncle Toms.

"We the Negro people are now not afraid," says Mrs. Carrie Allen, who runs a grocery store in Union Springs, Ala. "We have woke up." And a New York writer remarked: "For the past 35 years or so, the country has been talking about the New Negro. The New Negro is here. The New Negro is not afraid, and he will not quit."

The question, actually, is not why he is now protesting his past and fighting for the future. The wonder is that he kept his silence for so many years.

Bob Adelman

**. . . of now is yesterday'**

## How the Newsweek Poll Was Conducted

Newsweek—Magill

THE findings of this NEWSWEEK Poll of the Negro in America are based on more than 1,250 interviews made earlier this month. The interviews took an average of two and a quarter hours each to complete, and their sum is the most comprehensive national X-ray of the minds and hearts of Negroes, from laborer to lawyer, done in the last quarter century.

The study began in the New York offices of public-opinion analyst Louis Harris. There Harris's staffers applied the statistician's "random selection" methods to cut a cross-section of the Negro population through the country. Beginning with census tables, they broke down the racial map of the US. into the states, cities, counties, and finally the city blocks and rural routes where interviewers would go to record the voices of the Negroes.

In the beginning, every Negro 18 years old and over had an equal statistical chance to be polled. To keep the validity of that cross-section, the random drawing continued down to the level of each sharecropper's cabin or slum dweller's rooming house, with controls continually applied to ensure a representative balance of sex and geographical location. In the end the statistically valid sample of Negroes was more than six times greater than the normal Negro representation in a standard national public-opinion survey. The result is the most systematic, complete total national probability sample of Negroes ever taken. To it, NEWSWEEK added a carefully selected list of 100 Negro leaders.

The questionnaire itself was just as carefully drawn. Harris deliberately designed it to touch some of the raw nerve ends in the Negro psyche but not so hard as to distort the rest of the interview. The 252 questions were worded and put in finely drawn sequence—again to minimize distortion in the answers. Interviewers were instructed to read the questions as written, then record the answers verbatim.

Then, as a steaming heat wave hung over the U.S., 158 trained Harris interviewers pounded through the chosen Negro sample areas from the South Side of Chicago to Riviera Beach, Fla., from French's Creek, N.C., to Oakland, Calif. All of the interviewers—except for a control group of six—were themselves Negroes, a deliberate Harris-NEWSWEEK decision aimed at freer, franker communication between poller and subject. Each interviewer, moreover, answered the questionnaire personally and the results were screened to eliminate activists whose own militancy might distort the poll's results. Most pollers were teachers, principals, or graduate students; several were clergymen.

Before any of the interviews were counted, they were validated—a process under which some 50 supervisors went back to the subjects and confirmed that the interviews had actually been completed. In one case a Harris supervisor even hired an off-duty policeman to check interviews in a tense Houston slum. Another supervisor was warned away from Jackson, Miss., when a house bombing raised racial tension to fever heat.

Nightly, the questionnaires were airmailed back to New York. Negro voices were put on IBM cards, checked twice for accuracy, then fed into the first IBM computer, which made a magnetic tape for the giant 7094 computer. The 7094 counted the results of more than 3,000 man-hours of interviewing in eighteen minutes.

As the tables piled up for Harris's analysis, it was clear that the poll had worked. Questions carefully designed as cross-checks on each other had produced closely comparable results. From column after column of IBM figures clear patterns of Negro attitudes emerged. At the end, no one was more excited by the results of the poll than analyst Harris himself. "It is as though we were able," he said, "to photograph at split-second intervals an earthquake as it was taking place."

# Definitions of Discrimination

To most white Americans—even to many who practice it—discrimination is just a word. But to the Negro in America it is a fact of life—the central fact. And discrimination is what the Revolution of 1963 is all about.

Question 25e in the Newsweek Poll sought to determine the nature of discrimination as the Negro sees it: "During your whole lifetime, as far as you personally are concerned, if you had to name one thing, how has discrimination affected you the most?"

The answers came in a torrent of personal, poignant, and explicit recollection.

Discrimination starts young. "As a kid I hated myself because I was black," said Richard Macon of Detroit, "because black to me meant the other side of the tracks, third-class citizenship, [taking] the brunt of the jokes." One doctor recalled: "I had to walk 5 miles to school. I passed three white schools on the way to this broken-down school."

Discrimination marches off to war. "In military service," said Charlie Jones of Chicago, "I had whites spit at me and scream 'Nigger.' I was headed overseas, and the thought of fighting and possibly dying for nothing made me feel that I was fighting without a cause."

Discrimination is served up at mealtime. It "sears you and burns you," said Mrs. Ruth M. Batson of Roxbury, Mass. "When I was 10 years old, I went to buy lunch at a restaurant in Boston, and they served me raw hot dogs. I will never, never forget that humiliation, of paying for those raw frankfurters."

**I Didn't Do It:** Discrimination encompasses. It is "the feeling of being choked," said one of its 422,000 Harlem victims. And discrimination doesn't discriminate. "It feels like being punished for something you didn't do," said a railroad yardman in New Orleans.

Discrimination is not an easy thing to measure statistically. The Newsweek Poll found, for example, that 12 per cent of Negroes are unemployed (more than twice the white unemployment rate)—and some of them have been out of work since 1932. But how much of this can be traced to discrimination, direct or indirect? Of those who do have jobs, one in three works in some such low-echelon category as unskilled labor or domestic service. But is this because of outright discrimination by employers or labor unions—or does it reflect the more deep-seated results of discrimination in schools? The statistics cannot say precisely, but they *can* report how the Negro feels about the matter.

At the top of the Negro almanac of blame stands white business, charged with salary discrimination; only one Negro in three feels he would get equal pay for equal work performed. Next, Negroes single out real-estate companies for restricting housing and for charging them higher rents. More than half of U.S. Negroes (68 per cent in the North) feel they would pay higher rents than whites for the same housing. Negroes put major blame on state and local governments for denying them public jobs. One Negro in ten blames unions for keeping them out of skilled jobs, especially in the building trades and in the North.

**'We Want In':** "Break the unions," says one Northern Negro. "Convince them to accept apprentices regardless of race. Even our skilled tradesmen are excluded from the better jobs because they are not union members."

Traditionally, minorities in America have recognized education as the ladder to equality, and the Negro is no exception. A whopping 97 per cent want their children to complete high school, but the realities of discrimination have intervened. The Newsweek Poll found one out of five Negro families had a child drop out of high school—one out of three drops out for financial reasons. Almost half (47 per cent) of U.S. Negroes feel that even without dropouts, their children are not getting as good an education as whites. Only a third (35 per cent) think their children get an equally good education. In the South, 59 per cent of the Negroes think their children get an inferior education, and only one-fourth think their kids are getting as good an education as whites. One Southern Negro mother summed up: "When a white child comes home from school he carries four or five books, but the Negro has only one notebook and maybe a TV Guide."

One of the most telling hallmarks of discrimination is its tendency to feed on itself. The person most discriminated against has the worst-paying job and therefore the least money and therefore the poorest housing and the least chance to get the education required to climb the ladder out of the ghetto into the better jobs. Discrimination breeds despair—and nowhere is this more dramatic than in the answers to Question 29d: "If the United States got into a war today, would you personally feel this country was worth fighting for, or not?"

Most Americans shared Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's incredulity when author James Baldwin told him in May that some Negroes would not fight for the U.S. Baldwin overstated his case, but he knew what he was talking about.

Associated Press

**'Man is not non-violent . . .**

One out of five Negroes says he wouldn't fight or is not sure he would.

Nine per cent stated flatly, and often bitterly, that the U.S. is not worth fighting for (more in the low-income North, but even among the educated leadership, 5 per cent said they would not fight). "There's no stripe in the flag for a Negro," said an unemployed man in Wichita. "If he fights for his country he should have a stripe."

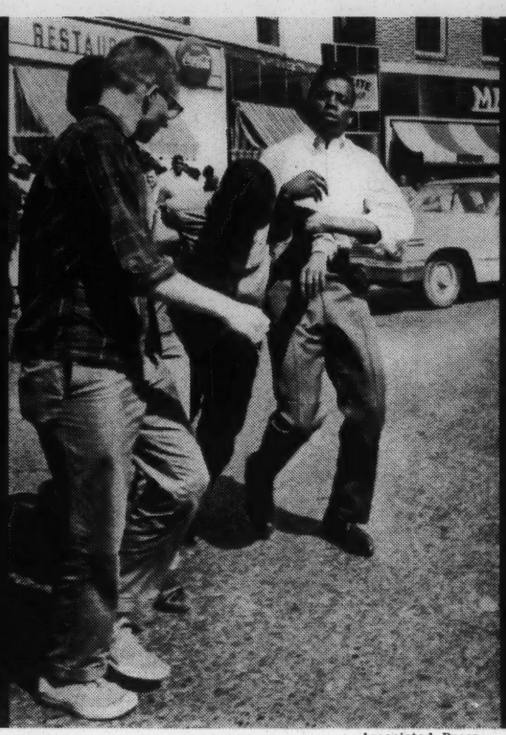
But despite all this deep-seated bitterness, despite the all-pervasive feeling of discrimination, nowhere was the Negro voice more eloquent than in expressing his love for America and his willingness (81 per cent) to fight for his country:

▶"I guess white people wouldn't fight if they were us, but we love America. It's our country, too . . . We love it."—Frances Rembert of Detroit.

▶"In '44, I took the oath with my mouth. In '54 I took it with my heart, because the armed forces had been integrated and I was no longer a colored lieutenant, but a lieutenant in the U.S. Army."—Dr. Byron Briscoe of Oklahoma City.

And despite "White Only," signs, despite the raw hot dogs, despite the ghetto life, Negroes choose America 4 to 1 over any other country as the place where Negroes and other minorities get the fairest break. Twenty-one per cent picked America, and the next closest were France (5 per cent), England (3 per cent), and Africa (2 per cent). No other country got as much as 1 per cent—and only 5 per cent bought the Communist claim that there is no discrimination in the Soviet world.

Fred Blackwell—Jackson Daily News



Associated Press

Jack Thornell—Jackson Daily News

. . . the world's all right. It's just the people in it make it so bad'

# Complete Equality, Nothing Less

*My mother bore me in the southern wild,*
*And I am black, but O, my soul is white!*
—William Blake 1789

For far too long, the American Negro is convinced, he has been the underprivileged urchin with his nose pressed to the window, longing for the goodies inside. What he wants now is to open the door firmly, walk confidently inside, and partake of them himself.

This is the real nature of the Negro revolution, expressed in terms of what he hopes to gain from his struggle in the streets and in the courts. The NEWSWEEK Poll clearly shows that he does not want to take anything away from the whites. He doesn't want the white man's job, or his home, or his school. And it isn't just that he wants a *better* job, a *better* home, or a *better* school. What he really wants is to *join* with his white brethren in the good things of life. What he wants, in short, is real integration with the vast mass of middle-class America—not just legally but in the everyday mode of his life.

But there is no mistaking that, to the Negro, joining the whites means literally that. Sixty-six per cent of all Negroes, and that is more than 13 million of them, say that if they could live anywhere they want, they would prefer to live in mixed neighborhoods with whites. The figure is even higher—75 per cent—among lower-income Negroes who are now the most segregated.

Moreover, 42 per cent of all Negroes living in the South say that they would now rather live in the North. Since this means some 5 million Negroes, it is quite clear that the cities and suburbs of the North would be overrun should such a migration take place.

**'Mean and Hard':** The voices of the Negroes when they talk about integrated living are strong and clear. True, there is a minority who have no desire to move into white neighborhoods simply because they are more accustomed to their own race. "I wouldn't know how to act in a white neighborhood," says William Thornton of Dallas. "I like to be around my own people. I'm used to them," says Willie B. Ellison of Oklahoma City. Some Negroes also seem to fear the consequences of moving in with whites. "They probably would burn down my house if I lived around whites," says a Mississippi schoolteacher. "White younguns are so mean and hard to get along with," adds Grady G. Stowe of Selma, N.C.

But there are far more who want to move to White Town. Among these some—curiously—turn on their own race. "Some of our colored people are terrible," says a Chicago housewife, "the way they live, their mouths, their actions." "Living in an all-Negro neighborhood, it is dirty," says the wife of a postal clerk in Illinois. And more bluntly: "I don't like niggers!" says Lucy Howell of Memphis. But by far the most Negroes want to live with whites simply because this, to them, is what integration is all about—coming together and getting to know each other. On the lower end of the economic scale, this feeling is expressed in earthy terms. "If they get to know us," says Esther Simpson of Mount Vernon, N.Y., "they'd find out we don't all carry knives and are just as good as they. In fact, I know some I feel I am better than they are." One Midwestern Negro says: "We want to show whites we are not inhuman."

At the higher end of the scale, the response becomes less emotional. "I think I am intelligent enough to be able to communicate with any of them," says Mrs. Samuel M. Hill, a housewife from Wichita. "This is one of our largest problems." Carmen McGill, a social worker in New York City, shares this view: "I feel there is no sense in segregating ourselves when we are seeking for integration."

**The Open Door:** Just as the majority favor mixed living with whites, so do they favor working with whites and sending their children to mixed schools. A hefty 75 per cent would prefer to work alongside whites at their jobs, and this figure rises to 88 per cent among middle- and upper-income Negroes of the North. Similarly, 71 per cent say they would like to have their children go to school with white children.

When it comes to the vital matter of jobs, the great cry of the Negro is for

Henri Cartier-Bresson—Magnum Ted Williams

**'If they get to know us they'd find out we don't all carry knives and are just as good as they are . . .**

equal opportunity, for he knows full well that in many cases he is denied a job or kept in a servile position because of his color. "I ain't got no job and can't find one," says Joe Lee of Jackson, Miss. "I get one and they lay me off to have a white." A Midwestern laborer says: "A Negro has to dig the holes while the white man lays the bricks."

Some Negroes also recognize that, because of their long subjugation, many may not yet be ready for better jobs, or able to deliver if they finally land one. "The Negro has failed on his part to be qualified for promotion," says a businessman from Louisville, Ky., bluntly. "Once you are accepted," says Jesse Hawkins of Houston, Texas, "you have to prove you are capable of following through on what you demanded."

Even so, the NEWSWEEK Poll shows that Negroes aspire to almost unrealistic heights. Fully 30 per cent of the rank and file think they are qualified to rise to the professions or white-collar business, which is considerably more than the national average of 24 per cent in these categories. Twenty-eight per cent of rank-and-file Negroes think they are qualified to become skilled laborers (10 per cent already are).

**School Bus:** While 71 per cent of Negroes would like to see mixed schooling, not that many are sure they would want to have their children picked up by bus and transported to a white school, if that were necessary. Only 51 per cent favor bus pickup, while 30 per cent think this process would be too much of a hardship on their children. Not many Negroes, however, have any real doubt that their educational facilities, their teachers, and even their textbooks are often inferior to those in the schools where white children go.

These are some typical comments on inequality in the schools:

▶"The schools are overcrowded and they have two and three shifts—our children can't get as good an education as white children"—Lucia Jones of New York City.

▶"Some of the Negro teachers are not trained properly. The young girls today go into teaching because they are in demand and are guaranteed a job"—John H. Smith of Chicago.

▶"Children that come around me, there is something wrong. Their English is so terrible"—A pensioner from Chicago.

There can be little doubt that mass communication and mobility have to a very great extent whetted the appetite of the Negro for the good things of life—the modern kitchen the Negro housewife sees on TV or the pleasant white suburb the family spots while out driving. Among low-income Negroes of the North, for example, 80 per cent own television sets while only 31 per cent have a bathtub, and only 21 per cent have central heating. These same ratios hold true very largely for the poorer, farming-class Negro of the South. And over-all, 92 per cent of Negroes own TV sets.

Additionally, 61 per cent of them own cars. The low-income Northern Negro fares worst in car ownership with 38 per cent, but the rural Southern Negro can boast of 62 per cent ownership, and among middle- and upper-income Negroes of the South the figure rises to 94 per cent.

While the Negro has his eye firmly

## In the Bull's Eye: Housing

| | Rank and File | Non-South | South | 100 Leaders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **In living in a neighborhood, if you could find the housing you want and like, would you rather live in a neighborhood with Negroes, or in a neighborhood that had both whites and Negroes?** | | | | |
| Negro neighborhood | 20 | 11 | 27 | 6 |
| Mixed neighborhood | 64 | 75 | 55 | 86 |
| Not sure | 16 | 14 | 18 | 8 |

Newsweek—Bob Mitchell

**. . . our day will come'**

fixed on the larger goals of integration, he also is greatly concerned with everyday wants. Today most Negroes have running water (93 per cent) and electricity (99 per cent). Sixty-two per cent also have clothes washers of some kind. But among rank-and-file Negroes, only 14 per cent have a clothes drier and only 5 per cent a dishwasher. And they make it plain they want these, too—the comforts of an affluent society.

**Clean Up, Paint Up:** In fact, responding to a question of what improvement they would make in their living accommodations, most Negroes say that they simply want what they now lack. Among the lower-income groups, that may be more room if their quarters are now cramped, redecorating, fresh paint, another appliance. "I'd paint the walls and wash up everything, including myself," says William Turner of Chicago. Since they have most of the basic necessities, the wants of the upper-income groups get a bit fancier. Some told the NEWSWEEK Poll they wanted central air conditioning, and one said he would like a patio and a swimming pool. Rich or poor, however, the overwhelming majority of Negroes (85 per cent) say that if they had their choice of any kind of living quarters, they would prefer a private home.

Of such things is the Negro revolution made. For the Negro feels that nothing should be denied him—not homes, not jobs, not schools, not anything else—simply because of the color of his skin. He feels that if you strip away his black skin, underneath, in reality, his soul is the same as the white man's.

# Four Faces Out of 19 Million

FORTY-SEVENTH Street, just west of Cottage Grove on Chicago's South Side, is the heart of one of the largest black ghettos in the whole U.S. Some 80,000 Negroes live there in raucous noise and rotting filth, in teeming misery and grinding poverty. At the corner of 47th and Langley, a dingy record shop blares nonstop jazz. Down the street is a shoe repair shop, but everybody knows the back room is a bookie joint.

By day, 47th Street swarms with kids in tattered cotton trousers and grimy T-shirts. They play on the side streets under the porches of the tumbledown shacks or in the gaping doorways of the ancient tenements, where the broken windows are stuffed with rags and newspapers. By night, 47th Street is a grown-up world—tired old men leaning against the parking meters talking idly of nothing, younger men and women heading for the gaudy, neon-bright bars, where a prostitute can be picked up for $4. (A few blocks farther west the neighborhood gets a bit better, and the price is $5.)

Life is mean and hard in the Negro slum, yet it is home to James Wright, 43. It is, in fact, almost the only home he has ever known.

A slight, sinewy man, Wright has a thin mustache and a gold tooth that shines when he smiles. He doesn't smile often. For Wright is a bitter man—bitter at his lot and bitter at his race.

"The hell of it is," he cries out, "this could be a great world and a great city. Chicago is a great city, but it's blighted and cancerous. And the Negro is helping to kill it. They misuse freedom. They think getting drunk and having a good time is freedom."

**On the Side:** Wright's own share of the world at the moment is a dingy little barbecue shop on 47th Street where he serves up spareribs and sausages—with a side of cole slaw—to a thin trickle of take-out customers. One evening last week, when business was slow, Wright poked at the charcoal coals glowing in the grill that fills the front window of his store and told a visitor of his life as a slum dweller.

"I was born to a man named James Julius Caesar Wright," he said slowly and rather dubiously, "but they always said I favored Will Turner." He doesn't remember either man, and has only the most fleeting—and not very pleasant—memories of his mother. In 1928, when Wright was 8 years old, he was sent to live with his mother's parents in Des Moines and he stayed there, through the terrible first years of the depression. "We used to make many a meal off the city dump," he recalls.

When he was 14, Wright ran away, back to the slum and his mother in Chicago. "My only ambition," he says, "was to be good and stay with my mother, while everybody else was stealing milk bottles and snatching purses." It was no go. His mother had been a

Newsweek—Jeff Lowenthal

**Slum dweller Wright (with Rodney): 'This could be a great world'**

domestic, but Wright remembers: "Then she met a young man and he taught her how to sell whisky and run a good-time house." Like so many thousands of Negro youths before and since, Wright, who had progressed to the first year in Chicago's Wilson Junior College, quit school and struck out on his own.

**A Thief Am I:** Wright soon learned to steal from his employer. It began when he was working for $10 a week at a liquor store and paying $3.50 of that for a room for himself and his wife—the first of four he was to marry, not always with the benefit of divorce.

Wright frankly stole to live better—"like a king," as he puts it now—but he eventually got caught and had to make restitution to escape the police.

"I was just cocky enough not to realize what I had done," he says. "Everybody encouraged me to do wrong. I had no compunctions about stealing, so I thought I'd go to work for the telephone company and steal some of their nickels." But his reputation had followed him. The telephone company wouldn't hire him and neither would the electric company, the bus company, or other liquor stores. Wright hasn't stolen since. Instead he has tried to make a living on his own—with a motorcycle and sidecar, as a hot-dog peddler on the streets, then with a barbecue shop on 63rd Street, another pulsating artery of the ghetto, and finally with the shop he opened on 47th Street this month.

Wiping his hands on his apron, Wright drifts to the back of his store, pleased that he has cleared a few dollars on the day's business. "I'd like to move up to Evanston [a pleasant northern suburb of Chicago]," he says, waving his hand at his squalid living quarters. "It's quiet up there. I like that. But moving out of here is just turning your back on it. I'd rather just stay here and fight."

**Let Them Die:** Yet Wright seems to sense that even at 43 he is part of a generation that may be lost beyond redemption. "The sooner the old crop dies off the better," he says. "The kids will be better—they will be better."

Wright's greatest despair is that he no longer sees any of his former wives or the three children he fathered, and lives in his bitter world alone. "You have to have something to love," he cries, "something and someone to work for." And then, he throws his arms across his face and breaks into sobs.

A bit later, when James Wright has recovered his composure, he confides that he has found someone to love and work for in Rodney Scott, a little boy who lives across the street in a rundown tenement with six other kids and a father who doesn't work. Rodney is 9 and in the second grade, but he can just print his name and knows only the simplest words. It has become Wright's self-appointed mission to teach him to read.

This evening, pinch-faced little Rodney, clad in faded gray overalls and a soiled blue and yellow shirt, comes into the barbecue shop, lured by the glass of milk that Wright offers him if he will study. Wright sits him down at the kitchen table and asks: "What was that big word I taught you yesterday?"

Rodney, rubbing his finger in his collar, doesn't remember.

"It began with an S," Wright prompts. "S-s-s-s-s-segregation. Now what does it mean?"

Rodney tugs at the laces of his tattered sneakers and giggles.

"Segregation?" the little boy ventures. "Is it like a parade?"

FROM the grim slums of Chicago to the steep foothills of the Piedmont of South Carolina is roughly 680 miles by air and at least several light years in the life-mode of the Negro. There the Southern sharecropper scratches out a bare subsistence from the undernourished loam of gray sand and hostile red clay. In this peaceful rural setting, segregation touches the sharecropper very little or not at all, except perhaps when he goes to town and can't eat in a restaurant. Yet, as James Wright is chained to the slum, so is tenant farmer D. Frank Cobb, 54, chained to the soil, and longing wistfully for a better life.

Newsweek—Doug Mauldin

**Cobb: 'Land of my own'**

Cobb is a dark Negro, gnarled from a lifetime of hacking a hoe against the stubborn soil or wrestling a plow behind a mule. He tills 12 acres of land in Oconee County. His home, with its narrow wooden steps and rickety handrail, stands drably on pillars of flat stones, thinly shaded from the burning summer sun by a lone chinaberry tree.

Cobb toils in his fields from dawn to after dusk, yet he also reads a daily newspaper and keeps up with the continuing struggle of his race to escape from segregation. Without a trace of rancor he says: "The reason they are demonstrating is they see the white man ride by in his fine cars and they want some of that, too. The white man has got all the money and he keeps the Negro pushed down."

**Swatting Flies:** A visitor to Cobb's home is shown politely—and a bit self-consciously—into the living room, where strips of flowered wallpaper are tacked to the walls and sunlight pierces through holes in the ceiling. In faded overalls, bare feet thrust into weatherbeaten shoes, Cobb sits stiffly on a sheet-covered sofa and slaps at flies with a homemade swatter fashioned from a stick and a piece of wire screening. He tells you that not too long ago he was pretty discouraged with farming, but that he has bucked up lately.

"I feel better than I did about it," he says in his slow, deliberate speech. "If I can raise my stock, I can make it. But I'd quit if I could get a better-paying job."

Cobb raises enough tomatoes, okra, beans, squash, and corn to feed himself and his wife in season and to store in a freezer bought from Sears Roebuck and Co. on time, against the winter. Wheat he swaps at a local mill for flour, and his sixteen hogs and 30 chickens supply meat and eggs. As rent he pays half of the field crops he harvests, and to bring in a little money he takes odd jobs. But Cobb laments that the things he must buy are so much dearer now than they used to be when he and fifteen brothers and sisters grew up on the tenant farm of his father nearby. "It wasn't so awfully bad then," he says. "You could take 50 cents and get you half a side of hog, nearly."

**Oh, for a TV:** The Cobbs have no central heating, no running water, no inside toilet, and their only entertainment comes from a six-tube, table-model radio. They would dearly love a television set. Cobb's pleasant, smiling wife Eunice insists that she doesn't mind cooking on her cumbersome Home Comfort-brand wood stove. She likes it, in fact, "because it makes the food taste better." But from the kitchen she volunteers: "Us colored folks like conveniences as much as anybody."

Cobb, who went to a log-cabin school but had to quit in the fourth grade when his father died, feels strongly that Negro youth must have an education and a chance for a better life. He and his wife saw to it that their only child—an adopted son—went through high school. He went on to college and is now a schoolteacher at Batesburg, S.C. "You can't hardly walk down the

road now without a high-school education," Cobb says.

As for himself, Frank Cobb still clings to a long-held flickering hope so many Negroes share: a place of his own. "If I just had me about 15 acres of land of my own and a house on it, I'd be doing all right," he says. "As long as I could call it mine, I'd be doing all right."

Yet, deep in his heart, Cobb knows—or at least suspects—that it is only a dream. Shuffling out to his porch, with its gaping cracks between the floorboards and two old automobile seats serving as makeshift sofas, Cobb peers out at the land.

"If I don't make it here," he says simply, "I don't make it."

THE hot mid-afternoon sun filters through the starched white curtains of the stuffy living room and throws into sharp relief the slender figure of Cornet Tyiska, a 46-year-old Los Angeles Negro. Tyiska runs a trash-collection business of his own, and that moves him up several rungs on the economic ladder from the sharecropper and the slum dweller. In a good week, with his 1946 Chevy truck, he can make as much as $125, and his wife takes in another $90 or so with the small beauty shop she runs in their home. Tyiska does not seem too concerned about civil rights, and besides, Los Angeles is a far-away place where the drums of racial strife seem dim and distant.

"Being frank, I don't think I'd get out there and mix around with demonstrations and such," Tyiska tells a visitor, speaking softly between badly spaced teeth. As he views the struggle, "all they need to have is a meeting and they'll come to some kind of agreement."

"Way I see it," Tyiska goes on to say, "the government—the President and his brother and so forth—oughta sit down and work out all these problems without all that fighting. I don't go for sicking dogs on people and kicking colored folks. There's a better way to settle things, like you and me, we is talking now. That's the way to solve problems."

But while Tyiska sees himself largely divorced from the struggle, he is able to sympathize with the aspirations of his fellow Negroes battling discrimination in the South, and to make those aspirations his own.

**He's All Wrong:** "Down South, things look a bit bad," he says. "You can't blame them for wanting schooling. I think it's right to want to vote and get education. That Governor Wallace is wrong. I saw him on TV, and the things he was saying was wrong. That's no way for a governor to act. You got to give them people down there a chance to improve."

Tyiska lives about 6 miles south of

Newsweek—Bob Grosh

**Trashman Tyiska: 'Rough on jobs'**

downtown Los Angeles on busy four-lane Normandie Avenue. He bought his three-bedroom home about two and a half years ago for $14,500, with $10,500 of that still owed on the mortgage. And though the house is faded and worn, it is clean and marked with hard-won comforts—plenty of furniture, an upright piano by the living-room door, a TV set in the corner. Tyiska's son, Cozayne, 16 (he also has a daughter, Veronica, 14), plays the piano, and his father says with a proud wide grin: "He been playing piano since he was 7 years old and he's good. Every time he walks by that thing he just has to touch a note."

**A Certain Expertise:** Tyiska, who moved to California from Overton, Texas, in 1941, never got beyond the eighth grade, but to survive in business he has picked up a certain expertise in the ways of his trade. "I got to know how to bid," he explains. "You know, hauling rubbish you got to figure gasoline and dumping costs into the price, but you can't go overboard."

Tyiska professes to find little segregation in Los Angeles and none at all in the restaurants he can afford to patronize. A grieved voice floats from the kitchen, where his attractive wife, Elease, is preparing a supper of liver, corn bread, candied yams, and salad. "I don't ever get to go out," she calls. "We're always eating at home."

Yet, safe in their little home, the Tyiskas can be touched by the blight on their race, even if the effects are indirect.

"Around here, it's a little rough on jobs," Tyiska says of his adopted hometown. "There's signs out all over, but my brother-in-law went out to this tire factory today and they gave him an application, but he saw only white races and Spanish people working."

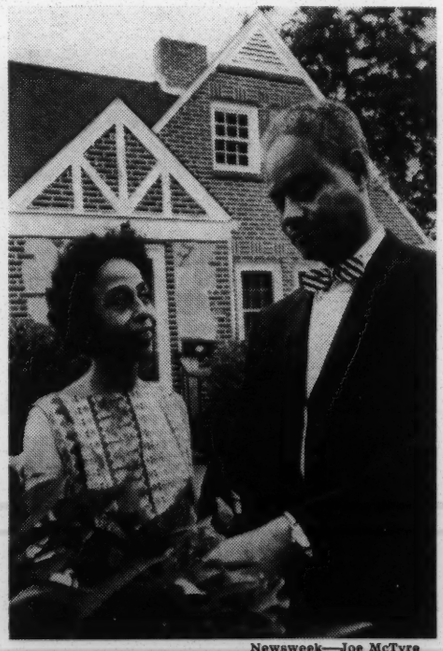
Just then the phone rings and Elease answers it. It's a call from another relative, asking about her brother.

"No," she says, "he didn't get the job."

CHARLES D. SAXON SR. is an erect, handsome, distinguished-looking man with curly salt-and-pepper hair and just the faintest touch of gray beginning to creep into his neat mustache. At 50 he is the father of three lively, sports-minded sons, a 22-year employe of the Atlanta Post Office, and an enterprising building contractor on the side. With a family income after taxes of $9,300 a year, Saxon falls into the upper-middle-income group of his race. Except for the color of his skin and his segregated home, he begins to touch the life enjoyed by the vast bulk of U.S. whites.

"We have imitated you very well," Saxon tells a white visitor with a twinkle in his eye.

Indeed he has. Saxon's comfortable six-room bungalow in the southwest section of Atlanta was built for him in 1945 and paid off within 36 months. His lawn is sparkling, freshly mowed Bermuda grass, pleasantly dotted with shrubs and trees, and in the driveway sits a 1962 bronze Chevrolet Bel Air, as shiny as the day it was bought. Inside, Saxon's home is bright and immaculate and filled with handsome furniture—end tables with tooled leather tops, comfortable armchairs and tasteful occasional pieces. On either side of the living-room mantel are built-in bookshelves holding the 5-foot shelf of Harvard Classics. A well-thumbed set of the World Book Encyclopedia is in a hall bookcase. A



Newsweek—Joe McTyre

**The Saxons: 'I had higher goals'**



PAGINATION INCORRECT

Magnavox record player is stacked with jazz albums, for one of Saxon's enthusiasms is music. "You talk about an Ellington fan," he says, "man, I'm the most Ellington fan there is. Ellington, Count Basie, Les Brown, Harry James—I'm just a big-band man."

**Private Enterprise:** Although he needs the help of his wife, Marie, who teaches third grade, to reach his ample income, Saxon has other irons in the fire. In 1957 he went into contracting and built his first house, a concrete-block affair which he still owns and rents out, though he says the rent is hardly enough to repay his outlay. Since then he has built half a dozen houses, most of them on contract from buyers, and just recently, with a partner, an eight-unit brick apartment building. He and his partner are retaining ownership of the building, and in a very real sense it is Saxon's hedge against the uncertainties of the future.

Right now, for Saxon, the future looks rosy, though he is disturbed at times by the thought that if it were not for the color of his skin, he might have made it bigger. "I think I had higher goals in life than what I achieved," he says. "I'd like to be a big builder. If the real-estate market in Atlanta was as good as it was a few years ago, I know exactly where I'd be."

Saxon also has a nagging feeling that his progress could have been better at the post office, where he is a window clerk with a GS-4 government rating. "There is definite discrimination in promotion there," he says. But with his long seniority at the post office, he gets along very well with his white coworkers, even joshes with them about the problems of race: "Sometimes I tell them, 'Man, what you need is to get yourself a Supreme Court.' We have a good laugh."

**Sports Bugs:** Saxon came to Atlanta from Brunswick, Ga., when he was 21 years old with $10 in his pocket. At Brunswick High he had played end on the football team and this left him with an abiding love for sports which he has imparted to his sons. The eldest, Charles Jr., 21, a junior at Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, N.C., is a tennis bug, and Robert, 19, a sophomore at the same school, was quarterback of his Atlanta high-school team. The youngest, Eric, 13, is showing promise as a basketball player.

Saxon makes it plain that in the upward struggle of his race he intends to rely on himself more than on anyone else. "I tell my white friends: 'You expect me to know more than you with less education, to survive with fewer political rights, to live better with less economic opportunity.' That's not the specification for an inferior man. That's the specification for a superior man."

## The Nature of the Revolution

REVOLUTION is always untidy, and so it is with this one. No one leader or council directs the Negro's fight for equality; chance, as much as anything, determines the site of the next skirmish.

But what the Negro lacks in a Grand Design for Equality he makes up in fervor and zeal and dedication. In their cause the Negroes stand united. Their passivity has ended. In their hearts they believe their moment has arrived. The emotion of millions was expressed by Miss Betty Ann Wilson of West Palm Beach: "All Negroes are tired of waiting for the white man to get ready to give him something that is his."

By its nature, this is a rebellion of both young and old. All have joined together to take the first step of any successful revolution—to dare to challenge the old order.

In intent, it is a peaceful revolution. It began with passive resistance and—so the Negroes hope—will end in victory through non-violence. But nobody yet knows whether great violence can be avoided. For although the Negro is fighting to preserve, rather than overthrow, the existing government and Constitution, he is nevertheless employing all the classic weapons of revolution—petitions, appeals to reason and justice, protest meetings, ultimatums, mass demonstrations, and, where he has had no choice, violence.

**The Churches' Role:** The foundation of the Negro's peaceable intentions rests on his own religious tradition (96 per cent of all surveyed professed a religion) and the revolutionary role of his own churches. In his present troubles the church has been tactical headquarters and sanctuary. Even in the South the police rarely interfere with the Negro's right of assembly so long as he is in church. What he has heard in church about the brotherhood of man and the justice of his struggle, plus what he has heard outside the church from racists, have given him a deep conviction in the moral rightness of ending discrimination. For Negroes this is a holy war, in which all are joined. Miss Ora Bradley of Jackson, Miss., put it simply: "When you got your hand in God's hand, you got to help each other."

The churches, say six of every ten Negroes, have borne the burden of the fight thus far. "My minister is a great race fighter," said Henry Butler, a waiter in Augusta, Ga. Of her pastor in Philadelphia, Mrs. Edna Mae Murchinson said: "He's a good preacher man. He gives us a lot of wisdom. Now he tells us to get ready because our day will come." From their ministers the Negroes borrow strength, courage, and principle. "The preacher is scared just like the other people are," said a sawmill worker in Mississippi. Givens Bryant, a San Diego truck driver, said: "They teach us not to hate in spite of our problems."

**On the Firing Line:** With this conviction that God marches with them, Negroes all over the nation have followed their ministers out of the churches and into the streets to employ the most visible of their revolutionary weapons—demonstration. The sit-in, the pray-in, the picketing, and the jailings have caught the imagination of Negroes from Charleston, S.C., to Cambridge, Md., to Los Angeles, Calif. The statistics tell the story: as of now, 40 per cent of Negroes say they have already taken part in a sit-in, marched in a mass protest, or picketed a store. The Negro leadership has been even more intensely involved. Of every ten Negro leaders interviewed,

Herb Snitzer

'Being a Negro has been dangerous to start with . . .

four reported that they have taken part in a sit-in, five have picketed a store, six have marched in a demonstration, and two have gone to jail in behalf of the cause.

Have the demonstrations been effective? Some 80 per cent of American Negroes are sure they have. "The demonstrations have done more than anything else to win rights for us," said Mrs. Mary B. Reddon, a Washington, D.C., housewife. "Some of the white leaders wouldn't even consider sitting down with Negroes to discuss the situation before the demonstrations."

**The Spur:** The questions on the effectiveness of demonstrations produced a flood of opinion ranging from glee at the white man's discomfort to sober comment on the impact abroad. "Got the white folks shaking," said William Turner, an unemployed Chicagoan. "It showed those whites we ain't gonna take that stuff no more," said Mrs. Doretha Aldridge, a Philadelphia housewife. "It shut Faubus's mouth," said Mrs. C.E. Martin, a Houston religion educator. "It has awakened many white and Negro people to the moral degeneracy of apathy, it has opened many public accommodations, and it has instilled militancy among Negroes," said Thomas Burrell, a Chicago advertising copywriter. "The demonstrations have just about upset the whole world," said Albert W. Robinson, a St. Louis house painter. "They have let the white man know we want our rights."

Among a minority of Negroes, some doubt lingers about the wisdom of demonstrating. "Just got a lot of people jail records," said Mrs. Roy Houston, a St. Louis housewife. "I don't see where they have done anything yet," said Odell Mathieu, a Chicago laundry worker in his 60s. "I'm an old man, and you see, when I was down South, they didn't think about all that mess. We had to get off the sidewalk for the white man. We were scared in them days. It's these young teen-agers raising all the hell."

While the demonstrations have grabbed the headlines, the Negro has also been fighting his battle for equality with another powerful but less visible weapon—the boycott. The NEWSWEEK Poll showed that one Negro in four—perhaps 5 million in all—has already boycotted stores and products because of reports that a company was discriminating. "We hear about it in church," said a Philadelphia lawyer. "And wherever the boycott goes into effect, I stop buying." The chief targets, according to the poll, have been Wonder bread, Bond bread, and the dime stores—Woolworth, Kress, and Grant. In the North, Negroes have also shunned Borden's dairy products; in the South, some won't buy Baird's bread, Falstaff beer, or Coca-Cola. It is economically significant that most of the boycotting has been done by the Negroes with the most money to spend. Among the Negroes' upper- and middle-income brackets, more than half say they have refused to go in a store because the owner employed no Negroes.

**Bargaining Power:** In months to come the boycott may turn out to be a blockbuster of a weapon, for there is growing evidence that Negro leaders are beginning to understand how they can use their economic power to bargain for jobs. Two-thirds of all Negroes with incomes from $5,500 up say they stand ready to boycott any company that practices discrimination.

Yet the Negro's present militant manner conceals what, in more reflective moments, he will frankly admit: he cannot win his battle for equality without white help. Not only is he reasonable, he is more or less persuaded that eventually the white man himself will comprehend the injustice of discrimination. "A person can't go on being wrong all his life," said a farm laborer in Stateburg, S.C. "After the whites have considered that we are human regardless of our color, and that we are praying to the same God, then their attitude will change," said Ezery Jones of Alexandria, La.

The leaders, in particular, understand that ultimately the Negro can get the jobs and education and rights he demands only with the help of a white Congress, a white President, and a white Supreme Court. Actually, Negroes are skeptical of Congress' ability to act. Certainly Negroes want a Federal public-accommodations law, and four in ten believe it will take such a law to get them into restaurants, movies, hotels, and motels. But only one in ten actually expects Congress to pass such legislation. "You can't count on a Congress dominated by Southerners," said a Dallas yardworker.

What they do count on is President Kennedy and the Supreme Court. Two-thirds of all Negroes give the Supreme Court credit for their biggest breakthroughs toward equality. In their words, "The Supreme Court gave us heart to fight," and, "It started the ball rolling." Negro leaders believe the courts will continue to do most to win them their rights. But among the rank and file, almost twice as many put their faith in the President as in the courts. Said Mrs. Willie Jones of Memphis: "The President will keep on protecting us Negroes and he'll send the troops."

**Danger Signs:** If neither Mr. Kennedy nor the courts can bring the Negro deliverance, then the nature of this revolution may take a new and dangerous course. For although the hope of nonviolence reaches through all ranks of Negro life, the potential for violence is sobering. The Negro is determined; the demonstrations have given him the taste of victory; and he is not frightened of what the white man may do to him. He is certain to push ahead—even if that means bloodshed.

It has been said, in Southern capitals and Northern police stations, that the

Associated Press

UPI

'. . . ten Negroes, if they are real men, can chase 50 white men in the lake'

Negroes do not realize the dangers they face in mass protests. Nothing could be further from the facts. The NEWSWEEK Poll contains irrefutable evidence that the Negro is fully aware of the risks he is taking. Three out of every four Negroes questioned said they knew that demonstrations may cause violence, bloodshed, loss of life, damage to property, riots, jail, hatred, even the murder of their own leaders. "It takes all of that to get rights," said Miami's Charlie Roe, unemployed. "Fights, shooting, but it takes that to make the world better." The very same idea was expressed by New Orleans attorney Nils Douglas. "Certainly there are dangers," said Douglas. "The demonstrators quite often flirt with riot. However, this is the price that has to be paid."

In the face of this danger the Negro attitude is a blend of stoicism and defiance. "We always have faced danger," said Ike Hall, a Detroit crane operator. "Being a Negro has been dangerous to start with. We have been beat and lynched and killed anyway." In Negro society, a visit to jail has been transformed from a mark of shame to a badge of honor. The poll shows that a full 48 per cent of all Negroes—9 million Americans—say they are willing to take part in mass protests even if, as in Birmingham, it means mass arrests and jailings. The meaning is clear: Negroes can duplicate the Birmingham pattern in every major city in the country.

**From the Slums:** The gravest threat of bloodshed today comes from the slums of big cities North and South, where one Negro in five believes he will have to use violence to win his rights. It is here, in the casbahs of Harlem and Chicago and Detroit and Memphis and scores of other cities, that the powder keg is stored. The situation is ominous: though the weight of authority and leadership is on the side of non-violence, once a Negro mob comes out of a slum, conflict and bloodshed may be unavoidable.

For all his effectiveness in mobilizing, marching, and winning some recognition, the NEWSWEEK Poll shows that the Negro has seriously neglected a free society's greatest weapon—the vote. Throughout American history, politics has been the classic method for a minority to gain recognition. The Irish and the Italians, for example, have done well in modern times; so have unions. While the Negro everywhere has been handicapped in political activity by poor education, and while he has been deliberately barred from voting in the South, the fact is that he has displayed great political apathy even where he was encouraged to enter politics. In the long struggle to come, the ballots actually cast could be the most powerful weapon of all.

## Politics: It's Kennedy 30 to 1

NO POLITICIAN and no party ever did more for anyone than Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans did for the Negroes by freeing the slaves in 1863.

But 100 years later, the Negro in America has overwhelmingly endorsed John F. Kennedy and the Democrats as Lincoln's heirs.

▶So overwhelmingly that among Negroes it's Kennedy by a thumping 30 to 1 over Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, or Barry Goldwater (chart).

▶So overwhelmingly that only four Negroes out of 100 feel the Republicans will do more than the Democrats to help Negroes in the next few years.

▶So overwhelmingly that almost one out of two Negroes (48 per cent) nominate Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower as the President who did less for Negro rights than any other President since 1932. (Three out of four—73 per cent—say Mr. Kennedy has done most.)

In short, the debate inside the GOP over how strong a stand to take on civil rights is almost academic to the Negro. In his view, the Republican Party already has become virtually a white man's party.

The short-term implications of this massive disenchantment are plain. In the 1964 election, if the trend holds, it means another 580,000 Negro votes for Mr. Kennedy. (In the 1960 election, this would have meant that instead of squeaking past Nixon by 119,000 votes, Mr. Kennedy would have won with a convincing plurality of 1,279,000 votes.)

For 1964, it will take nothing less than a miracle to change the Republican Party's image among Negroes enough to win their votes to any significant degree. The NEWSWEEK Poll asked Negroes why they felt the Republicans or the Democrats would do more to help them in the next few years. Some of their answers:

▶"Republicans are for power and money," said Laura Turpin, a 32-year-old Washington, D.C., housewife.

▶"The Democratic Party raises wages and makes it possible for everyone to live on a higher level. The Republican Party lowers wages," said Mrs. Juanita Colbert, 43, of Oklahoma City, Okla.

▶"The high aristocratic Republicans think nothing of us," said Mrs. Mary Warren, a Cincinnati, Ohio, housewife.

▶"I feel that the Republicans are for the rich and the white," said a Phoenix, Ariz., domestic.

Negro leaders are twice as Republican as the Negro rank and file, the NEWSWEEK Poll shows; one in five leaders considers himself a Republican, instead of one in ten among the rank and file. Here the Negroes closely parallel other minorities, who tend to vote Republican as they climb up the economic ladder. (One New England politician calls this the "two-bathroom syndrome"—when a poor man adds a second bathroom he changes his party affiliation from Democratic to Republican.) But any Negro leader who tries to deliver the vote to the Republicans in 1964 would likely find himself at the head of a nonexistent army—as John L. Lewis did in 1940 when he tried to take the CIO vote from Franklin D. Roosevelt. Where only 55 per cent of the Negro leaders consider themselves card-carry-

Marion Palfi

'The Republicans are for the rich and the white . . .

ing Democrats, 74 per cent of the rank and file so consider themselves, and 89 per cent of them think John F. Kennedy has done a good job as President.

Paradoxically, there are a number of dangers for both Negroes and Democrats in the almost monolithic nature of the Negro commitment.

For the Negroes, the danger is that they may lose much of their political leverage. On the one hand, the Republicans may decide that the Negro vote cannot be had, and may therefore abandon any thought of helping the cause of civil rights. On the other hand, the Democrats may be tempted to take the Negro vote so much for granted that they similarly will flag in the cause.

Herein, of course, lies the danger for the Democrats. For in the long run, American politics have proved that a vote un-wooed is a vote un-won. Voters, as the old Alben Barkley story went, keep asking: "What have you done for me lately?" If the Democrats don't deliver for the Negroes—deliver big—the Negro voter may well go elsewhere.

**'I Can't Vote':** When Negroes can't vote at all, the voices are sullen, angry, beaten. "You had to pay a white guy [in order to vote], and if you tried you were threatened," says a 29-year-old Jackson, Miss., painter. "They say I didn't pass the part about the Constitution," adds a Jackson maid. "It's no use; they don't want you to vote here," a 45-year-old Woodville, Miss., construction worker states bluntly. A Woodville tractor driver says: "I know I can't vote if I wanted to." But strangely, this anger is not directed against the people (Democrats) who prevent them from registering or voting.

In fact there is every indication that Southern Negroes are massively hopeful about their chances of persuading or forcing Democratic officials to put them on the voters' rolls in the next five years (none think they will be any worse off). Here again, Negroes are ready to integrate into regular (Democratic) political parties—61 per cent versus only 11 per cent who think Negroes should work independently, outside the regular party organizations.

Most significantly, the NEWSWEEK Poll shows that Negroes are ready to move politically, ready to break out of their traditional inaction and to influence elections importantly. Obviously meeting-oriented in connection with the fight for civil rights, one Negro in three has been to a political meeting; even in the South the ratio is one in four. One Negro in three has asked people to register to vote, and one in four has asked people to vote for one candidate over another. This is tempting arithmetic to Kennedy Democrats, for it shows that if the political torch is thrown to the Negroes, the fire will burn fiercely.

The big question for Republicans: are Southern Negroes so susceptible to a major political drive that eventually they can be won back to the GOP?

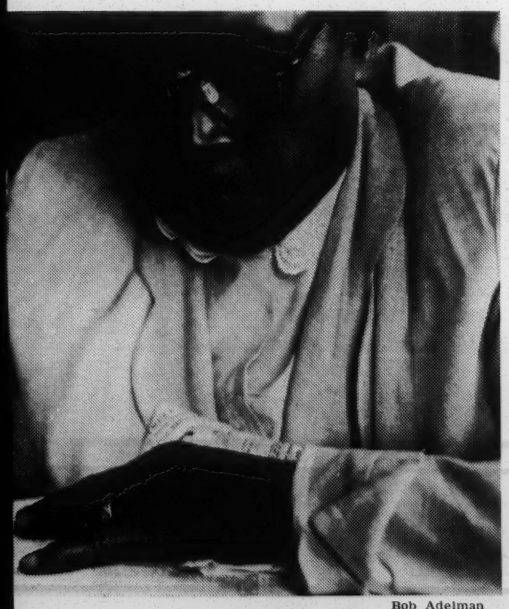
**Trouble:** For the short term, however, the GOP is in trouble—at the moment. Negroes equate their self-interest with the Democratic Party's fortunes. "If President Kennedy wins re-election next year, do you think it will help Negro rights, set them back, or not change things much one way or another?" Negroes were asked. More than seventeen out of twenty Southern Negroes (87 per cent) said Mr. Kennedy's re-election would help Negro rights, and among Southerners most likely to vote—the urban group and the middle- and upper-income groups—the proportion rose to 92 per cent and 89 per cent respectively. (Nationally, 82 per cent of the Negro rank and file thought Mr. Kennedy's re-election would help their cause.) A Kennedy defeat would specifically hurt the fight for Negro rights, according to 43 per cent of Southern Negroes, though more than one out of four (29 per cent) thought the civil-rights revolution was already rolling so fast that a Kennedy defeat would make no appreciable difference.

When the Negroes' self-interest is equated with the politics of 1963, their opinion of President Kennedy is even higher. "How would you rate the job John F. Kennedy has done as President?" asked the NEWSWEEK Poll. Eighty-nine per cent characterized it as either "excellent" (62 per cent), or "pretty good" (27 per cent). For those who fear a Kennedy dynasty, the arithmetic is equally discomforting. When the same question was asked about Robert Kennedy, 82 per cent gave the Attorney General either "excellent" (55 per cent) or "pretty good" (27 per cent), and among 100 Negro leaders, Robert Kennedy even outscored his brother, by 88 per cent to 82 per cent.

President Kennedy's popularity among Negroes places him right after the NAACP and Martin Luther King Jr. in the leadership triumvirate. This fact, more than any other today, dominates the story of the Negro in politics.

## The Negro Vote: 1960—And 1964

| | Rank and File | Non-South | South | 100 Leaders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **How would Negroes vote in the next Presidential election?** | | | | |
| Kennedy | 89 | 85 | 91 | 67 |
| Rockefeller | 3 | 4 | 3 | 20 |
| Not sure | 8 | 11 | 6 | 13 |
| Kennedy | 91 | 90 | 92 | 88 |
| Goldwater | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Not sure | 7 | 8 | 6 | 9 |
| Kennedy | 89 | 87 | 90 | 81 |
| Romney | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| Not sure | 8 | 9 | 8 | 14 |
| **How did they vote in 1960?** | | | | |
| Kennedy | 85 | 86 | 84 | 72 |
| Nixon | 11 | 10 | 12 | 28 |
| Can't recall | 4 | 4 | 4 | |
| **What is their political affiliation today?** | | | | |
| Democrat | 74 | 77 | 71 | 55 |
| Republican | 11 | 6 | 12 | 20 |
| Independent | 9 | 10 | 9 | 23 |



Bob Adelman

. . . the Democrats raises wages'

## Newsweek's 100

In selecting 100 Negro leaders to interview, NEWSWEEK followed the advice of Negroes themselves, did not merely pick front-page names. A handful were unreachable or refused to be interviewed. Those who agreed:

**Rev. Ralph Abernathy**, Atlanta minister
**T.M. Alexander**, Atlanta businessman
**Horace C. Anderson**, Palo Alto engineer
**Bernard T. Bailey**, Detroit editor
**James Baldwin**, New York author
**Claude A. Barnett**, Chicago journalist
**Mrs. Ruth M. Batson**, Boston social worker
**George Beavers**, Los Angeles businessman
**Edwin C. Berry**, Chicago, Urban League
**Rev. James L. Bevel**, Cleveland, Miss., SCLC
**M. Leo Bohanon**, St. Louis social worker
**Horace J. Bond**, Atlanta, SNCC
**Thomas Bradley**, Los Angeles attorney
**Dolores Branche**, Chicago social worker
**Wiley A. Branton**, Atlanta attorney
**Edward W. Brooke**, Mass. Attorney General
**Dr. H.H. Brookins**, Los Angeles minister
**Gwendolyn Brooks**, Chicago poetess
**Basil W. Brown**, Michigan state senator
**Willie L. Brown Jr.**, San Francisco attorney
**Ernest Calloway**, St. Louis union official
**Kenneth E. Campbell**, Chicago alderman
**David Carlisle**, Los Angeles businessman
**A.M. Carter**, Augusta, Ga., businessman
**Yolande H. Chambers**, Detroit businessman
**Dr. Kenneth Clark**, New York psychologist
**William L. Clay**, St. Louis alderman
**Albert B. Cleage Jr.**, Detroit minister
**Warren R. Cochrane**, Atlanta YMCA
**Frank Collier**, Oakland journalist
**William B. Collier Jr.**, Chicago businessman
**Dr. Daniel A. Collins**, San Francisco dentist
**Mrs. Oliver Crawford**, Chicago housewife
**Sammy Davis Jr.**, Los Angeles entertainer
**Holmes (Daddy-O) Daylie**, Chicago disk jockey
**Lloyd Dickens**, New York assemblyman
**Edward Dudley**, Manhattan Borough President
**John D. Duncan**, Washington commissioner
**Rev. Joseph H. Evans**, Chicago minister
**Joseph A. Faison**, Philadelphia businessman
**James L. Farmer**, New York, CORE director
**Rev. Walter Fauntroy**, Washington minister
**Arthur Q. Funn**, New York attorney
**Dick Gregory**, Chicago entertainer
**Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton**, Atlanta housewife
**Gladys Harrington**, New York social worker
**George S. Harris**, Chicago businessman
**Aaron Henry**, Clarksdale, Miss., pharmacist
**Rev. R.A. Hildebrand**, New York minister
**Donald Hollowell**, Atlanta attorney
**Mrs. Ruby Hurley**, Atlanta NAACP
**Rev. E.F. Jackson**, Washington, D.C., minister
**Rev. E.W. Jarrett**, Gadsden, Ala., minister
**Bernard Jefferson**, Los Angeles judge
**Mrs. Emily Johnson**, L.A. businesswoman
**John H. Johnson**, Chicago publisher
**Dr. Jack Kimburough**, San Diego dentist
**Jewel Lafontant**, Chicago attorney
**Westley W. Law**, Savannah, Ga., mailman
**Dr. T.K. Lawless**, Chicago dermatologist
**Louis Lomax**, New York author
**Dr. Benjamin E. Mays**, Atlanta educator
**Harold L. Miles**, Chicago police captain
**Billie Mills**, Los Angeles councilman
**Della Mitchell**, High Point, N.C., beautician
**Natalie Monagas**, Philadelphia musician
**Cecil B. Moore**, Philadelphia attorney
**Fred H. Moore**, Charleston, S.C., attorney
**Rev. H. Randolph Moore**, Los Angeles minister
**Allan Morrison**, New York journalist
**Dr. James Nabrit Jr.**, Washington educator
**Jesse Owens**, Chicago businessman
**James V. Paschal**, Atlanta businessman
**Matthew J. Perry**, Columbia, S.C., attorney
**Cecil F. Poole**, San Francisco, U.S. attorney
**Lincoln G. Pope Jr.**, Mass. state representative
**Jackie Robinson**, New York businessman
**George Schuyler**, New York journalist
**Harvey N. Schmidt**, Philadelphia attorney
**Cornelius Scott**, Atlanta editor
**Marshall L. Shepard**, Philadelphia councilman
**Rev. Robert L.T. Smith**, Jackson minister
**Mrs. Muriel Snowden**, Boston housewife
**Vaino Spencer**, Los Angeles judge
**Rev. A.K. Stanley**, Greensboro, N.C., minister
**Chester E. Stovall**, St. Louis welfare director
**Dempsey J. Travis**, Chicago banker
**Richard M. Walker**, Boston businessman
**Willis F. Ward**, Detroit attorney
**Dr. Clinton E. Warner**, Atlanta physician
**Bennetta Washington**, Washington educator
**James L. Watson**, New York attorney
**Rev. S. Leon Whitney**, Jackson, Miss., minister
**Roy Wilkins**, executive secretary NAACP
**Howard B. Woods**, St. Louis, Mo., editor
**Abe Woodson**, San Francisco athlete
**Malcolm X**, New York minister
**C.R. Yates**, Atlanta businessman
**Whitney Young Jr.**, New York, Urban League
**Paul Zuber**, New York attorney

# The Big Man Is Martin Luther King Jr.

"HURRY up, there go our followers," says Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League. His wry warning points to the single overriding fact that confronts every Negro leader today: the leadership is locked into a course of action by the militancy of the rank and file.

Overwhelmingly, the leaders endorse the major Negro goals—economic equality and opportunity, and complete integration. Overwhelmingly, they agree with the rank and file's means to a solution—non-violence, reliance on corrective legislation, and negotiations with the white leadership. Overwhelmingly, they concur that the need for progress is urgent. "My definition of now is yesterday," says Cecil Moore, lawyer and NAACP leader in Philadelphia.

Indeed, the leaders *have* to be in full agreement with the rank and file on all these matters; for if they weren't, the rank and file would soon find others to lead them. This is what the statistics of the NEWSWEEK Poll say loud and clear.

To get a reading on the attitudes of Negro leaders, and how the leaders are rated by their own people, the poll moved in two directions. For the first part of the answer, from a list of some 500 people nominated by Negroes across the land, 100 were selected as representative Negro leaders (list at left); these were then interviewed, with the same questionnaire used for the rank and file, by NEWSWEEK correspondents in 25 cities. For the other part of the answer, both the rank and file and the leaders were themselves asked to rate individual Negroes and civil-rights organizations as to the effectiveness of their leadership.

**The Summit:** In the Negro's eyes, one leader and one organization tower above all others in the field. The leader is the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; the organization is the NAACP.

King gets an 88 per cent favorable rating from the Negro rank and file and a 95 per cent favorable rating from the 100 leaders in NEWSWEEK's sample. There are a handful of dissenters like Atlanta student leader Horace Julian Bond, who complains that King has "sold the concept that one man will come to your town and save you." But a devoted and overwhelming majority agree with Earbie Bledsoe, a St. Louis construction foreman. "He has proved himself to be a leader of the Negro people and gives his life for the cause. There is no greater love than to fight for his brother under any conditions."

The NAACP rates a 91 per cent favorable response from rank and file and leadership alike. Both groups emphasize that this 54-year-old veteran of civil-rights leadership has proved itself over the years. As Mrs. Ruth Batson of Roxbury, Mass., states the case: "When nobody was doing anything, the NAACP was out there fighting, fighting, fighting."

What about the much-publicized Black Muslims and their leaders Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X? How much appeal is there in the impassioned Muslim plea for separatism?

The verdict: almost none.

As a matter of fact, 41 per cent of rank-and-file Negroes simply don't recognize the Muslims by name, and even many who are familiar with the name are hazy on the Muslim cause. Mrs. Edna Mae Murchinson of Philadelphia says: "I don't know nothing about them. Some people say they eat fish and grow beards."

**"Crazy":** The Black Muslims are rejected as an organization by better than 8 to 1. "They're crazy," says Mrs. Carrie Allen of Union Springs, Ala. "I don't dig them," says Gloria Burns of Washington, D.C. "They're trying to tear down what we've fought for for years," says Mrs. Esther Simpson of Mount Vernon, N.Y.

When asked specifically about the Muslim's doctrinal goal—a separatist, black-only state—a resounding 22 to 1 majority of Negroes score this as another form of segregation. Influential Chicago disk jockey and entertainer Holmes (Daddy-O) Daylie says: "I don't believe in segregation in any form by any race—if I sit down at the piano I use all the keys to get beautiful music." Only in the caldron of Northern slums do the Muslims find any backing; and even there, only 13 per cent favor them. The rest, in essence, hold with Robert Murray of Jackson, Miss., who says: "If they ain't got nothin' to give me I don't want no part of it."

After Martin Luther King and the NAACP, the popularity ratings of other Negro individuals and organizations take a dip, especially among the rank and file. The 51-year-old Urban League, for example, is rated favorably by 54 per cent of the rank and file and by 77 per cent of the leaders. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)—which was born in New York in 1942 and rose to prominence with the Freedom Rides of 1961—gets 59 per cent of the rank-and-file vote and 78 per cent of the leaders'. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC or "Snick")—which was born in 1960 out of the Greensboro, N.C., sit-in campaign—is rated favorably by only 18 per cent of the rank and

file, and 74 per cent of the leaders.

These lower ratings do not reflect opposition, however. What they signify is simply that one-third to three-quarters of the Negro rank and file are unsure of what these organizations are and what they have done. Even Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference goes unrecognized by a third of Negroes polled. Clearly the roots of the Negro revolution lie not so much in the strength of its leadership as in the consciousness of the rank and file.

Some findings on other individual Negro leaders:

▶Harlem Rep. Adam Clayton Powell got plus marks from 51 per cent of the rank and file, 52 per cent of the leaders. But some down-rate him. New York piano mover Raymond Telefair says: "When things get thick he thins out."

▶U.S. Circuit Judge Thurgood Marshall wins 64 per cent approval among the rank and file and a sky-high 94 per cent among the leaders. Basil Wilmington Brown of Highland Park, Mich., assessed him this way: "He was great because of the many, many years of legal work culminating in the segregation decision in the Supreme Court."

▶Best-selling writer James Baldwin, high priest of the Negro's anguish, gets a favorable reading from only 40 per cent of the rank and file but goes up to 67 per cent among the leaders.

▶Among Negro entertainers, it is the militant ones who get the highest marks. A relative newcomer like Chicago comedian Dick Gregory, who was conspicuously jailed during the Birmingham riots, scores higher (62 per cent favorable) than such an internationally known name as Harry Belafonte (58 per cent).

In short, it is a dictate of this social revolution that the leaders must prove themselves on the civil-rights battlefields —and the poll statistics make it clear that the leaders have won their spurs the hard way. Compared with 4 per cent of the rank and file, 21 per cent of the leadership or their families have gone to jail sometime during the fight for civil rights. Thirty-nine per cent have joined in sit-ins; 54 per cent have picketed a store; 62 per cent have marched in a demonstration; and 70 per cent have boycotted stores. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the NAACP's Southeastern regional director in Atlanta says: "There are easier ways to make a living."

All through the leadership interviews ran the common theme of urgency. "Progress shouldn't be made yesterday," said Massachusetts' Attorney General Edward W. Brooke. "You don't stop beating your wife with all deliberate speed, you stop right now," added Philadelphia Councilman-at-Large Marshall L. Shepard. Seven out of ten Negro

## Who Are the Leaders—How They Rate

| Ratings by Rank and File | | | Ratings by the Leaders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | Poor | | Favorable | Poor |
| 88 | 1 | Martin Luther King Jr. | 95 | 1 |
| 80 | 1 | Jackie Robinson | 82 | 2 |
| 79 | 1 | James Meredith | 81 | 1 |
| 78 | 1 | Medgar Evers | 92 | 1 |
| 68 | 1 | Roy Wilkins | 92 | 0 |
| 64 | * | Thurgood Marshall | 94 | 1 |
| 62 | 2 | Ralph Bunche | 87 | 2 |
| 60 | 1 | Dick Gregory | 80 | 3 |
| 56 | 3 | Harry Belafonte | 73 | 2 |
| 55 | 3 | Lena Horne | 68 | 2 |
| 53 | 3 | Floyd Patterson | 50 | 9 |
| 51 | 7 | Adam Clayton Powell | 52 | 16 |
| 40 | 1 | James Baldwin | 67 | 3 |
| 15 | 29 | Elijah Muhammad | 17 | 65 |

*Less than 1 per cent

leaders (compared with 50 per cent of the rank and file) agree that the pace is now too slow; and 42 per cent of them confess to feeling differently lately about getting personally involved in the revolt. "I used to feel that I as a minister shouldn't get involved. But when I saw these young students willingly and cheerfully going to jail I felt ashamed. Now I feel it's a disgrace not to get involved," says the 64-year-old Shepard.

**Shopping Lists:** But involved how? The leaders offer an extensive battery of specific proposals for winning the fight. "A Negro should be employed in the registrar's office and the polls kept open every day," says the Rev. E.W. Jarrett of Gadsden, Ala. "Complete unification of all civil-rights groups" is the need, according to New York lawyer Paul Zuber. "Better roles for Negroes in TV and movies," suggests Dick Gregory. "Open occupancy laws," urges New York businessman Jackie Robinson. "Congressional legislation requiring an educational-desegregation plan," is one thing the NAACP's Roy Wilkins wants. And the National Urban League's Whitney Young calls for nothing less than "a massive domestic Marshall plan giving special preferential aid to Negro citizens, the same conscious effort to include that the society historically has exhibited in exclusion."

But specific proposals will be listened to by Negroes only insofar as they fall within the clearly held consensus that civil-rights progress must be made. The magnitude of this hope and determination means that the leadership could not compromise any of the goals, even if it wanted to.

The leaders know victory will not be easy. Better off materially, they are nevertheless more aroused than the rank and file over unfair rents, and all the other hallmarks of discrimination. They invest significantly less blind faith in the omnipotence of the President or even the demonstrations to cure all these evils. Three out of four of them are sharply conscious that the demonstrations could give rise to the violence they deplore. And almost directly opposite from the rank and file, they are overwhelmingly convinced that if it came to outright race war the whites would win. But paradoxically, the leadership answers even more hopefully about the outcome of the struggle. By a 23-to-1 margin the leadership believes that a white attitude which has already gotten better will improve even more dramatically in the next few years. "I must believe it or blow my head off," says Dr. Daniel A. Collins, a California Urban League board member. And Philadelphia pianist Natalie Hinderas says: "You can suddenly see the silver lining."

## What the Negroes Think of Whites

WHAT does the Negro think of the white world around him? How does he feel about the white man? Forty questions were aimed at finding out. Chief conclusion: the Negro considers the white man his greatest burden, but the burden grows lighter every day.

At the lower end of the economic scale, he tends to be distrustful of the white man and his motives. Only one in four rank-and-file Negroes thinks the white man sincerely wants to see him get a better break. Forty-one per cent think the white man wants to keep the Negro in his place, and 17 per cent say the whites simply don't care.

On the upper levels, and among the Negro leadership group, the degree of trust rises sharply, though it is by no means an overwhelming vote of confidence. Middle- and upper-income Negroes of the North give the whites a 33 per cent favorable vote, while their counterparts in the South make it 45 per cent. The leadership group votes "favorable" by a bare majority.

**Fear Pattern:** In expressing their feelings about the white man, a good many Negroes think that he has been pushed into patterns of discrimination by fear—fear of losing his job to a Negro, fear of intermarriage, even fear of losing a servile class to wait on him.

Morris Narcisse Jr. of New Orleans said: "The poor white man especially thinks a Negro might get his job." John Fontenot of Los Angeles observed: "They think they going to get too many two-toned babies." "They're afraid they'll lose their maids," said Richard Harris, a Louisville, Ky., trackman.

Others think the white just naturally wants to feel superior. "Without the Negro, the white man has no one to look down on," said Mae Powell of Washington, D.C. "He certainly can't look down on the Jew. The Jew made an ass of him." "White men have gotten so they think they own the whole world," said Mable Ratcliff, a Brooklyn laundress. "They're not going to settle for smiles and talk, no!"

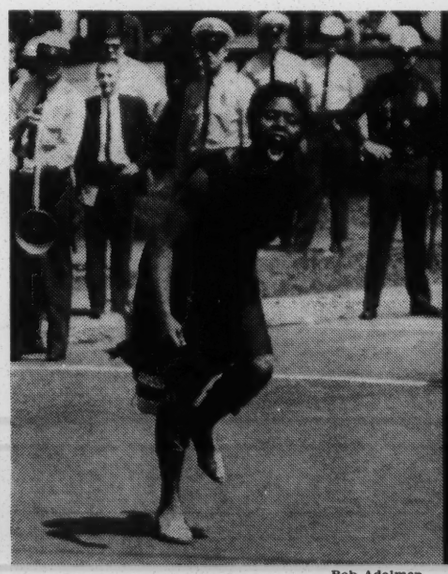
**Negro Optimism:** In spite of all this, however, the Negro is clearly optimistic about the future he wants to share with the whites. Fifty-two per cent think the white man's attitude toward the Negro has improved over the last five years and 73 per cent feel his attitude will continue to become more accommodating in the next five.

"The American white man has a conscience and the non-violent method appeals to that conscience. Nobody tolerates kicking a man when he's down. Like Medgar Evers, no one condones shooting a man in the back," was a typical response.

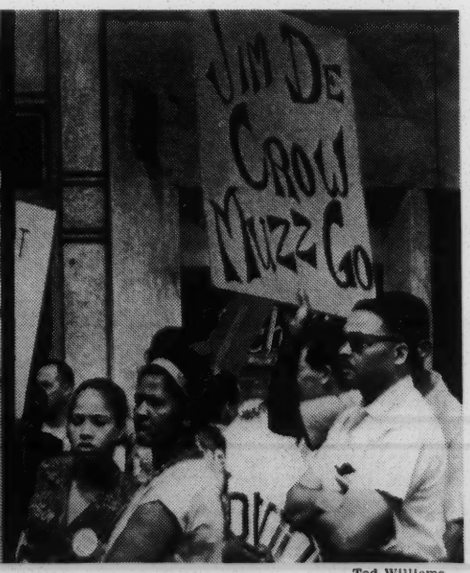
All in all, the Negro puts more trust in the white man's government and institutions than he does in the individual.

Of all whites, Roman Catholic priests, who conduct extensive and little publicized settlement work in Negro communities, are most trusted (by 55 per cent of Negroes). Contrary to supposition, Negroes think well of Jews. But the Negro himself is not free from bias. Puerto Ricans are considered harmful (by 20 per cent, with 70 per cent saying they are not sure).

The Negro is divided on white churches in general. Fifty-four per cent say they don't know whether churches



Bob Adelman




Ted Williams

'We are now not afraid . . . we have woke up'

have been helpful or not and the rest are split down the middle (23 per cent to 23 per cent). Labor unions get mixed reviews with only 38 per cent thinking they are helpful.

Negroes judge the shifting patterns of the white man's attitude in the smallest of details. Mrs. James Lowe of Washington, D.C., remembers the time when "the white man would not use a capital 'N' in Negro."

Thelma Brown of Houston, Texas, sees progress in a tin cup.

"My husband says they have one cup for kegs of water at work now—nobody thinks anything about it."

For Dorothy Hampton, a 28-year-old welfare case, there hasn't been any change at all.

"What they really feels on the inside never changes. Eventually they will wind up calling you a nigger."

Underneath the trust and hope for the future felt by the Negro leadership is a dark warning. In the low-income areas and urban slums, resentment toward the white man is deep, bitter, and potentially explosive. Six per cent of low-income Negroes outside the South feel the white man really wants to see Negroes improve themselves. The large majority of this Northern slum group (81 per cent) think the whites want to keep the Negro down or simply don't care one way or the other.

**10-to-1 Odds:** If protests and jailings do bring open conflict, the typical Negro is not only willing to fight, but he even thinks that he can buck the white man's numerical odds (10 to 1) and win.* Some are confident because "God is on our side," but most say they would win simply because Negroes are better street fighters. "I think the average Negro can handle about ten whites," said John Jones, a Bladenboro, N.C., carpenter. "Ten Negroes, if they are real men, can chase 50 white men in the lake—if they just stand up for their rights," said a Chicago housewife who lives on a pension. And a St. Louis woman handicapped the 10-to-1 bet this way: "You give a Negro a good, sharp knife and he can get you ten whites any day."

"Besides," echoed Leola Williams of West Palm Beach, Fla., "there are also nine scary whites to every Negro."

So far, the threat remains only a threat. While prepared to use violence, most Negroes (63 per cent) think the white man will come around eventually through persuasion. But an alarming number (22 per cent) today feel he will yield only to force.

"The white man is all mix up," said a 70-year-old Chicago woman living on a pension. "He'd like to do better, but he's all mix up."

*Four per cent of Negroes interviewed claimed census figures were wrong and 2 per cent said there are actually more Negroes than whites anyway.

Daniel Purefoy—Carolina Times

## Boycotts: Weapon of the Future?

| | Total | Non-South | South | 100 Leaders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Have you stopped buying in certain stores in town because they won't hire Negroes?** | | | | |
| YES | 29 | 24 | 30 | 55 |
| NO | 71 | 76 | 70 | 45 |
| **Have you stopped buying certain companies' products because you have heard they discriminate against Negroes?** | | | | |
| YES | 19 | 14 | 18 | 52 |
| NO | 81 | 86 | 82 | 48 |
| **If asked, would you do the following? (Percentage affirmative)** | | | | |
| Picket a store? | 47 | 54 | 40 | 57 |
| Stop buying at a store? | 63 | 66 | 59 | 66 |

## Dislikes: Targets of the Present

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **What two or three white leaders and organizations do you dislike the most and trust the least?** | | | | |
| Ku Klux Klan | 31 | 32 | 28 | 42 |
| (White) Citizens Council | 26 | 20 | 27 | 52 |
| Ross Barnett | 8 | 8 | 8 | 11 |
| George C. Wallace | 8 | 10 | 6 | 10 |
| Barry Goldwater | 3 | 5 | 1 | 8 |
| Orval Faubus | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| American Nazi Party | 2 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| John Birch Society | 3 | 3 | 1 | 15 |

# The Future: Not How Much—But When

As certain as the rhythm of the seasons, the Negro revolution will outlive the summer of its birth. It will not end when the leaves redden, when the cotton is baled, when night comes charitably early to hide the slums of Harlem and the South Side and Buttermilk Bottom from themselves. It will go on.

It will go on, says a New Orleans insurance executive, "for the same reason the original thirteen colonies took up arms against George III. For, like the colonies, we have beseeched. We have implored. We have supplicated. We have entreated . . . In short, we are writing our Declaration of Independence in shoe leather instead of ink."

Given his choice, the Negro would prefer ink—on bargaining agreements with whites, on court pleadings, on the ballot—and he will use it wherever he can. But the white man won't always bargain, and Negroes are losing their patience with gradualism. ("The moderates don't mind if Negroes get a better break," says Mrs. Laura Turpin of Washington, D.C., "but 25 or 30 years would be all right with them.") The courts are slow. And the power of the ballot is restricted for the Negro, nationally at least, by his own monolithic attachment to John F. Kennedy and his party. Negro leaders—unable to bargain with the GOP—can only try to roll out a massive Kennedy vote and hope for leverage by sheer weight of numbers.

So the Negro will go on fighting for his rights with his shoe leather—and with his wallet. There is an immense reservoir of support for a boycott campaign, with 62 per cent of all Negroes waiting—so they say—only to be asked. There are manpower pools almost as big for sit-ins, mass marches, picket lines, and, if need be, going to jail—a reserve that means no city with a substantial Negro enclave is immune.

**Walk Tall:** The Negro feels his faith in mass protest has already moved mountains. If nothing more, it is enough to make a man walk taller. "Anything I want," says Dane Vick, a blind pensioner in Oklahoma City, "the white people are respectful. Now the whites say 'yes sir' to *me*." Even more, the Negro is convinced that demonstrations work. "The leaders sitting down together would, of course, be the best way," says Mrs. W.F. Jeltz, minorities representative for an Oklahoma City employment service. "But we found it didn't work and sit-ins did."

Violence will remain a constant risk of the revolution. Underlying the confident and hopeful consensus in the Newsweek Poll is a minority marked by portents of alienation, hostility, and danger. One Negro in five thinks the cause cannot be won without violence, and some are already fighting mad. Mrs. Clyde Durham, a St. Louis housewife, says: "Them white folks get scared when a Negro gets mad, and we gonna have to get good and mad and let them know we mean business."

**Danger Signs:** The flash-point is likeliest in the Northern slums, where one Negro in four thinks violence is inevitable, where one in eight approves of the Black Muslims, where one in two thinks the white man wants to keep him down. ("Maybe up here they just show us one side of their face," says a Detroit truck driver, "but we understand what they mean.") More often than Negroes elsewhere, the Northern slum-dweller sees a desperate streak in the demonstrations; the Negro is simply "tired of being pushed around." More often than Negroes elsewhere, he is likely to push back.

But in the mainstream, the church-oriented, middle-class Negro leadership and an overwhelming majority of the rank and file, North and South, are committed to moderate means, to persuasion where possible, to non-violent protest where necessary. For all this sense of restraint, they will not settle for less than across-the-board victory. Even if the President's civil-rights legislation passes Congress intact, the revolt will not be over. To the Negro majority, it is simply not enough. When a Negro demands freedom, he means freedom from *all* the disabilities that go with a dark skin.

For the future, the crisis point will come if and when the irresistible force of Negro protest meets the immovable object of white intractability. In polls for The Washington Post, Louis Harris found majorities of white Americans in favor—at least in principle—of taking Federal action to secure the Negro's rights. But the white man's commitment thins in practice. Three in five don't think the Negro is ready to hold a better job or live in a better neighborhood, and nearly three in four feel Negroes are moving faster than whites will accept them. The white man's resistance is particularly strong at the prospect of a Negro moving into the house next door to his; just as deeply, the Negro wants the right to move there if he chooses. The combination makes housing potentially the most explosive of all the issues at stake in the Negro revolution.

**The Final Door:** The final question will be not so much what the Negro will settle for—he is united and insistent—as how much the white man will give him. Negroes think that he will change, that he will start treating them better because of his conscience, because he fears their militancy, or simply because he is an American. But whether or not the white man is willing to open the final door, the Negro will not stop knocking.

"I want to be a whole man this very instant," says Dr. Daniel A. Collins, a Mill Valley, Calif., dentist. And Susie Huzzard, a Cleveland domestic, has her own definition of freedom: "I want some of these flowers before I die."

Edward Lettau—ABC

EDITORIAL LIFE, 8/23/63 R+R Rel.

LWD ✓
VJ ✓
PA ✓
WB ✓
ML ✓
BP ✓

# The Longer March to Real Equal Rights

The March on Washington is coming next week (*pp. 63–70*). Negro leaders count this as the major protest of the current Negro revolution. If it is brought off peaceably as planned, it ought to go down in history. But in any event, the Great March undoubtedly will make most white Americans feel distinctly uneasy. And that, of course, is its purpose—just as all the hundreds of local demonstrations in the past few months have served to wake the nation to the Negroes' grievances.

Has the nation perhaps been sufficiently awakened already? The President has spoken out eloquently about the moral crisis. There is hope that some kind of civil rights bill will be hauled through the Congress in spite of diehard indignation. There is heartening progress toward desegregation in dozens of places in the Southland. The white reaction to the Negro revolt so far has been almost entirely peaceful and broadly sympathetic.

And yet, while the Negroes intensify their fight for equal opportunity, the growing unease of whites—an apprehensiveness that will surely increase in the next few weeks—threatens to retard further progress. It boils down to a feeling that the Negro is "going too far." In a recent Gallup poll six out of 10 whites felt that Negroes are hurting their own cause with undue militancy.

Most Negroes don't think so. They know that protest is a legitimate function of a living democracy. They suspect that "going too far" can also be translated as being "uppity," the white Southerner's term of contempt for a Negro who has the temerity to act like a white man. Thus the complaint cuts no ice with the Negro. He has only to apply for a job in the North or for a motel room in the South to find evidence that he has not gone far enough.

It is a characteristic paradox of American history that the Negro in 100 years *has* gone far enough—to learn that he is entitled to go farther. The law, if not justice, has generally been on his side. Set free to rise by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, Negroes, with white help, established the N.A.A.C.P. in 1910, attacked discrimination through the courts, and crowned their achievements with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision. Meanwhile, the National Urban League, working without public fuss, encouraged Negroes to qualify themselves for good jobs and persuaded businesses to take on Negro employes.

The Negro's tenacity has harvested some remarkable profits. A century ago only one Negro in 10 was literate; today, nine out of 10 are literate. A century ago Negro children in the 17 southern states and the District of Columbia were lucky if they got the most pitiable kind of segregated schooling; today more than 200,000 Negro children in those states attend biracial schools. In the 1950s alone Negro enrollment in colleges and professional schools increased 86% (*vs.* 48% for whites). In 1939 a Negro man earned a mean annual income of $460; 22 years later he earned $3,075, a rise of 568.5% (while the white man's income rose 362%, from $1,112 to $5,137).

Much recent progress, especially in the crucial job-opportunity sector, is the result of the new pressures of the Negro revolt. Why then do so many normally sympathetic whites, who approve of the progress, suddenly question whether the Negroes are pushing too hard? This question centers in the North, where discrimination has not been a matter of white policy or even intention. Instead it has been a fact, and a very complicated fact with which northern whites are just coming to grips. Job discrimination exists in the North, mostly because certain unions have barred Negroes. Housing discrimination, despite state prohibitions, still keeps Negroes bottled up in ghettoes, which in turn have produced *de facto* school segregation.

Sparked by the successful Negro demonstrations against the more obvious wrongs in the South, Negro leaders in the North have been combatting *de facto* discrimination with tactics that their white sympathizers are now questioning. Sit-ins and picket lines at the mayor's and governor's offices, at construction sites and beaches, have occasionally been provocative blockades rather than orderly protests. More important, some Negro leaders have adopted a slide-rule approach that advances Negro rights at the expense of others. By demanding preferential treatment (something akin to "war reparations") and quota-hiring (say, 25% of a company's employes "must" be Negro), the demonstrators offend even the most softhearted liberals. Similarly, the demand for transporting Negro and white children out of their neighborhoods to districts all over the city, so as to achieve a balanced mixture of the races in all schools, has the smack of reverse discrimination that can be called Crow-Jimism. These slide-rule methods of artificial race mixing could be as evil as segregation in the long run.

There is a sounder approach. First, job training. Already the building trades unions are beginning to open apprenticeships to willing Negro beginners; already some companies are going out of their way to hire Negroes, even at the risk of losing efficiency for a time. Second, housing opportunities must be opened for Negroes. As their earning power increases, so will their family mobility and their chance to educate their children in better neighborhood schools with a more natural mix of white and Negro children.

If there is a legitimate complaint about Negroes pushing their fight too far, then, it concerns only their methods, not their goals. The March on Washington, after all, is aimed at dramatizing a sorrowful human condition. Take away the myopic slide-rule generals and the relatively few brickbat artists and you will find an army of Americans—19 million of them—who for too long have languished in a corner of our society like branded aliens, forbidden to associate with decent people.

In his bitter remonstrance against the power structure of his day, an unhappy Shylock had something pertinent to say about human relationships. He spoke as a Jew, but his words could be translated for today's American Negro: did he not have eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Was he not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer? "If you prick us," he cried, "do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

Revenge is surely not the issue. The goal most Negroes want—genuine equality of opportunity—will be achieved because the white conscience also wants it, and because that goal is permanently set by the system of law, freedom and democracy to which Americans of all races are committed. The Negroes who are "going too far" because they have been pushed too far will regain their lost support as they modify their tactics with some plain common sense. As for the millions of other Negroes—like Shylock, they are flesh-and-blood men, speaking to men of flesh and blood. Decency, honor, Christianity—indeed survival—require that we listen.

R&R Rel.
Current
Aug. 1963

# RACISM IN THE U. S.

## HOW ONE NEGRO MEETS IT

*In response to an invitation to speak at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Meredith delivered an address which evoked a sharp rebuke from many listeners. Later, in tears, he said that the reaction to his speech had upset him far more than any of his ordeals at the University of Mississippi. Following are excerpts from the text of his speech as distributed by the N.A.A.C.P.*

**James H. Meredith**

"My purpose here tonight is to provoke.

"I want to provoke you into eliminating the greatest dissatisfaction that I have with the whole movement to eliminate the racial problem in this country. My greatest dissatisfaction today is the existence of the very low quality of leadership present among our young Negroes and the childish nature of their activities. Students all around the world are waking up. Now is your turn. . . .

"In twenty years Mississippi is going to be the Negro showplace of the world and the United States of America is going to be truly the land of the free and the home of the brave. However, this is not going to be so merely because I say that it will be so. It will be so because and only because you accept the challenge before you. Not only is it a challenge to you members of the college chapters from forty-eight states and to you youth branch members from forty-nine of our states represented here tonight, equally it is an opportunity for you to serve the cause of the advancement of mankind. Yes, and above all else, it is an obligation that you must fulfill and a responsibility that you must meet.

"Regretfully, I must admit that I am most sadly struck by the low quality and ineffectiveness of our Negro youth leaders. It must be acknowledged, however, that this is due largely to the interference in and intrusion on youth activities by 'so-called' adult youth leaders, who seek to conduct and direct student activities instead of playing their proper role of advising and supervising these activities. As a matter of fact, I am firmly convinced that our youths of today are fully capable of plotting their own destinies and I intend to do my best to see that their unwitting adult progress blockers are pushed aside so that they can move forward.

"The two great shortcomings of our youth are discipline and knowledge. There is that thing about knowledge that makes for discipline, and that thing about discipline that makes for effectiveness. I can't help but mention the Tokyo demonstrations. Three years ago the President of the United States planned a trip to Japan. The student government associations of Japan wanted to prevent the President from coming and thereby weaken the ruling Japanese government, causing it to be replaced. They called out a million student demonstrators. I was downtown Tokyo on that day and saw with my own eyes the largest demonstration the world had ever seen. Didn't anyone tell me about this. I saw it myself. As far as the eye could see, I saw complete order and discipline. Every student had a leader. Every leader knew who his followers were and every fol-

lower knew who his leader was. There was something magic about this order and discipline. The bystanders and onlookers did not pile in and make a mob. No, they were captivated by a frame of mind the likes of which I had never seen before, nor have I seen after. The students were successful. . . .

"Now, let us turn to one of the biggest fallacies hindering the progress of the Negro. That is the idea that age necessarily brings with it knowledge and wisdom. Many instances I can think of where the parents work their skin to the bone trying to send Billy and Sue through school to learn the latest methods of efficient living and Billy and Sue finish school and let Mama and Papa continue to live the rest of their lives without the benefit of the new methods of hygiene or the techniques of economizing, simply because they are older than 'we' and we can't tell them anything.

"Further, there is not much to this business about maturing judgment either. We are familiar with the story of George Washington leading the colonial forces against the French and Indians during 'The French and Indian War' at a very early age. At 25, Alexander the Great had conquered the world; at the same age Booker T. Washington had founded Tuskegee Institute; at 30, Napoleon was master of all of Europe, a feat never matched by any other man; at the same age the President's brother is a Senator in the United States Senate. Think about it.

"You know, the Negro youth has that 'yeah maybe, but not me' attitude. Bull! Anyone one of you burr heads out there could be the owner or manager of a large department store, president of a corporation, or even mayor of the city of Chicago. Only believe, all things are possible, if you only believe.

"Let us not kid ourselves, we not only have to believe, we've got to know something too. For the first time since I've been at the University of Mississippi, I am going to voluntarily speak on the subject of money. You all have heard about my wife's new Thunderbird haven't you. Well, I did a little checking around and I found that millions of new cars are sold every year in this country, and I've looked high and low and you know something, I have not found a single soul that I felt deserves one of these new cars more than my wife, who has stuck with me unceasingly throughout my entire ordeal.

"Maybe I should emphasize the importance of what I am about to say for the next few minutes. It may sound like I'm bragging or it may just sound so simple until you will take it lightly. Negroes have a tendency to look for everything that is significant to be very complicated. The most efficient and effective way of doing things is usually, if not always, the simplest. I can readily say that I have never done anything in my life that was hard for me to do, and I can definitely assure you that I do not intend to start now.

"I learned my management techniques from the best teacher of them all, my father. He was the first of my family to ever own a piece of land. He is a man that never earned enough money in a year's time to require the filing of an income tax. Yet, he is the same man to whom all members of the community turned when in need, always to be helped.

"Back in 1958, long before many of you ever heard of the University of Mississippi, my rating officer in the United States Air Force wrote in his evaluation report on me that 'Sergeant Meredith is the most financially responsible individual I have ever known.' That same year, at the age of 25, I completed my seventh year of military service. My pay was then $180 per month, the highest that I had ever received, yet, up to

that time I had bought and paid for two cars and one truck, two farms and the house in which I was living. Literally, I could account for at least nine out of every ten dollars that I had ever made.

"You think I am bragging. Well, I ain't. I am teaching and in ten years I want every Negro in America to be bragging because he has a home, clothes, a car, and money in the bank. And if you think that I have been talking simple, just wait until you hear the system used to economize.

"Let us start with the little money first. Hair oil: a small bottle cost 50¢, large bottle with ten times the amount $2.50; savings $2.50. Cigarettes: I don't smoke so I save the whole amount, but let's get to you. One pack –35¢, one carton $2.75; savings 75¢. Count this up for a year's time and you have a pretty good piece of money. Clothing: the last suit I bought was a nice summer suit. $23.50 from one of them cheap stores that my broke high class Negro friends would not be caught in. Damn fools. This same suit, including the color, was purchased by one of my friends from the exclusive men's shop with the credit charge plate on sale for $49.95. The two suits were cut from the same cloth, sewed on the same machine, distributed by the same wholesale agency. There is no item on which I could not make a similar comparison.

"The area in which the real big savings opportunities exists and in which the greatest inefficiency is found among the Negro is in buying automobiles and furniture. I can say without any doubts in my mind that for each $1000 spent by the average Negro buyer, I could save a minimum of $300. How do you do it? First, since very few Negroes can pay cash for items in this category, you have to establish a good credit rating. This is a must, especially for the man, and should be done definitely at least by age 21. The first time you get a job, open a bank account. If you cannot save more than one dollar a week, put that dollar in every week. What you are really trying to do is impress the banker. Because one day you are going to want to make a loan, the bank is the best possible source of loans for a poor man and when you apply for a loan the first thing the banker is going to do is check your savings record to see how regular you are.

"Next, to build a good credit rating, buy something on credit. Even if you have the cash to pay immediately. For example, your parents give you fifty dollars to buy a suit. Buy the suit on a ninety-day option plan. You buy on credit with an agreement that if you pay the balance in ninety-days there will be no interest charge. You pay twenty dollars down, put the remaining thirty dollars in the bank, draw it out ten dollars each month and make your timely payment to your creditor. At the end of a ninety day period you will have a credit rating of 'A,' plus the reputation and prestige of doing business with a bank. You will then have a file with the Credit Bureau and your credit reference can be checked and you can get credit anywhere in the United States. And all this did not cost you one dime. . . .

"Brothers and sisters, this might sound childish and like fancy to you. I hope not. I have never been more serious in my life. The procedures, methods, and the techniques that I have described to you tonight are not dreams or fancy ideas. These have all been tried by me and worked. I think it will work for you. Life is simple, not complicated.

"Now, we move to the big question of the day. How to best accomplish our objective—full citizenship. I feel it my duty to my country and my responsibility to my people to express my reasoned position on this vital subject. I intend to criticize no person or no group, instead I simply want

to inform you of how I think I can best use my energy to accomplish our goal. I think the greatest result will be realized by using my energy to advance the Negro community in the political and economic areas. My chief weapon will be educational development and training for the great mass of our Negro population.

"What about the great controversial issue of a march on Washington, D. C.? . . . My position is that I support any action on the part of an oppressed group to indicate its dissatisfaction or to secure redress of its grievances.

"Concerning the proposed march on Washington, I will say that it is my conclusion, based on long years of study of the legislative process, that in my opinion the march would not be in the best interest of our cause. I want it clearly understood that I have not opposed the proposed march, instead I have expressed an individual opinion. Further, I think that this issue is primarily a political issue and I think that the advice of the Negro politicians should be sought and their recommendations should be given due consideration. By Negro politicians, I am referring to the five Negro representatives in the United States Congress, the Negro legislators of the various states, and the Negroes in high government positions, plus the leading Negro politicians both in and out of power—Republicans and Democrats.

"No matter how much power the Barnetts and the Wallaces may claim that the Federal Government is usurping and centralizing in the Washington government, the fact still remains that the government of the United States is a federal government and not a unitary government. The members of Congress do not represent Washington. They represent the individual states of the Union and the individual Congressional districts. . . .

"In conclusion, I want to say to you here tonight that I do believe. Above all things, I do believe that this world can be made into a better place in which to live. I do believe that the Negro has a destiny to be the leading spark in saving this world and advancing the cause of human civilization. Further, I am confident that we will develop the racial pride, community pride, and family pride necessary to accomplish our mission. From this year forward and from no other, let us judge our peers. Let us draw a line on our heritage in 1963 and mark it with pride. In my eye sight, the most illegitimate of the illegitimate Negro deserves the right to recognition equal to the bluest of the blue of the black blue bloods.

"Finally, along this line of pride and recognition I will soon personally get to test the depth of the sincerity of our white neighbors. You know, since the very first week I entered the University of Mississippi, I have been being compared to the American astronauts, who ventured into outer space. Recently, I attended an affair in New York City at which one of the speakers was Mayor Wagner. He said in his speech that the only person that he could compare me with was the latest American astronaut and that his card showed a mark for me that was surpassed by none. After my graduation on August 18, 1963, I will anxiously await my invitation from the Mayor of New York City announcing my ticker tape parade date. Or will it be the same old story. 'But, you are a Negro.'

"Further, I look forward with high expectations to my 'open car caravan' from the White House to the Capitol, where I will address a joint session of Congress. Certainly, I must know first hand as much about the nation's number one internal problem as the astronauts knew about outer space." (Address, Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Chicago, Illinois, July 5, 1963)

R+R Rel

Current
Aug. 1963

# MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

## CAN THE PEOPLE SHARE IN RACE DECISIONS?

The New York Times' *bureau chief in Washington:*

**James Reston**

"One of the persistent complaints of decent and intelligent Americans in the postwar period has been that they felt helpless to do anything personally about the great problems of their country.

"They worried vaguely about communism, unemployment and all the flash-points of the world from Korea to Berlin, but aside from tolerating high taxes and the military draft, most of them felt unable to participate in the solution of the things that worried them.

"This complaint, however, no longer has much validity, for the race crisis in the nation now provides a tangible opportunity to get engaged personally in the central domestic issue of the age.

"Inequality in American life is not a remote problem like Vietnam, or a mysterious problem like the controversies over missiles and outer space, or a theoretical problem like economic growth or deficit spending. It is a problem of right and wrong. It is present in almost every community in the nation. And everybody can do something about it.

"In fact, it is widely accepted in Washington that unless private citizens raise the moral question in their communities, churches, business associations, labor unions, school meetings, service organizations, newspapers, etc., government alone cannot pass effective civil legislation and may not even be able to assure public safety.

"This is why the President has not only been drafting legislation recently and conferring with political leaders of both parties, but also meeting with groups of businessmen, labor union leaders, editors, preachers and lawyers.

"What has been happening here in these meetings at the White House can easily be repeated in every city, town and village in the nation, if even a remnant of the fair-minded people will insist on raising the issues in all their organizations.

"Peaceful Negro demonstrations against the humiliation of segregation can influence many Congressmen, but the balance of power in the Senate of the United States rests with Senators from states where there are few Negroes and no Negro demonstrations.

"Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa, for example, is a key figure on whether the Senate can break a filibuster and open up privately-owned stores, restaurants, movies, lunch counters and lodgings to all citizens. But he is much more likely to respond to appeals for equality among the white majority in the lonely towns all over his state than he is to small Negro demonstrations in Des Moines.

"Two mistakes are being made in the present crisis: It is being left too much to the politicians and the Negroes; and it is being viewed too narrowly as a political battle to pass civil rights legislation.

"The burden of removing the hypocrisy of inequality is even more the responsibility of the whites, who have perpetuated discrimination, than

of the Negro; and civil rights legislation is not an end in itself but merely the means to the end, which is a free and equal society.

"The tragedy of Negro emancipation 100 years ago was that the abolitionists thought of it as an end in itself and were not prepared for the social and economic problems that followed political victory.

"The same is true of the current race crisis. We may be much nearer to a political victory than many people supposed, but the problems of providing not only civil rights for the Negro but the education, the jobs, the housing and the social order to sustain equality of opportunity will still exist.

"A Negro may have the right of access to all schools, restaurants, houses or lodgings, but if he doesn't have the education, he is not likely to have the skill to get a job; and if he hasn't got a job, he is not likely to have the money to buy the things or patronize the new facilities that open up to him. . . .

"Here again private citizens can help. The task is immense, but anybody who can write a letter or go to a union meeting or even walk in a parade can do something about these inequalities." (*The New York Times*, June 23, 1963. See Readers Service, Item 1.)

Current
Aug. 1963
R+R Rel.

# EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGROES

**The idea that equality for Negroes is no longer enough is being increasingly heard throughout the civil rights movement. Many feel that there must be a temporary imbalance in favor of Negroes if there is to be true equality of opportunity.**

## IS EQUALITY IN EDUCATION ENOUGH?

*Dr. Fischer, who is president of Teachers College, Columbia University, raises the issues involved in compensatory education for Negroes in* Education in Depressed Areas.

**John H. Fischer**

"The temptation is always strong to say that the Negro child should be seen merely as any other child, respected as an individual, and provided with an educational program that will best meet his particular combination of needs. Of course the Negro child, like any other child, is entitled to be treated as an individual. Such treatment is the only sound basis for projecting his or any other child's education, but the easy generalization does not always come to grips with the whole truth.

"The American Negro youngster happens to be a member of a large and distinctive group that for a very long time has been the object of special political, legal, and social action. This, I remind you, is not a question of what should be true, or might have been, but an undeniable and inescapable fact. To act as though any child is suddenly separable from his history is indefensible. In terms of educational planning, it is also irresponsible.

"Every Negro child is the victim of the history of his race in this country. On the day he enters kindergarten, he carries a burden no white child can ever know. . . . We are dealing here with no ordinary question of intercultural understanding, although admittedly cultural difference is part of the difficulty. Nor are we concerned with only the usual range of psycho-educational problems, for the psychological situation of the Negro child is affected by quite special social considerations.

"I recognize the hazard in speaking of 'the Negro child.' It is equally unsatisfactory to speak of 'the white child' or 'the Puerto Rican child' or 'the Spanish-American child' as though any child could be encompassed in a stereotype. . . . But when all the variability is conceded, it cannot be denied that every American Negro child must expect to encounter certain problems which none of our other children face in quite the same way. . . .

"Many of the Negro children who now come to school are the victims of their parents' lack of knowledge and of schooling. The parents in turn are the victims of a situation over which they have had little or no control themselves. Parents and children alike elicit sympathy and attract charity, but praiseworthy as these responses may be, they form no adequate approach to the education of the disadvantaged urban child. The response of the community and the school must be based also on objective knowledge. . . . Teaching reading, . . to a first-grade child who has never seen an adult read anything requires an approach quite different from

one appropriate to a child in whose home books are as normal as food.

"Similarly, a child who has never known sustained conversation with his parents must actually learn the skills of continuing discussion before he can learn much else in school. . . .

"In respect to the development of intellectual competence, many Negro children face special problems. . . . During years of oppression, first under slavery and later under more subtle forms of discrimination, the opportunities for large numbers of Negroes to apply their own rational powers with initiative and freedom to important problems have been far more limited than the opportunities available to other racial groups. Many Negro children, therefore, carry the disabling scars of the culture in which they were nurtured, a culture which encouraged the use of muscles and not only discouraged but often penalized those who sought to use their minds creatively. The school must take all of this into account and build programs and provide opportunities which not only reflect these facts but move aggressively to *compensate* for them. . . .

"This implication for policy and practice cuts more than one way, however, for just as certainly as no person should be subjected to discriminatory treatment which depresses him because of his race, so it follows that none should be given preferential treatment simply because his complexion or his ancestry is different from another's. A practical application of this principle may arise if a school organizes classes according to the academic ability of students. If . . . it should develop that one classroom contains pupils largely of one racial group while a second classroom is composed mostly of another, the school should not be criticized for the result. If, on the other hand, the school authorities have used an ostensibly educational device simply to justify some predetermined racial arrangement, the action is totally indefensible. . . .

"A second guideline for the development of policy and practice centers about the concept of equality of opportunity. 'Equality of opportunity' . . . means much more than a schoolroom desk for every child. It connotes, rather, a condition in which every American may rightfully expect to find himself in fair competition with every other American. This condition is achieved and maintained by the operation of a host of agencies and forces, some political, some social, others economic or cultural. . . .

"In the cases of some Americans, and in that of the Negro American most dramatically, our traditional system has failed for a long time in countless ways to provide that equality of opportunity that should be the condition of all our people. . . . Especially is this true of children whose parents and grandparents were deliberately, systematically, and by law denied what is now clearly recognized as fully equal treatment.

"Is it not a reasonable contention—and a just one—that to compensate for past injustice, we should offer these children educational services beyond the level of what might be called standard equality?

"Could it be that to achieve total equality of opportunity in America we may have to modify currently accepted ideas about equality of opportunity . . . ? Is it conceivable that some of our children are entitled to more and better educational opportunities than most of the others? In fact, of course, the question has already been answered. Thousands of mentally and physically handicapped children, regardless of race, regularly receive teaching service, physical facilities, and supporting services more extensive and more costly than those furnished children who are considered physically and mentally normal. In the cases of many Negro children—and the generalization would apply also to certain other mi-

nority groups—we may need to substitute for our traditional concept of equal educational opportunity a new concept of *compensatory opportunity*. . . .

"I doubt that anyone is in a position now to say precisely what the concept of compensatory educational opportunity would mean in every case, but my purpose here is not so much to answer the question as to raise it for discussion." ("Educational Problems of Segregation and Desegregation," *Education in Depressed Areas*)

## IS EQUALITY IN EMPLOYMENT ENOUGH?

*A weekly newsmagazine:*

**Newsweek**

"With constant urging from press and pulpit, and with pressure from government, it now seems almost ordained that more Negroes will be hired in better jobs. Some companies will integrate for moral reasons; others will act out of self-interest, for Negroes are both customers and employes; still others will move defensively.

"But even those businessmen who have decided to act are still troubled. For lack of experience and for fear of the unknown, they aren't sure exactly how to go about creating equal opportunity. How many Negroes should a company hire? In what capacity? And with just how much fanfare? . . .

"Even if such immediate problems were overcome, it wouldn't be enough to satisfy most Negro leaders. To make up for years of deprivation, poor schooling, and collapsed incentive, they say, colored workers should be given a leg up. Like all new things, the idea is being approached gingerly by management—and some are actually adopting it. It goes by the name of 'compensatory hiring' or 'compensatory discrimination.' When a white and a Negro apply for the same job, says a Chicago personnel director, 'all other things being equal, we'll take the Negro.'

"The idea has been around a while, but it started to spread after a speech in New York by Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League (see page 14). . . .

"Guichard Parris, one of Young's assistants, expanded: 'It's time to discriminate in the Negro's favor for five or ten years . . . The veterans of World War II got a break—the GI bill and extra points in Civil Service examinations—because they were out of the mainstream of the economy for three or four years.' His point: Negroes have never been in that mainstream." ("Jobs for Negroes: How Much Progress in Sight?" *Newsweek*, July 15, 1963)

*The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference:*

**Martin Luther King**

"Temporary special provisions for Negroes are urgently needed to bring about a greater racial balance. . . . Discrimination in reverse [is] a good idea." ("Protestant Heritage," National Broadcasting Company, June 30, 1963)

*The national director of the Congress of Racial Equality:*

**James Farmer**

"It is no longer acceptable . . . for an employer to say there are no qualified Negro applicants for a job. The employer . . . is now obligated to find a qualified Negro. If he cannot . . . he should train a Negro for the job." (Address, Annual Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality, Dayton, Ohio, June 28, 1963)

*A statement issued by Whitney M. Young, the executive director of the National Urban League:*

**Whitney M. Young**

"An intensive special effort may appear to be in conflict with the principle of equal treatment for all. But such effort is required to overcome the damaging effects of generations of deprivation and denial and to make it possible for the majority of American Negroes to reach the point at which they can compete on a basis of equality in the nation's increasingly complex and fast-moving industrial society. . . .

"The intense needs and problems which are evident in so many Negro communities around the country are a direct result of past and present discrimination and exclusion based on race.

"Thus, as a matter of historic equity, compensatory effort is justified and may well be the only means of overcoming the heavy aftermath of past neglect." (Statement, National Urban League, New York City, June 9, 1963)

*The Joint Committee consists of members of the New York chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League of Greater New York, the Workers Defense League, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.*

**New York City Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity**

"Unions with registered apprenticeship programs should accept, as part of the total number of apprenticeships available annually in each trade, a number of qualified applicants from minority groups proportionate to their number in the population of the city, that proportion doubled in the light of the fact that the non-white unemployment rate is double that of the white workers and because an imbalance of decades must be corrected." (Statement, Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity, New York, July 12, 1963)

*The chairman of New York City's Commission on Human Rights:*

**Stanley H. Lowell**

"I say that one has to be conscious of color. . . . Such an approach is necessary to help Negroes win better jobs and effect a true racial balance. We have to recognize the fact that the consciousness of color must be taken into account to remedy the wrongs of 100 years." (*"Newsmakers,"* WCBS-TV [New York City], June 30, 1963)

*The former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, now Senator from Connecticut:*

**Abraham Ribicoff**

"Those who claim that X number of jobs or Y percent of jobs must be set aside for Negroes are not favoring equality of opportunity. They are saying that opportunity doesn't matter, that merit doesn't matter, that only arbitrary numbers and percentages matter. That point of view will undermine the whole effort to achieve equality in this country." (Address, United States Senate, *Congressional Record*, June 27, 1963)

## ARE THERE ENOUGH JOBS TO GO AROUND?

*An editor of* The New Republic:

**Murray Kempton**

"[The] Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is aged and fading; it never had more than 15,000 members and no more than 5,000 of these are working now. . . .

"The porter has always been poor and a menial; segregation created

his job; the Pullman Company hired Negroes as porters because Negroes were inexpensive. . . . [But] their union has raised their pay scale to a basic $436 a month which has made a porter's job one fit for white men, so fit in fact that occasionally a white youth comes to the Brotherhood in search of a union card; it cannot be given him, because there are not enough jobs for the old members, let alone new ones. There will be no white porters, and there will be no Negro engineers; the rule for employment on the railroads is not opportunity but seniority."

A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, now vice-president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Negro American Labor Council would "plan a march that would be unlimited in aim, and that would remember above all the needs of the poor and displaced, whatever their color.

" 'The Negro people are just one other depressed area,' he said the other day. 'As long as there is unemployment, it's going to hit us. The Negro is in the position of the white hod carrier and the white longshoreman. I should like all the unemployed to come with us. We complain because the building trades have no room for Negroes, but the real trouble now is that these unions are designed for profit through scarcity. If the crafts were open to us, that could not, in the present economy, create more than 40,000 jobs.' " ("A. Philip Randolph," *The New Republic*, July 6, 1963)

*The head of the New York City office of the Fund for the Republic, writing in the* Saturday Review.

**Joseph P. Lyford**

"There are many voices that talk for the unemployed, disused Negro in the black corners of his Northern cities, but there are very few leaders, white or Negro, who have crossed his threshold to learn about his most immediate discontents and what he wants right now, this afternoon, this very moment. The demands of Northern Negro 'spokesmen' are beginning to have more and more the ring of liberal middle-class sociology, and they seem increasingly remote from those Negroes who are beginning to understand that, even if every racial barrier fell tomorrow, there would be no jobs for most of them, young or old.

"The Northern Negro faces a different set of nightmares from those of his brother in Alabama. The achievement of every remaining civil right, and his final admission to American society, will not solve the fundamental misery that is our special gift to the Negro of the city. The fact is that our republic has little use for the people it has prevented from getting a decent education, through design or neglect; and our automated future offers little prospect of work to the high school graduate as well. The Negro has joined a new and integrated race of Americans, the race of the poor. In some ways, this affiliation is of more concern than the fact that he is black. . . .

"The point at issue now is not whether the Negro of the North will take to the streets in his battle for citizenship. The question is when and how it will happen, whether there will be leadership and preparation and sanity in the plan, or whether there will be nothing at all, not even hope, but only the customary spasms of rage on Harlem and West Side streets. If there is to be a plan, it will have to be built around the real interests of the Negro, who wants work, who wants enforcement of the law against the owner of the slum, and who worries about good teachers rather than racial percentages in the classroom." ("Where Are the Leaders?" *Saturday Review*, July 6, 1963)

Union News.
A&R Rel. Aug. 1963

# Showdown on Racial Justice

ALL OF A SUDDEN, the pressure which has been building up over the years for fair treatment of racial minorities has erupted into a national crisis with which almost everyone is concerned.

Many people — white as well as colored — are demanding immediate action on issues which have been ducked for a hundred years.

**Why?**

Why now? Why after so many years of gradual change should there be so much demand for instant change in race relations? Had not we best move more slowly?

**The answer is "No!"**

America must proceed with considerable haste to correct the injustices which it has imposed on dark-skinned people.

GRADUALISM won't work. History seems to demonstrate that it never has worked. Of course, some progress can be made by gradual change, but at some point either peaceful or violent revolution must take place to force a major breakthrough. Justice does not seem to come about automatically, even in a nation such as the U.S.A. with a highly developed and basically fair system of courts. It seems that the unjustly treated have to raise a considerable commotion before judges and juries get around to really dispensing the justice they theoretically always stand for.

To put it another way, the squeaking wheel gets the grease.

The Negro people of America are now demanding — in a thus far peaceful revolution — that they get fair treatment. The American Negro is sick and tired of excuses and delays. He has given up on the old method of being subservient and humble before the whites in the hope of eventual kind and fair treatment.

Union people ought to understand the Negro revolution. Union people had to carry on a form of revolution during the nineteen thirties to make a substantial breakthrough for fair treatment of wage earners. Of course there had been some gradual progress in earlier years in the way of improved working conditions and better labor laws, but it took the mass actions of the thirties to bring major changes.

Tired of injustice, wage earners in the thirties engaged in some rather unorthodox behavior. For one example, Auto Workers staged sit-in strikes in the assembly plants. This was an illegal action, an action verging on the violent, an action which seemed awfully disrespectful of the "right" of private property. But it worked; suddenly management moguls, Congressmen, judges and governors saw their way clear to extend justice to working people!

The somewhat high-handed methods of union people in those days served to oil the wheels of justice.

THE PRESENT revolt of the Negro people is of the same order. They and a few white friends have quietly asked for justice down through the years. They have made some progress. On paper, they have achieved equal rights in most states, but in practice most white people have looked the other way while the dark-skinned have been mistreated.

So finally the Negroes — like the union people of 30 years ago — have gotten a bellyful and have started raising a commotion to force white people to take action toward fair treatment. The Negroes have dramatized the issue so that whites no longer can ignore it.

Now, instead of pecking along at the problem, the responsible white leadership of America is having to attack the problem on a broad and urgent basis.

The primary example of white leadership movement in the direction of fair treatment is President Kennedy's program of legislation on civil rights now being debated in Congressional committees. (See separate article on this page for a listing of the legislation asked.)

Before submitting his program to Congress, President Kennedy addressed the American people with an appeal to conscience, a request for the cooperation of the people in the meeting of what he called "the growing moral crisis in American race relations."

Fair treatment of the people of all races is, of course, a moral issue.

A hundred practical reasons for fair treatment can be listed — better foreign relations, better economic conditions, elimination of slums and crime, etc. — but the real reason people of all colors should be treated alike is simply because it is morally right.

However, morals often have to be backed up by laws. It is immoral to steal — but still we have to have laws against stealing. The President's civil rights proposals simply put legal force behind moral rightness. Time has demonstrated that racial discrimination has not been

## What Kennedy Asks

President Kennedy has asked Congress to pass civil rights legislation providing six key things:

- **Equal voting rights** in federal elections; abolition of phoney literacy tests used in several Southern states to prevent Negroes from voting; establishment of court appointed referees to see that the vote is not unfairly denied.
- **Equal access to public accommodations,** such as hotels, restaurants, stores, theaters.
- **Stepped-up school desegregation,** greater federal powers to enforce desegregation which has dragged along with only limited progress in the nine years since it was ordered by the Supreme Court.
- **A Community relations service** to counsel, negotiate between racial groups and help local communities solve racial problems.
- **Right to withhold U.S. funds** when it is found that the money is used in a discriminatory way; this would apply to contractors on government orders.
- **Establishment of a fair employment practices agency** to prevent racial discrimination by employers or by unions in hiring and in job conditions.

# Who Speaks for the Negro?

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However, morals often have to be backed up by laws. It is immoral to steal — but still we have to have laws against stealing. The President's civil rights proposals simply put legal force behind moral rightness. Time has demonstrated that racial discrimination has not been wiped out simply because it is morally wrong.

FURTHER demonstrating the fact that squeaking wheels get grease has been a sudden outburst of activity among many non-government organizations in support of fair race relations. Since the Negro demonstrators "squeaked" in Birmingham and elsewhere, there has been a flurry of conferences in churches, labor unions, service clubs, chambers of commerce, trade associations and other organizations regarding the race crisis. Everyone seems to be getting in on the act, looking for ways to improve the lot of the long-mistreated minorities.

As a result of this flurry of activity, it has become in many quarters "stylish" for white Americans to support fair and equitable treatment of racial minorities. This within itself is good — to make the right thing to do seem to be the popular thing to do.

Of course we are a long way from the really fair treatment of minorities. Prejudice is deeply rooted in many people (of whatever color or religion). Many of those who pay lip service to racial fairness look at the same time for methods of circumventing the very resolutions they pass. And many others are not even paying lip service to the principles of fair play — they are bitterly and violently resisting the idea of giving the dark-skinned an even break.

Yet we probably are on the threshold of a great breakthrough. The minorities, particularly the Negroes, have made it rather plain that they will tolerate mistreatment no longer. The whites have been forced to re-examine their consciences. Change must and will come.

# Who Speaks for the Negro?

Half a dozen major organizations speak for American Negroes today. None speaks for all and there are arguments about how much support each has, but it is obvious that each has a broad following.

They range from the diplomatic Urban League, which seeks mostly to negotiate better jobs and community conditions for Negroes, to the Black Muslims, who teach hatred of the whites and segregation from the whites.

Here is a rundown of the six:

**Urban League** — This is a bi-racial organization, made up of whites and Negroes, with chapters in 65 cities. It was founded in 1910 and much of its support comes from wealthy whites (including the Rockefeller fund). Mainly it seeks civil rights progress through bi-racial consultation and cooperation. Particularly, it seeks to persuade employers to hire Negroes. It conducts job-training and social welfare programs.

Some Negroes accuse Urban League of playing an "Uncle Tom" role, of begging rather than demanding justice. Urban League leaders deny this, insist that they are pushing hard for equal rights. Also, Whitney Young Jr., the national director, points out that after all the protesting and picketing by other groups, someone has to sit down and negotiate with the whites, and that this is Urban League's role.

**NAACP** — These well-known initials stand for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It, too, is an old-time organization, founded in 1909. It is the largest civil rights organization, with 400,000 members in 1,200 chapters.

During most of its history, NAACP has been the principal pleader for civil rights in the courts. Drawing on the services of brilliant attorneys, it has carried most of the civil rights cases, including the school desegregation case, through the courts. It also has been a leading force in demanding fair employment practices on the part of management and labor in the employment field.

In recent months, NAACP has participated in some of the protests and demonstrations. It also plays a major role of financing and providing legal representation for some of the more militant demonstrators from other organizations who get arrested. Medgar Evers, the Negro who was assassinated in Jackson, Miss., a few weeks ago, was an NAACP field representative.

**Southern Christian Leadership Council** — Not too many people recognize that name, but they do recognize the name of the **Rev. Martin Luther King,** its leader. This is a loosely organized group built around the inspirational leadership of the Rev. Mr. King, who first came to prominence in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956. A masterful teacher of the non-violent resistance technique, this Baptist minister preaches that violence is morally wrong but that non-violent demonstration is a way to bring attention to the problem of racial injustice. He teaches love of the whites, as a Christian concept. However, he concedes that "love" in this sense is quite different from "liking" or "affection."

King deeply impresses people, white or black, who hear him. His sweet reasonableness, his charitable outlook mixed with firm determination to secure justice for his people, his precise and clear way of stating his thoughts, are most convincing. He insists that Negroes should pray for the whites who mistreat them, because the whites are doing wrong and need divine assistance to see the right.

**CORE** — Congress of Racial Equality is more than 20 years old but gained little national attention until very recent years. Comprised mostly of nervy young people, both black and white, it is the organization which has been most notable for carrying on sit-ins and for picketing businesses which practice discrimination. Like Martin Luther King's organization, it preaches non-violence; in fact its national director, James Farmer, is a disciple of Mahatma Ghandi.

CORE carefully trains its sit-in participants. They are subjected to gruelling practice sessions in which they are abused and sometimes slapped around by their instructors. This is to prepare them for the abuse they will take when actually engaged in sit-ins They are trained in methods of defending themselves against blows (such as clasping the hands behind the neck, wrapping elbows in front of face) but are instructed not to hit back.

Farmer says that the Urban League serves Negroes as their State Department, the NAACP as their Justice Department and the CORE as the non-violent Marines.

**SNCC** — The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (nickname, "Snick") was formed in 1960 by college students, at a meeting called by the Rev. Mr. King. But King has been unwilling to move fast enough to satisfy the youngsters. Brash and disorganized, Snick sends shock troops into Southern towns to start segregation protests and voter registration drives. The students consider themselves fortunate in their cause when they can get a few bloodied noses, beatings at the hands of cops and a large number of its demonstrators in jail.

**Black Muslims** — This organization is an extremist group which combines some practical ideas with a mystical religion. Its leader is a man calling himself Elijah Mohammed and its chief spokesman is a rapid-speaking young man who calls himself Malcolm X.

This group asserts that there is no hope of making peace with the whites, that they have proven over and over again that they are not to be trusted. The Black Muslims want to set up a separate black state — presumably they want to apportion out a section of the nation as their separate preserve They assert that the white race is on the way down and out anyway, due to its own immorality and lack of sense of justice.

The Black Muslims tell Negroes to have pride in themselves, to live more morally and cleanly, to improve themselves physically, mentally and spiritually, to build up their own businesses in preparation for their destiny of self-rule.

Incidentally, there is no connection between the Black Muslims and the Muslim religion which has many millions of followers throughout Africa, the Near East and Southeast Asia.

# WHY NO INTEGRATION FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN

**Here is one group generally forgotten in all the excitement over racial equality.**

**In many areas, American Indians are far more segregated than the Negroes are.**

**Those on reservations, for the most part, are ill-housed on poor land, with little hope of bettering their lot where they are.**

**Yet those who leave to find jobs in the cities often find the going rough.**

**Inadequate skills mean low pay. That leads to slum dwelling. To Indians, ways of white employers frequently seem unreasonable.**

**Result: For every three Indians who move out on their own, one goes back to the reservation.**

The rising furor over equal rights for Negroes is turning attention now to the plight of still another U. S. minority—the American Indians.

Nobody is demonstrating in their behalf, or organizing massed marches on Washington to better their lot. Yet Indians by the tens of thousands are living in rural slums, more squalid than the worst so-called Negro ghettos.

Most of the more than half a million American Indians are just about as segregated now as they were 350 years ago when white settlers began pushing them out of their tribal homelands. Most still live with other Indians, on or near reservations or Government-controlled land. For these Indians, there is no integration, and no big drive for it.

At a time when energetic campaigns are under way to open up new jobs to Negroes, and actually give them preference over qualified whites in some instances, the Indians still trail far behind the rest of the nation in job opportunities, in incomes and in a host of other things.

For example, the median family income for reservation Indians last year was just under $1,500. That is less than half the median family income for Negroes, and far below the nearly $6,000 for all U. S. families, including whites.

In many cities and areas, efforts are being made now to force the integration of Negro and white youngsters in public schools. In some localities, Negro and white children are being transported miles from their home neighborhoods to assure that they attend racially balanced schools.

While this is going on, what's happening among school-age Indians? About a third of them still attend Indian schools that are operated by the Federal Government. There are about 270 such Indian schools scattered across the U. S.

The Government has been trying to hasten the integration of Indian children by closing down their separate schools as rapidly as the youngsters can be placed in public schools. For a time, this program moved ahead fairly well. But it has hit a plateau in recent years. As it is now, close to two thirds of the Indian youngsters attend public schools—often assisted by federal subsidies that try to give them economic

One side of Indian life—a side most tourists see—is the colorful ceremony of tribal dances. Indians are proud of the culture of their past and cling to the ways of their ancestors. For many of them the ways of the white man are sometimes bewildering.

—Western Ways Photo

equality with their white classmates. But many of the young Indians find themselves under extreme handicaps.

Some have to travel long distances from their reservation homes to reach the public school. Some are unable to speak English. They encounter other physical and cultural obstacles when they venture into public schooling.

As for adult Indians, the U. S. Government tried for years to integrate them in predominantly white communities through a relocation program to get them off the reservations and into cities. It is clear now that that program has met with only moderate success, and has had many failures.

In some places, Indians still find themselves discriminated against, just the way Negroes complain of discrimination. Because of low incomes, better neighborhoods often are closed to them. They find themselves forced by circumstances to live in the poorest slums. Also, in many cases, Indians have encountered tremendous problems in trying to fit themselves into jobs for white employers.

What's the trouble? Authorities differ, but it is evident that many of the things Negroes now complain about have applied to Indians for years when they tried to leave the reservations and move to the cities to make their own way.

## Job Hunting: "Indian Has a Tough Time"

The late Oliver La Farge, an expert on Indian affairs, summed up the plight of the Indian job hunter this way in his book, "A Pictorial History of the American Indian":

"An Indian seeking employment has a tough time. Thin-skinned, proud, shy, and thoroughly uneasy in his new situation, he is readily discouraged, and usually appears stupid and unable to talk. Until employers have had experience with Indians, they are likely to be prejudiced against them. The foreman's way of giving orders may be normal to us, but shockingly insulting by Indian standards. The idea of absolute regularity, of turning up *every* day at the exact *same* hour, has to be learned. Once Indians have got past all these hurdles and learned how the system works, they do very well, and are particularly desired in jobs requiring fine manual skill."

Indians who get jobs near reservations are likely to take unscheduled vacations to attend tribal dances or family gatherings. This seems normal behavior to them. By their employers, it is very often considered irresponsibility.

As a consequence of all these problems and misunderstandings, about a third of the "relocated" Indians end up back on the reservation—where they have only two thirds the life expectancy, half the level of education, less than a third the income, and seven to eight times as much unemployment as the national average for all Americans.

## For Many, Home's a Hogan

About 380,000 of the 550,000 Indians in the country still are on or near reservations.

Most of them live in hovels, shantylike hogans or tarpaper shacks. Few reservation homes have bathrooms, or even running water. About 90 per cent of the housing is considered substandard. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Philleo Nash, calls it "truly shocking." Says Mr. Nash:

"Most reservations are places of little opportunity. Life on a reservation can be grim and harsh."

A look at some of the medical statistics tells part of the story. The infant death rate among Indians in 1961 was 43 per 1,000 live births, compared with 25.3 per 1,000 for the U. S. population in general. There were 285 cases of tuberculosis per 100,000 Indians, compared with 37 in the general population. Deaths from tuberculosis were 21 per 100,000 Indians and only 5.7 per 100,000 in the U. S. generally.

Despite such conditions, the fact that most Indians are still segregated results largely from their own choice.

In the beginning, they were pushed around by the whites, driven from the best lands and forced onto reservations on some of the poorest. For years now, they have been free to leave the reservation any time they want to, but the majority of them prefer to stay among their own people.

Many individual Indians have made outstanding achievements in business, in the arts and athletics, in the professions, even in local and national politics. But, as a people, most of them seemingly do not yearn for assimilation or integration into the white man's life. Persons with Indian ancestry are proud of it, consider it a mark of distinction.

Like Negroes, the Indians are full citizens of the United States—although in two States, Arizona and New Mexico, they did not get the right to vote until after World War II. They are as free to move about the country as anybody else. They are subject to the draft for service in the armed forces,

*(continued on next page)*

—USN&WR Photo

In sharp contrast to the splendor of tribal ritual is the drabness of existence on many reservations. Most housing is primitive, worse than the city slums. Says the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "Life . . . can be grim and harsh—"

## INTEGRATION: AMERICA'S INDIANS

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and they do serve, some with distinction. Several hold the Congressional Medal of Honor.

In fact, the Indians who have left the reservations permanently to take jobs in cities and towns all over the U. S. —an estimated 170,000—have exactly the same legal privileges and responsibilities as do other Americans. But for the 380,000 still living on or near reservations, it is an entirely different story.

They are called "federal-service Indians." As such, they have the same privileges as other citizens, but not the same responsibilities. Many special Government programs not available to other people have been set up just for the federal-service Indians.

There are about 290 regular Indian reservations in the country, and an additional 35 pieces of land that are occupied by Indians under Government control. Most of these tracts are relatively small. Only 12 of them involve areas of more than 1 million acres. The largest reservation by far is that of the Navajos, comprising tracts of land in Arizona, New Mexico and Utah that total 15 million acres.

All these reservations and related areas are under the administration of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has been operating since 1824.

In its earlier days, the Bureau was a kind of diplomatic service to deal with the powerful and sovereign Indian tribes. Later on, it took over part of the job of "pacifying" the Indians, and helped herd them onto the reservations. For many years now, its principal job has been to try to help the Indians, to raise their living standards and prepare them for life in the white man's society.

### What U. S. Spends on Indian Programs

The task of the Indian Bureau has grown steadily through the years. There is now one Federal Government employe working full time on Indian affairs for every 20 federal-service Indians. Between 1789 and 1947, the U. S. spent 2 billion dollars on the Indians. Another 2 billion has been spent since 1947. By 1967, an additional 1.5 billion will have gone into various programs.

The biggest single item of cost now goes for health. The U. S. Public Health Service provides complete medical care for all federal-service Indians. The annual cost to the Government: about 66 million dollars.

Sixty-two million dollars annually is spent on education.

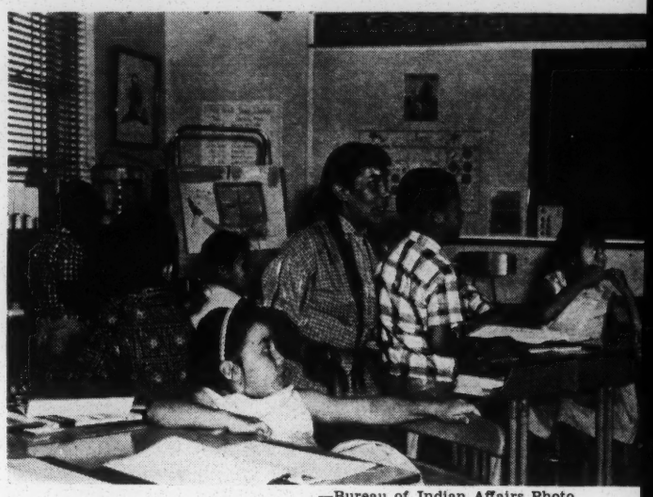
About 70 million dollars a year goes to construct buildings, build roads, provide utilities, undertake irrigation projects and such services.

Other items include 34 million dollars for "resources management," which means the Government's administration of the timber, oil and mineral resources on the Indian lands; more than 9 million for welfare; 8 million for job assistance and occupational training; another 8 million for administrative expenses and for a special loan fund.

All this does not include money spent indirectly by other Government agencies, or amounts spent by State and local governments. Nor does it include the income that many tribes receive from timber, oil, uranium and other resources on their reservations. Some tribes—the Navajos, for example —get substantial earnings this way. The value of all such assets has been estimated at around 6 billion dollars.

### A Gift Plan That Failed

Look more closely at how the money is spent, and you run into some real tangles. One of the biggest has grown up out of what is known as the "heirship problem."



—Bureau of Indian Affairs Photo

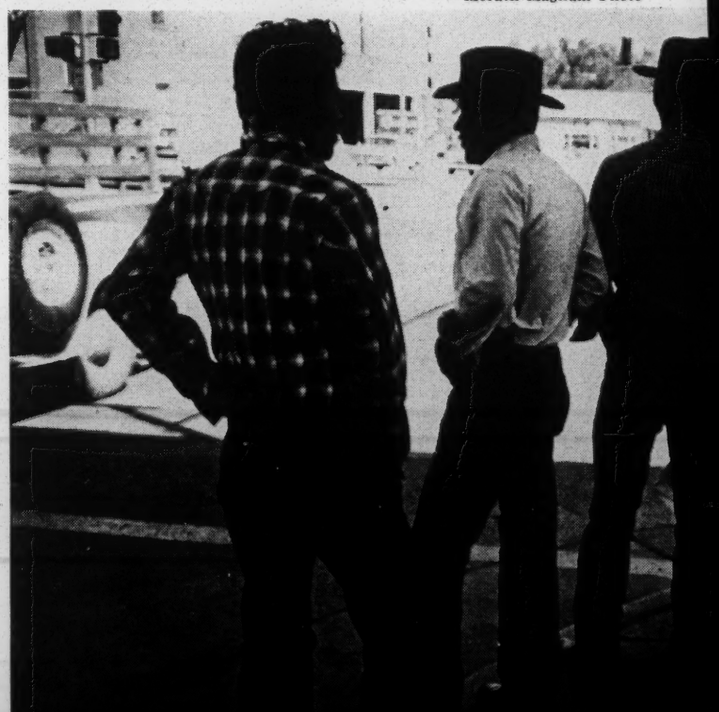
**One third of all Indian children still attend Indian schools that are operated by the Federal Government.**

—Wide World Photo

**This Indian worker on a pipeline is typical of those who have taken jobs off the reservations. But one out of every three who leave eventually goes back.**

**Indians such as these (below) on a street corner in Gallup, N. M., have the same rights as all U. S. citizens. But, for most Indians, there is no yearning for complete integration.**

—Morath-Magnum Photo



—U. S. Public Health Service Photo

From cradle to grave, the Government provides federal-service Indians with complete medical care, cost-free.

—Western Ways Photo

Indian cowboys rounding up the herd on a reservation ranch. Now Government is trying to industrialize the Indian lands.

Nearly 80 years ago, someone had the idea that the way to solve the Indian problem was to divide the Indian lands and give each Indian a plot of ground to farm. Overlooked was the fact that most Indians were hunters, not farmers. That oversight has plagued the Government ever since.

The Indians were unable to make a living on the land. So the Government had to continue its "trusteeship," manage the individual tract for the Indian by leasing it to somebody else and give the Indian owner the tax-free income that resulted. The system worked fairly well for a while.

But, by now, the land has been handed down from generation to generation so that some small plots of 80 or 160 acres have literally hundreds of owners. The land can't be sold because that would require the unanimous agreement of all the heirs, and many of them cannot be found.

So, regularly, the Government mails tens of thousands of small checks—many for 25 cents or less—to all the known heirs. The cost of preparing and processing each check is often more than its face value.

Only Congress, by a special law, can put an end to this tangle. Meanwhile, the Bureau hires more people, buys bigger and better computers—and each year there are more heirs, and more checks to mail.

It is clear at a glance that higher and higher spending by Government hasn't begun to solve the problems of the reservation Indians. The complex heirship problem is only one example. Many other things have been tried down through the years, but thousands of those on the reservations still live little better than their grandparents did.

## Relocation—a New Life

The Government's main goal for the Indians in recent years has been to get them off reservations and into the mainstream of American life.

Starting in 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs undertook a national program to relocate in major cities of the West and Midwest those Indians who were interested. Help was furnished not only to the Indian job hunter, but to his family as well. It included transportation costs, subsistence grants until the paychecks started coming in, and special guidance in finding a place to live and adjusting to new surroundings.

At the outset, things went along fairly well. Most of the first volunteers were Indian veterans of the armed forces who had already brushed up against modern life, and often had acquired useful skills. But when the program began to reach other Indians, difficulties mounted.

One of the biggest was lack of skills. In 1956, Congress authorized the Bureau to provide Indians with vocational training, on-the-job training and apprenticeship training. The cost is paid by the Government—including transportation, tuition, health insurance, tools and supplies, plus subsistence for the trainee.

Nevertheless, the program was far from a spectacular success. Now relocation is being played down. The special programs are still in effect, but they are usually referred to as "employment assistance" rather than "relocation." The new idea seems to be this: If the Indians will not go where the jobs are, maybe the jobs can be brought to the Indians.

## Now, Industries for Reservations

The Kennedy Administration is stressing the economic development of the reservations. Industries are being encouraged on or near Indian lands, with subsidies often offered as an inducement. Enterprises sponsored and financed by the tribes are being encouraged, too. Credit is being made available by the Government. Surveys are in progress to try to find out what type of undertaking might succeed on the reservations. One of the most promising: tourist trade.

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# INTEGRATION: AMERICA'S INDIANS

So far, these various efforts have created about 1,300 jobs. And everybody agrees that at the present pace it will be a long time before this, by itself, will solve the problem of unemployment on the reservations.

### End Special Programs?

An entirely separate question, but one that is getting a great deal of attention now, is whether the Federal Government should begin to withdraw from its special programs for the Indians.

In 1953, Congress passed a resolution fixing it to be the policy of Congress "as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States," and that "the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens."

The following year, the Indian Bureau put together a list of more than 200 tribes or groups it considered fully ready to take over management of their own affairs. Since then, federal guidance of about 50 of these—mostly small groups living in California—has been "terminated" by Congress. In all, about 13,000 Indians have been affected.

The termination idea quickly ran into a hornets' nest of opposition. At first, the new policy was interpreted to mean that, whether they wished it or not, these tribes and groups were to be terminated—with their members no longer eligible for Indian Bureau services. In 1958, the Interior Department softened the policy. Now the Government steps out of the picture only when a group consents. A few groups are terminated each year, but the pace is slow.

### Opposition From the Tribes

Opposition to the termination program has come mainly from the Indians. Even the most advanced tribes seem reluctant to have the Government end its guardianship.

Many of them see this step as a threat to their security. They fear that they will not be able to pay taxes on their lands, which, under federal trusteeship, have been tax-free. They are wary about being subject to the jurisdiction of some States which, they say, have discriminated against Indians and denied them civil rights. Also, they are reluctant to see the end of such benefits as free medical care. Defenders of the program point out that Indians may still live together on reservations if they choose. That's the answer given to those who worry that the end of Government guardianship will bring the end of Indian culture. But then the Indians who choose to stay on reservations will run their own affairs, and stop receiving special benefits.

The battle over termination of federal responsibility is far from over. In 1961, when the Kennedy Administration came in, a special task force was assembled to study the entire Indian problem. In meetings with Indians, it was found that they did not even want to talk about the possible end of special federal services for them.

At one meeting, John O. Crow, now Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said: "We have reached the point where we can't talk about it to each other; we don't want to talk about it; and if we do talk about it we have rather harsh words on the subject."

The task force concluded that the U. S. had the cart before the horse—that the termination of services should be made a long-range goal, to be reached only after economic development and greatly strengthened educational programs have equipped Indians to get along on their own.

Congress is not fully satisfied with this vague timing for the end of the Indian programs. There is considerable concern that subsidies and continued Government management of their affairs will not prepare the Indians to assume the full responsibilities of citizenship. Critics say such things are more likely to discourage initiative and make the Indians even more dependent on the Government.

Congressional committees are constantly trying to get the Government to move ahead with termination of tribes that appear ready. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs repeatedly asks the Indian Bureau to draw up long-range plans for the termination of each tribe.

### After a Century, a Long Job Ahead

So far, these requests have not produced results. Meanwhile, all but overlooked in the tension over Negroes' rights, the reservation Indians remain just about as badly off as they were a century ago. It looks as though it will take many years and a lot more money before the entire Indian population is ready to assume the full role of citizenship.

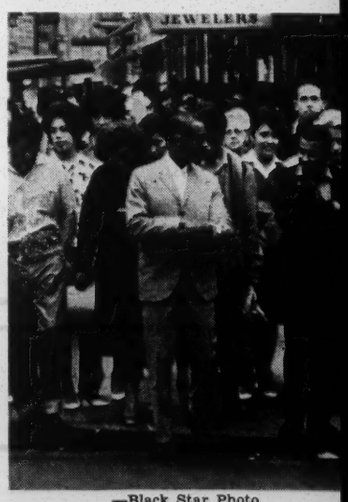
—Western Ways Photo

## THE INDIAN AND THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

*From "Democracy in America," 1840, by Alexis de Tocqueville:*

"The Negro makes a thousand fruitless efforts to insinuate himself among men who repulse him; he conforms to the tastes of his oppressors, adopts their opinions, and hopes by imitating them to form a part of their community. . . . The Indian, on the contrary, has his imagination inflated with the pretended nobility of his origin, and lives and dies in the midst of these dreams of pride. Far from desiring to conform his habits to ours, he loves his savage life as the distinguishing mark of his race and repels every advance to civilization. . . .

"The Negro, who earnestly desires to mingle his race with that of the European, cannot do so; while the Indian, who might succeed to a certain extent, disdains to make the attempt. . . ."




—Black Star Photo

Post Magazine
September 7, 1963

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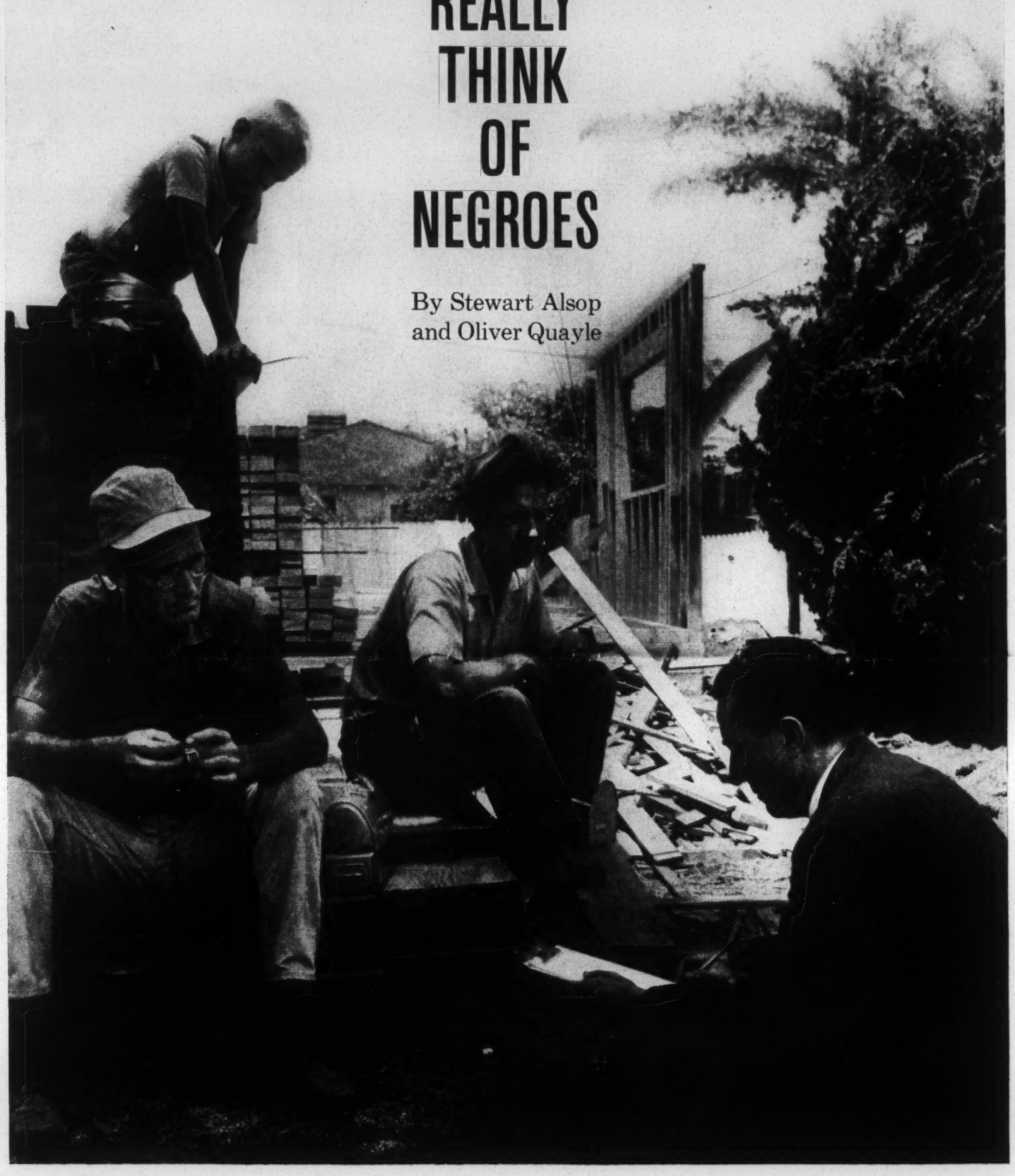
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
FOUNDED BY Benj. Franklin

# WHAT NORTHERNERS REALLY THINK OF NEGROES

By Stewart Alsop
and Oliver Quayle



*In Los Angeles, Alsop interviews a pair of house builders, Ward Peterson and Norman Larson.*

**Washington Editor Alsop and public-opinion-expert Quayle pooled their talents to discover the real reaction of the white North to the growing racial crisis.**

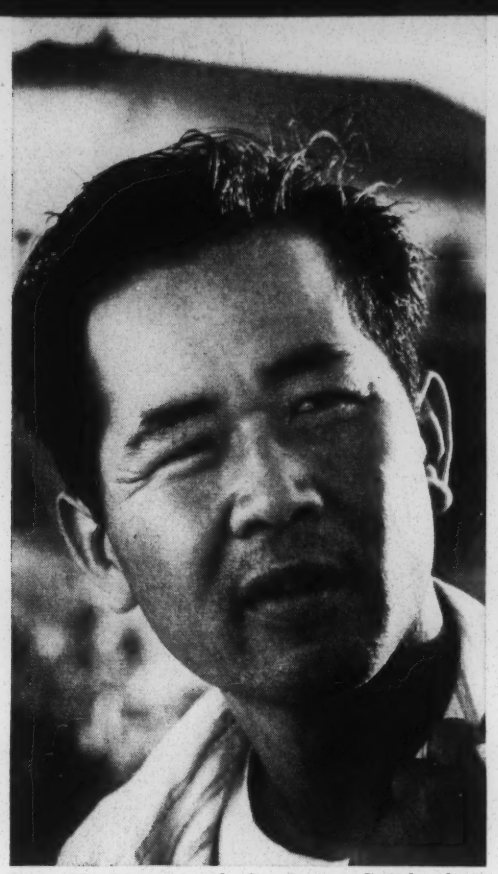
The white North is no more ready to accept genuine integration and real racial equality than the deep South. This conclusion may seem sweeping. But it is based on a lot of legwork—specifically it is based on 500 lengthy interviews in 12 statistically typical voting districts in the East, the Middle West and the West Coast. The statistical results of these interviews, and the answers to a number of the key questions, accompany this report. But the conclusion stated above is not based on statistics alone. It also is based on the way people in the North talk about racial equality.

Here, then, is the way people talk. Here are the phrases you would hear again and again and again all across the North, if you spent many hours ringing doorbells and asking people for their views on the race problem:

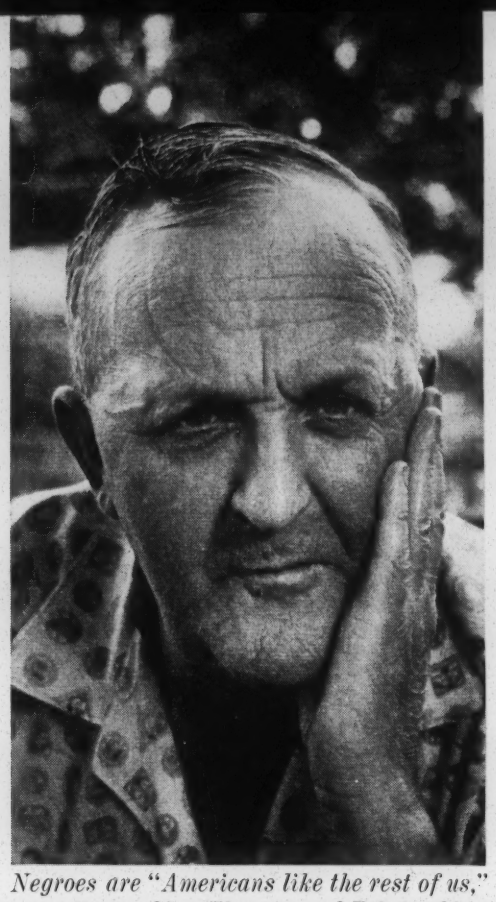
"They been held down too long, but they're pushing too hard."

"The colored got rights, just like us whites, but I don't see why we got to mingle together."

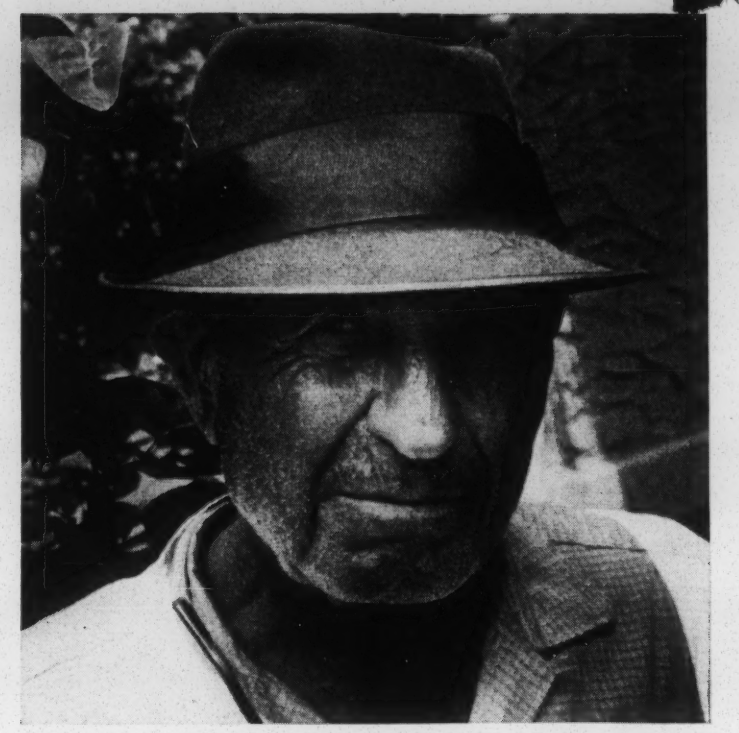
"They're human beings just like the rest of us, but I wouldn't want one living next door."



*Ray Yoshiyama of Gardena, Calif., feels Negroes "have not worked their way up."*



*Negroes are "Americans like the rest of us," according to Clay Thomason of Toledo, Ohio.*



*August de Santolo of Mount Vernon, N.Y., believes that hard work and not demonstrations is the way to get ahead in life.*

## "They're just human beings like the rest of us, but I wouldn't want one living next door."

"It says in the Constitution (or the Bible) that all men are equal, but they're not ready yet."

"There's some good, some bad, just like the rest of us, but I don't care for all this violence."

"Sure, they deserve a break, but look what happens to property values when they move into a neighborhood."

Each of the above sentences contains one small but significant word—"but." That word expresses the amazing and almost universal ambivalence of the northern white American's reaction to the racial crisis. The "but" neatly divides his mind into two parts.

One part of his mind mistily recalls that "all men are created equal"—it is surprising how many people use that phrase, or a variant. The other part of his mind insists that "some are more equal than others." If there had been no Negro drive for equality, there would have been no civil-rights bill. But what is very striking is the way in which the Negro drive—the demonstrations above all—has tended to alienate the northern white, to make him nervous and unhappy, to convince him that "the colored are getting out of hand." In case of widespread racial violence in the North, no matter who throws the first brick or draws the first blood, the alienation could very easily become total.

There are, of course, some whites in the North who have a one-part mind, an undivided mind. There are a good many people like Mr. Claude Tassell, of Toledo, Ohio, for example. "Boy, you fellows really want all the answers, don't you?" Mr. Tassell remarked to one of us. "OK, here goes. I think white people are a little superior. The Negroes are like savages. Have you seen them chanting and dancing in these demonstrations? Then you know how I feel. I believe in segregation really—now that you've asked. They should live by themselves and they should *want* to live by themselves. The trouble is, they don't want to. They want to feel equal to the whites."

Mr. Tassell is by no means alone. Of the people interviewed, a surprising 16 percent were convinced that whites are *innately* superior to Negroes—another 27 percent thought Negroes were inferior, but because of education and environment. (Two persons out of 500 thought the Negroes were *superior*. "The Negroes are physically superior," explained one. "When was the last white heavyweight champ? And the experts say there's no difference in intelligence. So the Negroes must be superior.") Like Mr. Tassell, the people of the 16 percent are, in general, unconditional segregationists.

There are also people like Mr. Clay Thomason, of Toledo, and Mrs. Marie Honcharik, an attractive housewife in Yonkers, N. Y. Mr. Thomason hails originally from Paducah, Ky., and he wants it clearly understood that "I'm no nigger-lover." But, he says, Negroes "are Americans like the rest of us." He admires President Kennedy for his civil-rights stand, and believes that it should be a Federal offense "to deny a person because his skin is black." Mrs. Honcharik recalls that "ever since I was a little girl I remember looking at colored people and feeling sorry for them." On every major civil-rights issue, she is on the side of the Negroes.

### A minority of extremists

But Mr. Thomason and Mrs. Honcharik, as all-out integrationists, are in the minority too—a minority of 23 percent, according to our sample. Thus taken together, the people like Mr. Tassell, who say an unconditional "no" to Negro demands for equality, and the people like Mr. Thomason and Mrs. Honcharik, who say an unconditional "yes," comprise less than 40 percent of the northern white population. The rest, three people out of five, say "Yes, but . . ." And the more you talk to these people, the smaller the "yes" sounds, and the bigger the "but."

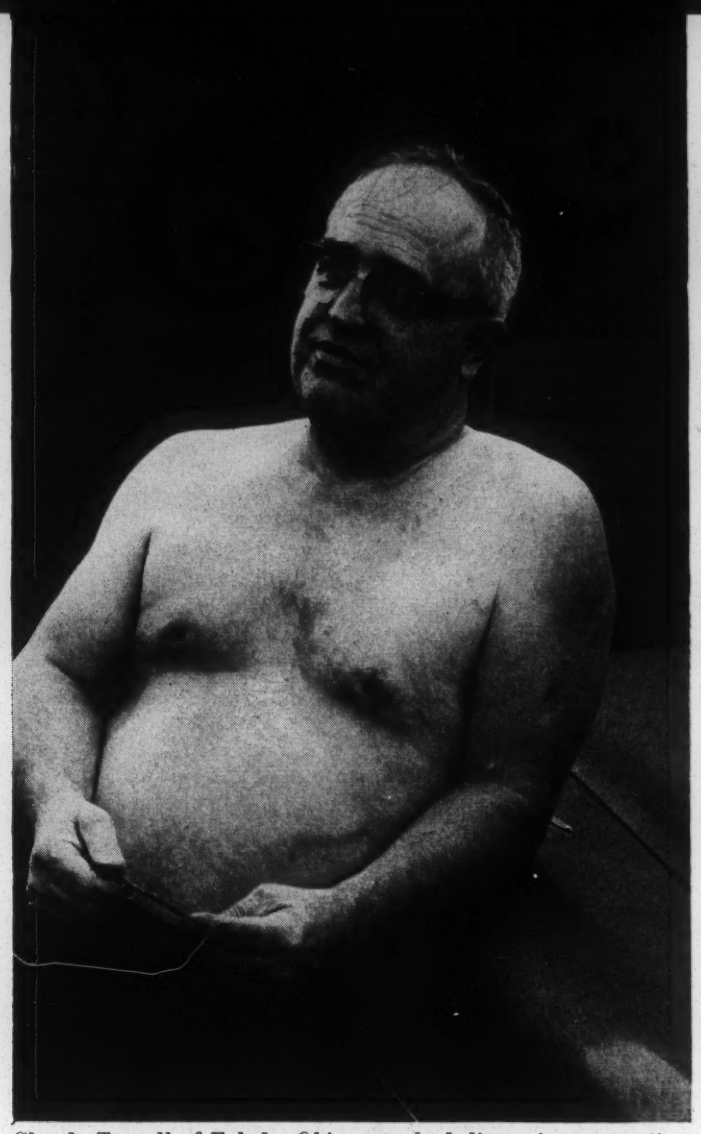
A couple of neighbors, Mrs. Clarence Main and Mrs. Nancy Kalk, both of Redondo Beach, Calif., are fairly typical yes-butters. Mrs. Main and Mrs. Kalk disagree on a number of points. Mrs. Main would vote for President Kennedy in 1964, while Mrs. Kalk prefers Barry Goldwater. Mrs. Main approves the accommodations section of the Kennedy civil-rights bill, and Mrs. Kalk is against it.

Mrs. Kalk believes that Negroes "should have more rights," but she is convinced that "they're just creating hate by the way they're pushing this," and she suspects that "it's pushed by the Communists." Mrs. Main feels that "these people deserve to be Americans—they pay their taxes and fight for their country the same as we do." But despite this she too thinks that "they're pushing too fast."

That curious phrase—"they're pushing too fast"—is a phrase the ringer of doorbells hears from coast to coast, and more than any other phrase it is the key to the white North's attitude toward the racial crisis. It is the key to what the present writers, about halfway through our project, began to call "the other side of the but." But first let us have a look at "this side of the but," the "yes" side. This is the side which is most easily reduced to statistics, which is one reason why the liberalism of the white North on the race question tends to be grossly overestimated by most people.

For example, those who were familiar with it (more than a third had no idea what it was about) approved Kennedy's civil-rights program by a two-to-one margin. They approved the key public-accommodations section by three to two. They agreed with Kennedy (as against Goldwater and the southern leaders) that civil rights is a matter for the Federal Government, rather than the states, to deal with. And they were in favor of the Supreme Court's school-integration ruling by a decisive three-to-one margin.

*Public-opinion-sampler Oliver Quayle talks to Mrs. Marie Honcharik in Yonkers, N.Y. "Ever since I was a little girl," she says, "I remember looking at Negroes and feeling sorry for them."*



*Claude Tassell of Toledo, Ohio, says he believes in segregation, because "Negroes are like savages" and should want to live apart.*

These figures seem to suggest that the white North is solidly liberal, tolerant and high-minded on the race question. And in one sense the figures are not lying. There *is* a basic difference of attitude between the white North and the segregationist South. The difference is most marked in the attitude of white northerners on the public-accommodations section of the civil-rights bill.

It was usually necessary to explain the accommodations section—"President Kennedy wants to make it against the law for the owner of a hotel, store or theater to deny service to a person because of race." Once explained, the reaction was very often the same—"That seems OK to me," or "I see nothing wrong with that." Often people sounded puzzled, as though wondering why the issue had ever been raised. Most white northerners, even passionate Negrophobes, take for granted the right of Negroes to be served in public places.

Many of the people we talked to also recalled going to school with Negroes—"never did me no harm," said one old lady, and several remarked that "that color don't rub off in school." These differences in attitude between the white North and the segregationist South are genuine, and they are important. But there are ways in which the white North and the segregationist South see eye to eye, and these similarities are also genuine and important.

Here we come to that phrase we heard again and again—"but they're pushing too hard." What does the phrase mean?

Many people, when they use the phrase, have the Negro demonstrations in mind. A great many people regard the demonstrations as somehow disgraceful, like a dirty house. "What must they think of us abroad?" several people asked. Mrs. Peterson, a housewife we interviewed in Southern California, feels that "the colored people are playing straight into Khrushchev's hands," by undermining the American position abroad.

In some people the Negro demonstrations have also created an underlying layer of simple physical fear. A lady in the Bronx was aghast when asked whether the *Post* could take her picture to go with her rather mild views on the race question. If her name were used, she said, "the colored will come and knife my kids."

The phrase also expressed another sort of fear—the fear that Negroes will "push" into white jobs, white schools, white neighborhoods; perhaps—for intermarriage is a widespread bugaboo—into white hearts.

This is the "other side of the but." And there is a very marked difference between the two sides of the but. On the "yes" side there is an abstract desire to see justice done to the American citizen whose skin happens to be black. But the desire is abstract; it is not deeply felt. On the other side there is the question: "How will it affect *me?*" And if the answer is that Negro advance may endanger social status, or a job, or the value of a house, the desire for abstract justice evaporates quickly, and the desire to "keep the colored in their place" appears instead. That desire can be very deeply felt.

### The touchiest subject of all

If a politician's constituency is white by a big majority, and if he wishes to commit political suicide, there appear to be three easy ways to do so. One is to espouse the demands of some Negro organizations for exchanges of white and colored students by bus, to end "de facto segregation." When a lot of people in the New York area volunteered complaints about this scheme, we added a question about it to our interview. But we dropped the question later, because everybody, including those strongly pro-Negro on every other issue, denounced the idea. The feeling against job quotas for Negroes, we discovered, is almost as strong. But the touchiest subject of all, because it affects more people than any other, is the subject of housing.

Again and again we had the same experience. A person would seem a very paladin of racial tolerance. In favor of the accommodations section of the civil-rights bill—"How would you feel if you were turned out of a restaurant because of the color of your skin?" In favor of better treatment for the Negroes—"They been held down too long." In favor of the Supreme Court integration decision, and willing to have his or her children go to an integrated school—"That color don't rub off." And then the question about housing, and a pause, often embarrassed, and then, in the words of a kindly-faced man we talked to in a Los Angeles suburb: "Look, mister, the colored move into an area and values go down twenty percent, even more—I just can't afford that."

The statistics speak for themselves. Of those with an opinion in the matter, 77 percent of the people we interviewed, more than three out of four, believed that a white man should have the right to refuse to sell his house to a Negro on the basis of race. We found the same lopsided reply to our question everywhere we went, from coast to coast. It is remarkable that any politician who has favored anti-discrimination statutes in housing survives in office.

The motivation for this reaction is partly, but only partly, economic. Mr. H. Gene Creecy of Toledo pointed out that if he sold his house to a Negro "all the others in the neighborhood will automatically go down from $2,000 to $4,000." But he also said, "Personally, I don't want to live beside them—they're different, that's all."

Another Toledoan, Mr. Elmer Dowling, a retired accountant, considered the problem in terms of the life after death: "I wouldn't want to live near one, but of course if I die and go to Heaven I know I'll have to live with them then. I might feel the same way I do down here, but

# "Look, mister, the colored move into an area and values go down twenty percent, even more.

THE ALSOP-QUAYLE POLL

To produce this report, Oliver Quayle selected 12 "barometric" voting districts in the East, the Middle West and the West coast, for 500 interviews in depth. Alsop and Quayle were assisted by Quayle's staff of trained interviewers, but they did more than half the interviews themselves, since their purpose was to interpret, report and analyze, as well as to produce statistics. The statistical results of their project are also interesting, however, and in some cases startling. Here are the most pertinent ones—with "no opinion" responses eliminated in every instance:

What kind of a job do you think President Kennedy is doing? Robert Kennedy?

| | President | Robert Kennedy |
|---|---|---|
| "Excellent" or "pretty good" | 57% | 48% |
| "Only fair" or "poor" | 43% | 52% |

If the election were being held tomorrow, would you probably vote for:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kennedy | 64% | Kennedy | 57% |
| Rockefeller | 36% | Goldwater | 43% |

What do you think are the most important issues facing the United States?

Race 33% Foreign-policy problems 22% Taxes 16% (rest scattered)

What do you think of the President's civil-rights program?

Approve 63% Disapprove 37%

What do you think of accommodations section (explained by interviewer)?

Approve 61% Disapprove 39%

What do you think of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration?

Approve 75% Disapprove 25%

Is civil rights a matter for the states or the Federal Government?

States 36% Federal 64%

Suppose you yourself had school-age children, other things being equal, would you prefer that they went to integrated school, all white, or would it make no difference to you?

Integrated 17% All white 42% No difference 41%

Do you think a Negro should have the right to buy a home anywhere, or do you think a white man should have the right to refuse to sell to a Negro?

Negro should have right to buy 23%
White should have right to refuse 77%

Do you think there is a basic difference between the white and Negro races?

White superior innately 16%
White superior because of education 27%
Races about the same 57%

Do you think the Negroes in this country are treated too well, not well enough, or about right?

Too well 11% Not well enough 38% About right 51%

if the Lord says to me I have to make a choice, I'd live with them just to be with Him."

Some whites complain that anti-discrimination statutes really discriminate against whites. "Look," said a jaunty businessman in blue slacks, who lived in the Bronx and refused to have his picture taken, "suppose I won't sell you this house because I don't like the look of you. So you're white, so OK. Suppose you're colored. So if I refuse to sell it to you, I'm in trouble, maybe bad trouble. There really ought to be a National Association for the Advancement of White People."

Others complain that Negroes "don't keep up their places." There seems to be a widespread notion, easily disproved by a tour of any Negro middle-class area, that "the colored throw their garbage on the lawn." Such complaints are most likely to be voiced by sloppy housekeepers in rundown areas.

In fact, contrary to the mythology of the liberal intellectuals, on the race issue as on other issues, the poor are apt to be a lot more reactionary than the reasonably well off. A person with a neurotic hankering to hear rabidly racist views should avoid the comfortable suburbs with well-kept lawns, and he should not ring the doorbells of people with Jewish or Anglo-Saxon names.

He should go, instead, to the working-class areas, especially where Negroes are moving in, and especially where there are immigrants and minority races other than Jews. There is a widespread feeling among the minorities that the Negroes, in the words of Mr. Ray Yoshiyama, of Gardena, Calif., "haven't worked their way up." Mr. Yoshiyama spent his boyhood in a wartime detention camp, and he is proud that he now makes a decent living as a market gardener. Hard work, not demonstrations, he thinks, is the way to get ahead.

Mr. August de Santolo, of Mount Vernon, N. Y., who came over from Italy as a boy and is proud of his successful sons, feels much the same way. So do Mr. and Mrs. Leslei Toths. Mr. Toths is a refugee from Hungary, and he and his German wife are intensely proud of their $25,000 house in Culver City, Calif. The value of their previous house in another suburb depreciated badly when Negroes began to move in, and the memory rankles. "The Negroes are pressing too fast," complains Mr. Toths. He feels they should realize "that white people are a thousand years ahead in culture."

Northern whites, in short, are willing enough to share a restaurant or a hotel with Negroes, and they will even share their schools—although better than two out of five said they would prefer to send their children to all-white schools. But aside from the three sticking points mentioned earlier, there is also an underlayer of mixed fear and prejudice. This underlayer is far more prevalent in the white North than the writers of this report had realized before they set out on their tour. And for the first time, the racial issue has suddenly become the dominant issue in this country. Last year one of us asked 500 people, "What concerns you most?" Race was way down on the list. Now it easily leads all the other issues, including the survival issue of war and peace.

What, then, with a presidential election year coming up in 1964, is the probable political impact of the racial issue?

One of us recently asked that question of New York's shrewd Sen. Jacob Javits. Surely, the reporter said, in view of the way so many northern whites talked about the Negro question, it was a dangerous thing for a politician, like Javits himself, to be an all-out advocate of civil rights?

"Sure," said the senator, "I know they talk that way. But they don't vote that way."

This is the Javits Rule. Our sample strongly suggests that the Javits Rule remains valid. President Kennedy himself (belatedly, according to his critics) must now be counted an all-out advocate of civil rights. He must be counted with the one-in-four minority in the white North who say an unconditional "yes" to Negro aspirations, as against the three out of four who say "yes, but" or "no."

Logically, therefore, the civil-rights issue, as the dominant issue today, ought to hurt the President politically, perhaps even wound him mortally. But, at least in the north, the hurt to the President seems hardly more than a pinprick.

Seven percent of the people we talked to gave his stand on the race crisis as a reason for liking the President, against 11 percent who disliked him for the same reason. The spread in Robert Kennedy's case was markedly wider—5 percent to 12 percent—which suggests that the Attorney General acts as a useful lightning rod for his brother, where the race issue is concerned. Remember, moreover, that we interviewed only whites, and what the President has lost among whites has certainly been balanced at least in part by what he has gained among Negroes.

## Kennedy is still popular

Moreover, in our sample, President Kennedy inflicted on both Sen. Barry Goldwater and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller a political "murder most horrible," although the murder of Goldwater was notably less horrible than Rockefeller's. In voting districts which voted 50 percent for Richard Nixon in 1960, in two states (Ohio and California) which Kennedy lost in 1960, and with the pro-Kennedy Negro vote excluded, Kennedy beat Rockefeller two to one, and Goldwater by a spread of 14 percentage points.

The real question, then, is not whether the racial issue has already hurt the President badly; it hasn't. The real question is whether the Javits Rule can be broken by circumstances and an astute opposition. Suppose, for example, that there is *really* bad racial trouble in the North before next year's election. This is not impossible, as anyone who has smelled the atmosphere in the streets of our big cities can attest.

Even bad racial trouble would not bring the white North to support a racist segregationist on the southern pattern. The real northern Negrophobes are so small a minority in the North that any candidate carrying the label "anti-Negro" would be doomed from the start among the majority of whites. But suppose Kennedy's opponent presented himself as a moderate, a middle-of-the-roader—a yes-butter, like the

# I just can't afford that."

white majority. And suppose he succeeded in implanting in the minds of the yes-but majority the notion that on racial matters the President is an extremist, a Negro yes-man, indifferent to "the rights of the white majority," intent on forcing Negroes and whites to live together.

Under these circumstances, is it possible that the Javits Rule might be broken, and that the racial issue might be used to encompass the defeat of an extremely popular President?

No one really knows the answer to that question, of course. But after all our walking and talking, the writers of this report are convinced that the racial issue is a sleeper—an unpredictable but potentially decisive political factor. The white North does not really feel strongly about such issues as the civil-rights bill or the Supreme Court's integration decision. The white North feels very strongly about such far more personal matters as housing and social integration. These are the kind of strong feelings that really can cause election upsets.

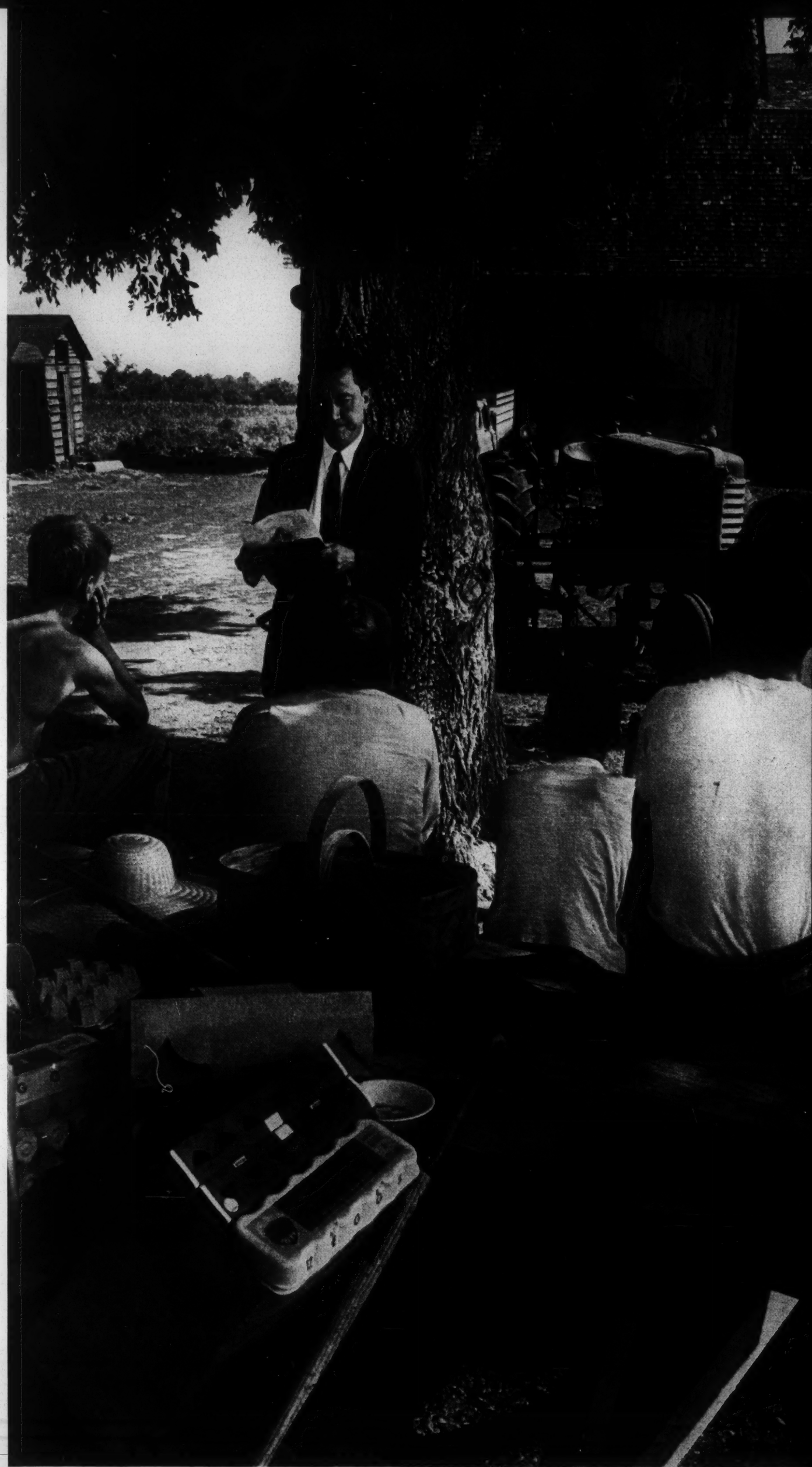
The writers of this report are convinced of something else as well. For the time being there is simply no way to reconcile the aspirations of the new generation of Negroes for real integration and true equality with the resistance to those aspirations of the majority of whites. For a time this country will simply have to live with the irreconcilable.

The finding that astonished us most—we went back and rechecked it to be sure it was correct—was that only 38 percent of the people we interviewed feel that the American Negro is treated "not well enough." More than six out of 10 feel that the Negro is being treated "about right," or even "too well."

These six people out of 10 have no understanding of the brutal meaning of the statistics cited by the President: "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or state in which he is born, has about one half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; . . . twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and prospects for earning only half as much."

As long as six out of 10 northern whites are unaware of such facts or indifferent to them, the gulf between what the Negroes want and what the whites will accept will continue to be very wide. It is much wider today than most people realize, which is why the racial crisis in this country is more dangerous than most people have yet discovered.

The danger lies less in violent Negro action than in violent white reaction. It is easy to imagine the kind of political oratory, perhaps sweetly reasonable in seeming, which would ignite all the fears and prejudices which lie on "the other side of the but." The racial crisis today is like a controlled cancer. The excitements and temptations of a presidential election year might cause the issue to be exploited in such a way that the cancer might get out of control. That is a risk the responsible leadership of both parties should weigh most seriously. THE END



*Surrounded by his sons and farm equipment, truck-gardener Wayne Bressler of Monroe, Mich., sits for his interview by Washington Editor Alsop. Some 500 such interviews contributed to this report.*

LOOK, 9/10/63

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A NEGRO WRITER TELLS

# WHY THE NEGROES CONTINUE TO

The current Negro uprising was brought on by the total collapse of the Negro's faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure, and is directed against both segregation and the entrenched Negro leadership

DIRECT ACTION is now the major weapon in the Negro's arsenal. The Negro march on Washington, a predicted 100 thousand strong, is to urge passage of the Administration's civil-rights bill. But the arrival of this horde of *us* is more than a show of support for this particular piece of legislation; it is a major battle in the Negro Revolt. Our march—as was our march against Birmingham's Bull Conner—is a defiance, a further determination "not to let nobody turn us round."

The capital stage is set for a definitive encounter:

The Administration interposed the civil-rights bill only after the tragedy of Birmingham. President Kennedy told the nation, in essence: Enact this bill, or face more demonstrations, perhaps violence.

Southern legislators cried blackmail and vowed not only to filibuster the bill, but to imperil other Administration bills as well.

Negro leaders momentarily abandoned their internecine wars and hoisted the umbrella of unity under which we all march to Washington together. The President has welcomed us, but are we really wanted there? The Administration invites our prayers, but is wary of our presence. The Kennedy brothers have certified our desires, but would just as soon do without our demonstrations—particularly if, in the President's own word, we plan to get "unruly."

Against this backdrop, the bill, at stage center, will pass or fail, in part or in whole, and its passing or failing will create yet another dilemma. Should the bill pass, it will be taken by the Negro as further evidence that the nation acts only when we create a crisis. If the measure fails, the defeat will be taken as final proof that this nation will not yield under any circumstances. These are chilling alternatives because each of them is based on the Negro's spiritual estrangement from this republic. But that—the Negro's estrangement and the reasons for it—is precisely what the Negro Revolt is all about.

The current Negro uprising represents a drastic change in technique, the racing of thousands of Negroes from the courtroom into the streets and marketplace in search of the manna tree called "integration." It was brought on by the total collapse of the Negro's faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure, and is directed against both segregation and the entrenched Negro leadership.

Up to 1955, the Negro protest movement was centered in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was chained to legalism and had an essentially middle-class outlook. The NAACP had obtained magnificent legal victories, but the implementation of the court decisions was proceeding with all deliberate footdragging. Clinging tenaciously to its conservative approach, the NAACP found itself seeking court orders to force recalcitrant Southerners to obey previous court orders. And the Southerners proceeded to flout both the first court order and the command to obey it.

Then came the Montgomery bus boycott and Martin Luther King. Swift on their heels came the Supreme Court ruling ending discrimination in intrastate public carriers. The sit-ins followed—and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Swift on their heels came the end of segregation at hundreds of lunch counters across the South. The Freedom Rides and the Congress of Racial Equality brought the Federal fiat ending discrimination in terminal facilities. The pragmatic black masses began to wonder if public demonstrations were not the only route to equality. They were obviously the shortest.

This set off fierce rivalry among civil-rights organizations for funds, memberships and public acclaim. The NAACP's propaganda machines began to turn out press releases reminding the nation that the NAACP had staged sit-ins long before CORE and Martin Luther King came on the scene. This was true, but the NAACP never explained why it abandoned such an effective weapon.

The claim to direct-action techniques was further clouded when several officials of the NAACP became openly critical of such demonstrations. NAACP's board chairman, the Rt. Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood, called the sit-ins "signal flares." Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP, pointed to the Freedom Rides and predicted that the funds needed for such "forays" would soon dry up. And Wilkins's administrative assistant, Dr. John A. Morsell, flatly told the 1960 NAACP convention: "We can hardly advocate or condone a policy of mass civil disobedience, except under such extreme conditions that would warrant complete abandonment of the entire philosophy of operations which has sustained us for fifty years."

During 1962 and early 1963, the revolt sputtered. CORE went broke posting bails at Jackson, Miss. Despite nonviolent demonstrations by hundreds of Negroes, Martin Luther King failed to achieve desegregation of bus terminal facilities in Albany, Ga. And the penniless workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee sloshed through the bayous of Mississippi in search of Negro voters and a good hot meal. There were minor skirmishes, but no real battles. Things got very quiet; they became very mean. The Black Muslims alone barometered the bile boiling in the Negro's guts.

Then came Birmingham, and the collective snap of the Negro's spirit boomed like thunder across the nation. Interracial couples in New York separated for reasons they couldn't explain. White liberals realized that their Negro friends were deliberately avoiding them. White editors discovered that Negro writers were too choked up to create anything but damnation of the white man. Comedian Dick Gregory stopped being funny and made his audiences weep with guilt. A Negro construction worker in Brooklyn assaulted a fellow white worker who had been calling him "Sambo" for six months without incident. Then Medgar Evers was murdered.

Negroes all over the land, in every town, looked under their municipal rugs and found that the segregation they have known was there all their lives. They marched in the streets—some quarter of a million of them in upwards of 40 cities—to shout, "Now or never!" And it was to calm the black crowds that the President introduced his eleventh-hour civil-rights bill.

# REVOLT

BY LOUIS E. LOMAX
*Author of* NEGRO REVOLT *and* THE RELUCTANT AFRICAN

So now a hundred thousand of us are marching on Washington singing, "We shall overcome some day." The chances that we will get unruly are slim. We will march, pray, sing freedom songs, listen to long speeches from our leaders and visit our congressmen. But because they are bound by a compromise, our leaders will not have us sit in on Capitol Hill, as Martin Luther King indicated we might. If the bill passes, it will give us more Federal aid against pockets of segregation already under siege. Should the bill fail, Negroes will resort to much more hell raising until segregation falls in the interest of public order, safety and the national image.

But the bill is not our only concern as we come to Washington. We are also gathered to warn the nation that it would be fatal to underestimate the Negro's determination. Our commitment against segregation is total—dangerously so. The Negro Revolt is on exact schedule. Thanks to Bull Conner's dogs, things are moving along better than most of us thought they would be at this juncture.

The revolt's victory over the Negro leadership class is complete. In July, Roy Wilkins presided over a runaway NAACP national convention that committed black mankind to direct action and then hooted down everybody—including Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley and Negro Baptist leader Dr. J. H. Jackson—who bore the taint of moderation. To his eternal credit, several weeks before the convention, Wilkins hied off to Jackson, Miss., and got himself put into jail.

Even the conservative Urban League has resorted to direct action. Its New York leaders were bruised and bloodied during the storming of a police barricade at Harlem Hospital.

The revolt's thrust against segregation has yet to result in total victory. But it will. One day soon, Negroes will go to "white" theaters in Savannah, Ga.; they will eat integrated hamburgers in Greenwood, Miss.; black women will try on dresses before they buy them in Birmingham, Ala.; our children will attend integrated schools in Danville, Va.; Negro travelers will use integrated washroom facilities in Albany, Ga.; and we are going to eat grits and greens at a roadside café in Cambridge, Md. All of this will cause deep troubling, but it will come about.

When visible, legal segregation is ended, Negroes must come to grips with the fact that they are an underdeveloped people. We Negroes, on the whole, are not ready to assume the responsibilities that are inseparable concomitants of the freedoms we seek. There are reasons for this, and the Negro's "cultural gap" has everything to do with what has happened to the black man in America since his reluctant migration from Africa. But that was almost four hundred years ago. To be sure, we are still scarred by what happened then, and since, but democracy is as demanding as it is infectious, and the Negro is by no means relieved of the imperative to further change things by becoming a much more responsible citizen than he now is. The American Negro must be taught and is ready to be taught.

Can the present Negro leaders do the job within the Negro community they are now doing against the white establishment? Frankly, I doubt it. They are too protest-minded, too caught up—and rightly so—in removing segregation. But a younger crop of Negro leaders who can do an intracommunity job are already waiting in the wings.

THE REV. JAMES BEVEL asked a Negro in Birmingham, "How the hell you going to say you love God, and you don't even vote? Jesus

continued

DRAWING BY AUSTIN BRIGGS

# The young leaders of the future have been shot at and jailed

don't need no freeloaders. He had enough of them at the Crucifixion. If you want to help God's kingdom come on earth, you register at the polls tomorrow. Meanwhile, let your daughter stay in jail with the rest of the demonstrators until our change comes."

"Praise the Lord! I sure will do just that," the man said and walked away.

DIANE NASH is Mrs. James Bevel. On lonely nights, she and Jim sit around—after they have put their little child to sleep—and match jail records. They also "town-drop," swapping accounts of their adventures in Southern cities where they have gone to tell Negroes to stand up, scrub up, be somebody and vote. And there is friendly rivalry in the Bevel family. Jim works for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Diane works for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

IKE REYNOLDS and Mary Hamilton of CORE are modern highwaymen. You will find them up and down the dusty roads of the deep South conducting Freedom Rides and Marches. You will also find them sleeping in the homes of the black masses, telling them of the need to look up and become a part of a great new thing. And they and the people they serve become one with the troubled earth.

NORMAN HILL, Velma Hill, Gladys Harrington, James Horton and John Parham are the young people who not only organized the Harlem Hospital demonstration in New York, but also went scurrying to find Negroes who could qualify for the breakthrough jobs they sought. Norman Hill, his wife Velma and Gladys Harrington are CORE people; James Horton is part of the new look among NAACP-ers, and John Parham is the type of Urban Leaguer who will get their much-touted "crash program" off the drawing boards.

BOB MOSES came back home to New York for a few days last summer. But he didn't return to get the job his Harvard education says he should have. Bob came to raise money for his fellow SNCC workers in Mississippi. Bob wired every dime he could raise back to the young men and women tramping through Mississippi and Alabama conducting voter-registration programs among Negroes. Bob Moses himself went hungry in New York; a friendly white magazine editor had to take him out to dinner and make him eat.

DORIS DERBY, 22, teaches school in Yonkers, N. Y., and is studying for her master's degree at Hunter College. Two years ago, she joined the "movement" and became an SNCC worker at Albany, Ga. Come September, Doris is headed for the deep South, where she will use the latest methods of adult education to teach illiterate Negroes how to read and write, and how to vote.

DOROTHY COTTON, 25, holds a master's degree in speech from Boston University. "Click, click, click"—one can hear her heels as she walks across the upper ramp of a Birmingham, Ala., motel. The night has fused into early morning; Martin Luther King and his top aides are asleep. But Dorothy is awake. She has just bedded down her key student leaders. In a few hours now, she will awaken them, and they will all be in church by nine o'clock, leading freedom songs and transmuting young Negro frustration into dignity. Shortly before noon, Martin Luther King will walk on the stage and ask, "Do you want to be free?" And Dorothy Cotton sees to it that three thousand children are there, ready to shout "yes." Then they march off to jail.

CLARENCE MITCHELL, JR., 25, ran for the State Assembly from the Baltimore Negro ghetto on the "sit-in" ticket. He hired his 18-year-old brother as his campaign manager and licked both the Negro conservatives and the segregationists to become the first Negro to sit in the Maryland House of Delegates since Reconstruction.

These are names to remember. These men and women are all under 30, they all are poor, they lead by living with the people, and—other than Clarence Mitchell—I doubt if any of them has ever had a cocktail with a white liberal. Most of them have been beaten and shot at; most of them have been to jail. These will be the leaders of the future. They, and others like them, will guide the Negro over the debris of the past into first-class citizenship.

These young leaders will not walk alone. The big-name leaders will still be with us, leading attacks on lingering aspects of discrimination. And when the legal battles and street demonstrations are settled and over with, the Southern Negro schoolteacher can emerge into the open once again. Then the Negro Revolt will have come full circle, and Negro teachers can train tomorrow's statesmen, just as they clandestinely trained today's revolutionaries. It will be a great day when these Negro teachers are released from fear and put back in harness where they belong. They can combine with the young leaders and tell Negroes the tribal truth: that the only way to get up and go is to get up and git!

But the times are a bit tender now for this. A man who is blocked from the washroom is hardly in the mood to be told that he should drink less and vote more; a black child whose best job prospect is to become manager of a white household cannot be blamed too much if she doesn't widen her horizons to dream of becoming a chemical engineer. People who live out their lives on the brink of terror and insecurity can hardly be expected to become responsible citizens.

Soon now, we will be able to write about these American horrors in the past tense. There will be no clear break, a morning when we will wake up and find segregation gone. There will only be continuing change and progress. By protesting, we Negroes are ushering in that change and progress, and we must ready our young for the new day we are bringing on.

We Americans, black and white alike, have sinned—but there is greatness in our guilt. Never before has a society tried to absorb so large and, for whatever reasons, troubling a minority. This is the first time a nation has attempted so drastic a social change, so quickly and with the anticipation of spilling so little blood. Let the truth be told: This entire nation is on a long Freedom Ride. Some of the children are reluctant to get on board, but, as Govs. George Wallace and Ross Barnett proved, they are of no mind to be crushed and left behind. The Negro Revolt is America reaching for immortality. It is within our grasp, and we will capture it if we prove to be men of level heads and compassionate hearts. END

*"Litterbug!"*

9/19/63

the treaty is ratified, by the continued assurance that the professional military voice of the Joint Chiefs will be heard in its naked, unadorned, unveiled form—unanimous or not—in the legislative branch of the Government.

All of this adds up to the provision of a hot line of communication, direct from top U.S. military planners—the Joint Chiefs—to a specified group in Congress.

The right of a member of the JCS to go to Congress is not new. The law recognizes that, after just informing the Secretary of Defense, a member of the Joint Chiefs may make recommendations to Congress relating to the policies of the Department of Defense.

What is new about the hot line concept is that, if it is approved, Congress would direct the Joint Chiefs to make reports, routinely, of the military views on related defense issues—before decisions are irrevocably made.

HOT LINE AND DECISIONS

How such a permanent setup might work out can be seen in a few examples of recent defense issues. In the TFX controversy, for instance, Congress was confronted with a fait accompli: A huge, basic contract had been signed and sealed before the contrary views of military analysts were even made known to congressional committees. Had there been a hot line in this case, presumably the decision would have been held up until the intensive investigation later ordered by Congress had been carried out.

Congress also would have had a greater—perhaps a formative—role in decisions like those involving the Skybolt, the B-70, trimming of forces overseas, in which action was taken before Congress was notified in each case.

In addition, if Congress could have been kept abreast in this way of military views on developing risks in Cuba, this might have prevented an intelligence bobble like the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Many of America's top military men, thus, are hoping that the Admiral's suggestion will lead to some basic changes, whereby the voice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will be heard loud and clear over what would amount to an authorized hot line—direct from them to Congress.

## Sgt. Donald M. Hamblen, a Marine's Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 19, 1963*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in this week's issue of Newsweek on one individual's personal courage should be of interest to all Members.

I am speaking of an account of Marine Sgt. Donald M. Hamblen of Augusta, Maine, who, through great determination, made his first parachute jump with one leg and thus earned his right to remain in the crack 1st Force Reconnaissance Company of the U.S. Marines.

I am proud of this constituent of mine and I am sure that this man's personal bravery and intestinal fortitude will be a great example to many others with similar handicaps.

The article follows:

MARINE'S MARINE

Now it was time for the ultimate test. Marine Sgt. Donald M. Hamblen had dashed 50 yards, hoisted a fellow leatherneck across his shoulders, and carried the "casualty" back to the starting point—all in 40 seconds. He had proved he could run 3 miles in 36 minutes, clamber up a 20-foot rope, scramble over obstacle courses, dive with scuba gear strapped to his back. Now he had to make his first parachute jump in nearly a year.

Korean veteran Hamblen's last jump—his 215th—had nearly ended in disaster when he snagged a 12,000-volt power cable. The rugged marine, 31, escaped with his life, but his left leg—ripped by shrapnel in Korea—was so badly burned that it had to be amputated just below the knee. His 12-year Marine career seemed over. Crippled in the line of duty, he was eligible for a lifetime monthly pension of $225.

But Hamblen had other ideas: he spent 6 months in the hospital recuperating, had himself fitted with an artificial leg, and talked dubious officials into letting him remain in the corps.

Then, striving to rejoin his old outfit—the crack 1st Force Reconnaissance Company—he faced and passed every trial. Only the parachute jump remained.

Last week, Hamblen strapped on his "tin leg," combat gear, and chute and hurled into the sky from a helicopter 1,250 feet over California's tiny Lake O'Neill. Expertly plucking the shrouds, he guided himself to a perfect landing.

Back at the base, Hamblen explained: "I just want to be a good marine." His commanding officer felt that was an understatement. "He's a Marine's marine," said Capt. Patrick J. Ryan. Welcoming him back to the fold, Hamblen's buddies agreed it was one of the happiest landings in the history of the corps.

R+R Rel.

## A Statement on Law and Race Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 19, 1963*

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on law and race relations, issued on July 7, 1963, by 130 deans and professors of southern law schools.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STATEMENT ON LAW AND RACE RELATIONS

As lawyers and law teachers in the South, we wish to call the attention of our fellow citizens to the role of law in dealing with a current and long-lasting problem.

Our country, North and South, now shares in one of the great changes in history. The readjustment of the relations of Negroes and whites here is but a minor phase of a worldwide readjustment of peoples. It is of the utmost importance that we carry forward our part of the change with the ancient virtues of wisdom and justice and moderation. An understanding of the role of law in the change can contribute something to this end.

Law is a means by which a free people advances justice and maintains order. Without it there would be either despotism or anarchy. The first paragraph of the Constitution of the United States states these twin purposes of justice and order, to "establish justice" and "insure domestic tranquillity."

The advancement of justice through law comes about at times through public protests against injustices believed to exist, as our history has often illustrated. The privilege of protest is guaranteed by the first article of the Bill of Rights which protects "the right of the people peaceably to assemble" and "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The denial of this peaceable right by officers of the law is itself a violation of the law.

The equality of all citizens in the exercise of civil rights is guaranteed by the Constitution and by the principles of a free people on which our Government rests. The denial of equal rights to a part of our people is a violation of our law and our principles.

These matters, basic to our Government and embodied in our national law, have occasionally been obscured by the false idea that our national law may be disregarded and put aside by State officials or private citizens. The men who founded our Government perceived this danger and put into our Constitution a provision to meet it. The words of the Constitution deserve to be repeated now when some would ignore them:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof * * * shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Observe that the Constitution and Federal laws are made "the supreme law of the land," and that the judges in every State are bound by them "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The idea that our national law may be disregarded has been put forward in different forms. One form is the so-called doctrine of interposition of the State between the Nation and the individual citizen. This doctrine under its old name of nullification was rejected over a hundred years ago by President Andrew Jackson. Its natural consequence, secession, led to the tragedy of the Civil War. Its uses by the 50 States today would pull our country to pieces. It is a backward doctrine that is as out of date as feudalism.

Another form the idea takes is that the 10th amendment to the Constitution reserves to the States and denies to the United States all power over local matters. The 14th amendment, however, requires the States to exercise their powers with full regard to the elements of fairness the later amendment specifies. These elements of fairness demanded by the 14th amendment include "due process of law" and "the equal protection of the laws." Whatever may be the broad powers reserved to the States by the 10th amendment, these powers must be exercised in a manner consistent with due process and equal protection.

A similar false idea recently asserted is that the invalidation of the separate-but-equal doctrine is not binding, because it is not compelled by the express words of the Constitution but only by what the Supreme Court has said the Constitution means. This argument leads on to anarchy for it implies that every person is entitled to interpret the law for himself and to act accordingly. Here again the Founding Fathers, knowing that under a system of law there must be a body with the power of final interpretation, answered the argument for anarchy by placing the power in the Supreme Court. The judicial article of the Constitution begins:

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court" (with

such inferior courts as Congress may establish).

It makes plain that the judicial power vested in the courts extends to the interpretation of the Constitution itself:

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, and the laws of the United States."

Nearly 150 years ago it was held, through Chief Justice Marshall, that the Supreme Court of the United States, not a State supreme court, is the final interpreter of national law.

Yet another form is an appeal to the terms of the statute of a State, or to a promise by a candidate in a political campaign that he would resist the enforcement of national laws he disliked. The reliance on the terms of a State statute is footless in light of the constitutional provision that the laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land. The appeal to a campaign promise is overridden by a greater oath. For the successful candidate when sworn into office takes an oath with the people as witnesses to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The official who would deny controlling effect to our national law violates his oath of office as well as our fundamental law.

Men who have taken the oath of office are under an even more manifest obligation than the ordinary citizen to observe the law. In violating the law, they inflict a grave injury to our country at home. These men inflict an even graver injury on our country abroad. They discredit it and give aid and comfort to our mortal enemies in these dangerous times. These thoughtless persons, while not in the camp of our enemies, do our enemies' work.

There is the other element of law that must be observed, "to insure domestic tranquillity." Order is no less an essential part of law than justice, and civil duties are as basis as civil rights. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness on both sides. It may quickly get out of the control of those who initiated it in a minor way and turn into uncontrolled mob violence. Those who in their zeal for change would violate the law hamper the means by which their purpose may be achieved. They, too, defeat the ideal inscribed over the building of the Supreme Court of the United States, "Equal Justice Under Law."

## A Dangerous Diagnosis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 19, 1963*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal of September 19, 1963:

A DANGEROUS DIAGNOSIS

For a good while now the administration's economic doctors have had a simple diagnosis for many of the Nation's ills: We've just lost our old zip. If the economy could only regain its old growth rate, unemployment would dwindle and Federal budgetmakers could go back to using black ink.

Proceeding from this analysis, the Government prescribes and applies such supposed zip producers as ever-easy money and ever-rising Federal spending. Strangely, the ills they talk about refuse to go away.

What's wrong? One of the clearest answers to the question comes, oddly enough, from an economist within the Government itself. Writing in the current Federal Reserve Bulletin, Federal economist Clayton Gehman explains that the original diagnosis is faulty. Not only that; it can be downright dangerous.

In the past half dozen years the economy has been doing a lot better than its critics claim. In fact, says Mr. Gehman, "growth in U.S. economic activity in recent years has been close to long-time rates."

How can this be? Mr. Gehman would seem to be flatly contradicting the recent manpower report of the President, which noted that the annual growth rate of the Nation's goods-producing industries fell from 3.4 percent in the 1947–57 decade to 1.5 percent in the period from 1957 to 1961.

The answer chiefly lies in the way some statisticians use statistics. For one thing, this 1947–57 period reflected some unusual conditions, such as the Korean war buildup, that could not reasonably be expected to continue.

But that's not all; the 1957–61 period is a peculiar choice for economic comparisons, too. A business expansion was reaching its crest in 1957, while 1961 marked the low of a recession. So to say that the economy wasn't making headway during that period is a little like saying that a man who, in crossing the Alps, has moved from one mountain's crest to the bottom of another hasn't made much upward progress. It's quite true, but hardly significant.

For the fact is that the economy, after 1961, moved a long way toward a second crest. Extending economic statistics through 1962 and into 1963 makes the recent period look far better. Our growth rate then comes much closer to matching that of the postwar decade despite the special circumstances present in that earlier period.

If the economy has been doing so well of late, someone is sure to ask, why does it have surpluses of materials, productive capacity and—most painful of all—manpower?

The reason, as Mr. Gehman explains, is that the economy has not only been growing bigger but has been getting more efficient. This stems from more than the introduction of new automated equipment. It also results from such factors as improved control of inventories and more systematic scheduling of production. No longer are unneeded materials and products allowed to pile up so high in warehouses.

In this more efficient economy, some resources are not only unemployed. Old factories, to find a place, may have to be rebuilt; some workers will have to retrained. Easy money and big budget deficits are likely to be of little help. In any circumstances, there's a poor prescription for solid economic growth; its failure in the 1930's should have made that clear.

In the current circumstances, the prescription may only lead to increased trouble. For it is the economy's stock of unemployed resources that the Government is always citing as our protection against sharp inflation. The inflated demand, so the reasoning goes, will be easily absorbed by the unused supply of materials, manpower and factories. But the idle supply of usable, effective resources is simply not as big as it's cracked up to be; sooner then some people think, these resources can be stretched past their limit.

Still, the Government goes on administering its inflationary monetary and fiscal remedies for our ills. And things are never too hopeful for a patient whose doctor starts out with a faulty diagnosis.

## Annual Orchard Picnic of Senator Byrd of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 19, 1963*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the September 17 issue of the Nashville Banner contains an editorial which strongly endorses the recent address of the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] at his annual picnic at Berryville, Va. I join, Mr. President, in commending the able chairman of the Finance Committee on his eloquent address on that occasion, and ask unanimous consent that this editorial praising his speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT EXTENDS POWER ON DIET OF BIG SPENDING

Every year Senator HARRY F. BYRD invites a few thousand people to a picnic in his apple orchard at his home in Berryville, Va. The 41st such event was held on the last day of last month, and the host sounded—or resounded—a warning which all Americans should heed.

In essence, he said the Federal Government is too big and too powerful, capable of consolidating and extending its controls through a program of big spending.

"The arm of the Federal Government these days," Mr. BYRD said, "has a long reach and no one is escaping the force of its centralized power. In earlier years Federal might was developed more subtly; now it grabs control openly. The Federal Government at the moment is seeking control over voting laws, State legislatures, schools and business.

"Name an area of endeavor and there is probably a Federal subsidy to go with it."

As examples of the present power complex of the administration, the Virginian cited the Presidential crackdown on the steel industry "when the Central Government made unprecedented use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal grand jury, and threats to withdraw and withhold Federal contracts from companies which dared not to conform to administration price control."

Then there was the President's recommendation that he should be authorized to cut taxes by Executive order and spend money on projects for which no appropriations had been made. Both would have been bold seizures of powers belonging only to the Congress. Fortunately, as Mr. BYRD notes, both were rejected, "but they are still being demanded."

The list of Federal encroachments into every area of American life is endless, still the Federal Government keeps pressing for more.

"Power," the Senator said, "feeds on power. And the Warren Court has equaled, if not exceeded, the executive branch in usurping and centralizing power in the Federal Government."

In between these two forces—the executive and judiciary—stands Congress, which may 1 day be freedom's court of last resort. Only a legislative body dedicated to preserving its own constitutional prerogatives can

A&R Rel.

Reprinted from NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE SECTION September 22, 1963

# 'Rearing Children Of Good Will'

By EVELYN S. RINGOLD

"THE real problems of prejudice will come up when we begin to live together and know each other face to face. When the gross prejudice of dogs and hoses is past, the second and third levels of prejudice will be revealed—the subtle stereotypes about skin color and living habits, the 'Negro-likes-watermelon' kind of myth. These 'gentle' prejudices will segregate us as surely as signs reading 'For Whites Only.'"

This was the alert of Dr. Samuel Bullock, psychiatrist and keynote speaker at the recent national workshop on "Rearing Children of Good Will," held for the fourth consecutive year at Radnor, Pa., under the sponsorship of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Men and women charged with the gargantuan task of helping children to get along in rapidly changing neighborhoods and schools came to Radnor from their pivotal positions in classrooms, parent groups, community and church centers of 17 different states. At the lunch tables, on the lawn between sessions, and in the more formal working groups, members raised the problems of racial tensions, school integration and equal rights as they saw them affecting children in their own homes and schools:

A parent in a middle-income housing development in New York City sends her son to public school with the Puerto Rican and Negro children from adjoining streets, although many other apartment residents have transferred their children to private schools. One afternoon, her son brings home

*Evelyn S. Ringold, a free-lance writer, spent three days at the Radnor workshop gathering material for this report.*

a Negro playmate. Afterward, a note is slipped under the door: "Nigger lover." "What do I do about a 'next time'?" asks the mother.

A Negro child comes to a South Philadelphia school from a home of poverty, squalor and outside toilets. "He comes to school hating the white landlord, the white storekeeper, the white anybody—as his parents do. How do I prepare this child to live outside the Negro ghetto?" asks his school principal.

"My children are pro-Negro," says a Westchester father, "but they no longer bring home colored friends the way they did in grade school. My kids tell me there's a real split now. It's not prejudice, they say, but different interests, different behavior. Do I have a role in this situation?", he wonders.

"I have two boys in junior high school," a Negro nurse tells me at lunch. "They're bright. I don't want to send them to Negro colleges in the South." But she's not sure the neighborhood school, segregated in practice, although not in theory, will prepare the boys for entrance to a Northern college.

"Thousands of children in our city school system go from kindergarten to twelfth grade without seeing, knowing or sitting next to a child of another skin color, another religion, or a substantially different income bracket," a school official tells us. He wants to know: "How will these children be prepared to meet with differences as adults?"

IF the questions at the workshop could have been reduced to one master question, it might have been: If adults are more prejudiced than they realize, how do we break the chain in order to create new attitudes in our children?

"By better child raising" is the prompt response of scores of psychiatrists, social workers and teachers. Their viewpoint is expressed by Dr. Leon J. Saul, author of "The Hostile Mind" and professor of preventive psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Saul found, in a continuing study, that attitudes of prejudice in

at least 80 per cent of children are formed before they register in kindergarten.

"We must continue to work at every point along the life cycle," Dr. Saul adds, "even with the grandparents." One of the original forces behind the workshop, Dr. Saul emphasized that it is designed as a "starting point" in re-educating the adults who must, in turn, educate our children.

George Schermer, former head of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations, who has addressed several of the workshops, says:

"When you talk about disadvantaged kids in congested slums—Negro or white—it's a waste of time to say the answer is in the home. The home doesn't have it! If you're looking for an institution that's big enough, with power and resources, public school is the answer."

Dr. Bullock, keynote speaker of the workshop, also selects the schools as the logical focus for change:

"We might as well calm down and accept the fact that adult attitudes won't change overnight. But the law sanctions our children coming together in the schools—and this is the real meaning of integration. Our children will know each other at school in day-to-day living, in one-to-one relationships."

THREE of the most significant contributions to the workshop came from public school principals facing the imperatives for changes within their own schools.

Mrs. Beatrice Chernock is principal of the Henry School in West Mount Airy—a Philadelphia neighborhood with handsome fieldstone houses, shade trees and integration that works. Mrs. Chernock came to the Henry School in 1957. Negro families were moving into the area in great numbers. It is a truism among trained observers that once a school becomes substantially Negro, it will rapidly become all Negro. Mrs. Chernock did not accept the truism. Nor did she support segregated schooling—even on a voluntary basis.

"The composition of the sixth grade today," she says, "is a direct reflection of the hostilities and fears that were in the Henry School when I came—white families withdrawing their children, white teachers requesting transfers. But look at our kindergarten this year; the balance is

50—50. A family—whether white or Negro—now buys a house in our neighborhood *because* it is integrated—this is what they want for their children.

"Grownups sometimes forget," she says, "how important school is in the life of a child. I stand on the corner each morning and greet each child by name. Every child needs to know his worth, but the Negro child, in particular, needs to build pride in himself. When he sees that all the heroes in the history and story books are white, he finds less reason for pride."

Parents have done their part. At unusual "P.T.A. meetings," Negro and white families, under psychiatric leadership, aired their fears about living with one another.

THROUGH all this, Mrs. Chernock was "never really concerned about the kids. I knew I could get through to them. Children are ready to enjoy other children of all kinds if we leave the way clear. My aim was to involve the parents and help them find freedom from prejudices and fears."

A Negro mother in Mrs. Chernock's school says: "My children were going to school with white children. They had new attitudes. I was out of step with them. I got into school affairs, and it has changed my whole life!"

A white parent who moved into the neighborhood one year ago feels: "We are five years ahead of the times. We are living in the world as it will be when the violence and fighting are finished."

ANOTHER principal, Mrs. Olive Snead from the Durham School in South Philadelphia—"the school had been all-Negro so long, no one could recall whether it was 50 or 60 years ago that white children had been in the classrooms"—knows from experience that "parents can initiate change." Two years ago a group of white parents enrolled twelve white children in her school, bypassing the center-city school with the high median I.Q. and cultural homogeneity characteristic of the "better" suburban schools.

"We didn't even know the Durham School existed around the corner," relates the mother who "found" the school while doing an errand. "Our kindergarten-aged child was already enrolled in the center-city school. But I asked why send him across town when we have a neighborhood school? I visited Durham with a group of interested mothers and fathers. We found it clean, the classes orderly, the children so painstakingly scrubbed and their clothes so beautifully ironed that we might be hard put, in our more casual households, to equal the effort. We found accelerated classes for the brighter children, and special after-school programs for slower readers. Mrs. Snead is an impressive educator who knows that any parent, white or Negro, wants quality education for his child."

The white children who went to Durham accepted the situation almost without comment, report the mothers.

From Mrs. Snead's point of view there have been important gains from this microcosm of integration. She is concerned, as Mrs. Chernock is, with the need to give the Negro child a sense of his own worth, but she is even more sensitive to the necessity for releasing him from the dynamics of hatred.

"THE children in my school come from a black ghetto. The children rely on what they learn from their elders. They come to school with the burden of being left out, of being second-class citizens. They come with the indoctrination that 'whites are no good.'

"I know, from my adult experience, that white people are helping. But I must provide this knowledge for the boys and girls in my school. They must know some white children so they will not flinch when they go out into the white world. There are families in my school who have never been more than ten blocks north of their homes. That's why one small second-grader, on a visit to a white school, grabbed my skirt: 'Don't go 'way, Mrs. Snead. I'm scared.'

"Now our Negro children are discovering for themselves that a white child is like any other child. At first some of the colored children would stroke a blond child's hair and clamor for the white children as partners. But soon they settled down to routines.

"I believe it can be the small memories of childhood that keep one from bitterness as an adult," she reflects. She wondered what one kindergarten child would remember someday about his visit with a white family. The children were playing while the mother prepared dinner and set the table. "Get ready for dinner," she said. The visiting child hesitated.

"I'm colored," he announced.

"I'm white," the mother replied. "Now let's wash up and get to the table."

MRS. THEDA WILSON, a gentle-voiced, gentle-mannered woman with a deep, unsentimental understanding of children, was the first Negro principal in Wilmington, Del. Her school served a low-income housing development of white, Puerto Rican and Negro families. Mrs. Wilson told the workshop that the difference in skin color is not the foremost problem. It is the sameness of the children's handicap—the uniform background of "disadvantage" which will hamper their economic fitness and their ability to survive in a competitive society.

"I was convinced that if we could see their world as these children see it, we might find new ways to reach them, and new ways — as a result — to teach them.

"We learned through their drawings, through their own words, that in many families Daddy didn't go out to work. He had no job. Mother did. We learned that these children had little conception of money. 'I wish I had a hundred cents to buy food for us', wrote one first-grader. The children 'wished' for a dog, a cat, goldfish — anything to love, but one little boy wanted 'a wild cat to protect me'.

"We learned that a child is happy 'when Daddy is working, so we can buy groceries', that many like 'the breadman best. He's kind'.

"Many of our children came from large families where the older sisters and brothers were accustomed to helping out with younger ones. We duplicated this situation at school—the same class would have 5-year-olds, 6-, 7-, and even 8-year-olds placed where they could give to, and get from, each other."

THE children had a language of their own. "Colorful," admits Mrs. Wilson, "but limited as a tool in learning." One day in class she used the word "faucet." None of the children understood her until a 6-year-old piped up: "She means spigot!" The children used "mess around" in at least twenty different ways, Mrs. Wilson explained, "so we wrote 'mess around' on a chart, and whenever a new meaning came up, we'd list it. We emphasized language because it is the base upon which other learning rests.

"By the end of three years we had raised the median I.Q. in the mixed age groups by nine points.

"It was the most thrilling period of my life in education. Teachers began to see these children as they are, to see that they have important needs. It's up to us to give children from disadvantaged homes a better past, and hope for a better future."

* * *

WHAT do workshop members take home with them after five days? No packaged solutions, as Dr. Eagen had forewarned. But many found a new way of seeing others' problems; a new freedom in expressing views, with the expectation of frank statements in return; a heightened awareness that children are listening to unspoken as well as outspoken prejudices; the exciting and heartening knowledge that our public schools are finding new ways to help children get along.

***WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?***

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nation-wide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.
43 West 57th Street • New York 19, N. Y.

# What Next? Five Negro Leaders Reply

**After the march on Washington, after the bombing in Birmingham, five principals in the civil-rights campaign discuss what action is called for now.**

R+R Rel.

*On Aug. 28, some 200,000 Americans — mostly Negroes, but including many whites—converged on Washington for the largest civil-rights demonstration the country has ever seen. Now, as the echoes of the march fade into history — and the echoes of the Birmingham bombing reverberate— these questions emerge: Where do Negroes go from here? What are the next steps in the civil-rights campaign? The New York Times Magazine put these questions to five Negro leaders. Here in alphabetical order are their answers.*

## 'MORE EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES'

**By KENNETH B. CLARK**

**Professor of Psychology at City College**

THE Aug. 28 march demonstrated the discipline, the seriousness, the persistence and the insistence of the bulk of American Negroes and some whites that racial injustices must now be eliminated from American life. Yet it is possible that the "success" of the march could confuse the issue and delay the attainment of the goal of racial equality. Some Negroes could interpret the demonstration as evidence of direct political power and believe the fact that it occurred will magically produce the desired results. And some whites could congratulate themselves on the fact that Negroes were permitted to let off steam harmlessly.

Such ideas, although comforting, would be serious misinterpretations of the meaning of the current civil-rights movement. Any political or other actions based upon them would be in error and probably tragic in their consequences.

IN a most disturbing sense, a society which permitted the perpetrators of 28 bombings in Birmingham to remain free and unpunished, a society which permits the convicted killer of a Negro woman to complete his harvest before enjoying the luxury of six months in a white prison, a society in which the highest elected official of a state incites the primitive passions of his people for personal political gain, a society which can continue to accept flagrant and subtle forms of racism in the same generation in which the horrors of death camps were exposed to the world is a society in serious trouble.

Negro organizations and their white allies must now develop precise and more effective techniques to deal directly with the areas of resistance to racial injustice in America. They must consolidate and conserve past gains and use them as the basis for removing the existing inequities. Specifically:

Ways must be found to make the Congress of the United States and the various state legislative bodies more sensitive and responsive to the present mood of urgency.

Serious negotiations with the leaders of American labor and of individual unions should be initiated and sustained.

If these discussions do not result in the elimination of patterns of racial exclusion from the American labor movement then more direct action techniques must be developed and used until these goals are obtained.

More systematic organized and sustained forms of selective patronage should be used by Negroes to eliminate the remaining forms of racial discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodation.

The problem of residential segregation has to be attacked by direct action and effective protests against the discriminatory practices of banks, real-estate groups and offending landlords.

Police brutality must be curbed and law-enforcement agencies and officials made to understand that it is their duty and responsibility to protect all citizens impartially. If this cannot be done by reason it must be done by disciplined civil disobedience.

Desegregation of schools, from the elementary through graduate and professional levels, must be accelerated. The present snail's pace of grudging tokenism should give way to a pace more consistent with the letter and the spirit of the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision and the trained manpower needs of the nation. Here, too, it may be necessary, unfortunately, for Negroes to develop and use appropriate, nonviolent direct-action approaches.

Massive pressure for voter registration among Negroes in the South must be developed and sustained without regard to the risk. The executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government must protect the constitutional rights of Negroes to vote and participate in their government. These rights either must be enforced by representation sanctions against the states or Negroes must find some way of withholding the taxes paid in these states in direct proportion to their representation. Taxation without representation is still tyranny.

As for the next steps, apathy, indifference, battle weariness, return to inertia and wishful thinking are some of the major dangers to be counteracted. The momentum of the Negro surge for equality during the past few years and particularly during recent months has been admirable—but also exhausting. The challenge now is to sustain the dynamism of recent demonstrations until the legitimate goals are achieved.

## 'WE CANNOT AFFORD TO FAIL'

**By JAMES FARMER**

**National director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**

GOVERNOR WALLACE of Alabama is probably most to blame for the outrage of Birmingham. However, Wallace is not alone. All of us share the blame because we have not done enough to end racial injustice. I have not been able to sleep since Birmingham because I have not done enough. Those who are not on the picket lines share the blame. Those who remain silent share the blame. Those who are neutral share the blame.

Birmingham will not stop the movement. It will not slow it down, rather it will help speed up the process of mass involvement of the Negro community. *(Continued on Page 91)*

**JOBS WITHOUT BIAS**—Negroes must "demonstrate in the streets" until they attain this goal, says an integration leader.

***For pictures of a Southern Negro vote drive, turn page***

# The Southern Negro Drives for the Vote

**TARGET AREA**—This house in a Negro enclave near Plaquemine, La., is typical of the homes in the region where registration workers call. An open sewer runs in the foreground.

"The most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box," the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has said. Traditionally, Negroes of the rural Deep South have been reluctant to register, some out of fear of physical or economic retaliation, others out of apathy born of deprivation and the absence of any real choice among the segregationist candidates of a one-party system. Now thousands of volunteers, assisted by a handful of professionals, are conducting voter registration campaigns that, they hope, will assure the Negro a voice in government. This mammoth, occasionally dangerous, task was once almost the sole province of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Today, the N.A.A.C.P. has been joined by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the National Urban League, and state and local groups. In all, 27 registration campaigns are in progress across the South. They are coordinated and financed by the Voter Education Project, an organization with a budget of $262,000 underwritten by several Northern foundations. This new concern for the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship already has made itself felt in other phases of the Negro's struggle. It will assume overriding importance as the legal efforts of the Justice Department and other forces eliminate discriminatory disfranchisement. The pictures on these pages are scenes of a typical registration drive—this one conducted by CORE in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana. —CLAUDE SITTON.

**CANVASS**—Danny Mitchell, a member of the CORE task force in Iberville Parish, tries to persuade a resident to register. The group has numbered about 45, most of them volunteers.

**REHEARSAL**—Bette Poole, right, helps a would-be voter practice filling out registration forms. Negroes have been turned down, CORE workers say, for failing to dot an "i."

**CRAM SESSION**—Registrants must pass a "citizenship test" with six questions chosen from a list of 42. Here, Mimi Feingold, a CORE volunteer, coaches a prospective voter.

**Photographs by BOB ADELMAN**

**ON LINE**—Negroes wait outside the registrar's office in Clinton, La. CORE organizers charge that the office is open only at inconvenient hours, and that delays prevent the processing of more than 20 applicants a day. About 30 per cent of the South's 5,000,000 Negroes of voting age are registered, against 60 per cent of the South's 17,000,000 possible white voters.

**RALLY**—In a Baptist church in Clinton, Negroes clasp hands to sing "We Shall Overcome," the theme song of the civil-rights drive. The rally was called when two newly registered voters (including the woman second from left in this picture) lost their jobs—for having registered, they said. The outcome was a Negro boycott of the two employers, a doctor and a storekeeper.

**PROTEST**—Some of the 200,000 in the March on Washington.

## What Next?: A Symposium

*(Continued from Page 27)*

No longer are we just a few scattered militants and intellectuals. Now the revolt has cut across the formerly divisive lines of class, cultural achievement and education. To a greater extent than ever before, even the timorous, the former "Uncle Toms," have been swept along in the tide of Negro self-consciousness and revolt against discrimination. They have become involved not so much by choice as by necessity. The realization has come to most Negroes that there is no escape for them as individuals. We are in what might be called the "everyman" stage of development in the struggle.

The problems are obviously enormous. To mention just two: (1) Sloganeering is frequently mistaken for a program. (2) A dangerous racial polarization in the national community seems possible.

TO combat the first problem, more sweep needs to be given to the present revolutionary struggle by analysis and criticism and creative thought, as well as by more detailed planning.

Real differences in point of view should be expressed and encouraged. Unity of goal should not be mistaken for uniformity of action and approach.

In combating the second danger, the march on Washington was a good first step. Its interracial character was impressive. Now we need steps to make constructive use of the millions of potential white allies according to the stage of their present commitment in the struggle. Ways must be found to let each add his thrust to the movement as far as he is at present willing to go, without hampering or holding back those who are willing to go further. Churches and unions must be encouraged to go beyond lip service and to take specific action for equality.

Direct - action demonstrations will be continued, but objectives should be more clearly pointed out in each campaign—both for better understanding among the demonstrators and for greater appreciation and support among the general public. In addition, means of maintaining the discipline of nonviolence need to be tightened. We require schools and workshops in every area of the country to train demonstrators and potential demonstrators in the discipline of nonviolence. We need, also, to train special cadres to monitor each mass demonstration, to stop trouble before it occurs, to isolate difficulties and move the demonstration on.

OUR ultimate objective is equality — economic, political, educational, cultural, social. These things will not be achieved merely by breaking down the barriers of segregation and discrimination. The wounds inflicted by 350 years of deprivation will not be erased automatically. Nothing short of a massive program of remedial education and training for skills can even begin to solve the problem. The nation cannot afford to fail to take the necessary compensatory steps to advance those whom it has deprived over the years. Such a program requires billions of dollars—perhaps as much as $3,000,000,000 a year for a period of five or 10 years—in order to be effective. Money in that amount can come only from the Government. It may be the President's prime opportunity to achieve lasting greatness.

### 'IN A WORD—NOW'

**By MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr.**

**Founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference**

VICTOR HUGO once said that progress is the mode of man; that when it is blocked, just as an obstacle in a river makes the water foam, so an obstacle to

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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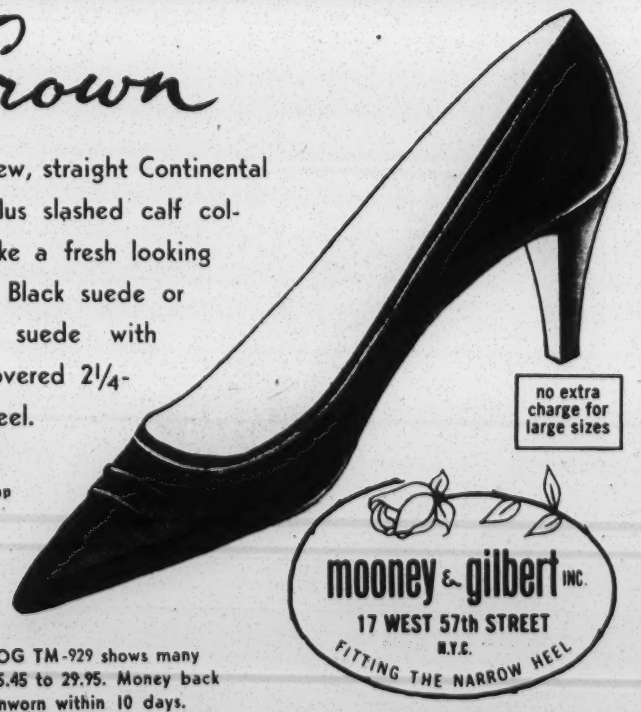

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(Continued from Preceding Page)
progress makes humanity seethe.

Any plan for the future, therefore, which seeks to calm troubled waters will have to sweep barriers away, rather than pour oil over turbulent tides.

The hundreds of thousands who marched in Washington marched to level barriers. They summed up everything in a word—NOW. What is the content of NOW?

Everything, not some things, in the President's civil-rights bill is part of NOW.

IMMEDIATE and effective Federal action to curb the shocking police brutality in the South is an urgent part of NOW. Just lately, the Department of Justice has indicted leaders of the civil-rights movement in Albany, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala., alleging that false statements were made under oath. This zealousness to punish Negroes for statements is in sharp contrast to the inaction of the same department in hundreds of cases of extreme police brutality.

The right to vote is part of NOW. To walk unafraid to the ballot box and cast a free vote remains still a myth in most of the South.

Unemployment is a form of brutality, especially violent for those who live on the edge of poverty. Negroes have twice as much of it as others. NOW means jobs, F.E.P.C., training, leveling obstacles of discrimination and the creation of new jobs by public works.

These are some of the imperatives of NOW. If they are met, the passionate determination Negroes have recently made so manifest can be mellowed without being compromised. Then slower, long-range planning can begin.

THE far-reaching solutions for lifting the "weight of centuries" will necessarily involve systematic liquidation of ghetto life, loans and grants to provide equal opportunities for the unequally equipped, adult education, remedial clinics for damaged families and individuals and integrated housing construction on a scale commensurate with the extent of slums, rather than with the extent of budgets.

The present spontaneous, largely disorganized and spasmodic methods of piecemeal approaches, differing from city to city, and with a variety of tempos, will have to give way to broad national planning. A nation which could put more than 11,000,000 men in arms in a few short years, which poured torrents of sophisticated munitions from hundreds of thousands of coordinated facilities and deployed them in war, has the capacity to master a problem of much less complexity. It needs only the same will it possessed when it felt its existence threatened.

The long-deferred issue of second-class citizenship has become our nation's first-class crisis. We can deal with it now, or we can drive a seething humanity to a desperation it tried, asked and hoped to avoid.

## 'FILIBUSTER OF THE PEOPLE'

**By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**

**President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council**

THE objective of Aug. 28 was more than civil-rights legislation. The full march was a challenge to the conscience of the country; it was a creative dialogue between Negroes and their white allies, on the one hand, and the President, the Congress and our American democratic society, on the other. Its aim was to achieve a national consensus not only for civil-rights legislation— but for its implementation.

Historically, the social forces of revolutions have been expressed through human beings. Hence, the leadership of the civil-rights revolution cannot escape the moral responsibility for the maintenance of the highest order of unselfish, courageous and uncompromising fidelity to the ideals, values, hopes and faith of this sacred crusade for the recognition of, and respect for, the God-given human rights of Americans of color.

What then, is to be done?

First, Negro civil-rights leadership must maintain unity without uniformity.

Second, the coalition of the Negro community with the labor and church communities that supported the march must be preserved, broadened and deepened. If freedom is indivisible then the fight for freedom by those forces devoted to freedom should be indivisible. Negroes — like other minority groups — cannot win their rights alone. The coalition of moral forces represented by civil rights, labor and church groups is unquestionably one of the most powerful instrumentalities yet devised to help create that ethical basis for interracial brotherhood which is imperative to give meaningfulness to civil-rights laws.

Third, demonstrations in the streets—a recognized American tradition—by Negroes and their white allies must continue without relaxation until basic, tangible progress in the acquisition of jobs and apprenticeship training for jobs in industry, unions and government, and the abolition of race bias in public accommodations, schools and housing is made.

HAD it not been for demonstrations in the streets of Birmingham, Ala., and other cities in the North and South. it is quite unlikely that President Kennedy would have submitted his package of proposals for civil-rights legislation to the Congress. If street demonstrations were necessary to secure this action by

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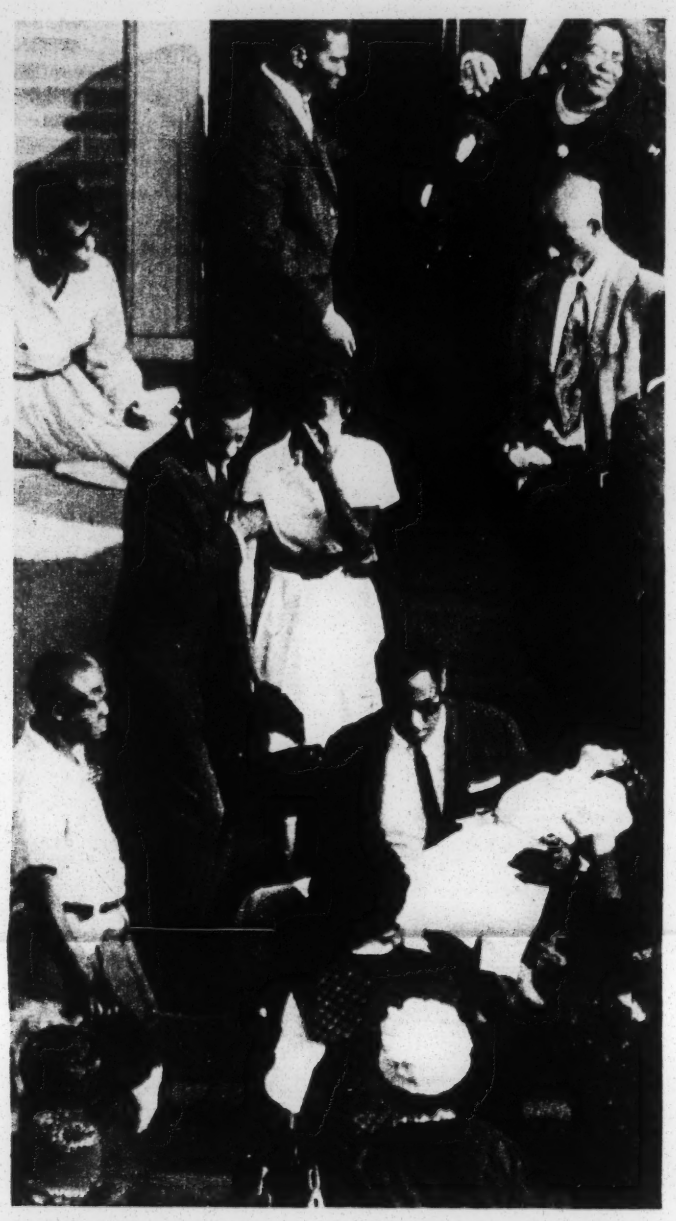
the President, it is reasonable to assume that further street demonstrations will be indispensable to bring about the enactment of the proposals into laws, without emasculation.

Fourth, major emphasis should be placed upon building the unity of Negro leadership together with a coalition of the Negro, labor and church communities. This, of course, is the job of existing civil-rights organizations. No new movement is necessary.

The Birmingham tragedy—the wanton bombing of a church and the murder of four little girls—marked not only a breakdown of law and order but also has shaken and weakened the faith and confidence of Negroes and, no doubt, of numerous liberal-minded white people in constitutional government and our free, democratic, Christian society. It damages the image of the United States in Africa in particular, and the world of color in general.

IT is a matter of record that no white person or mob in the South responsible for the murder of a Negro has ever been brought to justice. However, Negroes, despite this unspeakable crime, must not forsake or abandon the nonviolent philosophy as a framework within which they should carry on their relentless struggle for the abolition of race bias.

We have no choice but to fight ceaselessly for civil-rights legislation. If it should be killed, joblessness will continue to worsen, and humiliation in places of accommodation will go on unabated. Then frustration—even desperation—may burst into fires of violent interracial conflict. Indeed, if the civil-rights revolution is aborted by a counter-revolution, symbolized by the filibuster, it may not only turn against white America but move to devour its own children.



**MOURNERS**—Members of the families of three of the four girls killed in the church bombing at Birmingham, Ala., are helped away after the funeral services. One has fainted.

### 'NEGROES WANT IN'

**By ROY WILKINS**

**Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.)**

NEGROES demand an end to the bestiality of Birmingham with its bombings and slaughter of innocent children. The spectacle of the Federal Government helpless in the face of such terror is incomprehensible to a people who have fought and died in its defense and who properly look to it for protection of their rights and lives. Failure to provide such protection increases frustration and seriously imperils continuance of the nonviolent character of the Negro protest. Prompt, effec-

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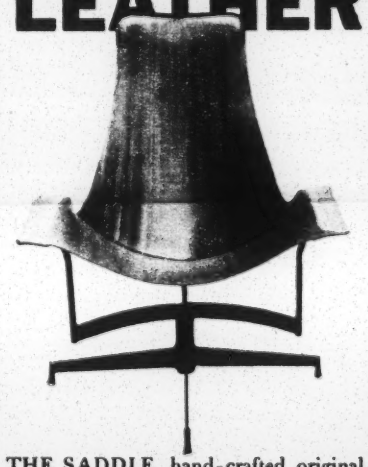

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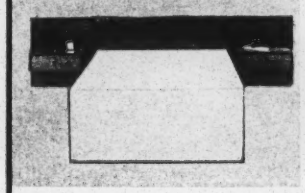

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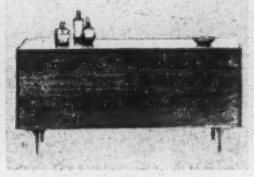

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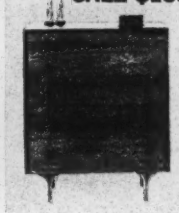

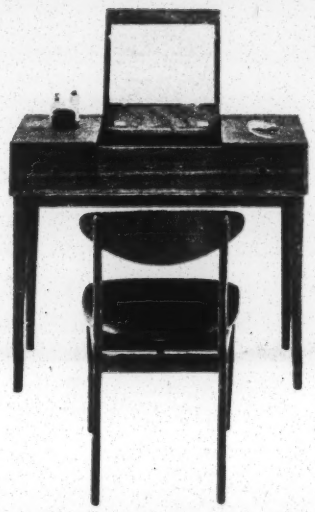

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tive action to end this terror is imperative.

The painfully slow pace of past desegregation can no longer be tolerated. To insist upon acceleration is neither radical nor extremist. It is rational and necessary.

Negroes want *in* in American society, and they want the ways opened *now*. They reject separation, whether advocated by the Black Muslims, the White Citizens Councils or the Communist party. They are committed to a pluralistic society with equal rights, opportunities and freedom for all.

EQUALLY clear are the indicated next steps. There is no likelihood of an abatement of the present upsurge of militancy among Negroes. What is required now more than ever is responsible militancy. Not demonstrations for demonstrations' sake. But demonstrations for specific purposes, pressed uncompromisingly, but conducted in an orderly fashion.

The presence of thousands of white persons in the Washington march revealed to Negroes and to the nation that colored citizens are not alone in this struggle for equal rights. A vast reservoir of goodwill exists in the white populace. This goodwill must be cultivated and mobilized for effective action in the struggle. The religious groups —Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—demonstrated by their participation in the march that they are prepared now to go beyond resolutions and to take an active role. Liberal elements in the labor movement reiterated the demand for an end to the color bar in employment.

THE church groups exert influence in areas where Negroes and other traditional civil - rights advocates are politically weak. With organized religion in support of the President's civil - rights bill, the chances for its enactment will be greatly enhanced. Senators from states where the issue of civil rights has not been regarded heretofore as urgent may be persuaded to vote for cloture to shut off a Senate filibuster.

The church groups can be an important factor in gaining support of both Republican and Democratic members of Congress in the nonindustrial states of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. How they vote may well determine the outcome of the legislation.

Meanwhile, the civil-rights groups must redouble their efforts to increase the Negro vote in all regions, pursue a course of responsible militancy, conduct a vast program of public information, and enlist the active support of all possible elements within the American society.

**MEMORIAL**—Novelist James Baldwin addresses a rally in New York's Foley Square last Sunday in memory of the six children who were killed in Birmingham, Ala., a week before.


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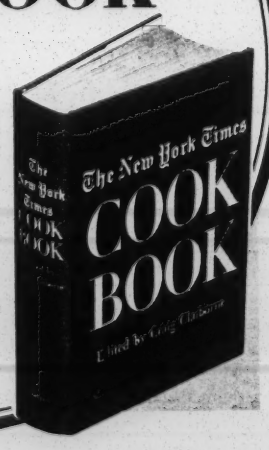


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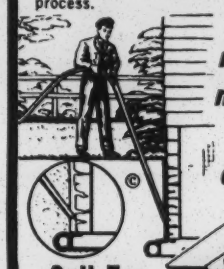

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# "BEYOND THE MELTING POT"

A NEW BOOK about the way people of various nationalities, races and religions have progressed in the "melting pot" of New York makes this point:

> Negroes, alone among the major population groups in the city, have not kept pace with other migrants over the years.

The book is "Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City." It was written by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and is published by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press and Harvard University Press, of Cambridge, Mass.

The Negro community in New York, now numbering more than 1 million, has failed, say the authors, to produce a proportionate share of business and professional men, or leaders in education, politics and civic affairs.

This failure, the book states, cannot be blamed on discrimination alone. Other groups—Irish Catholics and Russian and Polish Jews, for example—faced discrimination, but many of their number rose to high positions in the community. The answer to the Negroes' lack of achievement is traced by the authors to a number of factors.

***Lack of skills.*** At the outset, they say, the Negro immigrant arriving in New York from the South "has not had the good fortune of arriving with useful skills and strong institutions, nor has he found a prosperous, well-organized Negro community to help him."

The depression of the 1930s is described as "a disaster" for the Negroes in New York "that almost rivaled slavery." At one time in that period it was estimated that 60 per cent of the Negro population was on relief.

Harlem, described as once "one of the most beautiful and healthful sites in the whole city," became "frightfully overcrowded" as impoverished Negroes jammed into its borders.

The Negro worker of that era, when he worked, was paid only three fifths of what the white worker earned.

In 1940, the book reports, the Negro community of 450,000 "was in large part supported by the domestic labor of women, which was the single most important source of income." It adds:

"But perhaps most striking was the almost complete absence of a business class, and this is still true today."

***Pinch on jobs.*** The failure of the Negroes to enter into small business and manufacturing, the authors report, was important because it meant that they had no jobs to give out to their own people, as did members of other groups. The result:

"Today Negro business is if anything less important than 50 years ago. The catering business, in which Negroes played a role of some significance in the late nineteenth century, has declined and fallen into other hands. The only important forms of Negro business are beauty parlors, barber shops, the preparation of special cosmetics and undertaking parlors."

Contrast this with the record of New York's 600,000 Puerto Ricans, who own over 4,000 businesses, say the authors, adding: "It suggests that one of the most widely accepted reasons for the low participation of Negroes in small business—discrimination in loans—probably is not of primary importance, for it is not likely that the Puerto Rican . . . impresses the banker or supplier any more than a Negro does."

—Black Star Photo

**HARLEM. Study finds New York Negroes did not produce their share of leaders.**

Thrift was almost unknown among the Negro immigrants, says the book, making this observation: "In the end, the most important factor is probably the failure of Negroes to develop a pattern of saving. The poor may have had nothing to save; but even those better off tend to turn earnings immediately into consumption."

A "striking difference" is noted between Negroes from the South and those from the West Indies who settled in New York. The West Indians applied themselves "to business, education, buying homes, and in general advancing themselves."

***Strangers to skills.*** Other points made by the authors include these:

"Negro youths have little contact through family and friends with the skilled trades. They have little experience with apprenticeship, and do not always see the point in long training at low wages. Skilled labor of any kind does not have great prestige among Negroes."

Efforts to get Negroes in jobs where unions are involved "have brought small results. The employers blame the unions, the unions point to their rules on getting membership (which are generally very complicated), and both point to the Negroes—they do not come looking for the jobs."

The writers say that "there are today problems in finding enough colored Americans with the motivation, training and ability to fill the opportunities that are available."

***"A poor outcome."*** Other immigrant groups—notably Japanese, Jews and Puerto Ricans—also have faced frustrations in breaking into U. S. labor market, but have managed to acquire higher educations and have been ready when opportunities opened, the authors comment, adding:

"The Negro situation is different. Negroes do place a high value on education . . . and yet the outcome is a poor one. There are not as many good Negro students coming out of the high schools as there are places in college to put them."

The authors express doubt that the artificial mixing of Negro and white children in public schools, by transporting the pupils across neighborhood boundaries, is an answer to the problem.

They ask: "Why were schools that were indifferent to the problems of the children of other groups, 40 and 50 years ago, adequate enough for them, but seem nevertheless inadequate for the present wave of children?"

The problems of the Negro community in New York will remain "for a long time to come," authors Glazer and Moynihan predict. "The Negro middle class contributes very little, in money, organization, or involvement, to the solution of Negro social problems." For the Negro to gain acceptance, they say, will mean "a higher degree of responsibility by the middle-class and well-to-do and educated Negroes for the others."

A & R Rel


# Correspondence

September 1963

To Advance the American Revolution

25c


## The Black Revolution

The revolution now going on in the United States is a Black Revolution, and in the next period is going to become *more* rather than *less* so. Negroes are not only going to be fighting *for* equality, but *against* those who have been and are still depriving them of it. In other words, they will be fighting to *remove* whites from the positions of economic privilege and political power which whites have gained at the expense of Negroes and from which they can still arrest, beat and shoot Negroes in the name of law and order.

Clashes between the races at all levels are going to become increasingly frequent and bitter. Political divisions between whites and Negroes are going to become sharper and deeper.

"CRUCIAL SUMMER"

On the surface this picture of growing race conflict seems to be contradicted by the big national news of what has been appropriately called "The Crucial Summer of 1963." The summer began with President Kennedy himself, on June 11, acknowledging the existence of the Negro revolution and calling upon "all citizens" to help in its completion. It continued with the history-making March on Washington where a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and a white Protestant minister, not to mention Walter Reuther, addressed the huge throng which included an estimated 20,000-50,000 whites — more whites than have ever before participated in a demonstration for Negro rights. And finally, on Labor Day, NBC televised an exciting three hour Special in which the Negro revolt was presented as "The American Revolution."

Below the surface, however, the summer has actually been a desperate tug-of-war between the American Establishment trying to integrate the Black Revolution into the American Way of Life, and the Negro movement struggling to free itself from its friends so that it could confront them as its enemies. The Washington March was a dramatic demonstration of this conflict. Opposed at first by official America, it was then made into a shining demonstration of American democracy's finest hour.

The March was undoubtedly an inspiring experience to the participants and to the millions who watched it over TV. But what few whites realized, and what the mass media (still controlled by whites) failed to say, was that a March of 250,000 had already taken place in a single city, Detroit, on June 23. Nor did it report that many rank and file Negroes refused to go to Washington because they could not accept a March for Freedom which from the outset placed restrictions upon the freedom of marchers to carry their own signs.

"A SOURCE OF POWER"

The fundamental conflict could not be completely suppressed. It was revealed in the controversy over the speech of John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, fresh from the battlefields of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama where white political power means the merciless beating and even murder of hundreds of Negroes and their white student allies simply for trying to register Negroes to vote. Lewis had intended to warn that *"We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory."* The Archbishop, aided by Reuther and A. Phillip Randolph, made Lewis take this out of his speech. One can only wonder, if these gentlemen really believe that by taking these lines from Lewis' speech, they also deleted them from his mind or from the shape of things to come.

The coming reality was heralded in the formation, on the eve of the March, of the all-black FREEDOM NOW Party which has since been gaining the support of militant local leaders like Reverend Cleage of Detroit. Such a party, as Kennedy is well aware, (twice during the week of September 9 he told the press that a political division between whites and Negroes could be "fatal") can break up the Democratic Party. If the Democratic Party *is* broken up, then organized labor, already so dependent upon it for protection and cohesion, will become further demoralized.

REVOLUTIONS ARE COSTLY

Kennedy, Reuther & Co. claim (and may even believe) that the accumulated grievances of the Negroes can be redressed within the present system. Approaching the Black Revolution in America as they approach the revolutions in Latin America and Asia, they apparently believe that a revolution against misery and exploitation can be completed without loss or penalty to those who have benefited from this misery and exploitation. The Black Revolution in America is going to prove them as hopelessly wrong in this as they have already been proven hopelessly wrong in Cuba and Southeast Asia.

A revolution is against a system, but a system is not an abstraction. It is made up of those who maintain and support it because they have benefited from it. And in America these people are the American whites. So that the Black Revolution must and will take a race form. A revolution also means that someone loses. So that if the Negro revolution is successful, it is going to cost whites something in power and position. No one, Negro or white, can come to terms with this revolution unless he accepts these realities of revolution.

"UNFINISHED BUSINESS"

The chief theme running through most of the March on Washington speeches

(Concluded on Page 2)

# THE BLACK REVOLUTION

(Concluded from Page 1)

was that the nation now has to finish the business that it left unfinished 100 years ago. But important business that has been left unfinished does not remain the same business.

*If* the freed Negroes had been integrated into the work force of a rising American capitalism 100 years ago, then today the main revolutionary force inside America would probably be a mass of vari-colored workers. Or *if* the Negro revolt had taken place even fifteen years ago after World War II, it might still be possible to talk about unfinished business. At that time automation had not yet made its inroads; jobs were still plentiful. At that time the solidarity of the working class had not yet been punctured by the red-baiting of the labor leaders or by the concentration on personal accumulation of material goods which now has the average worker in its grip, pitting employed against unemployed and skilled against unskilled. At that time also, the white workers had not yet run to the suburbs en masse, leaving behind them enormous concentrations of Negroes in the big city slums. And finally, at that time the two billion colored peoples of the have-not nations had not yet emerged as a world revolutionary force against the "have" nations, giving the American Negroes the conviction that they are part of a world majority.

But what might have been is not what is. The Negro revolt is reaching its present climax not in 1863 nor in 1948 but in 1963. And in 1963, beginning with Birmingham, it has spread from the South, where it has centered around the struggle for democracy, to the North, where it is centered around the harsh brute facts of *economic* life.

The Southern Negroes have not yet marshalled their numerical or physical power but have limited themselves mainly to symbolic non-violent actions whose chief aim has been to expose and compel the Federal Government to act. In the North, a mass of unemployed Negroes, concentrated in the cities, are going to use their economic and political power to prove that they have as much, if not more, right to jobs and to training for jobs as whites have. And it is already clear that white workers, believing that they have a property right to these jobs (much as the capitalist believes he has a property right to factories) are going to put up a bitter resistance to the Negro challenge.

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*—Cover photo by James Wilson*

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# editorials

## "To Advance the American Revolution"

Ten years ago, in October 1953, the first issue of CORRESPONDENCE appeared. At that time McCarthy was running rampant, and Americans from the President down, terrified of being labelled "Communist", were reluctant to show any deviation from the official line that this country is the greatest and the freest in the world.

We refused to be intimidated. Confident that inside America, as inside every capitalist country, there existed revolutionary social forces created by the system itself, we set out to discover and encourage these revolutionary forces. A new society, we said, could be found in the struggles of rank and file workers against the union bureaucracy, of Negroes for equality, in the revolt of youth against middle-class values, and in the search of women for new, more human, relations with men.

Now, today, in the mounting and irreversible tide of Negro revolt, the American Revolution has begun. Meanwhile, although McCarthy himself is dead, his spirit lives on in the overwhelming majority of white Americans, who are more afraid than ever of offending the powers-that-be or even each other, for fear of losing the material comforts they have acquired and which they have come to identify with human freedom.

*They* will do what they will do. As for ourselves, with this issue and a new format, *we* rededicate ourselves to recording and advancing the American revolution.

Our allegiance is not to any individuals or groups or to any theories as to how revolutions should go — but only to the revolution. Without fear or fancy, we shall tell the truth about this revolution in whatever form or color it appears, conscious always that a revolution goes the way it goes, according to the real grievances and the brutal realities of a particular society — and not the way it is better for it to go.

If at times we appear extreme to some or even many of our readers, we remind them that every great revolution has always gone far beyond the wildest imagination of those with whom it began as well as of its most ardent supporters and theoreticians. Of one thing we are certain. No revolution in a country of America's unparalleled productivity, power and world position could be anything but a great revolution. Before this American revolution is over, all economic, social and political conditions in this society will have been fundamentally altered, all past prejudices as to what could or should be the appropriate relations between man and man, and between nation and nation, will have been shattered, and new foundations established.

●

## To Our Readers:

With our new format we are raising our rates to 25c for a single copy, $2.25 for a year's subscription, and $4.00 for two years.

All present subscribers will continue to receive the number of issues that they subscribed for.

We urge our readers, when subcribing or renewing, to send in for two years whenever possible. This will mean less work for our already overworked staff. And it should bring closer the day when we can expand our coverage and increase the number of our pages.

# *Roses and Revolutions*

**By Dudley Randall**

Musing on roses and revolutions,
I saw night close down on the earth like a great dark wing,
And the lighted cities were as tapers in the night,
And I heard the lamentations of a million hearts
Regretting life and crying for the grave,
And I saw the Negro lying in the swamp with his face blown off,
And in northern cities with his manhood maligned and felt the writhing
Of his viscera like that of the hare hunted down or the bear at bay,
And I saw men working and taking no joy in their work
And embracing the hard-eyed whore with joyless excitement
And lying with wives and virgins in impotence.

And as I groped in darkness
And felt the pain of millions,
Gradually, like day driving night across the continent,
I saw dawn upon them like the sun a vision
Of a time when all men walk proudly through the earth
And the bombs and missiles lie at the bottom of the ocean
Like the bones of dinosaurs buried under the shale of eras,
And men strive with each other not for power or the accumulation of paper
But in joy create for others the house, the poem, the game of athletic beauty.

Then washed in the brightness of this vision,
I saw how in its radiance would grow and be nourished and suddenly
Burst into terrible and splendid bloom
The blood-red flower of revolution.

*—Dudley Randall's poems are included in AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY and BEYOND THE BLUES.*

# On a Journey to Farmville and Cambridge

Reginald Wilson

The winding road to Farmville, shire town of Prince Edward County, Virginia, is intermittently impaled with historical tablets marking the various stages of General Robert E. Lee's retreat, ending in ignominy at nearby Appomatox Courthouse. Mrs. Parsons, a gnarled, stolid Negro widow and longtime Farmville resident has wryly observed, "The white people of Virginia are waiting for General Lee to return, riding his big white horse, Traveler."

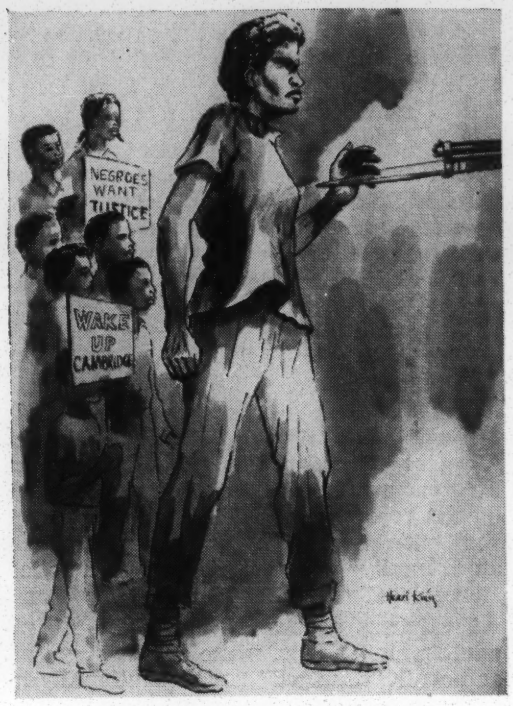
Apparently the patience of Virginia's white people is quite extensive. While waiting for General Lee, that portion of them in Prince Edward County has managed to keep its public schools closed since 1959 rather than integrate them. Private schools were set up for the white children. As for Negro children, despite emergency crash programs, despite summer training centers set up by sympathetic Northerners, four years of no education have caused irreparable damage which even Freedom NOW could not undo.

At night I walked the streets of Farmville: down Race Street; past Longwood College—a state-supported school for genteel, blue-eyed Southern women; down by 100 Madison Street, where I had spent the day interviewing ten-, eleven- and twelve-year-old children who did not know what to do with a pencil. I walked the streets of Farmville and began to fathom the depth of emotional intensity behind the recently begun demonstrations, boycotts, picket lines and jailings. Yet, the puzzling question that is always asked is, "Why have Prince Edward Negroes, after four long years, just begun to demonstrate?"

"WAY DOWN IN EGYPT LAND,
LET MY PEOPLE GO"

Mrs. Parsons gives one answer. She says, "There is no leadership in Prince Edward County. The people have been ready to move but there was no one giving them a direction to go in." Rev. Williams, a fiery Farmville minister, mentions the lack of Negro voter registration and a moribund NAACP. Another answer may lie in the confusion among the Negro teenagers who ordinarily form the backbone of organized protests. The school closing undoubtedly threw them into a social as well as educational quandary. The first statistic that rose significantly after 1959 was the incidence of teenage pregnancies.

But then the 'Snick' kids (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) came in with their fervor and dedication and organizational acumen dearly-purchased in the crucibles of Birmingham, Savannah and Danville. And in gauging the Southern scene, it seems that the 'Snick' kids — those nonviolent, blue-jeaned battalions— are everywhere marshalling the Negro people through mundane and pragmatic methods to envision and, perhaps, accomplish revolutionary goals.




**On my last night in Farmville I attended a protest rally in the Methodist church pastored by a Rev. Dixon. The children marched up the aisles clapping their hands and singing. That night the TV cameramen were filming their rally, part of which later appeared briefly on the three-hour NBC special, "The American Revolution." The song leader was an ungainly black girl with a good voice and lots of motion. However, the director of the TV crew asked a pretty, almost Caucasian-looking girl to stand and lead the singing during the filmed sequence. The kids somehow, good-humoredly, just ignore this bizarre behavior and the singing goes on.**

These children, like the slaves of 1865, have just endured a four-year disaster and, despite its damage to their lives, turn their faces to the future and the new world they intend to make. Everything is new. The children sing, "I ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round."

"OVER MY HEAD I SEE
FREEDOM IN THE AIR"

Over 200 miles north of Farmville on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the town of Cambridge, SNCC has also been impressively active. Cambridge is the kind of town that sends liberals into sieges of despair. Here is a city of "progress" that failed. There are Negroes on the City Council. There are Negroes on nearly every city commission. Negroes to the left of them; Negroes to the right of them. Negroes, Negroes everywhere, but not a one was free!

Entering Cambridge in the pre - dawn haze, one's automobile motor echoes in the nearly deserted streets. Except for a scurrying domestic hastening to prepare Miss Ann's breakfast, the only occupants of the streets are National Guardsmen cruising in jeeps and trucks. A Negro laborer calls them "Boy Scouts in hobnailed boots." They are vestiges of the recent period of partial military rule which controlled Cambridge following the demonstrations and Negro-white clashes. Splitting Cambridge in two, literally, is Race Street, site of the main business district. Here, after being rejected in their demands for "across the board desegregation in housing, education and public accommodations," the Negroes picketed the movie theater, the tax-supported skating rink, the stores and restaurants. They were jeered and abused by bystanders and manhandled by the police. On one particular day 43 demonstrators were thrown in jail. The situation became so explosive it was necessary to call in the National Guard and impose military rule. And still the Negroes threatened to demonstrate unless their demands were met. The City Fathers capitulated and a dramatic agreement was signed, drawing nation-wide attention, in Washington, D.C., under the unprecedented aegis of the Attorney-General of the United States. Present at the signing were Cambridge Mayor Moybray, Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy and Mrs. Gloria Richardson representing the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee.

Mrs. Richardson, at first consideration, would not seem to be the likely person to lead a movement of the militancy of the Cambridge CNAC. Her family is one of the leading Negro families of Dorchester County. Her father was a councilman. She was educated at Howard University in nearby Washington, D. C. However, she may at one time have heard one of her former professors, the late E. Franklin Frazier, say something like this: " . . . The traditional spirit of independence and self-assertion of the Negro woman has not been lost . . . She will not be satisfied with mere acceptance by white America but will join with the women of the world in the revolution which is creating a new world which will be free of colonialism, racial discriminations and economic exploitation."

"DO YOU WANT YOUR FREEDOM?
CERTAINLY, LORD!"

Perhaps some such impetus inspired this slender, vivacious mother of two girls to assume a role unique in the Negro revolt. She is the first woman to lead a major protest movement in the South and to register such dramatic gains resulting from her movement's demonstrations. Not that the settlement is without fault; the misgivings of the youth as to its adequacy are vocal in some quarters. Nevertheless, Mrs. Richardson's accomplishments were important and she operated effectively under considerable pressure. She worked closely with Stanley Branch, field representative of the NAACP, and with SNCC (the Cambridge CNAC is now an affiliate and Mrs. Richardson was recently elected to SNCC's Executive Committee). She has welded the various leadership elements of

**(Concluded on Page 4)**

# No Taxation Without Negro Representation

1868 McAllister St.,
San Francisco 15, Cal.
June 28, 1963

Director of Internal Revenue
Washington 25, D. C.:

This is to inform you that I have no intention of paying federal income tax nor of filing returns for 1962 or 1963.

The Congress of the United States is not entitled legally to collect taxes from me or any other citizen, because at least 25 members of the House of Representatives hold their seats and vote in violation of Section 2 of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution.

That section provides that "when the right to Vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

If this provision were enforced in the case of Southern states which deny the vote to Negro citizens (as the NAACP is demanding in a current lawsuit), the 11 Southern states would lose at least 25 Representatives. The power of these 25 criminals is far greater than their number would indicate, for the racist oppression and political bossism which they practice has kept them in office so long that through seniority they control the most powerful committees in the House. Thus expenditures and legislation by the House do not represent the will of the people of the United States, nor are actions by such an illegally constituted and controlled House legally valid.

Furthermore, the voting right of *all* adult male citizens, white or black, voting or not, is "abridged" unconstitutionally in those states which require a poll tax of voters in violation of the foregoing section. Thus those states are legally entitled to NO representation in the House.

Finally, all states deny the vote on other unconstitutional grounds (length of residence, illiteracy, etc.) to citizens who are entitled to vote by discriminatory districting which gives more Congressional representation per person to rural areas. The amounts of representation which various states would lose if the Fourteenth Amendment were enforced in those cases is impossible for me to calculate.

The Congress of the United States does not obey the Constitution, does not represent the people of the United States, and does not want to. I refuse to submit to taxation without fair and universal representation. I invite my fellow citizens to join me.

Yours for the Constitution,

Jefferson Poland
Deputy Register of Voters
City and County of San Francisco

## THE NEW SOCIETY

**(Concluded from Page 3)**

the community, including the ministers, into a strong, effective instrument. This alone is a significant accomplishment. **Further, the CNAC headquarters is used as a remedial center for academically ill-prepared children and as a voter registration school.**

Mrs. Richardson is quite cognizant of her leadership role as a woman. She spoke to me at length regarding the leadership potential of Negro women in the protest movement, in part due to their relative freedom from economic reprisal as compared to men. She is also aware of the potential problems resulting from the possibility of conflicts with the Negro man who has only recently been able to assert his masculinity in a primarily matriarchial Negro social structure.

Another question I raised with Mrs. Richardson revolved around my perception of her movement as a sort of middle ground between the pure nonviolence of Martin Luther King and the self-defense policies advocated by Robert Williams in Monroe, N. C. She emphatically affirmed her adherence to the philosophy of nonviolence but it was evident that she harbored some apprehensions concerning the movement's ability to contain the volatile emotions and justified outrage of the Negro community that have built up over the past years, and may explode again if during the present uneasy truce the referendum petition started by the whites to put on the ballot the question of continued segregation of public facilities is passed. The Negroes say, "Whites should never be allowed to vote on our rights." And there the situation rests.

## An American in Greece

*Detroiter Dan Georgakas, in Greece this summer, found that, although the ruins and the politics there are a long way from America, yet America intrudes at the most unexpected moments in the most unexpected places. He sent us these two vignettes.*

I

About the time we drove into Pylos to see Nestor's Palace as described by Homer, the American 6th Fleet sailed into the harbor. Our first encounter occurred on a little island in the bay where we discovered officers drinking under a tent. They treated us and seemed delighted to see Americans in what they considered a desolate spot. They invited us to dinner on board ship that night and our entire party accepted. The food was excellent. The officers wore white and were white. The cooks and servants also wore white but weren't. Twelve were Negroes. Six were Orientals. Two were Puerto Ricans. There were no others. The American way of life had come to sandy Pylos.

II

The Negro spoke Greek better than I did. We were sitting at a cafe on the beach at Cape Sounion, the thermost tip of Attica.

"I understand it's getting better," he said.

"How long have you been over here?"

"Ten years." He pushed his sunglasses up on the bridge of his nose.

"It's better but not really different yet."

"I've been thinking of going back."

I sipped on the Greek coffee. I knew what the next question would be.

"Think I should go back?"

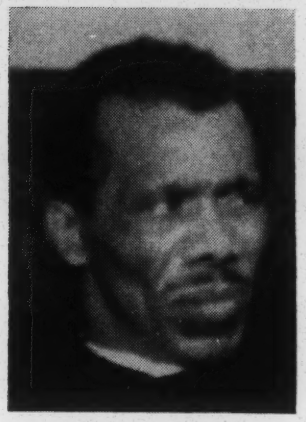
It was my turn to play with sunglasses. There was much I could have said but the decision had to be his own.

"I'm happy here."

"I don't doubt that at all."

"I feel here for the first time in my life. I feel human. If I went back it would be the struggle all over again. It would be a fantastic effort just to be seen. Life is much easier for me here. I'm happier than I'd ever be in America. The old man I rent from even wants me to marry his daughter."

I laughed. But in America it would not have been funny. When we returned to Attica though, he went to an airlines office. Everything he had said was true. But he was an American and to be free he had to be free in America first.



## what it means

# There's No Place Like Displace

James Boggs

Only a few years ago no white person ever really had to worry about a Negro taking his place because it was taken for granted that there was a white man's place and a Negro's place. A white teacher might have only a M.A. while a Negro teacher had a Ph.D. But the white teacher didn't have to worry about the Negro teacher taking her job. The Negro teacher could only teach in a Negro school or Negro neighborhood—or run an elevator. A white engineer didn't have to worry if he wasn't as smart as a Negro engineer. The Negro engineer could only go into a Negro business—or run an elevator. A white baseball player didn't have to worry about being too good. And though it was obviously false, a white reporter could think that he reported news of the Negro struggle as well as a Negro reporter—because whoever heard of a Negro journalist writing or broadcasting to an all-American audience?

Nowadays, however, every white person knows that somewhere there is a Negro training and itching to take his place. Today also there are a lot of corporations who want some visible Negroes around in order not to lose the Negro market which provides them with their margin of profit. This means that a lot of whites are in danger of being displaced by Negroes—and to give up his place is not easy for the white man. Finally, of course, all this is coming at a time when the number of jobs is itself being diminished by automation. The result is that the antagonism between the whites and Negroes which the country feels must stop is only just getting started. The fact that the Negro revolt is coming at the same time as automation means conflicts and clashes between Negroes and whites such as this country has never seen.

### MANHOOD

There is no question that few Negroes, if any, are thinking that in demanding jobs equal to whites they are overthrowing the American economic system. But in this demand and in their struggle to achieve it, it is the same as if this were their intention. What makes it so clear is that for the first time the whites up North are beginning to feel their economic place threatened. There has always been a big difference between the South and the North on the question of work. In the South whites have usually been willing to let Negroes do all kinds of skilled work just as long as the white man was boss. The Negroes from slavery days have been carpenters, plumbers, brickmasons, and so forth. Only since 1950 with the runaway plants has an industrialized white working class begun to grow in the South. But in the North the whites have always done the skilled and industrial work which was at the heart of the country's economic strength. The majority of Negroes in the North have been left with only the menial and fringe jobs, as porters, domestics, janitors. So that in the North, much more than in the South, whites feel that not only **their livelihood** but **their manhood** is tied up with their work.

Now today the Negroes are saying that they want to be at the heart of the productive work of society, whatever it is. That is, they are demanding jobs in business and industry, schools and movies, newspapers and banks, and in every sphere of American life, as a price for continuing to support that way of life. This is threatening whites in the North as they have never felt threatened before. Whites in the North are not prejudiced in the sense that they don't like Negroes. Their prejudice goes much deeper. They just believe that Negroes should have their equal opportunity **after** the whites have had theirs. They just believe that Negroes should have equal opportunity but—at no cost to the whites. In other words, so long as the white doesn't become unemployed or so long as a white child doesn't have to be slowed down in his education to get ahead in the world, the Northern white is all for the Negroes being equal. But if there is any threat to the whites getting ahead, then the whites are going to resist whoever threatens this to the bitter end.

That is why the Negro struggle coming at this time is likely to be the biggest and fastest teacher of the American public that it has ever had, and the lesson it teaches will probably also be valid for every advanced country. The Negro who is suffering most from automation today, because the unskilled work he has been doing is the first to be automated, is likely to be the one to teach Americans most about what automation will have to mean to their society.

This country, like every capitalist country, has always lived by the philosophy that when a big technological transition takes place, those thrown out of work by it should be willing to suffer because the next generation will benefit so much by the productivity that the new technology makes possible. In the United States the ones who have been left to suffer as technology advanced were mainly and always the Negroes. Every other group, including the immigrants, was always educated **up** to the new technological stage. Only the Negroes were left behind. But now the Negroes have made it clear that they do not intend to suffer just because we are moving into an age of automation. They want whatever jobs remain and what's more, they want the best of these jobs. And if there is education necessary for these jobs, then they want whatever education is necessary. This is one of the main things that the revolution is about. This is what many Negroes were thinking of when they watched or participated in the Washington March for Jobs and Freedom. And that is why this revolution is going to bring about such a vicious clash with whites, not only in the long run but immediately. Because today in the United States the main work that is still not automated is in construction and in the skilled trades associated with construction. This work is completely dominated by whites—and not just by whites in general. The whites in construction work do not have the self-control that comes from work in a factory. They have not been disciplined by the union and the company as mass production workers have been because of the seniority and fringe benefits that are tied up with union membership in the mass production industries. They are individualistic, protecting their own jobs and jobs for their in-laws and relatives with the vigilance and ferocity almost of tribesmen.

### BIG QUESTION

I believe that through this showdown that is coming between Negro and white workers, America will have to find a solution to the question of how people should live in an age when there is not enough work for everybody to do. Eventually the right to live will have to be divorced from the necessity to work. Thus because of this conflict, America is going to have to create new values and a new conception of manhood which goes far beyond the idea that a human being is a laboring animal. These new values are necessary if humanity is going to progress, but a society doesn't change its old values simply because some people have theoretically examined it and found that a change in values is necessary. A society changes its values because a struggle and conflict take place **inside** that society, and the Negroes are the social force now creating that struggle and conflict inside this society.

If there were no Negroes inside the United States, this country would still eventually have to face the same fundamental question: whether it should destroy all the technological advances and stop man from thinking creatively at all just in order to keep him working; **or** whether it should encourage and promote technology and let man begin to enjoy the benefits of it and find new ways of expressing his humanity. However, the big question is how many bitter and bloody clashes there must be between white and Negro workers before Americans realize that the work which they have thought was such a necessity to their livelihood and their manhood is no longer such a dire necessity.

*James Boggs is the author of the recently-published* American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook *(Monthly Review Press, New York) which has already gone into a second printing.*

*" . . . the new party will be the natural voice of fraternity with the oppressed of Africa, Asia, and Latin America who are also striving to end racism, exploitation and colonialism."*



# "The Natural Voice of Fraternity"

an interview with Conrad P. Lynn, acting chairman, Freedom Now Party

**Q.** *Mr. Lynn, why do you think this is the time to organize a Negro political party?*

A. The March on Washington was the last great effort of the standard civil rights organizations and their white friends to achieve some advance toward liberty for the black man by the method of petition and protest. The newspapers sang their paeans of praise about the orderly behavior of the Negroes in Washington. But within a few days the ordinary white people gave their answer in Folcroft, Penna., in Chicago and in Birmingham. Our final instrument is organized independent political action.

**Q.** *Why cannot the major parties be utilized to achieve the objective of Freedom Now for the Negro?*

A. Because the major parties are committed to the traditional order. That order presupposes the black man as a marginal worker and the chief constituent of the pool unemployed. American capitalism is inconceivable without the black man at its base. In the South, particularly, unions are crippled in their effectiveness by the appeal to race prejudice. Even in the North as we can see by the example of the construction workers' Jim Crow unions in New York and Chicago and the longshoremans' union in Portland, Ore., the black people are shut out of any essential place in the economy by the extreme development of hostility by the white workers.

**Q.** *Would not the organization of a black party feed this prejudice?*

A. On the contrary, political organization is an expression of power. The white people are quick to recognize the meaning of such power. Therefore, we will be able to deal with them more nearly on a plane of equality when we have our own political instrument.

**Q.** *Why can't we join the parties of the left?*

A. Because of the bitter experience of the Negroes with such parties. In the thirties the Communist Party gained great influence when it took the Scottsboro case. But it caused great disillusionment over its exploitation of the case for narrow party ends. Furthermore, when the Communist Party denounced the campaign among Negroes against segregation in the U. S. armed forces, many Negroes became convinced that to the Communists the cause of the Negro was distinctly secondary. The Socialists have always had the line that the uplifting of the workers would automatically result in the Liberation of the Negro. In other words they have never had a program that fitted American realities. Some of the newer left groups are aware that at this time the Negroes are determined to undertake independent political action and they will cooperate with us.

**Q.** *Why do you feel the American Negroes will make common cause with the Afro-Asian peoples who are throwing off the yoke of imperialism?*

A. The struggle for freedom in Asia and Africa since World War II has been a great inspiration to the Negroes in America. When Ghana took its seat in the United Nations and quickly won respect for the voice of new Africa, it immediately became evident to many Negroes in America that they, too, had an independent role to play. In crucial areas we are a colonial people. Our task in winning freedom is more difficult than the people in an ordinary colony since we live in the heart of the metropolitan country. Always the white liberal or his beneficiary among the Negroes has spoken for us. When indignant black Americans broke into the United Nations to protest the dastardly murder of the great Lumumba, the world was put on notice that we meant to be heard.

> *"We are making a demonstration here this afternoon not so much for Cuba as for America. There will be no peaceful solution to America's problems if we are going to have repression of expression."*
>
> *CONRAD LYNN, speaking as Panel Moderator at the Town Hall Rally of the American Students who saw Cuba for themselves.*

It pained me to read in the New York Times that Bayard Rustin on the eve of the March on Washington had said that Negroes did not want any foreign interest or influence brought to bear on their problem. That was the Master's voice speaking. Had it not been for the interest and common cause made by foreign countries in our plight there never would have been a March on Washington. Furthermore, within a few days after he had made that statement a group of African visitors was badly mauled and tortured by a group of white supremacists in Alabama. The world is too small now to talk of isolation. The electric torture pole brought to its most deadly horrible use on the body of a pregnant black woman in Plaquemines, La., is eagerly adopted by the police in Durban, South Africa.

**Q.** *What are the immediate prospects?*

A. In New Haven, Conn., the black candidate for Mayor, endorsed by us, has just won a place on the ballot. In San Francisco our candidate for Mayor may surprise all the world. These are just the fall campaigns. Our larger effort is to spread the discussion of what our move means to the whole Negro community. We believe that by 1964 our ideology and program will be clear and effective. Our immediate need is for funds for printing our publications and paying for their distribution.

**Q.** *What about the presidential campaign of 1964?*

A. We will have our founding convention in Easter week of that year, probably in a midwestern city or city of the upper South. Our most difficult and necessary task is organization in the deep South. You can hardly expect Negroes to risk their lives to make a choice between Barnett and Eastland. But if they have their own candidate they will register even if it means taking their rifles with them to the polls. At our founding convention we will make the decision whether to run a candidate for president or not.

**For more information about the new party, write Conrad Lynn, 81 E. 125 St., New York, N. Y. 10035.**

## A Bill of Rights?

In his column "*Before Pleasure Comes Paine*" in the June issue of CORRESPONDENCE, Lyman Paine sets up a challenge that, in this reader's opinion, is long overdue. He calls for a realistic approach to the search for practical *solutions* of the American Negro's problems.

Too much valuable time, too much precious energy, are being given to merely stating the problem. "The Negro wants Freedom" we say. But "freedom" is such a nebulous term, subject to as many interpretations as there are whims of the mind. And in the final analysis, the Negro, along with every other living soul on this earth, already has the only real freedom there is — the God-given freedom to think, and to commune with his maker.

But there *are* goals the Negro desperately wants and needs to achieve. They should be listed, spelled out in plain words, and set forth in a "Bill of Rights and Aims" which will become the banner and the doctrine of all demonstrations, all movements, all discussions of American Negro problems.

To draw up such a guiding document will take all the talent, patience, tolerance and knowledge of the country's leaders, both colored and white. But a start must be made, and promptly. And the initiative should be furnished by the Negroes themselves. Right now, every Negro in the United States — and as many white friends as he or she can enlist — should be thinking seriously about exactly what "rights and aims" he or she personally desires. And when these are clearly in mind, they should be communicated to the leader in whom he or she has the greatest confidence, along with a plea that they be included in the "Bill of Rights and Aims."

Achievement of all the goals the Negro will set for his people will take time. Not all those who help to shape the pattern of the new order will live to see the design completely worked out — but their children will. And the sufferings of the twelve generations of the colored, since the first slaves were brought to the shores of America, will be vindicated.

What *equipment* do the colored have with which to organize their objectives and their search for solutions to their problems? Leaders — yes, they do have dedicated and able leaders. *But not nearly enough.* More leaders are a prime need for the achievement of the "rights and aims". Where will they come from? Out of the rank and file of Negroes; those who are willing to undergo the training and acquire the knowledge essential to leadership. And where will such people find this training and knowledge? In school, in college; in the lecture hall, in the public library. That is why one of the first and most important "rights and aims" sought by every Negro should be "FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO *ALL* SOURCES OF EDUCATION, ENLIGHTENMENT AND KNOWLEDGE." If all the current activities in quest for a better life produced no more than this one 'right", the Negro would have achieved a giant-size step forward. But today's movement *will* achieve this and much more, if each individual will put his shoulder to the wheel mentally as well as physically.

Mark Wells
San Pedro, Calif.

*Lyman Paine is on vacation. His column will return in the next issue.*

## *A Dream*

**By James Randall, Jr.**

I want to love as much as the
next man,
To find in those great hours of
the soul
The incessant inward bickering
that forces
Saying into the loud giant.

Yet it will not be easy.
Driven into the world
On childhood's sled, confused
By real and chimerical explosions,
the linguistic
Demons and dragons, badgered on
every side
By a society of pompous appliances
Whose credo is more appliances
for everyone,
It will not be easy to distinguish
between the puffing
Metaphor of the sun
And the inward flame.

Hardened by nonsensical patter,
ragged
Nails over the large brow of the earth,
There will arise, though ridiculed
and pummelled,
A strong voice, to greet
The age with undecorated blessing.

*—James Randall, Jr., is a major Hopwood Award winner.*

# facts in brief

## The White Monopoly of the Building Trades

Those who want to understand the growing race conflict in the construction industries have only to examine the following facts and figures regarding the Apprentice Training Program operated by the Detroit Board of Education as a service to the construction trades.

| Trade | Present No. of Negro Apprentices | |
|---|---|---|
| Electrical Construction | 0 | |
| Glazing | 0 | |
| Iron Working | 0 | |
| Pattern - Making | 0 | |
| Plastering | 3 | (out of 13) |
| Plumbing | 2 | (out of 162) |
| Printing | 1 | (out of 132) |
| Sheet Metal | 1 | (out of 22) |
| Sprinkler Fitting | 0 | |
| Steam Fitting | 2 | (out of 118) |

Carpentry, Painting and Resilient Floor Decorating reported "several" apprentices; Bricklaying said it "has always been open" and Metal Lathing said it has "integrated practices." But none of them backed up their statement with figures.

In 1962 the Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity condemned the Apprentice Training Program as "obviously discriminatory," and recommended that unless there were changes the Board of Education should terminate or suspend the program. Nevertheless decisions as to who enters the program remain to this day completely under the control of the notoriously discriminatory unions. Thus:

1. All applicants are screened by the unions' executive boards and by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee representing management and the unions.

2. No one can enter the Apprentice Training School unless he is **already** employed as an apprentice in his trade.

3. The teachers and counselors at the Apprentice Training School, to whom applicants are to apply, are employed by the Board of Education, but selected from a list submitted by the union.

# *In the Wind . . .*

*"Tomorrow will not tell the tale. Nor the day after tomorrow. But the answers, as the song says, are blowing in the wind. And the wind, it looks like, is coming close to home."*

Editorial
*York Gazette*

* * *

The representatives of the new FREEDOM NOW Party, led by William Worthy planned a sit-in in J. Edgar Hoover's office but were flanked by being immediately invited in and given over an hour's time in the Presence. TV and newsmen were excluded. Could the conversation have gone something like this?

*Hoover:* Well, what do you want?

*Worthy:* Freedom now!

*Hoover:* The Constitution guarantees freedom, justice and equality to all citizens, but you have to earn these rights.

*Worthy:* We're tired of waiting. We plan to demonstrate, sit-in, and form an independent political party.

*Hoover:* What are you, some kind of Communists?

*Worthy:* Bobby Kennedy says a black man can be President in 40 years.

*Hoover:* Well, I've got a dossier on him, too.

●

"I'm not an entertainer first, nor am I an American first. First, above all else, I'm a Negro."

Dick Gregory
From Chicago's
Bridewell Jail

"I'm primarily an entertainer, not a demonstrator. But the fact that I am a life member of the NAACP indicates where I stand."

Nat "King" Cole

●

"In Los Angeles we held a march at the same time as the Washington one. It was the best this city has had — the largest number was Negro. Some people came straight from work. At City Hall the speakers had to forget their prepared talks because of the jeering from the crowd. It was more than "Get rid of Parker!" (the Police Commissioner). The crowd was really on its toes. Every time a speaker said something, it came in with some fitting jeer which was then taken up as a slogan.

"When I got back to work I moved the office radio (saved for such great events as ball games) next to my desk and listened all day. The fact of the matter is that whites were scared. You could tell from the jokes — 'Are you going out on the streets?' — 'Be careful, take a gun for protection.' You can imagine what a ball I had when the reports came of the four arrests — all whites looking for trouble and trigger-happy.

"The next day I was the feature. People came over to look at me as though they had never seen me before, so much so that I asked them did they know we were taking over the government and they had better be *very* nice to me, because I am at least a little insurance for their skins."

Letter From F. Paine
Los Angeles, Cal.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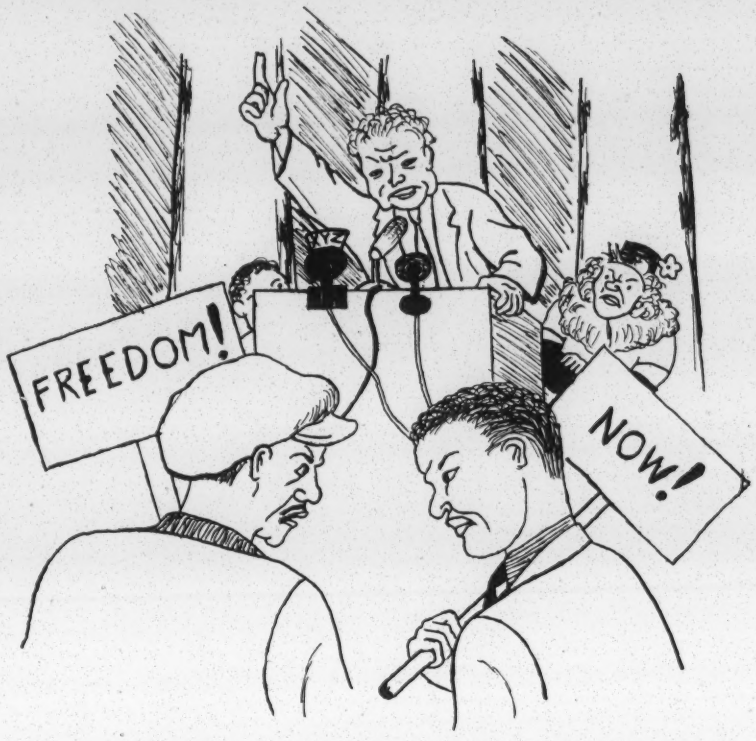
**GUS AND GREASY** **By Wilson and Mallett**




"Same old thing—white folks talking and colored folks singing."

"The list of organizations and groups who are promising to march (on Washington) makes the whole thing a mirage. One illustration will suffice. I work in a factory. There was there a cannibal foreman—Jewish—under him a Negro foreman, kind and soft-spoken, and with interest in the workers and their work. It pleased God to remove a Cain from life. This made the Negro the head foreman and the question was to hire an assistant to him. A Jew was hired, but the management was not satisfied with just a statement; he had to present a certificate of his birth as a Jew. He was made the head foreman, and the Negro remained as an ass-istant (sic!). The same management participates in the March on Washington. Is that clear?

Letter from David Berkingoff
New York, N. Y.

●

". . . And Charlotte said no child of ours will turn sour so long as a man like you is around. And I hugged her and said you're my little girl. Then I picked up my bat and I said I'd best be on my way. I'm late as it is.

Hit one for me, Charlotte yelled. And for me too, Daddy, Billie-Boy yelled, and I yelled back don't you worry about me. I'll do fine.

And then I drove downtown to the civil rights demonstration."

Jules Feiffer
From a cartoon in the
*Village Voice*

●

"What amazed me was the restraint of the Negroes on the job the day after the Birmingham bombing — the way they talked with whites as if nothing had happened. They almost seemed more a part of the Northern working class than Negroes. I usually sit and have coffee with some white guys when I go into work. But Monday I just couldn't. I couldn't tell what I might do if one of them passed one of his prejudiced remarks. The night before I had waked up in a cold sweat after dreaming that I had gone next door to the head of the local homeowners association and dismembered one of his little kids."

E. L. Chrysler Worker

●

On the Monday after the bombing nobody in the plant, white or Negro, was talking about race. This could mean something and it could mean nothing. In "The Valley", on the other hand, the Negroes were talking bigger and badder than I have ever heard them talk. That also could mean something and it could mean nothing. Once a revolution begins boiling the way this one is boiling, it can go any way.

Just Jim
Detroit, Mich.

●

"If Africa joins forces in the United Nations with all the rest of the underdeveloped world and the Communist countries to support an emancipation movement for American Negroes, President Kennedy could find himself in a very delicate position."

From COMBAT
Paris, France

R&R Rel.
Fortune
September, 1963

# It matters...

## *When the Negroes revolt*

The Negro Revolution—1963—has been reported in depth and with courage by the Post, because the editors believe it matters. It is among the most profound social upheavals in our history. Beyond the bloodshed and violence, its impact has been felt in less dramatic, but no less important, ways: in living habits and working conditions, manufacturing and marketing concepts, in the education of our children. It may be the overriding issue in the 1964 presidential campaign. Post editors were aware of the now flaming Negro militancy before it reached tinder point. Well in advance of the fury, the Post pinpointed the key battlefronts, then moved behind the scenes to reveal the battle plan and review the shock troops who would execute it: zealous youth groups; Martin Luther King; the fanatical Black Muslims and their chief, Malcolm X. When trouble started, the Post explained it with vivid, but judicious, articles by gifted writers who stressed the historical perspective, rather than the sporadic unfolding of news events. The Post added thrust to these articles with a series of tough-minded editorials urging light, not heat: understanding and moderation, rather than revolution and violence. The Post will continue to shed light on this social upheaval. Because it matters.

**POST**

*300 Park Ave., New York 22, N. Y.*

THE CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

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In the second quarter oil and rubber companies recorded increases of about one-fifth over a year ago, chemical and drug companies, textiles, and printing about one-tenth, and food and tobacco up 6 to 7 percent. Only the paper industry had a 3 percent decline. Among nonmanufacturing industries, railroads reported a profit rise of about two-thirds, mining, trucking, and trade companies gains of some 10 percent over a year ago, and communications and utilities half that.

The main reason why profits rose sharply in the second quarter was the unprecedented rise in margins, which is continuing. According to the First National City Bank figures, manufacturing margins were 8 percent higher than a year earlier. Industrial list prices have drifted off by .5 percent from the spring of 1962, but during the second quarter of 1963 they rose month by month, and actual market prices may have improved even more. Meanwhile, unit labor costs in industry have been declining steadily. The ratio of price to unit of labor cost last quarter was nearly 1 percent higher than in the winter or a year ago, and margins appear to be widening again in the current quarter. Unit labor costs have been falling, in part because productivity has been rising faster than average during the past two years.

### Pressure moves margins

The trend of industrial profit margins has been closely correlated with the relation of over-all demand to supply as measured by FORTUNE's index of industrial pressure (see Roundup, June, 1963), and this relationship helps to explain why margins are still improving at this stage of the business cycle. In the past, additions to inventory or capacity or both have tended to outstrip the rise in demand, and so the index of industrial pressure fell. Thus both profit margins and the pressure index declined after 1955 and again after 1959. But since capacity and inventory additions in the current business expansion have been so small, the index of pressure continued firm all during last year and rose sharply in the spring. Moreover, it appears to be up again this quarter.

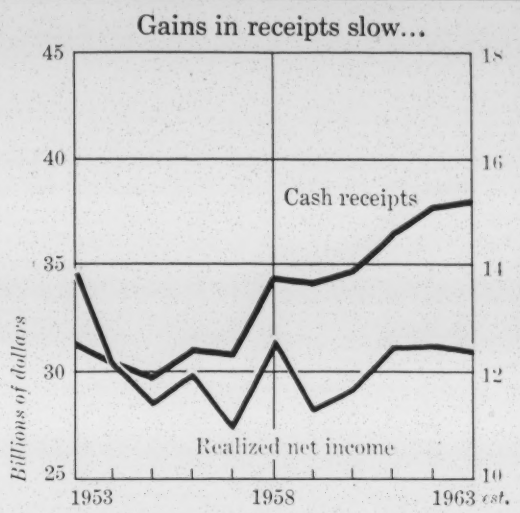
The marked improvement in profits after taxes is coming on top of a good showing last year, which occurred irrespective of government corporate tax changes. These changes liberalized depreciation rules and also granted an investment tax credit for business spending on capital equipment. As a result of the first, corporations took $2.4 billion more in depreciation on their 1962 income-tax returns than they otherwise would have done, according to a survey of the Commerce Department. This of course reduced their pretax incomes by an equal amount, half of which showed up in lower tax liabilities and half in lower net after taxes. The reduction in net, however, was offset by the investment tax credit, and so on a post-tax basis the changes in the government rules made almost no difference for all corporations taken together. For individual companies the tax changes may have made a difference, but most corporations are apparently not reflecting these changes in their reports to shareholders.

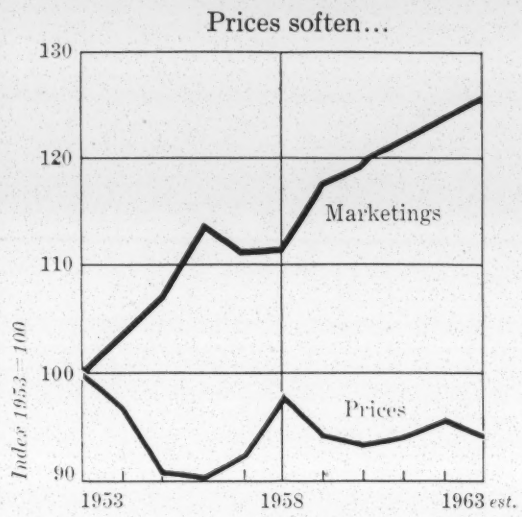
The contribution of the 1962 tax changes was not in terms of profits but in raising corporate cash flow by well over $2 billion. This extra cash flow, however, did not enter into corporate investment decisions until the end of last year, when the new rules were finally promulgated and various uncertainties were resolved. Then the "bonus" from the tax changes proved to be extremely important. For it now turns out that on Commerce's latest revised estimates corporations were not quite so affluent in cash as had been indicated by initial statistics. In 1961 and 1962 they had about $2 billion less to invest than was originally indicated. With the tax "bonus" the new figure for 1962 is $36.5 billion of internal funds from depreciation and profits after dividends.

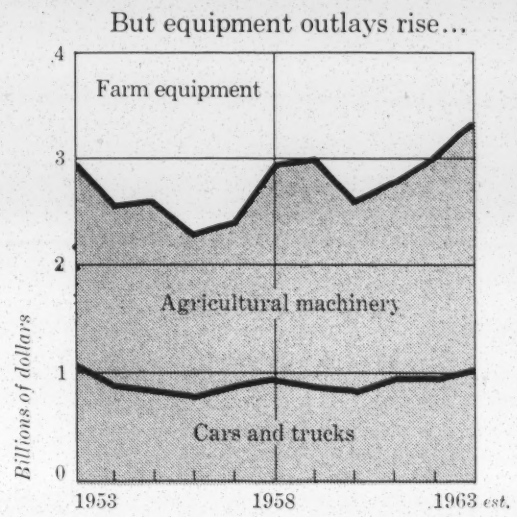
Corporations now have the funds to pursue a stronger investment policy. In 1962 their investment in fixed assets, plant and equipment and inventories, exceeded internal funds by less than $1 billion, whereas in 1956–57 the excess of investment over internal funds was more than $8 billion and in 1959–60 more than $3.5 billion. Meanwhile, corporations raised outside funds in the form of security issues, mortgages, and bank loans averaging about $13 billion per year in all three periods, including 1962. But whereas in previous periods much of this financing went into plant and equipment, it has been used in recent years for net receivables (and so to spur sales) and, directly and indirectly, for building apartments, hotels, etc. Now the picture is changing. While in the second quarter corporate spending for plant and inventory exceeded internal funds by a rate of only $1 billion, the figure should rise to $5 billion in the fourth quarter on Roundup's projections of inventory and plant and equipment spending. This will still be moderate, but outside borrowing will increase and will be differently used. The renewed rise in profits is providing incentive as well as wherewithal for an increase in investment, an essential ingredient for further expansion of the economy.

## Farm Prosperity Levels Off

Farm marketings will increase at least 2 percent this year but prices will be off a bit (chart below). So cash receipts will increase only 1 percent or a little more (charted right); with farm expenses increasing too, farmers will again register little or no change in their net income. Nevertheless they are again increasing outlays on equipment by 10 percent (chart lower right), and so obviously squeezing savings.




## *The Affluent Farmer*

Farm cash receipts, which rose by $3 billion in the past two years, will be up by another half billion in 1963 to a total of over $38 billion. Purchases of farm equipment, which have also been rising, will hit an all-time peak. This upsurge in farm prosperity is, however, tending to level off. Owing to steadily rising expenses (taxes, feed, etc.), net farm income will do well to match last year's $12.6 billion. Federal payments to farmers are already starting to stabilize, and the future is clouded by uncertainties about crop legislation and prices, and export prospects to the Common Market.

This year's big cash receipts are benefiting from a further rise in farm marketings, centering in livestock products. Dairy output will be off a bit, but chickens and eggs are

*continued page 50*

*Drama in Birmingham. Police officials blasted this girl demonstrator with fire hose to stem civil-rights march.*

R&R Rel.



# WHEN NEGROES AND WHITES INTERMARRY—THE PROBLEMS

**Laws forbidding racial intermarriage are starting to get attention in all the clamor over equal rights.**

**A checkup shows mixed marriages are still illegal in many places in the U. S.—and they're not all in the South.**

The case of a Negro soldier who married a white woman has stirred new interest in the laws on racially mixed marriages in this country.

The soldier's military unit is being transferred from Germany to Georgia. He wrote to the attorney general of Georgia to find out what would be the legal status of his marriage in that segregated Southern State.

Answer: In Georgia, it is "unlawful for a white person to marry anyone except a white person." Georgia law also says that "any marriage in violation of this section shall be void."

In such cases, it is the custom of the U. S. Army to permit Negro soldiers to transfer to some other unit assigned to a State where their mixed marriages are permitted by law.

Where can they go?

***A varied picture.*** The map on this page gives you the answer. It shows that there are 31 States where mixed marriages are legal.

In 19 States, marriage between a Negro and a white person is forbidden by law. Most of these States are in the Deep South—but not all. The list includes Wyoming, Indiana, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Oklahoma, Missouri and Kentucky in addition to the 11 States of the Civil War Confederacy.

Some of the States also bar marriages of whites with other races.

The recent trend outside the South has been toward the elimination of laws against racial intermarriage. As the map shows, 12 States have repealed such laws since World War II.

What happens if a Negro-white couple marries in a State which permits mixed marriage, then takes up residence in a State which forbids it?

Most authorities agree: The mixed marriage would not be recognized inside the State to which they moved—and criminal penalties might be invoked against the man and woman if living together.

In most of the States where intermarriage is banned, such a marriage is considered automatically void.

***Problems galore.*** The voiding of a mixed marriage can lead to many difficulties. Courts have held children of interracial unions to be illegitimate. Spouses as well as children can lose rights of inheritance. In some States it is a crime for a minister knowingly to perform a mixed-marriage ceremony.

Several States impose a stiffer penalty for sexual relations outside of marriage when members of different races are involved than when both offenders are of the same race.

The whole subject of mixed marriages has become increasingly controversial as the Negro battle over civil rights has grown in intensity. Miscegenation is a word heard with increasing frequency. The word is defined as "racial interbreeding."

Advocates of racial segregation predict that miscegenation will become more common as integration spreads.

The recent case of Charlayne Hunter is cited. She was the first Negro coed admitted to the University of Georgia. On September 3 it was disclosed that she had secretly married a white student.

Are mixed marriages actually increasing in number?

Complete statistics are lacking. But one 1956 survey indicated that, in the States where interracial marriage is legal, fewer than 5 per cent of married Negroes have non-Negro spouses and fewer than one half of 1 per cent of all marriages involve Negroes and whites.

One place where mixed marriages have increased is among Negro soldiers stationed overseas. Many of them have brought back white brides.

What about the constitutionality of State laws against mixed marriage?

The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled repeatedly against various forms of racial segregation.

In several States—including California and Nevada—State laws against miscegenation have been struck down by State courts.

Yet the Supreme Court of the United States has never ruled directly on the question of whether laws barring mixed marriages violate the U. S. Constitution.

***Court: No hurry?*** Some lawyers have observed that the Supreme Court has not appeared anxious to make a ruling.

Twice in recent years cases involving mixed-marriage bans have been appealed to the Supreme Court. But each time the Court disposed of the case on technical grounds, without deciding the constitutional issue.

Now a new case—involving a Florida couple—is on its way to the Supreme Court, and many people across the country are watching closely to see if it will produce a direct ruling on this increasingly controversial issue.

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From the desk of: **Harold Kilpatrick**

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*Texas Poll*

# Whites Oppose Mixing

By JOE BELDEN
Director, The Texas Poll

**True equality for the American Negro can come only to the degree that white public opinion, on a local level, accepts the mixing of the races. How well prepared are Texans to accept the Negro citizen in the social situations the current Negro "revolt" demands be integrated now, not later?**

Mounting pressure from racial leaders and the Kennedy administration makes it important to be able to gauge where and how much resistance exists if violence is to be averted. The Texas Poll in recent weeks has probed deeply into white attitudes on 11 subjects dealing with integration.

The import of this research is that white Texans are far from ready, personally, to accept the Negro on equal terms. In some areas of social contract there is fierce, if dormant, hostility in this state, so far missed by the racial upheavals that have plagued other parts of the South.

A cross section of white adults has been interviewed, distributed in proportion to population density over the entire state. The results, however, omit Mexican - Americans, since they usually favor integration measures overwhelmingly. The questions were posed in terms of personal acceptance or rejection rather than of civil rights.

Working side by side with a Negro is the only situation acceptable to a clear majority. And there is slightly more acceptance than rejection in riding in the same sections of trains and buses, which is already in practice in most places.

**"How about Negroes riding in the same section of trains and buses with you?"**

| | Per cent |
|---|---|
| Accept | 49 |
| Reject | 47 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Eating in the same restaurants with you?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 40 |
| Reject | 57 |
| No answer | 3 |

**"Staying in the same hotels with you?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 36 |
| Reject | 60 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Sending your children to the same schools?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 41 |
| Reject | 55 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Attending your church?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 41 |
| Reject | 50 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Using the same public swimming pools with you?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 19 |
| Reject | 77 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Working side by side with you in the same kind of job?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 56 |
| Reject | 40 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Attending the same social gathering outside of your home?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 23 |
| Reject | 73 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Attending a social gathering in your home?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 13 |
| Reject | 83 |
| No answer | 4 |

**"Living next door to you?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 23 |
| Reject | 74 |
| No answer | 3 |

**"Having as roommate for your son or daughter at college?"**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accept | 8 |
| Reject | 88 |
| No answer | 4 |

These questions were asked in the order in which they appear above.

In another study published last week covering the President's proposed civil rights legislation now in Congress, the Texas Poll found majority acceptance among white of only one of his proposals; that to provide government poll watchers to insure that Negroes are allowed to vote.

voting rights
+ C R legislation

In asking the questions above, people expressed intensity of feeling by the use of a scale that allowed them to select one of five degrees of acceptance or five degress of rejection. The significant finding from this analysis is that those opposed are considerably more vehement about their feelings than those who accept integration in one form or another. On each of the issues, the greatest number of both proponents and opponents placed themselves in the most extreme positions on the scale — an indication of the wide distance that exists, even among whites, when they happen to differ on the racial problem.

College graduates in the state accept the Negro more readily than people with less education; majorities of college graduates accept them in restaurants, hotels, trains and buses, schools, and churches, but reject them in swimming pools, social gatherings, living next door, and as roommates for their children in college.

# San Antonio Integration A Fact But Kept Mum

**SAN ANTONIO (AP) — A Negro airman and his girl dance to soft music in a night club. All others on the floor are white.**

**Eight Negroes, civilians by their dress, eat a late dinner in a Mexican restaurant. They get the same service as whites.**

This happened last week in San Antonio — a Southern city by geography, a military city by history and an integrated city by choice.

It happens every day.

And because these things happen in San Antonio, the city expects to feel no effects from a controversial directive from its biggest spender, the Defense Department.

The directive orders base commanders to require that all men in uniform, regardless of race, get equal treatment off the base.

•

Some congressmen attacked the directive as a weapon to force integration of cities near military bases.

Yet the directive is hardly discussed here — one of the largest military-oriented cities in the nation.

"Don't quote me, but we don't expect any problems at all," the commander of one of San Antonio's five military bases said. "I haven't heard of a single instance of a man in uniform being discriminated against in San Antonio."

Businessmen say they have lost no white patrons because they serve Negroes.

San Antonio, a city of almost 700,000, was founded by the Spanish as a military and religious outpost. Its oldest buildings are church-forts.

Now there are about 57,000 servicemen stationed here.

Someone figured there are 418,693 persons — more than the population of Fort Worth, Texas' fourth largest city — who get all or part of their income from the military in San Antonio.

The city's economy is estimated at $1.2 billion a year. About one-third of this, $329 million, comes from defense payrolls. The manufacturing payroll is about $100 million annually.

A Negro serviceman can spend his pay just about any place he wants in San Antonio and ride at the front of the bus getting there.

He can rent or buy a home in several predominantly white sections although some neighborhoods — especially those in suburban towns — still resist Negroes.

His children attend integrated public or private schools. He worships in integrated churches. His wife can try on dresses in the best shops and lunch in the best restaurants.

Yet there is a reluctance on the Negro's part, and on his commander's part, to discuss the Defense Department directive for publication. Even young Negro recruits stopped at random on a street corner asked that their names not be used.

"An airman basic has enough problems now. Why ask for more?" one said.

"In the four years I've been stationed here I have never been confronted with the problem of segregation on or off the base," a Negro at Kelly Air Force base said. "I can't comment on the subject either way."

San Antonio, in 1955, became one of the first cities in the South to integrate its public schools. Since then, every public-owned facility has been opened to all races.

Yet not all Negroes say San Antonio is integrated.

"I don't think San Antonio is integated yet, and it won't be as long as we have to depend on voluntary desegregation," said the Rev. C. W. Black Jr., a Baptist minister.

He is one of the Negro leaders who has asked that the city council pass an anti-discrimination ordinance. The council has refused, saying businessmen must decide whether they wish to serve all races.

The council this spring appointed a committee to seek voluntary integration of all privately owned businesses that serve the public.

•

The council said on July 4 that it held integration pledges from most of the 656 public businesses in the city limits.

But Mrs. Sharon West, a Negro who spoke at a council meeting the day of the civil rights march in Washington, D. C., said some businessmen have gone back on their pledges.

Joe Scott, a Negro teacher, disagrees.

"San Antonio is integrated," he said. "Voluntary desegregation is working. I don't know of any serviceman being refused service."

An informal bi-racial committee laid the groundwork for desegregation beginning three years ago, long before the city council committee was named.

There still are some holdouts. Few private clubs or country clubs will admit Negroes even as guests.

Rev. Dan Douglas of the S.A. Council of Churches reports that 98± % of establishments serving the public are integrated. (Oct.

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edy is to arrange beforehand for a simple, decent burial (or cremation) through a nonprofit memorial society. The results, in any other field, could only be termed hilarious. Some undertakers have suggested that criticism of Cadillac-style funerals is a Communist plot. Others say that it is only fitting that status should be exemplified in death as in life. "People are just buying more," says an eminent San Francisco mortician. "Normal starting prices for funerals in this area are pretty much unchanged from the $500 or so we were getting ten years ago. But standards of dying, like standards of living, are higher. In lots of places not only air-conditioned mortuaries but air-conditioned limousines are demanded."

Soon the corpses will demand air-conditioned hearses. All this costs money, of course, and takes a bit of selling. Gordon tells of a four-day "merchandising symposium" for funeral directors which wound up with a talk titled: "As Ye Price, So Shall Ye Reap," a beautiful religious sentiment which the clergy will appreciate. The clergy are, in fact, something of a problem to the morticians who, Gordon asserts, almost invariably try to keep them out of the casket selection room, lest they interfere with "trading up." The good will of the clergy is sought by various devices, mostly psychological, but an interesting gimmick is an "earth dispenser" which is distributed to build clerical "good will." Instead of dirtying his hands sprinkling earth on the coffin as he says, "Dust unto dust," the compliant clergyman uses the dispenser and thinks of the funeral director who furnished him with this indispensable tool.

## The Sovereign Remedy

Nuisance-makers take a more tranquil view of their handiwork if it occurs far from their homes. In the pre-test-ban period, this country and Britain were inclined to minimize the fallout that fell on the peoples of the Pacific. France now would like to shift its tests from the Sahara to the Pacific where the protests, it was hoped, would be fewer and milder. New Zealand and Australia are of course indignant. But protests seldom bring nuisance-makers to their senses. The remedy has always been to compel them to confine their activities to their own back yards. For example, this country finds itself having to conduct nuclear tests underground, on its own territory, and so from Nevada come reports that underground tests are now thought to involve serious health hazards. Peril is seen in "ventings" which permit radioactive debris to break to the surface. Latest data suggest that some children in Utah and nearby states may have drunk dangerously contaminated milk. It is also beginning to be suggested that radioative debris thrown into the air above Nevada might be wafted across the border into Canada. This sounds as though some government agencies, and quite a number of residents of the affected states, were now anxious to halt underground tests. And now that we have decided to test supersonic missiles in Utah and New Mexico, an extensive "educational" campaign had to be launched to convince residents that the tests are safe. Doubtless the enthusiasm of these hardy Western types for such testing will abate now that tests are to take place over *their* heads.

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# Class, Color and Prejudice . . . Bruno Bettelheim

The tragedies, big and small, which occur daily on the streets of our big cities; the deep emotions roused by the murder of children attending Sunday school; our concern that such things must not be permitted to happen; all this and much more tend to make us see in them a unique American problem. Worse, we now accept as a racial problem what in my opinion is a problem of modern industrial society, neither uniquely American, nor confined to the relations between white and Negro. To use an example from an area where there is presently much controversy: all over the world, wherever and as far back as an organized school system existed, the children of the poor, and of the less privileged classes, had only inadequate access to good education, could gain it only against heavy odds, and because of this, their occupational opportunities were severely limited. This is true even where in theory education is equally accessible to all. It was and is true even in all those countries where all children are of the same skin color.

Perhaps the great "American Dilemma," viewed at a distance, permits seeing more clearly what are the essentials of the conflict, and what the accidentals of time, place and skin color. To me, a Jewish boy who grew up in the intensely anti-Semitic Vienna of Lueger—which incidentally formed Hitler's anti-Semitism too—the American dilemma does not seem peculiarly American at all, but merely a local variation of a universal problem. Having once experienced discrimination and persecution as bad as any Negro's, and this from persons whose skin was like mine, I feel that differences in color fail to explain problems which often are ascribed to them.

These thoughts came to my mind when recently reading a sensitive story of a Jewish boy's encounter with the Negro problem in Brooklyn, a story that found wide attention and evoked some controversy. I refer to Norman Podhoretz's article, "My Negro Problem—and Ours," which appeared in the February issue of *Commentary*, and the exchange of letters in the following issues of that magazine. He describes his experiences as he grew up in an environment where Jews and Negroes lived in close proximity, but where soon a deep gap separated them, a gap which he feels had to do with the difference

*Bruno Bettelheim is Rowley Professor of Education at the University of Chicago. Of his several books* The Informed Heart *(Free Press of Glencoe) is most pertinent to this article.*

in racial background. This I find hard to accept, because I can match practically every incident of his story with one out of my childhood; and this goes, I venture to guess, for many Jewish boys of my generation. In Vienna there was a "Carl" with whom I walked to school every day, who was my friend, and who nevertheless suddenly hit me one day, announcing that we were quits from now on because my people had killed Jesus. There were the boys who extorted money: who beat us if we handed it over because we were dirty cowards, and who beat us if we didn't, because we were miserly Jews. During the years of the First World War came the added charges that we were draft dodgers or black marketeers. And all this without the presence of any color difference or—as far as I was concerned—any racial difference (though the gentiles insisted we belonged to a different race).

Nobody considered any of this the consequence of a Viennese, German or Central European dilemma. It was the natural fate of the Jew. Or so it seemed to me in the earlier days of my childhood. Therefore it was quite an eye opener for me when I entered the Gymnasium and the picture changed. No longer were the Jews singled out. The frequent name calling and verbal threats, the occasional attacks and small extortions, all these happened to gentile students, too, though less often and less violently so. They too had become targets of the hostility of former friends, boys who were now continuing their education in the free public schools. Though only yesterday they had been friends, they were now strangers or open foes. It was always open season for war on us Gymnasium students, Jew or gentile, as far as the public-school boys were concerned.

In the public schools, too, the bond of common aspirations and class position made itself felt. Now that it was one class against the other, the few Jewish boys in the public school made common cause with the vast majority of their gentile classmates against all Gymnasium boys. And with us it was the same. Jew and gentile closed ranks against public-school boys. And this though the war between Jew and gentile continued inside the Gymnasium.

Again, as we outgrew childhood and became adolescents, the picture changed. Our antagonists had left school by then and become apprentices in shops and factories, while we continued our studies. The gulf widened. Except for gang fights or for rare individual acts of violence, we were now too separated by an icy hostility on their part, and a thinly veiled anxiety on ours—yes, and guilt because we were the more fortunate ones—for even verbal invectives. *They* felt they had never had a chance, and that *we* had deprived them.

Now our two worlds—the world of those who pursued their higher education, and of those who were already workers — had nothing in common, not even our fighting each other. But within the world of the Gymnasium, the old fight between Jews and gentiles continued. Given the social amenities binding those who aspired to become upper-middle class, there was no longer open violence, not to mention extortion. These were replaced by social ostracism of a more subtle nature.

This taught me then, at an early age, that what in previous generations had been the persecution of the Jews and still looked like it, had essentially become a special aspect of the universal warfare between rich and poor; even between those who were actually poor at the moment but aspired to better their social and economic positions, and those others who accepted that it was hopeless to try to better their lot. Later, in Hitler's concentration camps, I made similar observations. There, too, behind the "racial" warfare one could clearly detect the class structure that underlay and overlapped the group hostilities. The violence of the lower-class S.S. guards vented itself much more formidably against upper-class persons, Jewish or not. By comparison, the lower-class Jew had an easier time of it if he knew how to appeal to the common lower-class background he shared with the S.S. Even in the concentration camps, and until the extermination policy began, class alignment often won out over racial policies in the eyes of the German guards. Interestingly enough, the concentration camp's own "class" system erased old class lines and instituted its own distinctions between the haves as against the have-nots (the prisoner foreman against the ordinary prisoner, for example). So, despite their sympathies with their fellow Jews, when the chips were down the Jewish prisoner aristocracy more often than not sided with the gentile prisoner aristocracy against Jewish and gentile ordinary prisoners.

One further parallel: from childhood on I had heard stories of the rich gentile man who could have sexual fun only with the poor Jewish girl, a fairy tale recently retold in the play *Two for the Seesaw*. And of the rich Jewish boy who found his sex pleasures only with the poor gentile servant girl. I also heard much about the guilt suffered by the gentleman for seducing the poor girl, and how he was hated, or feared to be hated, by the girl's family. In fact, precious few poor girls were seduced, and none to speak of were raped by the gentleman class. They did not need to be. The more usual course of events was that the poor girl, both because of her psychological and economic needs, seduced the rich young gentleman and enjoyed herself considerably in the process. Nor did her relatives hate the so-called seducer, but tried to gain some advantage for themselves. All this was mainly a class phenomenon, and existed in a wholly white society. It had nothing to do with race, because there were no racial differences. There was no Central European dilemma.

An entire mythology has been woven around the supposed guilt of the white man and the innocence of the Negro. Only last week a Negro cab driver in Chicago told me reassuringly that not all Negroes hate all white men; that white men, like me, only think it because of our guilt at having abused poor Negro girls. (I did not quite dare tell him that I never had any close relations to a Negro female, nor any sexual relations with one, because I feared he would have taken it to mean that I deliberately shun them, which I do not. It has come to pass that whatever a white man does is wrong: if he has intimate relations with Negroes, he takes advantage of them; if he abstains, it only proves his white arrogance.) When I assured him, however, that I had never seduced a Negro girl and therefore did not feel guilty, he told me that this made no difference. I

felt guilty and I feared Negro hatred because my ancestors had enslaved Negroes and abused Negro females. Such small considerations as that my ancestors lived in East European ghettos at the time of Negro slavery were not allowed to interfere with the myth.

Having fought the doctrine of guilt by association when McCarthy used it against liberals, it is amazing to witness the readiness with which the same liberals accept his doctrine when it states that all white men are guilty because white people actually took advantage of Negroes long before they were born. These liberals seem to feel that McCarthy was right, after all, and that there is such a thing as guilt by association. Not even McCarthy hoped to establish guilt by association with the deeds of one's great-grandfather.

Yet there is a guilt, both in my native Vienna and in Chicago where I live. It is the guilt of the man who is not his brother's keeper, of the man who lives in comfort when others live in squalor. It is a guilt if he is sensitive, and a fear whether he is sensitive or not; it is also the origin of the hatred in those who hate him because he has it better. Only it has nothing to do with the "peculiar institution" which is a matter of the past, or with an "American Dilemma." It has to do with the plain fact that the rich live in comfort, and the poor do not.

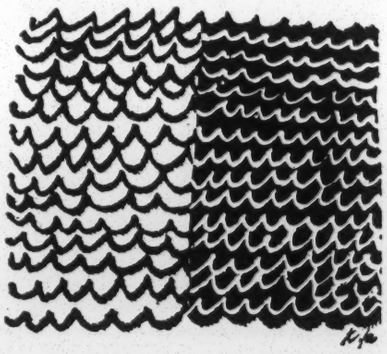
The attitudes of white and Negro to each other are largely conditioned by the fact that the vast majority of whites are considerably better off than the vast majority of Negroes. If we were all aware of the findings on personality attitudes among the poor, we would recognize that what makes us uneasy in our relations to the Negro is exactly what makes us uneasy in our relations to the poor, and has precious little to do with skin color. When a nearly all-white population was studied, the investigating psychiatrists found that, by and large, the poor (whites) are "suspicious . . . prone to depression, show lack of trust in others," exactly the attitudes most whites feel when confronted by chance meeting with an anonymous group of Negroes. They are exactly the attitudes I encountered in a poor district of Vienna when I, a middle-class person, was confronted with a basically distrustful, if not outright hostile, group of anonymous workers.

The class basis of color prejudice is further indicated by a fact that is sometimes mistakenly viewed as negating it: namely, that lower-class whites are often more prejudiced than upper-middle-class persons. This again has to do with class position. A group insecure in its social position is most afraid and resentful of the group just below, particularly when the lower group is trying to advance itself. Similarly, every class is most jealous of the group just above it, although on a rational basis the classes way ahead would seem to be much more logical targets. So each class is most jealous of the class just above, and most afraid of and angry at the class just below—despite the fact that on a rational level these are the groups with whom they should make common cause. To compound matters, this is not only a social phenomenon. As Freud pointed out, there are also deep psychological causes for the violent hostility existing between groups that are separated by only small differences, while these feelings become much more moderate as social distance between groups increases.

If we are serious about the Negro problem, we will have to free ourselves of the myth that this is basically a classless society, or that the upper classes and the poor can live together peaceably. In the United States, the existence of color differences permitted this myth to persist, because what are conflicts between classes could be ascribed to differences in skin color.

The confusion about the American white-Negro relations comes from an unwillingness to separate a class problem from a race problem, if there is one. We are going to have to face the fact that in present-day America, a much larger percentage of the Negro group is lower class than their total number warrants, though a white lower class is by no means absent. How much all this is a class problem is reflected in the fact that there is no seduction of middle-class Negro girls by middle-class white boys, but quite an incidence of seduction of middle-class white girls by middle-class or even lower-class Negro boys. This parallels the phenomenon described earlier, of my native Austria. The heiress or the count's daughter who ran off with the chauffeur or the groom provides an easy parallel, and for the same psychological reasons. They have precious little to do with race, but a great deal to do with class position, and with what one class believes in regard to the sexual freedom or prowess of the other. D. H. Lawrence, leaving nothing to chance, made Clifford Chatterley impotent, in a wheel chair, whence his wife fled to the lower classes for erotic fulfillment.

If James Baldwin concluded his recent statement on the race prob-



lem with the threat, "the fire next time," this too has a familiar ring. The class-conscious white workers of Vienna, and their Marxist leaders, threatened the white upper classes with destruction in nearly the same words and with the same accusations: because they had robbed the lower class of its human dignity, did not recognize its members as individuals, viewed them as faceless.

All this suggests it is high time we began to bring clarity into our complex white-Negro relations by recognizing what belongs to class conflict as such, irrespective of history or skin color. This is not to deny that the color difference has indeed greatly complicated matters by now. Intolerance has always been due to anxiety and frustration, and served as an outlet for hostility. But intolerance of a specific minority can never be viewed in isolation

but must always be analyzed within its societal context. Minorities have been used for the displacement of internal conflicts (the pull of unacceptable instinctual desires, for example) if their position in society makes it "logical" to displace such tendencies (sex libertinism, dirtiness, laziness) onto them.

Moreover, it would seem that when several minority groups are available and they differ in physical characteristics, such as skin color, the minority showing greater physical difference is used for projecting anxieties associated with dirt and sex desires. The minority whose physical characteristics are more similar to those of the majority tend then to become a symbol for anxieties concerning overpowering control. In Germany, the whole list of stereotypes was applied to the Jews, which in the United States was divided between Jews and Negroes. In German anti-Semitic propaganda, Jewish dirtiness and sexual immorality were greatly emphasized. (If I discuss these things all too sketchily here, it is because to say more would only repeat what others and I have discussed extensively elsewhere — for example, in *Dynamics of Prejudice* and *The Informed Heart.*)

Thus the problem arises neither because of poverty alone, nor because of the deep psychological roots of intolerance alone. As Podhoretz says, he was poor, too, like the Negroes who beat him up. And not even all Negroes are born into or remain in the lower strata. What counts just as much is how deprived one *feels,* and how much one *feels* one can alter the conditions of one's life. Neither the individual's life history alone nor social conditions alone account for race hatred. Unfortunately, in the case of the Negro, the actual social realities of this moment militate against a hopeful outlook. He is born with a fence around him, and he *feels* the fence even more impregnable than it actually is.

Which again accounts for the extremity of Baldwin's position, and for the appeal of the Black Muslim slogans to those who rage at a vista without hope. The degree of the Negro's hopelessness has its counterpart in the degree of his violence. Podhoretz is correct. He fears the Negro in the dark whose predominant feeling is hate and despair. "If I have nothing to lose, here goes nothing." What the true situation really is becomes immediately apparent if we ask ourselves: Would Podhoretz or would I tremble if we met James Baldwin on a dark street? Certainly not; we would be delighted to meet him because, despite the color difference, he is one of us.

To be freed of the class issue, or to accept as class issue what is class issue, might at least permit lower-class whites and Negroes, and middle-class whites and Negroes, to live quite successfully together. As long as radical class differentiations exist, it is to expect the millenium to believe that lower-class Negroes will not hate middle-class or upwardly mobile whites, or that middle-class whites will not fear lower-class Negroes and whites.

Expecting the millenium in this world has always led to avoidance of doing in the here and now what can be done to relieve a social ill. The existence of the color line has permitted both white and Negro Americans to overlook the class problem by pointing to the color problem. Being afraid of the Negro robber and rapist has permitted all too many white people to forget about the white robber and rapist. Above all, it obscures the fact that precious few well-to-do people rob or rape. And it has permitted the Negro to blame on the color line hardships that grow out of the contradictions in our social and economic system.

All this is said not to belittle the seriousness of the Negro problem for both whites and Negroes. But, to blame all our difficulties on color is to take skin color much too seriously, and of such an over-evaluation of color (or "racial") differences I do not wish to be guilty.

## The New Frontier and Europe

# MOMENT FOR CHOICE . . . . . Fred Warner Neal

The major problem of United States foreign policy has long been a cold-war *immobilisme* that arose in the Truman administrations. Some few statesmen have perceived—however dimly—the need for change, but have been inhibited from action by a public rigidity which, if it were not itself created by administration policies, was molded by them. Only intelligent and courageous Presidential leadership can break such an impasse. With the exception of a brief attempt by President Eisenhower after Dulles, that leadership, up until now, has not materialized.

One does not have to endorse all President Kennedy's positions to recognize that he seems now to have taken some steps toward breaking out of the strait jacket, and to applaud him for it. But the task is an incredibly difficult one and no brief essay on his part will suffice. The central question, therefore, is whether the changed mood implied by New Frontier foreign policy is ephemeral, or whether it reflects new basic thinking and thus may presage new policy.

The evidence is ambiguous. The most important indication that more than a passing mood may be involved is the President's American University speech of last June. There he went to the heart of the matter by calling for a re-examination of American attitudes toward the Soviet Union. That such a statement was long overdue does not detract from the fact that it was probably the best and most realistic statement on foreign policy made by an American President since the end of World War II.

Another clue to Presidential thinking may be Mr. Kennedy's inadequately reported statement at an

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By Joseph P. Lyford

# PROPOSAL FOR A REVOLUTION—PART 1

## *Negroes, Education, and the Two-Edged Sword*

IN THE course of his struggle, the Negro has presented Americans with a basic education about themselves. He has demonstrated that the majority of white Americans, in the South and out of it, are in varying degrees violently or silently opposed to the universal application of the Bill of Rights. By interposing his own body he has shown, beyond any reasonable doubt, the inability of the government of the people to guarantee the freedom of all the people or even protect the safety of their persons if they happen to be of an unusual color. The Negro has made it fairly clear that the Protestant churches in America have countenanced the subversion of fundamental Christian principles about as often as they have advanced the idea of human brotherhood.

But the Negro has done a great deal more than expose the contradictions between the actual and professed beliefs of the American citizen. His battle for freedom has established the fact that the Negro cannot win equality of opportunity until American society as a whole develops some way of dealing with the rise of mass unemployment and the growing ineffectiveness of our political and educational system. What we call the "Negro revolution" is a preview of a much bigger crisis to come; it is forcing us to take a closer look at certain extremely unpleasant developments that are going to transform or destroy the traditional institutions and habits of all of us, black and white. If we fully understand the significance of the Negro's present experience, we will realize how great a stake we have in his success. Given the recent past, however, it seems more likely that we will react by building "monstrosities," as Arnold Toynbee calls them. A "monstrosity" is an ugly construction set up by a society to deal with the effects of a problem it is unwilling to solve, current examples being our public welfare program and the proliferation of mental hospitals.

Paradoxically, some Negro leaders do not seem to be fully aware of what they are up against—at least they have not broadened their attack on the problems of the Negro. They continue to concentrate almost entirely on desegregation, the right to vote, fair employment practices, and the breaking down of all types of racial discrimination. The means of reaching these objectives still seem to be mainly a matter of picketing, protest, pressure, and litigation. Perhaps this is all the civil rights groups are able to do. If so, the Negro badly needs a new type of organization that will work on his more general problems. Negro leaders and their white allies may win battle after battle for Constitutional rights only to find that these rights have little practical meaning for the majority of American Negroes under present conditions. The entry of a pair of Negro children into an all-white Birmingham school is an important victory for a fundamental principle, but it carries no immediate hope for Negro children, who will continue to starve to death educationally in the still-segregated schools of the South and hundreds of thousands more who are overcrowding classrooms in the slum-area schools of the North.

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"Revolutions never go backward," said the abolitionist Wendell Phillips in 1861. The ensuing century, and particularly the last few years, have so completely confirmed his prophecy that almost every day brings dramatic changes in the struggle for Negro equality. In this issue, therefore, *SR* surveys the present state of that struggle from several points of view, in an effort to describe exactly what point the Negro has reached in his journey toward the full life of the American citizen. Beginning on this page, Joseph P. Lyford, an executive of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, suggests a program for the next step in the revolution. On page 22 Elinor Richey, a writer specializing in problems of integration, describes an effort to thwart integration in housing. Two editorials, on pages 28 and 49, discuss issues arising out of the changing status of the Negro. Finally, on page 56, a child psychiatrist discusses the impact on children of the swift changes in the nation's racial patterns. Taken together, the various parts of this survey suggest that, despite the obstacles remaining, Americans have good reason to regard the hope expressed in the Negro chant, "We Shall Overcome," not as a vague prediction but as a simple statement of fact. The only question now is how fast the revolution will go forward.

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Forcing open a Jim Crow construction union in New York City to a handful of Negro apprentices is a step forward for decency, yet it has almost no bearing on the employment prospects of hundreds of thousands of teen-agers and millions of adults—white and Negro—who are sinking to the bottom of a society that may very well have 14,000,000 unemployed by 1970. A clean sweep of housing discrimination will not wipe out a single slum or ghetto. The Negro who cries "now" is having to face these facts.

The white man has to face these facts, too. If he thinks very much about joblessness and the state of our educational system, it must occur to him that the Negro is struggling against forces that are undermining white society as well. The Negro has begun to react before anyone else because, being economically in the most exposed position, he is far more sensitive to the shock signals that are traveling through the country. But there should be no assumption on anybody's part that his fate can be divided from the rest of America's. If the Negro does not prevail over the forces that are driving him downward, the white American will go down with him. The issue is the survival of an entire people whose basic educational, political, and economic arrangements are on the verge of breaking down.

IT IS now just about official that mass unemployment can be added to death and taxes as an inevitable part of the American way of life. Like most inevitable things, they are also totally mysterious. Ed Lahey, an irreverent Washington reporter who has spent most of his time poking into economic riddles, says that there are only three people—he declines to name them—who can understand our tax laws. There is almost as much confusion about unemployment and what it is about to do to us. Our ignorance is becoming more and more apparent at the very moment automation is wiping out 200,000 jobs annually in factories alone and we are trying to figure out what to do about the demands of the Negro for fair and adequate employment.

The most ominous fact about our attitude on unemployment is not that we have failed to discover a solution. It is tha twe have been unable to come to any sort of agreement in Congress, industry, or labor about what we are dealing with. We have not made the essential connection between unemployment and the breakdown of our system of public education. We have not accepted the fact that the Negro cannot become a part of American society until we find some answer to unemployment. We have not even decided whether 5,000,000 unemployed and 35,000,000 more underemployed are the result of gross economic mismanagement or whether mass idleness is an integral part of a new economic system based on a technological revolution.

Our reaction to the spread of unemployment bears some resemblance to the psychological paralysis that attacks us when we consider the threat of war. In both situations we face problems that have been with us so long they seem permanent, and permanent problems easily become incurable diseases. So, as Jerome Frank has said, we pretend that the diseases don't exist and transfer our attention to such matters as moon shots and the decline of British morality.

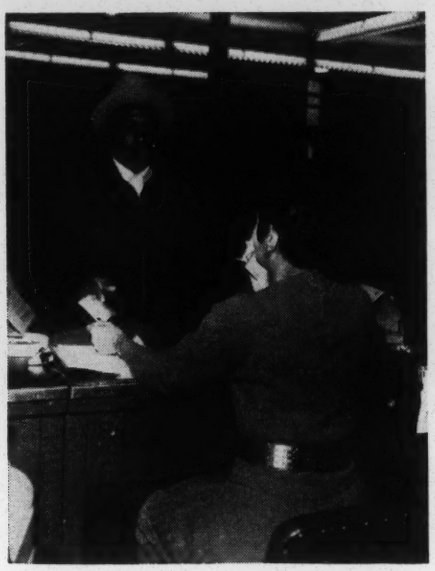
WHILE we have postponed a persistent and scientific examination of unemployment, our ignorance has increased as the crisis has worsened. An investigation into the various devices we use to measure unemployment reveals that we have only a cloudy notion of how many people are out of work. Generally accepted estimates tend to understate the problem, partly because unemployment figures are a political issue filtered through governmental agencies and partly because we have no psychological tests to use on people to find out whether they can work, want to work, and have looked for work. Our detection devices are also unreliable: there are thousands of drifting, anonymous people who have become so isolated from American society that they are invisible even to the census-taker. We have only the sketchiest impressions about the attitudes of the unemployed—Negro and white, young and old—toward their situation and a society that finds no practical use for their services. Yet these attitudes may very well cause a major political upheaval if they continue to ferment.

We are also in the dark about the capacities and potentialities of our unemployed and the many millions of others who inhabit the impoverished "other America" described by Michael Harrington. For example, last year the President's Council of Economic Advisers reported that racial bias has prevented us from utilizing the existing or potential skills of the Negro and that the annual loss to the country is between $13 and $17 billion per year. But discrimination is only one cause of our failure to use manpower efficiently. A random sample of the relatively few job-training programs now in effect indicates that we do not know how to find out what people can do, regardless of what color they are, or how to train them or what to train them for.

Without necessarily saying so, we generally assume that when a man is out of work it is because he is lazy or because there is nothing useful he can do. We feel that because the Negro has always been at the bottom of the educational ladder (69 per cent of the Negroes in New York City have not finished high school), it is natural for him to end up on welfare and spend the rest of his life looking for odd jobs. At the same time we ignore the fact that 61.6 per cent of whites in the same city also do not have a high school diploma but are twice as successful in earning a living. Our thinking about the unemployed is largely speculation; and in all of our speculation there is the more or less subconscious conclusion that the middle-aged Negro, the Kentucky miner in the Cumberlands, the aging migrant worker are, economically speaking, multiple amputees who will have to be written off or absorbed into some sort of relief program. We then turn our attention to the children and hold sporadic discussions about saving them from their parents' fate, thereby entering a new realm of misconceptions about a new generation. Our approach to all the above-mentioned matters is fitful, disorganized, and superficial.

Certainly there is little evidence that our political and governmental officials, our labor unions, management, or individual economists have done much more than throw up their hands, blame automation for reducing us to a state of inactivity, and say, "That's life. It's the price of progress." We accept the inevitability of mass unemployment and propose five-hour weeks and salaries for everybody, or we make a few experimental doodles with retraining programs we know are either unworkable or prohibitively expensive and tinker with our educational system in the hope it will get around to producing repairmen for a world of pushbuttons, electronic brains, and dial systems. Beyond this, there is almost nothing. Since glaciers are not melted by cigarette lighters, the freezing process continues.

We cannot afford to resign ourselves to the situation, and there is no need to. We have been given an opportunity by our improved technology to concentrate fully on some of the really important business of living for the first time in our history. In order to get at this business, we need to recognize that it is legitimate and important even though it pays no profits to stockholders or management. We are going to have to junk traditional attitudes



**Out of work, Michigan worker (above) collects $46 unemployment check. Lining up for relief food are unemployed miners and families (right) in Western Pennsylvania.**

*—Photos from Wide World.*

about what constitutes the proper business of government before anything of importance happens in the attack on unemployment. We have to redefine the meaning of urgent and necessary work to include jobs that promote the general welfare even to the exclusion of private profit. We are going to have to get rid of political, business, and labor leadership that says—although it doesn't believe what it says—that government has no role to play in the economic sphere except to act as an umpire for private quarrels and create regulatory bodies that regulate nothing but the critics. Unemployment is a massive problem, with massive effects on our future and it will not yield to anything but a massive attack. The direction of this attack, since it has not and cannot be assumed by labor and business, should be undertaken by government.

The private areas of our economy should be cooperating partners in the attack, if not voluntarily then under duress. It has always been fashionable to protest against government compulsion, but there will be compulsion from somewhere even if it does not come from government. We already have had innumerable demonstrations of such compulsion; the government's intervention in the rail situation, with the support of U. S. industry, is only the most recent example. If unemployment continues to grow, there will be other, far more explosive pressures compelling us to act. The discontent of those people for whom our republic indicates it has no use will be more than economic. Robert Weaver writes that, for the first time in our history, we now have "class" unemployment. The discontent will be class discontent, and circulating through it will be the inflammable antagonisms between the Negro who finds himself the most expendable part of the system we still refer to as free, private enterprise, and the unemployed white with whom he is competing for dwindling job opportunities.

WHAT is the important business of America that remains to be done, now that we have buttons and levers handling the garbage and ready to make automobiles? The first order of business is education. This is a process in which every American can participate, whether as a teacher, a student, a bricklayer, a parent, or a taxpayer. It is a business which up to now has been regarded chiefly as an annoying and expensive sacrifice of public funds. When one compares the magnitude of the need for a broadened program of public education with the size of our commitment, it is fair to say that we are still living in the pre-education phase of American history. Walter Lippmann has pointed out that in 1900 the U. S. government spent $1 for education to every $2 for other purposes, while more than fifty years later we are spending $1 out of every $6, despite the fact that the importance and complexity of education are greater today than ever before.

The old squabbles over infinitesimal financial increases in our educational commitment and the eventual adoption of some token federal aid to education and a few $5-a-week raises for teachers have no relevance any more. We will have to expand our educational coverage to the point at which every educable person will receive a high school diploma. This means raising the limit for compulsory school attendance from sixteen to eighteen. At the same time we have to intensify the educational experience of the individual pupil, not to the point at which all our class sizes are below thirty children, but to the point at which the ratio of teachers to pupils is one to fifteen, or even less, and where special services are available to children who start their education with severe economic, psychological, or cultural handicaps. A revolutionary expansion of our public education program to three or four times its present level can be financed once we have accepted its necessity. We have been able to mobilize far greater amounts for the construction of weapons and the subsidy of weapon makers and their shareholders. At this point, more and better education is more important to our national security than bigger and cleaner bombs. An uneducated, unemployable population is becoming the greatest threat to our national equilibrium. Education must become one of America's major occupations in the years ahead.

Underlying any expansion of our educational system must be a philosophy of education that meets the need of the people in it to achieve an independent position in adult life and to distinguish between sentimental fairy tales about America and current realities. Such an educational philosophy would enable us to produce people who could read, write, understand

arithmetic, have ideas, and who would be emancipated from the sort of tribal attitudes that have turned Birmingham, Alabama, into a fratricidal society. It would also help produce a nation that can improve itself and anticipate change instead of simply starting violently whenever something jolts the status quo. It would help generate a social and political atmosphere in which people consider technological and social and political changes as promises or opportunities instead of "menaces," "threats," and "impending catastrophes." We would gradually condition ourselves to the point where we would shed our old skins as soon as they ceased to fit, instead of enduring them until the itching drove us crazy.

We might recognize more generally the fact that the misuse or disuse of human beings is caused by miscalculations and poor education and not by immutable economic "laws." If we wish to write off the Negro "problem," as it is called, as insoluble because we think Negroes are generally disqualified by lack of education and the attendant lack of incentive, we also have a responsibility to provide an educational system that is able, among other things, to deal with the causes of these misfortunes. If, in contrast, we consider that racial discrimination against Negroes is responsible for a great deal of their joblessness, an educational system should be able to handle that situation, too. If we view somebody without a job as a casualty of a mindless technology, we can set about the task of putting a mind back into the technology.

Apparently the only way of getting Americans to think seriously about education is to frighten them into it. This should not be difficult in the atmosphere of today's Negro discontent. There is no question that racial tensions are eventually going to make life impossible for all of us unless we develop an educational program that enables the Negro to enter our society and the white man to place a high value on his entry. It should be fairly obvious that education is the only method by which we can overcome our institutionalized system of cheating Negroes, halt the growth of a public welfare community, and slow down the emergence of a new group of aliens, the teen-age school dropouts. We are either going to broaden the boundaries of America to include the exiles, or most of us are going to be joining them.

# Keeping the Outsiders Out

By ELINOR RICHEY

YOU CAN be evicted from your apartment for hanging new drapes. Or for throwing out too much wastepaper. Or for typing manuscripts. Or for failing to draw your shades at a uniform level. Or for any of a number of similarly momentous transgressions.

Especially if, among your friends, there is a Negro.

This has been the carefully documented and verified experience of residents in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, an area that illustrates, perhaps as clearly as any, the ingenuity of those who are opposed to integration and are in a position to back their opposition with power. Many of the same subterfuges are used elsewhere, but Hyde Park is a laboratory that offers the student of social reactionism a particularly clear view of his subject.

Lying in the shadow of the University of Chicago, Hyde Park is a neighborhood of academicians and professionals, many of whom live in rental apartments and row housing. When Negroes spilled over Hyde Park's western border during the postwar decade, many whites fled for suburbia. But those who stayed declared themselves, through their organizations and churches, in favor of forming a genuine interracial neighborhood. On this premise, the community obtained nearly $40-,000,000 in federal and city money to underwrite a nondiscriminatory urban renewal project.

Even though it was the citizens who opted for interracial urban renewal, it was the real estate interests that usurped direction of it. Under the program, 19,000 people were ultimately evicted, three-fourths of them Negro, and the cleared land was sold at low cost to private speculator-developers. It is eight years now since clearance began, and the acres of modern housing that replaced it are mellowed and fringed with trees and shrubbery. Yet, to date, only about 100 Negro families have replaced the 14,000 Negroes whom bulldozers evicted. Furthermore, Hyde Park's residual Negro ghetto continues to shrink via a "rehabilitation program" in which integrated and all-Negro apartment buildings are emptied, renovated, and reopened to white occupancy. Chicago Negroes say that Hyde Park urban renewal has been Negro removal.

But Hyde Park real estate policy not only systematically ejects Negroes; it appears equally dedicated to ridding the neighborhood of integration-minded whites. An ingenious form of discrimination is being directed against whites who mingle socially with Negroes. Apartment building owners and their agents are cooperating in highly complicated procedures, including spying and intimidation, to screen out whites who have Negro friends and to evict those who slip through their nets. This rental policy blankets the eastern side of the community and includes a high percentage of housing in western Hyde Park. Procedures are amazingly quiet and unobtrusive, designed to avoid a direct confrontation on the racial issue, which hangs in the air of this liberal community like an explosive gas.

Screening starts the moment you begin filling out one of the exhaustively inquisitive registration forms at a real estate office. If your address is an integrated building anywhere in Chicago (agents carry lists of these in their busy heads) you can be eliminated at once. Some agents are also familiar with integrated areas of other cities; anyone fresh from New York's Greenwich Village or Philadelphia's Concord Park is suspect. So are employees of large companies known to have integrated their staffs. So are artists, entertainers, and social workers. The registration form asks for your previous address, landlord's name, building owner's name, your last job, your bank account number, your mother's maiden name, and so on. Finished with that, you begin listing your references and giving a rundown on *them*. And watch your chatter; conversation that seems idle may be working full steam. You have flunked your test if at the end of the interview you are informed that the agency has "nothing at present," words pronounced in a tone that says the future promises nothing, either.

Should you survive this initial probing, however, the agency moves ahead with the screening process. A telephone call is made to one of a network of contacts that agencies maintain across the city. The contact nearest your present address may or may not

know your social habits, but he may know somebody who knows somebody who does. If not, there are the sources you provided on the registration form. The process of checking you may be involved and prolonged. Or it may not be. One applicant, whom an agency had instructed to return in several hours to view an apartment, returned an hour later to amend his requirements and found the agency ready with the brush-off.

Even if all this yields nothing conclusive, there are still references to be checked out. Because agents are wary of putting touchy racial questions to references, they try to frame them as delicately as possible. But let the reference try to parry the question, and he will be asked point-blank: Does this applicant associate with Negroes and entertain them in his home? Some references resent this line of questioning and vent a tongue-lashing on the agent, who invariably accepts it placidly and marks it down as a dead giveaway of the culpability of the applicant.

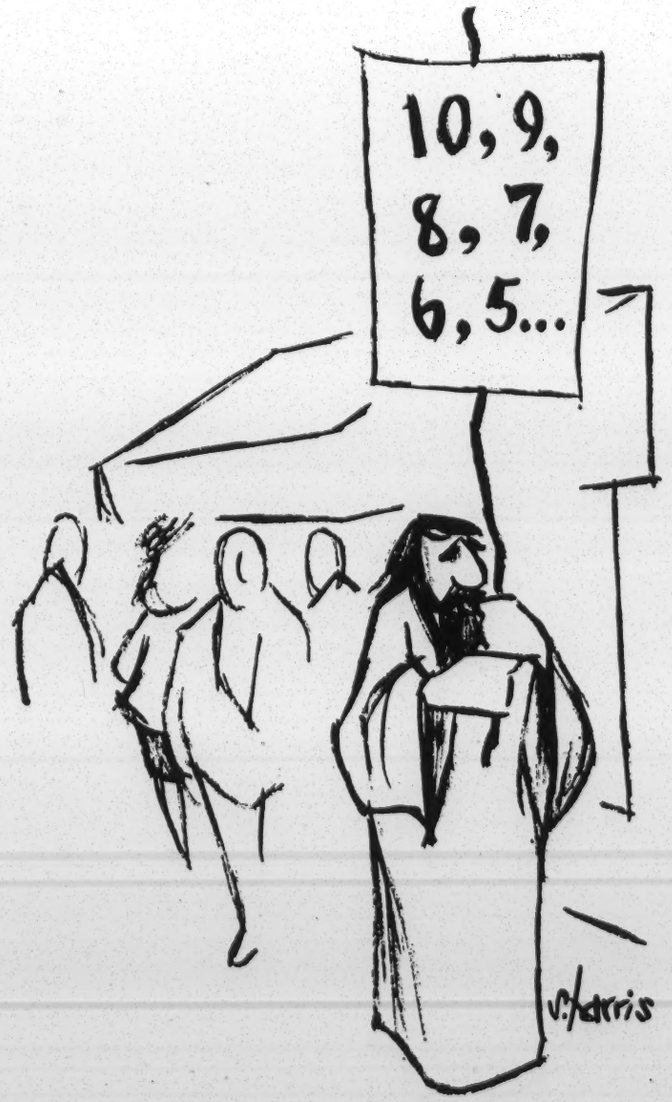
National publicity about its interracial urban renewal program has given Hyde Park the image of a glistening haven of racial harmony, and it is an image that draws many Chicago newcomers. But a newcomer may get into trouble. Since his references and associations are out of town, and since agents hesitate to put racial queries in writing, the newcomer presents a sticky screening problem. An "undesirable" may slip through undetected. But if the agent has strong suspicions, he may ask the applicant if he would object to living in an integrated building. Integrated housing being scarce, the agent rarely can supply any, but the applicant's answer is sure to drop him in the proper slot.

An English scholar helpfully volunteered his slot in the initial interview, thereby making his Hyde Park sojourn unforgettable. He had thought he was widening his opportunities when he assured the agency he had no objection to integrated housing. Offered no housing whatever, he sought another agency, restating his adaptability, then another and another. Finally, desperate, he found lodging by covering the area on foot, seeking out "For Rent" shingles. Eventually he found far from elegant quarters, and promptly upset his landlady by entertaining at dinner a fellow scholar who was a Negro. "The other tenants will complain," she said. Before inviting his friend again, he took the precaution of asking all of the other tenants if they objected. Assured that they did not, he invited his associate to dine from time to time—until his landlady asked him to vacate. The baffled man checked into a hotel for the remainder of his stay.

The landlady's forthright complaint was exceptional, so much so that it brands her an amateur. The more sophisticated method is to substitute for the real eviction reason another one—a *proxy* reason that obscures the racial issue. One owner was so anxious to camouflage his objection to a tenant who gave interracial parties that he served eviction notices on every tenant in his building, feigning plans to redecorate.

USUALLY, however, the lease supplies the smoke screen. With the lease, the landlord stacks the game so that he can nearly always pick up the marbles. In two pages of fine-printed verbiage, convoluted with "to wits" and "whereases," the Hyde Park rental contract defies lay comprehension. The tenant who invites Negroes into his home is inviting an exegesis of his lease, or at any rate a clause or more of it that he has unwittingly breached. Before closing in on a tenant, some landlords take the preliminary step of warning him against "bringing those people in.") The tenant who proves to be a fraternizer will be served notice that his lease will not be renewed. When the tenant inquires "Why not?" he learns he has violated his lease.

He may have brought his groceries in through the front entrance, played his hi-fi after 11 P.M., played his radio before 8 A.M., parked a baby carriage in a passageway, kept a pet, mounted a television antenna on the roof without permission, or hung new drapes without getting them approved. It matters not how truthfully the tenant protests that other tenants bring their groceries in the front way or enjoy pets ranging from hamsters to gibbons. He learns of another lease provision that states that "a waiver of any breach of covenant shall not be construed as a waiver of any other breach of such covenant." In point of fact, judges are inclined to rule that contract provisions that have been generally flouted are



unenforceable. But tenants, being unaware of this, give in and order packing boxes.

A graduate student who invited Negroes to her apartment was ordered out on grounds that she had used her apartment "for purposes of business or trade": she had been earning tuition money by typing manuscripts. In the case of another tenant, a bicycle served as proxy for her Negro guests. Because of frequent thefts from the basement of her building, she had taken the cue of other tenants in storing her bike in her apartment during winter months, thereby breaching her lease

When sleuthing for lease violations proves fruitless, other indiscretions are made to serve. A dietitian with Negro friends received a series of letters from her landlord complaining that she had violated her laundry room schedule, had entertained guests after midnight, had bundled her garbage improperly, and did not draw her shades at a uniform level. None of this constituted lease violation, but it all sounded so official that she docilely complied with a notice to vacate. This lie of censure is calculated to humiliate, thereby discouraging discussion with other tenants. A fraternizing male teacher was harried out with complaints that he slammed doors, tuned his television too loud, and deposited "an excessive amount of wastepaper" in his trash basket. The tenant knew these were not lease violations, but he so resented the snooping in his trash basket that he gave in and moved.

Children sometimes serve as proxys. A married couple who entertained Negro guests, but who conducted themselves irreproachably otherwise, found their children being harassed by the building manager. He commanded them to keep their voices down, to keep off the grass, to walk more quietly or more slowly, and so on. When the parents discovered their children using the rear entrance to escape abuse, they moved at once.

A lady novelist's elderly poodle was a less successful proxy. Her lease permitted pets, but when she ignored an order to vacate, her landlord sued to evict on grounds that her dog was especially objectionable. Delayed for nearly a year due to a court backlog, the case finally came to trial, with the landlord testifying to the poodle's vociferous bark. The lady blasted his charge with testimony that her poodle had been dead for seven months and that the real objection was her frequent Negro dinner guest, a Pulitzer prize-winning poetess.

Since to go to court is to risk such a confrontation, landlords prefer to avoid it. Most pry out the balky tenant with a rent hike. A notice that his rent has been raised by $65 can take the fight out of a tenant. But some tenants will stay and pay. A man and his wife who have resided in several world capitals were outraged when their building manager rebuked their son for bringing home a Negro classmate. They encouraged their son to bring his friend home whenever he liked. When the landlord served notice to vacate, the father declared he would fight eviction legally. The landlord then gave notice the rent had been raised $45. After investigating other rentals and learning they couldn't escape the issue by moving, the couple paid the increase.

While these cases rarely reach court, they are tried nonetheless—by public opinion. Hyde Park cocktail and dinner parties buzz with the latest discrimination scandals, some of which have involved international celebrities and prominent clergymen with integrated congregations. The neighborhood newspaper, the Hyde Park *Herald*, editorializes against these discriminatory practices, and its readers roast them in letters to the editor. Some denounce the real estate interests for sabotaging race relations, while others impugn the violation of personal liberty. Their combined censure adds up to condemnation of an intensity usually reserved for slum operators.

ONE case involved the executive director of a national welfare organization, who was denied housing by an agency that had learned of his Negro friends by questioning his references. First denied an apartment of his selection, he then was denied any assistance in locating housing for his family. Indignant residents of the neighborhood in which the denied apartment was located conducted a poll in which 74 per cent of those queried expressed opposition to the discrimination and to racial discrimination generally. The agency had claimed it was reflecting the attitude of the residential area in

barring tenants who associate with Negroes.

These bizarre real estate practices have provoked reactions other than indignation and anger. Certain apartment buildings owned by Negroes have instituted house rules forbidding tenants to entertain white guests or to receive service or business calls by whites. A Negro seamstress who lives in a building owned by a Black Muslim was assaulted for admitting a white client. Meanwhile, the white Bohemian set has turned discrimination to its own uses. A tenant who finds a more desirable apartment and wishes to break his lease avails himself of a notice to vacate by throwing an interracial party.

Plainly, to segregate integration is to poison it. Community patterns of prejudice breed and teach prejudice. When a tenant submits to real estate policy that determines whom he may invite into his home, he learns prejudice through participation and habit. Tragically, the transition of the human mind from submission to acceptance is frequently both swift and unconscious.

Why do real estate people go to such lengths to preserve segregation? Partly because the industry is conservative, committed to what is entrenched. The white supremacy myth is no longer credited, but Piltdown thinking preserves it long after it has been exposed, and perpetuates it through a dual housing market that is deeply institutionalized in our society. The integrated neighborhod upsets the intricate workings of this market.

But there is also evidence that segregation is perpetuated for reasons of avarice. The larger real estate firms and property owners deal in both white and Negro housing, and they find segregation profitable. When Negro housing is kept in short supply by means of restrictions on white housing, Negroes can be made to pay higher prices than whites will pay. A study by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations found brokers hiking prices on homes sold to Negroes by as much as 115 per cent. For rental housing, Chicago Negroes pay a "color tax" that averages $15 a month, according to a University of Chicago study. A survey of one neighborhood showed that rents rose an average 25 per cent when its population shifted from white to Negro. Edwin Berry, director of the Chicago Urban League, has charged that Negro Chicagoans, whose wages are 30 per cent lower than white wages, "are being cheated out of $75,000,000 a year in rent overpayments alone."

Bigotry by proxy is a last-ditch effort to protect these profits in the areas where they are threatened with extinction.

# IS RACE A PROBLEM ALL OVER THE U.S.?

**Racial demonstrations . . . protests . . . lawsuits . . . arguments in Congress over equal rights for Negroes—**

**Is there any place in America where people can get away from the race problem?**

**Tour through the areas that have little or no Negro population—in the Far West, in Mid-America, in New England—and you discover some surprising answers to that question.**

**Nearly everywhere, the race issue is on people's minds. Even where it isn't a problem, it's a worry for both Negroes and whites. Here is what a team of "U. S. News & World Report" staff members found as they roved the U. S.**

In vast areas of the United States, race problems of the kind that plague the South and most big cities of the North are only something to read about.

These problems do not exist for broad regions in the West, the Middle West and New England. There, a traveler finds thriving communities where Negroes are almost a curiosity, and racial violence seems as far away as the war in Vietnam.

No sit-ins, marches or demonstrations disturb the even tenor of business and social life. Schools are not under attack. The few Negroes are long-time residents, or servicemen from nearby military bases. All facilities, public and private, are officially integrated. On the surface, racial calm prevails.

To individuals and businesses caught in the center of rising racial tension elsewhere, these areas of racial peace pose some questions.

Is there widespread sympathy for Negroes and their cause in such regions? Would people be willing to have Negroes from troubled areas move into their communities to help ease the pressure elsewhere? Are they willing to accept more Negroes if that is a condition for getting more federal contracts? Can they virtually guarantee no racial problems to industries seeking new locations? What has been the local reaction when Negroes have moved in?

To sample the attitudes of people outside of the racially divided areas, "U. S. News & World Report" sent reporters into many towns and smaller cities across the northern half of the nation. Their findings, in brief:

- Almost everywhere in the U.S., people are deeply worried about racial tension today. Even where no Negroes live, it's a major topic of conversation and concern.
- Negroes would be welcomed, a few families at a time, in many communities, if required for new industry. But reporters found no community that would welcome Negroes in "large numbers."
- Fear of intermarriage between whites and Negroes was brought up voluntarily by many of those interviewed, and cited as a basic problem.
- Racial tolerance is greatest in areas where the fewest Negroes reside—but even in those areas, some people object to the idea of any change in the *status quo*.
- Where Negroes are few, integration usually is accepted without question in schools, but "equal rights" in jobs and housing often are resisted in one way or another.
- Feelings against Negroes are strongest in areas with above-average unemployment. Sympathy with the Negroes' drive for civil rights is greatest in prosperous college towns.

Area by area, this is what the survey discloses—

## IN THE WEST:

### *"We want to be very selective"*

Traveling through the widely scattered towns of Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Colorado and northern California, you rarely see a Negro. Nowhere do Negroes form more than a small minority. There is no school segregation. And there have been no local demonstrations or riots. Yet there is much speculation now about growing racial troubles, little talk of welcoming more Negroes to the region.

This comment from a college student in Oregon is fairly typical: "People in the West like it the way it is—smaller places, fewer people and problems. We understand the Negroes' problems, but we don't want them."

"I bet within a year we'll have demonstrations here," speculates another student, near Portland.

An airline official in Idaho points out this effect of growing racial strife elsewhere:

"We are concerned and talk about the situation. We're going through a transition here. The old guard wanted Idaho to remain the last frontier. They did not care if industry didn't come, if that would avoid the racial problem. Now many of us think that in promoting for industry we want to be very selective, to get just the right kind so that it means not many Negroes."

An executive in Boise says: "We have no Negroes at this time among our 1,250 employes. We would not welcome Negroes en masse in Idaho, but I can't see us opposing some hospital or industry that might employ them."

At a lumber mill in Oregon which now employs no Negroes, you hear comments like these—

From the personnel officer: "We don't have any Negroes at the mill, although the company does have some Negroes working in the woods crews. But one day I'm going to hire some Negroes, and I'm going to treat them just like anyone else. I don't feel indebted to Negroes at all. I don't hire with my heart. I hire to run the mill. And I'm sure there's a good bit of ability available in Negroes."

From a carloader at the same mill: "We'd quit if they hire a colored man at the mill. The colored don't get into

a sawmill. They won't work. That's why I'm here. I lived in Cheyenne, but there are too many blacks there. We just want to get away from 'em. How'd you feel if your sister or daughter went with a black man?"

A minister in Caldwell, Ida., has this to say:

"We're not immune to what happens. We've been reading a good deal about the racial problem. . . . One of my people told me, 'I'm for the Negroes having their own rights, but I don't want to live near them.' "

**Common fear: mixed marriages.** Most people in the West hasten to say they favor "equal rights" for Negroes. But there is reluctance to have more Negroes in their community, for a number of reasons. Many mention a fear of intermarriage.

"Negroes here don't intermarry yet," a retired planing-mill worker in Oregon explains, "but you can see what will happen. It's come through with the Indians. There aren't many full-blooded Indians any more. This will come with the Negroes too. This is the only solution—that we'll all be mixed up so there won't be any difference. I'd object to my daughter marrying a Negro, or an Indian."

The basic concern is put this way by a Lutheran minister: "Many people here have the view that the Negro in America has not pulled his load sufficiently; he's not determined enough to better himself. Most worry about this marriage angle. They are strongly opposed to intermarriage."

How do the Negroes themselves feel, in an area where the ratio of black to white may be 1 to 1,000?

A Negro truck driver in Idaho says this: "Some places we are accepted here, some we are not." A bar had refused him entry. "Sometimes I feel I'm bypassed by the union when my name's at the top. They say: 'You can't handle the gears on this truck.' I can handle any truck, with three to 32 gears. But I'm lots happier here than I'd be in Chicago or a big city down South."

A Negro harvest worker near Ontario, Oreg., reports: "There's more work here, and folks treat you a mite better. But Louisiana is where my family is, so I'm going back there in December. I wouldn't move up here."

A Negro minister in a Nevada town: "In many instances, it's pleasanter here than in Mississippi. You know how to cope with it here and avoid difficulties. Here, if you do your work, tend to what you're supposed to do, and help the other fellow, then you're accepted. We could do much better if we worked together, we colored people."

But a Negro garage helper in the same town, where there are only 90 Negroes in a population of 6,928, makes this observation: "So far as work's concerned, it's real rough. They tell you that you can't do the job and then hire any white man that comes along. . . ."

**"I know it's wrong, but . . ."** In the nearly all-white towns across the Northwest, you hear comments like these concerning Negroes:

"The Negro really needs help all right. But they are capable of just so much, and they'll take advantage of you," says a filling-station manager in Oregon.

"No, I would not hire a Negro here. I know it's wrong, but we don't want the problem here. We're glad we don't have here what we read about or see on TV," says a garage owner in southern Idaho.

"I've never been around Negroes. They're human and all that, but I'd rather have them stay put," an office worker with a Western telephone company remarks.

A small-town Idaho physician says: "I really don't know if we would welcome a lot of Negroes or not."

And a skilled mechanic comments: "I know it's wrong. I know they're just as good as I, but I don't want one marrying my daughter. I don't want to have one sit next to

*(continued on next page)*

JOBS. Opposition to Negroes seems to be strongest where there is high unemployment, competition for jobs.

HOUSING. Even where integration of schools is peaceful, a Negro's "right to live anywhere" may be resisted.

ON CAMPUS. Negroes are widely accepted as college students in the North and West.

[continued from preceding page]

# RACE: PROBLEM ALL OVER U.S.?

me. And I don't want one living next to me. My conscience bothers me because I know at heart I'm a segregationist, but I can't help it."

Mayor Willard Fraser of Billings, Mont., tells of this reaction on the part of some:

"A rumor started the other day that some contractor was going to build 60 houses in Billings for Negroes. The next morning, my phone rang off the hook. One person after another wanted me to stop the construction of those homes."

A Billings newspaper executive adds: "I suppose you would have to say that we do discriminate against them here, but not openly. There are no Negroes in professional jobs. They certainly are not accepted socially."

In Colorado Springs, a businessman complains—

"If a white man applies for a job and is turned down because he isn't qualified, there usually are no questions asked. But if a Negro applies out here and is turned down because he isn't qualified, it immediately becomes discrimination."

Another businessman in Limon, Colo.: "No, I don't think this community would be happy to see Negroes move into the town in any great numbers. We might be able to handle, say, five families, but if they shipped in 50, they'd starve to death. There just wouldn't be jobs for them."

Yet there is support for the Negro and his cause in the West. A store manager in Billings is typical of many, when he says, "I've never heard a word said against colored folks here. Here they go about their normal lives and nobody pays any attention. They are accepted as individuals."

**"Whites will have to adjust."** This comment is from an industrial consultant—

"I hope the Negroes keep up a determined push for education, because that's the only thing that will help them in the long run. The whites will just have to adjust. But fighting for equal use of lavatories, hotels, buses is transitory. It can't solve anything."

A highway engineer in eastern Oregon makes this observation: "There are just as many nice Negroes as whites. But the color of their skin makes it difficult for them."

And a truck driver in Albany, Oreg., says this: "I would like to help the Negroes if I knew how. But I don't know what I could do. I see no reason why I shouldn't sell my house to a Negro. I'm not ashamed to be with Negroes. There are whites who are just as bad as we say many Negroes are."

A municipal judge in Nevada, in turn, provides this clue to attitudes there:

"We have a Western attitude toward Negroes—live and let live. In the sparse West, here in Nevada, we do not mix socially with Negroes. We do have a Negro in high school. He's accepted as an athlete, but you don't find Negroes in white homes. We have more Indians—Piutes—than anything else. They would be accepted in my home."

A highway-construction worker, on Interstate Route 80, sums it up in this way: "Most people out here have nothing against Negroes, but they just don't want them too close."

## IN THE MIDWEST:

### *"I'm not prejudiced, but . . ."*

There are more Negroes in the Midwest than in the Northwest, but most are concentrated in the big cities. In small towns, from Michigan to Kansas, they are rare. Yet the "race problem" is a principal topic of conversation, with feeling sometimes running high. Lately, there have been scattered incidents of racial clashes.

Mayor Gerald Stover of Colby, Kans., reports this attitude, widely held in the Midwest, toward growing racial strife:

"It enters into our conversation here daily. Since we don't have the problem, we just talk about it. I would say the predominant opinion is that integration has been pushed a little ahead of its time, although most people seem to feel that eventually it has to happen."

A farmer near Salina, Kans., tells of this change in the way many Midwesterners view the problem elsewhere—

"At first, I was all for giving the Negro more of a chance. But it's got all out of hand. What I can't understand is this business of carting Negroes across the city just to put them in school with white kids. If they're going to be that foolish, I think it's time we stopped and had another look at what's going on."

Drive up to La Crosse, Wis., where there has been only one Negro family in town, and you hear comments such as these:

"Would I welcome more Negroes here? Look, I moved out of Milwaukee because I was surrounded by Negroes," says a retired auto worker.

"I think there would be local resentment in La Crosse if Negroes were brought in here at a time when we have 5 per cent of our people unemployed. We say we've been lucky not to have Negroes; we have enough problems without that," says a State employment officer.

"We have no Negro problem here, thank goodness. That would really make us move out," comments a restaurant cashier.

"I think the Negro should get ahead, but maybe we're doing it too fast. Things like this take time," says a local businessman.

**In Minnesota: a fiery cross.** Racial incidents are rare in the Midwest. But they do happen. One of the few occurred recently in Rochester, Minn., a prosperous town of 50,000, including fewer than 100 Negroes. Following a "civil

**MORE NEGROES? Where Negroes now are scarce, whites often would welcome "a few" more, but resent "an influx."**

rights" march of 23 whites and 15 Negroes, a large wooden cross was ignited and thrown outside a small hotel that caters to Negroes.

Verne Manning, Negro proprietor of the hotel, says: "I've lived here for 19 years without trouble, and now I'm scared." Neither he nor his wife took part in the march.

A businessman in Rochester offers this comment:

"Do we want more Negroes in Rochester? We don't solicit problems. But we want the community to grow, and growth is bound to bring in more Negroes—there are enough of them around, certainly. I would rather have growth and Negroes than no growth and no Negroes."

But another businessman says: "I don't want Rochester to get any larger, with or without Negroes."

Elsewhere, concern over an influx of Negroes takes a variety of forms. For example—

A city official in Winona, Minn., says: "I'm not prejudiced against Negroes. I grew up with them in Tennessee. But I wouldn't want to see my daughter marry one."

A restaurant owner in Martinsville, Ind.: "I just want peace and quiet. Negroes bring trouble for everybody by pushing too hard."

A Nebraska farmer: "There are hardly any Negroes out here. I guess I'm just as happy to have it that way."

College towns in the Midwest often appear to be more tolerant of Negroes. But reactions are mixed even in those places. Take the case of Bloomington, Ind., with a population of 33,000, plus 18,000 students of Indiana University. Here there are 450 Negroes in the town, 600 on campus.

"Generally, color makes no difference on the I. U. campus," one professor explains. "There have even been several mixed marriages among students in the past few years, with hardly a stir on campus. Negro students are as welcome as anyone."

A Negro girl, in fact, was chosen as "Miss Indiana University" a few years ago, in 1959, and represented the campus in the "Miss Indiana" contest that year.

Another I. U. professor makes this qualification:

"Most people here are against Governor Wallace [of Alabama]—but, for many of them, not to the point where they especially want Negroes next door. It's an arm's-length proposition for all except the most liberal ones."

In the town of Bloomington, however, a member of the mayor's commission on human relations says: "On jobs, the situation here is worse than in the Deep South. Even though there are relatively few Negroes, they are not accepted on an equal basis—particularly for jobs and housing."

"You find prejudice ever present, at least off the campus," a local newsman adds. "You don't find an attitude of, 'Let's invite them in.' Instead, the more typical attitude is, 'Keep them in their place.'"

In nearby Martinsville, Ind., there are no Negroes at all, in a population of 8,750.

Says Robert S. Kendall, editor of the Martinsville "Reporter":

"People here think it's great for the South to integrate, but they don't think much of the idea in their own back yards.

"If Negroes moved into Martinsville now, there would be bloody riots. During the war, one company brought in Jamaicans as laborers. The townspeople threw them out."

This editor reports that many residents have moved here from Indianapolis "to get away from Negro troubles." Indianapolis has about 25 per cent Negroes.

Negroes passing through Martinsville and stopping in the town's public park are quietly told that the park is for residents only. "The park people don't throw them out, but the Negroes get the idea," says Mr. Kendall.

Personally, he adds, "I'd hire a Negro reporter if I could find one qualified—and one who had the guts to take what he would have to take to do his job in this town."

**Concern for the future.** In town after town where no race problem exists now, you hear concern over possible future demonstrations or civil-rights test cases. As examples—

La Salle, Ill., has no Negro residents whatever. But a newspaper editor there has this to say:

"People here, most of them, think the Negro is asking for too much, is moving too fast. . . . There is no question about it—people here have a distaste for Negroes. Most have seen very little of them. Negroes shop in town, but they are discouraged from coming in. I wouldn't be surprised to see the NAACP, or CORE, or some other group try to make a test case here some day."

A La Salle merchant: "Some day the NAACP will bring in a colored family. What will happen? I'd say, let them come in. They won't stay. One or two colored families in this town would not stay. They wouldn't be happy here."

Mayor Dan Riordan of Ottawa, Ill.—with a population of 20,000 whites and 150 Negroes—says: "The vast majority of our people here feel that all these problems are just the concern of the South and the other cities where they are having troubles. We don't have such problems here. But yet, some of our people say we had better watch out, and be prepared for trouble soon, right here."

The president of a bank in this same town adds:

"We have no racial problem here; we have so few Negroes. . . . For myself, I think the Negroes are pushing too fast. I wouldn't be surprised to see outsiders make some kind of civil-rights test here."

A newspaper editor here reports this: "The truth is, we have plenty of problems. Small ones. Our civil-rights commission is getting active again. They are getting complaints from Negroes about discrimination in hiring, about being unable to buy homes where they want them, about not being able to get a haircut in town. There is a lot of fear that the NAACP will come in here some day and give trouble."

In Iowa, a large-scale poll was conducted recently by

*(continued on next page)*

**NEGRO GI's. In the North, Negro servicemen say racial incidents are rare, but complain of subtle discrimination.**

[continued from preceding page]

# RACE: PROBLEM ALL OVER U. S.?

"Wallaces Farmer" on the matter of what Iowa farm people, "as bystanders," think about Negro pressure now being applied to change things.

Results of that poll showed that 62 per cent believe integration is being pushed too hard. Only 10 per cent believe Negroes "should do everything short of violence." About 12 per cent are undecided.

**Growing awareness.** Even as far north as Marquette, Mich., where Negroes are a rarity, the Rev. Norbert W. Smith reports that there has been a rapidly rising interest in racial problems recently, "especially since the march on Washington and the bombings in Birmingham."

Here, as in many Midwestern localities, Negroes have been brought into an almost all-white area by the opening of a military installation nearby—in this case, Sawyer Air Force Base, with 11,500 airmen and dependents, a tenth of them colored.

Problems have been minimal, but Negro airmen interviewed report difficulties in finding any entertainment off the base, and housing for married men off base.

Ministers in Marquette have distributed an "open-housing covenant" in an effort to turn up housing for Negro troops, and about 10 per cent of these covenants have brought offers of housing.

But throughout the Midwest you often hear comments like this one from a store manager in central Illinois—

"We have some high-grade Negroes in our little Negro community. One highly educated Negro woman is a member of the women's clubs and is frequently asked to give book reviews. We have a Negro chiropodist, who is president of our Holy Name Society. All of his patients are white. If we had an influx of Negroes here, and they were like these two, there would be no problem."

## IN NEW ENGLAND:

### *"Subtle discrimination is still here"*

In the smaller cities and rural areas of Northeastern U. S., there seems to be little overt antagonism toward Negroes, or racial friction of any kind. But the fear of competition from Negroes for jobs shows up frequently in this region.

In Portland, Me., for example, there are just 371 Negroes in a population of 72,566. Would whites accept more?

"Frankly, I wouldn't want any more Negroes here," says an engineer with offices in Portland.

"Recent events all over the country have convinced me that the presence of Negroes brings problems and troubles," comments the manager of a wholesale firm.

"I think it is hard for Negroes to get good jobs here. A Negro porter at the airport brought up a family of children who became doctors, a college professor, and an optometrist. But all of them left Portland to make good." So reports a lawyer.

"People say they would welcome Negroes in Portland. Privately, they wouldn't," insists a businessman.

"I wouldn't mind seeing more Negroes in reasonable limits," a railroad man says.

But, in the opinion of a local insurance man, "Portland doesn't need an additional pool of unskilled labor."

**"I would welcome skilled Negroes."** Jobs are often considered the key factor. A city official says: "My answer would be 'no,' not only for Negroes but for any other group who would be unemployed most of the time. I would welcome skilled and self-sufficient Negroes, though. My answer would be based not on race but on the quality of the individual."

A store clerk puts it this way: "If we got more Negroes to come in, how many jobs would there be for whites?"

Says a minister: "I'm not foolish enough to advocate Negroes' migrating to Portland."

A securities salesman: "Even the most liberal advocates of Negro civil rights wouldn't want Negroes to come in here."

A lawyer: "I don't think anyone honestly can say they would welcome Negroes. . . . We would have trouble if we had a large increase in the Negro population."

What about the few Negroes in Portland now? You hear this—

From an advertising man:

"We are not conscious of a local problem. Negroes here are not pushing for their rights. Birmingham seems as far away as Vietnam."

A Portland minister: "I would say that as far as we here in Maine are concerned, we get disturbed and upset about what is happening in the South. But it's a missionary problem with us. As long as it stays in the South, we're happy. When it moves up here, we will not show the true Christian spirit. Subtle discrimination is still here."

When you swing over to Watertown, N. Y., with just 113 Negroes in a total population of 33,306, the attitude changes somewhat, but not a great deal.

A businessman says this: "Negroes are welcome to move to Watertown as long as jobs could be found for them. But I wouldn't want a large proportion of the population to be colored. And I wouldn't care to have a Negro move next door to me, as that would force real estate prices down."

"I'd hate to think how we would react if we had a large number of Negroes here," adds a newspaper editor.

An executive who has lived in many other cities gives this assessment: "There is less discrimination here than I found when I lived in Detroit, Rochester, Windsor, Tulsa or Evansville, Ind. But the lesser discrimination may be caused by the fact that the people here don't have the problem. . . . Here you have the additional factors of greater neighborliness and a greater inclination to treat people as individuals regardless of color."

Yet a Watertown housewife says: "Negroes whom I know and have talked with here say they find discrimination more of a problem than in the South, because they never know how they stand here."

**"I would move out of town."** Little incidents stand out in people's minds, here as elsewhere. Another Watertown resident reports: "We had several busloads of Negroes come into town on a tour last summer—300 or so got off the buses. If those people ever lived here, I would move out of town. Others said the same thing."

In the opinion of a highway engineer—

"The problem is primarily a moral one. Negroes deserve special consideration beyond that given other minority groups. The reason is that they are the only race that came to this nation in chains. We brought them here and we're responsible for their plight today."

Across Vermont and New Hampshire, this comment by a newspaperman in Burlington is fairly typical:

"If a family had somewhat similar background in intelligence, experience and earning power, no one would argue if such a family lived next door. This is a place that is not terribly rich or poor. Everyone up here is judged on what he can do. It's not the color of the skin that's important, but what a person can do." [END]

R&R Rel -
Newsweek 10/21/63

# OUTLOOK: THE HOPE FOR PEACE

The ultimate question before white America and Negro America is this: can the two resolve their differences over civil rights without some kind of bloody collision between races?

Given the prejudice of the one and the resentment of the other, it might seem impossible. Divided as the two races are, however, the NEWSWEEK Poll shows that white and Negro America do share a common objective: both will settle for reforming the system; they don't want to wreck it.

Thus, the promise of a peaceful solution to the Negro revolution does exist, and it springs from the American character. In their struggle the Negroes have no greater weapon than white America's sense of fair play. The biggest asset that white Americans have is Negro patience.

Yet this promise does not mean progress across the board—nor a predictable timetable. Some major stumbling blocks remain, and they are dangerous. Among them:

▶**Southern resistance:** Such cities as Birmingham, Jackson, and Albany, Ga., are still hard-core centers of opposition to minimal Negro demands. Mississippi's schools hold out even against token desegregation. As long as Southern politicians try to "out-seg" each other at the polls, race riots—or the threat of riots—will plague the South.

▶**Private housing integration:** A direct conflict threatens. Sixty-six per cent of Negroes want to live—or have the right to live—in integrated neighborhoods; more than 50 per cent of white Americans object to sharing their neighborhoods with Negroes.

These two areas, like many others, are enormously difficult: neither is likely to be truly resolved for years. Yet the NEWSWEEK Poll also uncovered grounds for optimism.

For one thing, white Americans reveal that their attitudes toward Negroes are subject to change—and have indeed changed already. Compared with twenty years ago, they were asked, do you feel Negroes have changed as individuals or not? Across the nation, 62 per cent—and even in the South, 65 per cent—replied yes, and made it clear they thought Negroes had changed for the better, thanks mainly to steadily improving education.

**Wide Margin:** More significant is how whites believe Negroes will be faring five years from now. Will there be more Negro and white children in school together? Yes, say 65 per cent of white Southerners; yes, say 83 per cent of whites across the country. Will Negroes be living in white neighborhoods? Even the white South says yes, by a majority of 84 per cent, and white Americans everywhere agree—a total of 91 per cent. Will Negroes have better jobs? Will they have better housing? Yes again, say North and South alike.

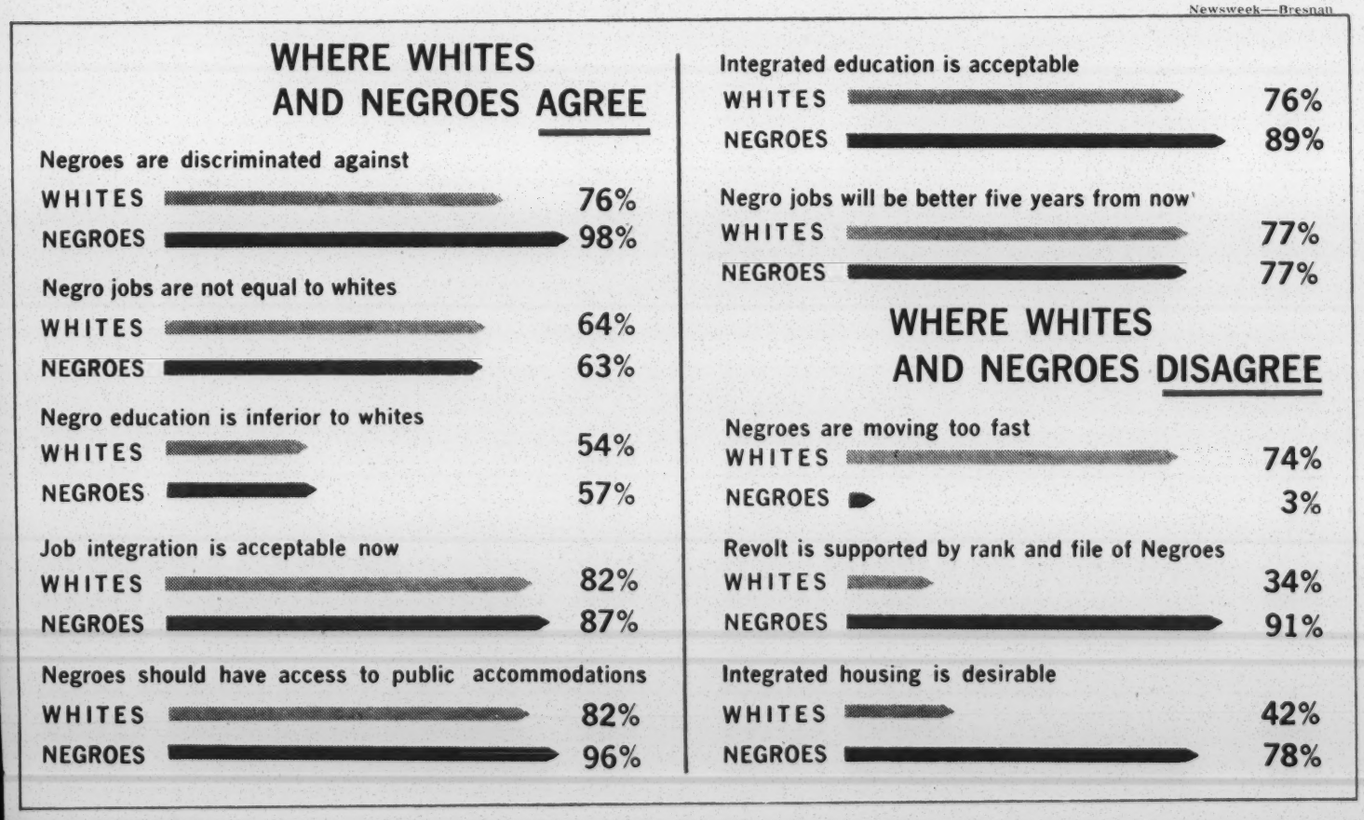
What is impressive about these expectations is that many who hold them currently resist them and freely admit to prejudice against the Negro. They may be reluctant, grudging, and merely resigned to a sense of inevitability—but they do see the shape of things to come. Such signs from those who now oppose the Negro drive are no less encouraging than the testimony of whites who are already adjusting to it:

▶Young white Americans are turning out to be significantly less prejudiced than their grandfathers.

▶The more white Americans get to know Negroes, the better they get along together. Whites who have social contact with Negroes consistently responded more favorably to the Negro and his cause.

In the largest sense, two deeply rooted strains in the American psyche hold out the greatest hope for racial peace. One is the practical streak. As a people, Americans usually do not come to grips with a problem until it reaches crisis proportions; then, rather than have it linger and fester, they prefer to resolve it—and they have a genius for adaptation and accommodation. The other American trait, contrasting and yet complementary, is a sense of idealism. And the Negro revolution not only goes to the heart of the democratic concept but, as white Americans recognize by 2 to 1, it poses a clear moral issue—a choice between right and wrong

Newsweek—Bresnan



R + R Rel.

NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
October 28, 1963

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published by
The Community Information Committee
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Co-Editors
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# NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

## Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

## ARMED FORCES

### RACE PROBLEMS KEEP AMERICA FROM BEING "COMBAT-READY"

New York Courier (September 7)

A faculty moderator of the National War College and one of the top reservists of the U.S. Armed Forces, Major John D. Silvera, called upon all reservists for leadership in resolving the racial unrest which he termed "a major cold-war problem" and "a genuine revolution".. the coming together of men of goodwill from both races.. Major Silvera emphasized that no section of American can afford a holier than thou attitude on what is a national concern and a threat to our security and maintenance of world leadership.

### EQUAL TREATMENT

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (September 26)

Defense Secretary McNamara's ruling placing off-limits to servicemen off-base establishments that discriminate against Negro servicemen, has aroused the ire of Rep. Vinson (D-Ga.). "He wants Congress to court-martial the Defense Department...Left to him the armed forces would still be basking in the deep shadows of segregation. Because of their pathological hostility to the Negro, because of their inability to discharge with impartiality their legislative responsibility, men like Vinson should never be permitted to reach the chairmanship of important Congressional committees."

## BIRMINGHAM

### NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN BULL CONNOR'S TOWN

Amsterdam News - By-line by James L. Hicks (September 21)

If you thought the racial situation was going to improve around Birmingham's City Hall when they kicked out Bull Connor last spring, you can forget it. I don't know what changes Albert Boutwell has made in the racial set-up but I do know that as I went into and out of his office my eyes feasted on the cleanest and shiniest silver sign above a drinking fountain. This sign was not just attached.. it was recessed into the thick marble wall so that anyone trying to remove it would have to use a crowbar or one of those sticks of dynamite for which the city is famous. The sign reads: C O L O R E D.

### BIRMINGHAM, THE UNREPENTENT

New York Courier (September 28) Editorial

Six Birmingham children have been sent to eternity. Indignation over these atrocities has swept the world, but not Birmingham... We get the impression that a large majority of the white people of the area were secretly pleased. Doubtless their churches were full blast Sunday and resounded with the pious platitudes of their preachers. If there were any shame in these people there might be some hope for the future, but when has Birmingham or Alabama shown any shame over sins against the Negro?

I PREDICT NOTHING WILL BE DONE - (October 5)

AFTER THE PROCESSION....WHAT? - (October 12)

New York Courier - Both the above from Benjamin E. Mays' Column: "MY VIEW"

The bombing and deaths in Birmingham are tragic, but it is equally deplorable that in all probability nothing will be done. There are ways and ways to obstruct justice and if a way can be found, Alabama will find it. They say 100 white Birmingham ministers marched in the funeral procession for the four dead girls. Now that they have wept in sackcloth and ashes, what next? I am sure they will go on walking in the paths of tradition. They will continue to be segregationists. When it comes to leadership in the community, too many white ministers exert little or no influence.

BLAIK AND ROYALL

TWO-MAN COMMITTEE - Chicago Daily Defender: Editorial (September 25)

WHAT WHITES DON'T KNOW - Amsterdam News: Column, White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (October 5)

President Kennedy's two-man committee which will direct its efforts toward easing racial tensions in Birmingham, may not yield the results anticipated by the White House. Even if lines between the two races are opened, feelings of suspicion and distrust will linger as long as Negro-hater Wallace is Governor in Montgomery. No sermon on Christian brotherhood will ease the deep wounds left by the bombing which killed four innocent Negro children. Mr. Kenneth Royall, one of the members chosen by the White House, handled ticklish situations before and was one of the defense lawyers for four Negroes seeking to enter the University of North Carolina but Alabama's diehard segregationists are not reasonable men with a moral conscience. Earl Blaik on the committee does not help. His West Point football experience is not in the area of human relations. Besides, they are not Negroes and cannot understand the Negro's problems completely. It is conceivable that no white man realizes the depth of the Negro's conviction, nor his determination to succeed at any cost.

JFK'S B'HAM TRUCE TEAM NOT NOTED FOR HELPING NEGROES

Jet (October 10)

Former Army Secretary Kenneth Royall, one of the two named by President Kennedy to find a solution to Birmingham's racial woes, is a known segregationist who steadfastly held to a segregationist line and has close friendships with many Dixie lawmakers. As Army Secretary under President Truman in 1948-9 he fought the issuance of a desegregation order for the military.. was quoted in testimony before a committee probing Army bias as saying "That the Army was not an instrument for social evolution" and "two wars showed Negro troops to be less qualified than whites for service in combat". During the battle over Truman's executive order (to end segregation in the Services) Royall was the only topflight secretary of an armed service to oppose the order. As for ex-football coach Earl Blaik, he never had a Negro on his team during 18 years as coach for Army.

## BOYCOTTS

XMAS BOYCOTT ON DEATHBED, SANTA CLAUS MIGHT RIDE AGAIN!

Chicago Daily Defender -(October 7)

SEVEN MORE MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN CHRISTMAS BOYCOTT

New York Courier (October 12)

The proposed nationwide boycott to memorialize the children killed in Birmingham failed to muster the support of the major civil rights groups. Instead they urged all Americans who believe in civil rights "to make some special sacrifice this Christmas" in memory of the children. NAACP's Roy Wilkins doubted that a general consumer buying strike would have an effect on the Birmingham situation, but civil rights leaders did agree that local selective buying strikes be continued.

THE BOYCOTT FASCINATION

New York Courier - Editorial (October 12)

An increasing number of prominent Negroes seem to be fascinated by the prospects of victory through boycott. A boycott against a store in a Negro neighborhood can be narrowly successful; but when it is widespread, it seldom gets far. It would be a different story if Negroes had stores of their own in communities where they are conducting boycotts. We are a buying people, not a selling people, and as long as this is true we will not make speedy economic progress.

## CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

NO SURPRISE - Column by P. L. Prattis in N. Y. Courier (Sept. 14)

PUSH OR PULL - Column: Up Front..Down South by Daddy Mention -Courier (Sept. 28)

Columnist Prattis says that the filibuster would be no stumbling block to civil rights legislation if white Northerners had widespread interest in it. Members of Congress read their mail and respond to the people's thinking. Northern Democrats and Republicans would speedily pass strong legislation if the people demanded it. It was noted in white papers that the Great March was orderly and dignified.. a strange recognition by white writers that not all Negroes are hewers of wood and drawers of water with inferior brains. Perhaps the Negro has found a way to induce more whites to become concerned about his problems which have become THEIR BIG PROBLEM. Speaking of the "conscientious" bigots of the Southern contingent on Capitol Hill and a host of other reactionaries who persist in putting alleged property rights before human rights, columnist Mention advises the Negro to fight for his existing right to enter public places without waiting for superfluous laws. It is society, says he, which has an absolute right to regulate who shall do business within it, and to prescribe conditions in the public interest.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON RESULTS

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (October 5)

A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee reported out tentatively a draft of a civil rights bill that was much stronger than the

package proposed by President Kennedy on June 19th.. which means that some Congressmen got the message of the Evers murder, the March, and the unspeakable Birmingham murders of four little girls. Things have changed since June and what might have seemed to some people to have been a good program then, is not nearly good enough in late September. The subcommittee deserves credit for recognizing this and daring to strengthen the bill.

DIVIDED OPINION

"DO IT YOURSELF!" DR. JACKSON - Amsterdam News (September 14)
FREEDOM MAY BE HARMFUL SAYS JACKSON - Chicago Daily Defender (9/9)
POOR 'UNCLE TOM' - Amsterdam News - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (September 21)
CORE PICKETS DR. JACKSON - Jet (October 3)

Re-elected to his 11th term as president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., Dr. J. H. Jackson stated that political rights without economic power won't help Negroes any more than eating in an integrated restaurant without money to pay for the fare. He said Negroes must pool their economic and financial resources and build their own businesses. Dr. Jackson proposed a Civil Rights Commission to set up a lobby in Washington which would advise local communities in civil rights matters, beautify Negro neighborhoods and encourage churches to help find jobs for Negroes. CORE pickets, meanwhile, paraded outside the meeting hall in criticism of Dr. Jackson's "move slowly" policy. Dr. Jackson further stated that it might be dangerous if pressure by protest should suddenly remove all barriers for the Negro. Dr. Jackson, who was called an "Uncle Tom" by CORE, was defended by columnist Prattis who defined the term as erroneously applied when used to denote a Negro who does not wish to go as far and as fast as others do. The real Uncle Tom was a staunch man who told his tormentors they could beat his body but not his soul. He thinks Dr. Jackson is sturdy and uncompromising.. a real Uncle Tom.

BIRMINGHAM NEGROES DIVIDED ON TACTICS - by Lloyd General (9/23)
SPLITTING NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN BIRMINGHAM, GOAL OF RACISTS - by Audrey Weaver (October 2)

Both the above articles appeared in the Chicago Daily Defender

The embattled Negroes of Birmingham have no real leadership and will not accept "outside agitators" like Martin Luther King. They are a house divided against itself. Birmingham's Muslim leader pointed out that nothing tangible has been gained through the non-violent method there. Rev. King's assistant, Fred Shuttlesworth, is seldom in Birmingham and the non-violent movement is losing ground. Many Negroes want to fight but are held in check because they have no weapons and because older people restrain them. Most citizens blame the leadership for the lack of progress in race relations. One day soon they intend to do something about it. The goal of white officials is to divide the Negro leadership, confuse the Negro citizens and thus prevent integration and further demands for rights, according to Rev. J. L. Ware who has been in the thick of the fight. Whenever a Negro church, home or motel is bombed, the police rush to the area and immediately intimidate the Negroes who gathered to view the ruins, instead of attempting to seek out the white culprits, Rev. Ware said.

DIVIDED LEADERSHIP

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 3)

The report of a split in Birmingham's Negro leadership is disquieting. If we are to succeed we must have unity. What is causing much anguish is the discovery of Uncle Toms in the ranks of the activists. Their retreat is made under the plea of no interference from outsiders. Governor Wallace and other racists know that they can beat the local folk into submission by threats and police brutality. The Negro people in Birmingham should turn down any proposal that is not in keeping with their demands for social justice.

AMERICAN NEGRO TRAGEDY

New York Courier - Editorial (October 5)

The Rev. Wesley E. Wharton, president of the East St. Louis, Ill., NAACP branch, is threatened with ouster from his job because he favors civil rights moderation. He is symbolic of a growing split in the Negro rights campaign between moderates and extremists, although all are eager for civil equality. This inclination to shut off the other fellow and denounce him because his views are different is a growing tragedy and a dangerous one. It is a mark of high intellectual development when there are wide differences of opinion, and augers well for the upward progress of any group.

MISLEADERSHIP IN CAMBRIDGE

New York Courier - Editorial (October 12)

Cambridge, Md. paid the price of Negro misleadership last week when a referendum was held to determine whether an amendment to local laws barring segregation should or should not be passed. The measure lost because only 48% of registered Negro voters turned out at the polls. If 275 more Negro voters had voted "Yes", the measure would have passed. The local NAACP leaders waited until the last minute to try to overcome the vote boycott, led by Mrs. Gloria Richardson. Elsewhere in the nation sensible Negro voters would have been delighted to vote on this issue.

HOUSING

RACISM AND THE CHA - by Sherwood Ross (September 9)
HOUSING POLICY UNDER FIRE - by Ernestine Cofield (September 12)
NAACP BLASTS CHA NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN - (September 18)
All the above from the Chicago Daily Defender

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is headed for trouble over its "neighborhood" policy for housing the elderly. CHA selects elderly tenants from among persons in the immediate vicinity of its projects. It expects to build 14 sites in Chicago at a cost of $30 million, mostly on the North Side in all-white communities. City Council members who deny the CHA public housing in their wards will accept projects for the elderly because those will not be integrated. Four organizations (NAACP, Urban League and 2 others) are against this "neighborhood" policy, and urge the CHA to rescind this action which gives "priority to proximity". The NAACP is flatly against public

housing which establishes a policy that conforms to already existing patterns of segregated housing and urges the establishment of a "first come, first served" basis for public housing.

CITY COUNCIL PASSES HOUSING BILL, 30-16 (September 12)

DALEY RIPS GOP AS OPPONENT OF RIGHTS (September 16)

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE - Editorial (September 23)

CONFETTI - Column by Lillian Calhoun (September 24)

All the above from the Chicago Daily Defender

CHICAGO VOTES FAIR HOUSING LAW OVER WHITE PROTESTS - Jet (Sept. 26)

In the face of 5000 protesting white home owners Chicago's City Council under Mayor Daley's firm guidance passed a fair housing bill September 11. The Mayor later blasted the Republican Party Chairman, Hayes Robertson, and GOP councilmen, saying they are out of contact with the principles enacted in the U.S. Constitution, and make it a policy to fight civil rights. The real estate board is already planning to force a referendum to repeal the measure. Nevertheless it is the consensus that passage of the measure is a necessary first step in the right direction. We are tired of being huddled like cattle into an unfit corral. The new housing ordinance provides that a broker can sue a home owner, refusing to sell to a Negro, for his commission. If he doesn't, the prospective Negro buyer can sue and thus jeopardize the broker's license.

BLAMES STATUS SYMBOLS FOR JIM-CROW HOUSING

Chicago Daily Defender (October 10)

Housing is the most rigid segregation barrier because many whites "feel they must acquire status symbols which are inaccessible to members of minority groups"... This is why resistance to equality in America is making its last stand in the field of housing. Housing remains the only commodity which cannot be purchased freely on the open market by all qualified buyers," said James A. Tillman Jr., director of the Greater Minneapolis Interfaith Fair Housing Program.

INTERNATIONAL

WHAT PRICE CBS VIRTUE -- Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White

LIFE TELLS IT LIKE IT IS -Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson

Both the above appeared in the Amsterdam News on September 14.

Columbia Broadcasting has sold Amos and Andy films to Africa against the vain protests of the NAACP. C.B.S. will rake in millions while the vulgar stereotypes of American Negroes will be perpetuated in Kenya and Western Nigeria. The U.S. Information Service, whose job is to help provide and maintain a proper image of the American abroad, has declined to comment. Coincidentally, Jackie Robinson who had flown out to the Coast on a LIFE Magazine assignment, praised that publication for honest reporting and a fearless attitude regarding possible loss of Southern subscriptions.

WHITE AMERICAN DEPORTED FROM NEWLY INDEPENDENT JAMAICA, W.I.

New York Courier (September 14)

Die-hard segregationist Senator Richard Russell of Georgia has refused to intervene in any way in behalf of one of his white constituents who was deported from the island of Jamaica, West Indies, by Prime Minister Sir Alexander Bustamante, for calling a colored native a "black n.....etc. etc." Byron LaBeach, a star of the 1952 Olympics was the object of the insults by Hayne Nalley, a white Georgian employed on the island. The Prime Minister said that while the island caters to both white and colored tourist trade, "we are not prepared to permit Americans to export Jim Crowism to the Island".

FILM LACKING NEGRO STEREOTYPE BANNED IN S. AFRICA (Jet, Sept. 19)

The British film "Heavens Above" was banned by the South African government because of scenes depicting white men and Negroes on equal terms.

SAFE IN AFRICA - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White

UAW OFFICIAL SAYS AFRICANS LOOK TO US

Both the above appeared in the Amsterdam News on September 28.

On my return from Abijan, the capital of the Ivory Coast Republic, Africa, I was asked how things were there. They had just gone through what their President called a "vast inquietude". Nevertheless, in the so-called wilds of darkest Africa, little girls of whatever complexion were quite safe studying their Sunday school lessons. Small boys could ride along the streets on their bicycles without fear of murder... Nelson J. Edwards, Negro official of the United Auto Workers union who has just returned from Europe, said Africans are looking to American Negroes to help narrow the gap of two centuries.. to enlighten and instruct them in the use of machinery. He though aid of this sort would change the image of the American Negro held by Africans.. and would temper the image of racial strife in this country.

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

HISTORY SHOWS - N.Y. Courier, Column by J. A. Rogers (September 7)

THE PEOPLE SPEAK - Letter to the Editor on INTERMARRIAGE IN THE RACE REVOLT by Anthony Williams - Defender (Sept. 26)

Foes of the Civil Rights Bill have started to play their trump -- the bogey of intermarriage. The subject is so touchy that even the Supreme Court has delayed ruling on a pertinent case. The first anti-miscegenation laws in the U.S. were directed not against Negroes but against whites. Although the California Supreme Court recently held that "marriage is a fundamental right of free men", 28 states presently forbid mixed marriages. Mr. Williams points out that many more white-skinned Americans of African descent are walking around than are black-skinned Americans of European descent. This fact shows just who is lusting after whose women, he observes.

MR. TRUMAN, THE EDITOR

Amsterdam News - Column: White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (Sept. 21)

There was a time when I sometimes felt injured when Negroes would not take me at face value but I painfully learned to understand that my face value would be clouded by the meanness of the value which all white faces must hold for Negroes. It was never with more clarity that I understood this than in the report of former President Harry Truman's remarks on intermarriage when he fell back on the idiot argument of the worst racists by asking "Would you like your daughter to marry a Negro?" It was necessary for him to "edit" them out of his daughter's life for fear she might marry one. A strange admission for a man who supposedly brought his daughter up to be a woman of character and judgment who could edit out of her own life anything which she thought inferior, whether it be white or colored, or faith or morals. Margaret Truman undoubtedly married her husband not because he was white, but because she loved him.

BLIND NO MORE

New York Courier - Column by Rev. Malcolm Boyd (September 28)

It is an anomaly that we use the term "racial intermarriage" when there is no longer in this country purity of any race. Biological integration between races has been achieved in the U.S. When we speak of integration now, we mean only social and cultural integration. Probably the most useful instrument in human relations at this time would be a significant increase in intermarriage, i.e. destruction of all racial barriers as racial barriers. Negro bigots and black supremacists also must yield ground to a practiced integration in every part of American life.

THE STETHOSCOPE: INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

New York Courier - Column by Earl B. Smith, M.D. (September 28)

RACIAL ISSUES - N.Y. Courier, Article by Max Lerner (October 5)

Interracial marriage has medical significance as well as important sociological factors. There is no religious law that prohibits mixed marriage. Marriage is a sacred bond between two persons who have free choice. The race of man has not deteriorated from mixing by marriage in the U.S. The final decision on this relationship must be relegated to the individual involved. Mr. Lerner says not biological integration but equal access to life's chances is the issue here. Psychoanalysts may argue that there is sexual attraction mixed with the recoil of hysterical white school girls against social mixing, but it expresses itself in hostility and hatred. Interracial marriage is a matter of personal choice and the Supreme Court should face the problem of miscegenation statutes in 21 states. It is unconstitutional for the state to tell me whom I cannot marry.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (October 12)

Fear of racial intermarriage is what is fundamentally behind all the uproar over economic and social discrimination. And yet the racial problem in the U.S. will be solved in no other way. The right to marry a person of one's choice would seem to be the greatest civil

right of all, but no Negro leaders advocate it. Negro leaders have brought no cases to make the Supreme Court illegalize the 21 state laws against intermarriage.

## NEGRO ATTITUDES

### GOVERNOR WALLACE AND THE NAACP

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (September 14)

Recently I was asked to be a panelist on a Chicago CBS show along with Governor Wallace of Alabama. The Governor never showed up. The moderator did a magnificent job of straying from the subjects we were to discuss. There was another panelist, Dale Baxter, who is president of something called the National Association for the Advancement of White People, an able man with whom I rarely agreed. The old question of the Negro slowing up in his quest for justice came up and I reminded them that after all these years of waiting, the Negro is not so much interested in being liked as in having his rights. One panelist quoted S. B. Fuller who said in effect that the Negro is not discriminated against. Mr. Fuller has a right to his opinion and the fact that he is a Negro does not make him right. One of these days, as Roy Wilkins said, we will be strong enough to emancipate not only whites who want to support us, but Negroes who are afraid their success would melt away under the scorching heat of integration and free competition. Anyway, I'm sorry Governor Wallace didn't make it.

### THEY ARE FED UP

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (September 19)

The shameful deeds being committed against Birmingham Negroes must soon end or there will be bloody scenes and racial conflicts of unparalleled ferocity. The evil consequences of Gov. Wallace's brazen flaunting of the law are ripening into bitter fruits. Social progress, history tells us, is seldom accomplished without bloodshed. The Negro has been patient far too long. He has been denied his rights, pushed around, beaten, maimed and lynched. While Governor Wallace's hands are dripping with blood, Congress is sitting on the civil rights bill. And the Federal Government finds no legal warrant for intervention in Alabama. This dilemma will not be resolved until the Negro shows convincingly that he is ready to fight and die for his freedom and rights.

### 'AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE FUND': A 'CON' JOB TO EXPIATE GUILT

Chicago Daily Defender - Column: A Stone's Throw by Chuck Stone (9/24)

A group of distinguished, well-meaning white Americans have started an "American Conscience Fund" to get rid of the guilt they feel after the Birmingham church bombing. The fund is lilywhite in origin, although several members have a long and meaningful involvement in the Negro's struggle. At least a group of white Americans publicly opposed to genocide ought to let us participate in a fund-raising to preserve ourselves. It's nice of these great Americans to help rebuild the church, but if they'd just lobby a little harder in their respective jobs, cities, departments and businesses to get more Negro jobs, the right to live anywhere, more Negroes in better schools, they would influence public opinion so strongly, that there would be infinitely less violence directed against black people

SAYS ONLY WHITES CAN SOLVE "NEGRO PROBLEM"

Jet (September 26)

According to a recent article in NEGRO DIGEST, Negroes themselves can never solve the race problem because they do not cause the problem. The problem is caused by the "social psychosis of white supremacy" and is a problem of "distortions" or "mass delusions" in the minds of white people Such illness can only be cured "in those cases where the patient wants to get well".

SELLING CIVIL RIGHTS

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (September 28)

One of the major weaknesses of the Negro's campaign for full equality is pointed up by the latest Gallup poll showing that one-half of the American white adults believe the Kennedy Administration is pushing civil rights too fast. Every corporation selling a product has a public relations department; every foreign country employs firms here to tell its story to the American public and its government. We give the back of our hand to the White Citizens Council, while it is steadily building a public opinion in support of its views. The Negro must keep up the direct action program of protest.. must use the courts and must have civil rights legislation.. must use his consumer buying power, his political power.. But he must also mount an educational campaign to win a substantial percentage of American minds.

AMERICA'S BLOWIN' IN THE WIND

Amsterdam News - Column by Jackie Robinson (September 28)

The winds of wrath and resentment of the Negro are churning into what can become one of the worst storms which ever hit this so-called land of the free. The Negro's patience has grown thin.. there is an atmosphere of retaliation after the four helpless lives of young children were snuffed out by some sick, hate-crazed dog... and it is high time we had more than fancy words from the President... Non-violence and calm is not going to last much longer unless the Government finds some way to halt the reign of terror which is threatening the Negro. Governor Wallace cannot escape the responsibility for having set the stage for one of the ugliest crimes which ever disgraced the United States... if it hadn't been for his sadistic and perverted campaign to keep Negro youngsters out of school, these children might be alive today. If you want to see a people inflamed... keep messing around with our children.

THE 11TH COMMANDMENT

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (Sept. 28)

THE MCDOWELL DISMISSAL - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial (Sept. 30)

When the white man finishes with his recitation of the Ten Commandments he stops, but the Negro adds his own Eleventh Commandment which is probably most important to him: "Tho shall not get caught!" Cleve McDowell violated the 11th Commandment and now he must pay. None of the white students who carried a small arsenal on the campus of Ole Miss when James Meredith was enrolled ever went to jail. There were white people in Ole Miss who didn't want Cleve there and he had to go. He had applied for a permit and had explained his reasons. Unlike Meredith, he had no U.S. marshals to protect him and he was threatened by anonymous calls and unsigned letters. In civilized

communities, the intent rather than the possession of a defensive weapon would have weighed in his favor. The Student Judicial Council which recommended McDowell be expelled is headed by Champ Terney, son-in-law of Senator James O. Eastland.

## OTHER MINORITIES

### MEXICAN-AMERICANS JOIN FREEDOM FIGHT

New York Courier (September 7)

"We must join hands like brothers", said the Los Angeles editor of a Mexican-American newspaper. This marks the first time the Mexican-Americans have allied themselves with Negroes. They began to fear they would be left by the wayside and joined a March in Los Angeles which was keyed to the March on Washington, There are some 1,500,000 of them in California.

### ARE PUERTO RICANS COOPERATING IN FREEDOM FIGHT ASK LEADERS

### PUERTO RICAN FENCE-SITTING ROLE IN RIGHTS FIGHT HIT BY LEADERS

Both of the above articles in the New York Courier by the New York Courier Task Force.(September 7 and 14)

What is the Puerto Rican population doing to support the civil rights fight in which it is always mentioned? Almost nothing. They consider themselves an ethnic group, not a race, and prefer to be identified with the white community. No civil rights groups operate in the Puerto Rican community and the services offered them tend to shield them from association with other organizations. They are beginning to realize that alliance with the Negroes can bring a faster breaking-down of barriers of discrimination. Their attitude to date has been called naive by Paul Zuber, while Mrs. Leolive Tucker, an educational director for NAACP says they are short-sighted, since the reading level is low in the mainly Puerto Rican schools. There is some movement toward "joining hands like brothers" with the Negroes, but most Puerto Rican leaders tend to keep their group separate and apart from the Negroes.

### THE JEWS IN RUSSIA

Chicago Daily Defender (October 9)

A rabbi in Russia has been sentenced to death on charges of "economic crimes". The rabbi may not have been guilty at all. Jews are being persecuted in Russia. But why? A commission to inquire into the mistreatment of the Jews in Russia should be appointed by the U.N. We, who are yet oppressed and brutalized, can ill afford to sit back and let persecution of our fellowmen take place without raising our voice against it.

## POLICE

### MORGUE OR STATIONHOUSE?

Amsterdam News - Editorial (September 14)

For the second time in seven months, police of the 28th precinct in Harlem have reported that a man has committed "suicide" in his cell inside the precinct stationhouse. Where are the police when these people are killing themselves INSIDE the police jail? If the 28th

precinct, under Captain Ravens, is going to serve as a morgue for the uptown area, we should either give the station-house another name or give Captain Ravens another title.

CRIME EDITORS

Amsterdam News - Editorial (September 28)

New York reporters recently returned from Birmingham, complained about the city police there maintaining strict control of news events .. virtually police editing of the news. Yet the same thing happens in New York. A Negro woman died in Queens General Hospital five days after she had been slashed by a white man shrieking "I hate Niggers". When questioned, the Police Department told newsmen that the man had used the words "I hate people". Not until 11 days later did they learn he had said "I hate Niggers". Why was it that when a Negro was shot in the back by a policeman in Birmingham, the first report given newsmen was that he was shot by another Negro? In years gone by, the police department said they identified a criminal as Negro to help pinpoint him in the cause of "justice"... but now they tell us they withheld the fact that this slayer was anti-Negro because they didn't want the slayer to know that they knew he was a bigot... This is garbage.. to which the Mayor and Commissioner should put a stop at once. They do it every day in Birmingham but New York has no need to copy.

POLITICS

WILKINS BARS AN ALL-NEGRO PARTY - Amsterdam News (September 14)

NAACP HEAD SAYS ALL-NEGRO PARTY 'LOGICAL ANSWER' IN THE SOUTH

New York Courier (September 14)

While admitting that a Negro political party might have some value in the South on a purely local basis because of local conditions, NAACP's Roy Wilkins said in a radio conference that he would hate to see racial political action in this country through a third party. He warned that a rebuff by Congress on civil rights legislation would increase the chances of more racial violence.

HAYES ROBERTSON - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial (September 16)

GOP AND CIVIL RIGHTS - Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (Sept. 18)

Cook County GOP Chairman Hayes Robertson is at heart a Dixiecrat and a Negro hater. If the Republican Party of Illinois is a measure of Republican attitudes throughout the nation, then they may kiss the Negro vote goodbye. The new Negro has no reason to be sentimental about the Republican Party. All the important gains in the last 20 years have been made under a Democratic administration, In California the destiny of the GOP, in the light of the civil rights revolution, is being pondered by party moderates. They believe the alternatives are: to come out hard for Negro rights, risk losing the conservative Southern vote and perhaps even the Negro vote in '64, but building up equity for the long run in the process. Goldwater conservatives vigorously dissent from this view, but they are not really interested in the Negro vote. The moderates oppose Goldwater, prefer someone more liberal, like Rockefeller. We believe with Walter Lippman that Goldwater's nomination would cause panic in the Republican ranks.

## SKILLS AND TRAINING

TODAY AND YOU

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Marjorie L. Dunnegan (Sept. 4)

It has been pointed out that the Urban League has great difficulties in finding qualified applicants when skilled job opportunities are offered. The paucity of qualified applicants is a natural concomitant of the ugly features of the previous pattern, whereby you refuse a colored worker training because of his dark skin, and then refuse him a job because he has no training. In Chicago, say experts, one in every four Negroes over 14 is a "functional illiterate". That means "lacking in ability to fill out properly an employment application." As automation continues its devastating raids on the few remaining unskilled jobs, Chicago Negroes should break down the barriers that keep so many eager workers unemployed and candidates for relief rolls.

THE NEW SOCIAL CLASS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (September 17)

There are still almost 4,000,000 jobless. Prof. Andrew Hacker of Cornell calls this hard-core group "the second America". Unskilled, untrained, many of them Negroes, they are in danger of being the forgotten men in our society of abundance.

SKILL-HUNTING - New York Courier, Editorial (September 21)

VIEWS AND REVIEWS - N.Y.Courier, Column by George Schuyler (10/5/)

At Governor Rockefeller's request a group of New York State recruiters, headed by a Negro, visited 24 Southern Negro colleges interviewing graduates to fill administrative vacancies. The group has quit cold turkey because last year only 9 of 385 applicants passed the State's career test, and none ranked high. The biggest businesses are now skill-hunting among Negroes in all major colleges and have found that too few Negro graduates have taken courses of study useful to American business. It is hoped that more young Negroes will take courses qualifying them for positions with these great corporations.

DOORS ARE OPENING

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 2)

The demonstrations for civil rights are beginning to awaken America's conscience to its moral responsibility. Trade unions and commercial institutions are changing their hiring practices. It is in the movies where a remarkable breakthrough is taking place, as a result of NAACP demands that TV and movies recognize that one person in 9 in America is Negro, and not all of them are menials. These developments show the power of organized mass pressure.

JOBS FOR UNSKILLED FAST DISAPPEARING

Chicago Daily Defender (October 5)

As a result of automation, the plight of American Negroes is growing worse because unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are disappearing at a

"frightening rate", warned Robert C. Weaver, the administrator of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. While admitting that the middle-class seems destined to grow and prosper, Mr. Weaver pointed out that the economic position of the untrained or poorly trained Negro will continue to decline. Facing job discrimination as well, many Negroes use this as a justification for not trying and for lacking incentive for self-betterment.

NEGRO STUDENTS TOPS DESPITE CULTURAL LAGS - Chicago Defender (10/8)

NEGRO STUDENTS TOP NATIONAL AVERAGE DESPITE EARLY LACKS

New York Courier (October 12)

Negro students in interracial colleges perform well above the national average, overcoming both poor preparation and cultural lacks at home. These findings were based on a follow-up of students receiving aid and counsel from the National Service and Scholarship for Negro Students. "Their credentials were modest", declared the service's president, "But their achievement was brilliant." Fewer than 5% of them withdrew, while the national average of college dropouts is 40%.

SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

INTEGRATED CASTS - Editorial (September 5)

'NO BIAS AT CBS', EXECS TELL EMPLOYMENT UNIT (September 9)

BRIGHTER DAY FOR NEGROES IN RADIO-TV, HOLLYWOOD - (September 5)

IS TV DOING ALL IT CAN IN RACE CRISIS? - (September 30)

The last two articles by Bob Hunter. All four appeared in Defender.

More Negroes are working in Hollywood today than ever before and in TV-radio things have really been looking up. The improvement has occurred in spite of the IATSE policy of seniority for white members and their kin against which the NAACP is appealing to the NLRB. On Broadway there is a growing consciousness of the part Negroes play in American society. There is a vast Negro audience which does not patronize Broadway because they have nothing there to identify with. The situation is changing. There has been little effort in TV to portray the significant changes in people's lives since the Negro revolution. What's it like for a Negro living in Birmingham? What effect has it all had on sensible Southern whites? TV could show the answers to us.

IN THE WINGS

Amsterdam News - Column by Dave Hepburn (September 21)

The American Association of Advertising Agencies stated: "It is vital for the advertising agencies to seek out, recognize and employ the best talents available wherever they may be found, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin." For a group which gave even Jews a hard time, this is some going.

BIAS OUT, BASEBALL IN, 1963 SPORTS PICTURE AT BIRMINGHAM

Chicago Daily Defender (September 23)

The Birmingham Barons are returning to organized baseball now that segregated seating and banning of Negro players have been outlawed.

Thus the city is in the position of returning in the midst of a racial crisis to organized baseball which it quit two years ago because it could not maintain segregation.

NAACP MOVES ON AD AGENCY JOBS - Amsterdam News (September 14)

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS EYE TV, ADVERTISING INDUSTRY BIAS

New York Courier (September 14)

The NAACP has demanded from the American Association of Advertising Agencies that its members recognize the existence of the Negro consumer, institute merit employment practices, employ Negro performers without restriction, use Negro models, advertise in the Negro press, and appoint a group to maintain continuing negotiations. While the NAACP acknowledged that token gains have been made recently, they insist on a better representation of Negroes in advertising material and programs.

UNIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

NEGRO FIGHT LIKE UNION EARLY DAYS -- HANNA

New York Courier (September 3)

Hilton E. Hanna, executive assistant of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, compared the Negro's struggle for first-class citizenship to the early days of the trade union.. when labor was forced to close ranks and recognize that in unity there is strength. No other group in the annals of mankind has wrought so much in so short a time as has the Negro since Emancipation. If the American Dream is to come true for all its citizens, then the coexistence we seek in international relations must first prove to be a living reality here at home in our everyday domestic affairs.

MUSIC LOCALS MUST MERGE BY MARCH 4 - KENIN (September 9)

CMHI MUSICIANS BLAST LOCAL 208 OFFICIALS (September 24)

Both the above appeared in the Chicago Defender, by Bob Hunter

MUSICIANS ADOPT WATCH, WAIT POLICY - Chicago Defender (September 17)

IN THE WINGS - Amsterdam News, Column by Dave Hepburn (October 5)

In Chicago the all-Negro Local 208 and the formerly all-white Local 10 have been ordered by the President of the International Federation of Musicians, Herman Kenin, to merge by March 4th. Last March a group of 208 members calling themselves Chicago Musicians for Harmonious Integration marched down to Local 10, demanded acceptance, and much to their surprise were signed up without a hitch. Local 10 has 10,000 members; 208 has 2500 and a smaller treasury; it is afraid of being swallowed up in a merger and disallowed its share of Negro officers. Meanwhile in New York, Negroes in Local 802, while integrated, are having trouble with hiked dues, too few plum jobs and no leadership jobs. They have generally been too passive, saying "they just didn't want to be bugged, man" with responsibility as slate candidates. They are getting the union they deserve. That's what happens when people don't want to be "bugged".

MEANY SAYS MANY NEGROES PREFER JIM-CROW UNIONS - Defender (Sept. 23)

MEANY BLAMES NEGROES - Amsterdam News (September 28)

AFL-CIO President Meany said in an address in Chicago that most segregated unions remain segregated because the local Negro unions don't want to amalgamate with white ones. (He added that apprentice rolls must be opened to more Negroes.) NAACP's Rev. Hildebrand said that if that is true it's probably because the Negro union members have no confidence in integrated unions where white men hold leadership positions.

SHARING OF TWIN NEEDS

Amsterdam News - Column: People In Action by Martin L. King Jr.(9/28)

The labor movement did not diminsh the strength of this nation but enlarged it by raising the standards of millions, creating a market for industry, and lifting the whole nation to undreamed levels of production. Those who attack labor today forget that fact. Negroes in the United States are confronted by powerful forces which tell them to rely on the goodwill and understanding of those who profit by exploiting them. These people are shocked by sit-ins, civil disobedience and demonstrations to insure bargaining power. If we do not advance, the crushing burden of centuries of neglect and economic deprivation will destroy us. Negroes are almost entirely a working people with needs identical with labor's needs. That is why Negroes support labor's demands. We fight laws which curb labor... that is why the labor-hater is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth.

USE AND ABUSE OF LAW

SHORTAGE OF LEGAL TALENT STYMIES CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT IN COURTROOM

New York Courier (September 7)

Because of a shortage of legal talent for civil rights cases, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund announced establishment of a system of training legal interns who will go on to practice law in many communities where complex activity has been undertaken by whites to counter the NAACP's legal efforts. Helping are some 100 cooperating attorneys throughout the South.

SEES NEGROES WINNING BIGGER RIGHTS CASES

Amsterdam News (September 14)

Constitutional law experts expect integrationists to win a momentous legal battle before the U.S. Supreme Court in civil rights test cases involving police arrests of sit-ins based on charges of criminal trespass or disorderly conduct. The NAACP will ask the High Court to bar such arrests on the ground that the use of public law enforcement officers and the courts to support private discrimination is unconstitutional.

JAIL THE JAILERS!

New York Courier - Column: Up Front..Down South by Daddy Mention(9/21)

A new day is dawning when a goodly portion of our civil rights money ought to be earmarked for a counter-attack on "lawmen" who busy themselves putting in jail people who insist that the law be upheld. We need the wherewithal and know-how to enforce the law against wayward law enforcement officers, to prosecute false prosecutors, judge false judges, jail false jailers, and sue the whole bunch for depriving us of our priceless rights as Americans. One reason why white Americans enjoy the Bill of Rights is that when their rights are trampled upon, they fairly often prosecute and sue the offender. We don't need new laws; all we need is a statement from the U.S. Attorney General serving notice that henceforth the Department of Justice, District Attorneys and FBI are going to enforce those already in existence to the hilt.

## VOTING AND REGISTRATION

WHO WANTS TO VOTE?

New York Courier - Editorial (September 21)

The NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee have been complaining about one of the paradoxes of the sustained Negro registration campaign in the South where there is Negro apathy even where registration is relatively simple. It is true that white opposition has grown in intensity but this scarely explains why the majority of Negroes do not even try to register. Voting will not solve all of the Negro's problems in this complex civilization, but it will go so far toward that goal that it becomes criminal to neglect qualifying for it.

REGISTRATION IN SOUTH SHOWS MARKED INCREASE - Amsterdam News (9/21)

TICKER TAPE U.S.A. - Jet (10/3)

Between now and election time in 1964 Negro leaders say at least another 250,000 will be registered for a total of about 1,750,000. While Kennedy captured only 50 to 70 percent of Southern Negro votes in 1960, they foresee him getting 90% next year. Only in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana is Negro registration too small to help Kennedy but his aides have written these states off anyway. Democratic polls give Kennedy 95% of Negro vote in nation. This has produced a switch in White House planning i.e.:"No Negro named to Cabinet, weakening of power of Attorney General to probe racial crimes, weakening of civil rights legislation to exclude FEPC, and new arrogance of administration leaders to dictate terms of progress."

## MISCELLANEOUS

SOCIAL CHANGE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (September 4)

Up to this year the American people have accepted gradualism as a workable policy in resolving the race problem. Suddenly a national ferment has begun. A shift has taken place away from the oppressive pessimism of the past. We trust the good sense of people when they rouse themselves to confront a big problem. Countless American com-

munities have already worked their way through the most unyielding stalemates on racial issues. Their worst fears did not materialize. The new situation presented new problems; but the new problems were a stage higher and a stage ahead.

THE SPEAKER

Amsterdam News - Editorial (September 14)

William Levitt, who has the dubious distinction of having built the largest city in America where non-white people were not permitted to live, has now come forth to offer the federal government some advice on how to end discrimination in housing. He begins by stating that he will continue to refuse to sell the houses he builds to Negroes.

MENTAL MIDGET

Amsterdam News - Editorial (September 14)

The spectacle of Governor Wallace and his national guard of Alabama virtually playing cops and robbers with President Kennedy and the army of the United States would be almost funny were it not for the fact that Wallace's little game seeks to undermine the very foundation on which the central government of this nation was built. The pity is that a man like Governor Wallace doesn't realize how really nice the President is being to him.. when he could, by one stroke of the pen chop Wallace down to size.

THE HUMAN RELATIONS BEAT (September 25)

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Sherwood Ross, Chicago Urban League

It would have been unthinkable for Hemingway to characterize an entire group - as did some GI's in Korea - as "Gooks". For him, men were men. They either had it or they didn't. Looking at our suburbs, you wish there were other Hemingways with courage to judge others as individuals. Our suburbs have often isolated themselves by age, occupation, income, ethnic extraction or religion. In some it is as hard to find a man over 50 as to find a Negro. Suburbanites' efforts to keep out Negroes typifies their manner of judging people as a class. Did any of them, like Hemingway, ever stop to judge Negroes as human beings?

WHITES SHOULD ENVY NEGROES, SAYS PSYCHOLOGIST

Jet (September 26)

Negro demonstrators should be the envy of every white person according to Dr. Benjamin Spock, renowned white expert on child development. "..a wonderful thing to find a cause and an effective way of advancing it.. This is where mankind is at its very best, working hard for a deeply important reason", said Dr. Spock.

NEGRO WOMEN'S ATTITUDES DIFFER, STUDY SHOWS - Amsterdam News (9/28)

SURVEY SAYS NEGRO WOMEN MORE MILITANT AND BOYCOTT CONSCIOUS THAN MEN

Chicago Daily Defender (October 5)

RESEARCH STUDY SAYS SELECTIVE BUYING AIDS CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS

New York Courier (October 12)

Selective buying and boycotts of products of firms practicing discrimination is a formidable weapon in the Negro fight for fair em-

ployment. 89% of the Negroes interviewed by the Center for Research in Marketing said they would support a national boycott if their leaders called one. Most Negroes would return to boycotted products or stores after the situation had been righted, but some never would. Negro women, now moving into more professional and skilled jobs, are even more determined to achieve equal rights and better living conditions than are Negro men, and will support a boycott more willingly to obtain their goals. More and more Negro women work than do white women, while the number of working white women has declined. Negro women are more brand conscious - they want full value for the money they have earned.

MORATORIUM ON PROTESTS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 1)

Publisher David Lawrence is playing the role of self-appointed moderator in the racial crisis. He is urging a moratorium on protests. He assumes that irreconcilable conflict becomes reconcilable in time. No issue of consequence has ever been solved by time. Mr. Lawrence has relentlessly advocated segregation, without regard to facts and logic of the social sweep that has warranted recent judicial changes. There can be no moratorium on justice and human rights. If there is to be a moratorium, let it be on segregation and discrimination.

ELIJAH MUHAMMUD CAUTIONS ON USE OF NON-VIOLENCE

New York Courier (October 5)

Non-violence is not acceptable because it plays right into the white man's "trigger finger", said Muslim leader Elijah Muhammud to a Philadelphia audience. "I am not inciting anyone to riot or pick up arms - we move according to the will of Allah", he said. Then he cited two sources for the law of self-defense: the Holy Quran - "Fight those who fight with you"; and the law of God given to Moses - "An eye for an eye...."

R&R Rd.



*California* case, the Court put on the shelf for conjectural future agricultural use, which would probably enure more to the benefit of absentee non-Indian lessees rather than the relatively few, 2,000, Indians on the reservation, enough water for the domestic uses of 1½ million people in the burgeoning population centers of the Southwest.

So, my point is that I do not think that is a wise allocation of water, and S. 1275 would avoid such unfortunate results by freeing the longstanding principles of western water law to work as they have for the benefit of the people over the years.

The second point of S. 1275, the consumptive use preference provision, is, of course, right on the nose of the legal issue I took up with the Interior and Justice Departments and on which they refused to tell their position concerning the present status of the law. We need S. 1275 to settle that point.

The third point of S. 1275, the requirement that the Federal Government comply with State regulation when asserting water rights under proprietary principles as distinguished from the sovereign power of eminent domain, is also a current and real issue. The Justice Department has recently announced its intention to appeal the lower court decision, I earlier referred to, which had denied the central supremists' claim of the right to take water without either complying with the State regulation or paying damages to the others it harms in doing so. That is the notorious *Fallbrook* litigation, and we need S. 1275 to avoid such claims by the Department of Justice.

Finally, the fourth point of S. 1275 is hardly academic either. On April 15, 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down another decision granting to the executive branch a broad power to do that which S. 1275 would prohibit; namely, the seizure of water without first instituting court proceedings to determine fair compensation for those who will be harmed by the seizure.

In so doing, the High Court overruled western water lawyers, a western Federal district judge, and a three-judge panel of our western Federal 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. That is the well-known case of *Dugan* v. *Rank*, formerly known as *Rank* v. *Krug*. S. 1275 would avoid such a result in the future.

So, the situation is clear. There are real and present problems in the field of western water rights.

Water planning, such as is going on all the time and as would be implemented under the terms of other pending legislation, S. 1111, the water resources planning bill, is best done in full awareness of who has what and who can do what with regard to available water. Testimony at our irrigation subcommittee's recent hearings on the water planning legislation was, to a great extent, to the effect that S. 1275 should be enacted simultaneously with the planning bill, S. 1111. Harmonious and sound water planning requires sound water rights.

Also, the implementation of planning by the construction of projects requires sound water rights. The West cannot afford the luxury of disputes either before, during, or after the construction of our dams, conveyance facilities, and service works. Objections to proposals would often disappear if those who would be affected know where they stand with respect to water rights. We could proceed with the job sooner and run it more smoothly after it is finished. S. 1275 would remove many possible doubts which might otherwise exist concerning the far-reaching proposals which we can anticipate will continue to be the rule in the future of water resource development. Enactment of our bill would actually help Federal as well as State and local projects—by clarifying a now too confused situation concerning Federal authority under Federal projects.

Just as the problems I have discussed are clear, so is the solution. It is enactment of S. 1275.

And, as the solution is clear, so are the means necessary to implement it. It is broad grassroots support from organizations like yours.

Only with such support can we overcome administration indifference, and maybe even hostility, which, unfortunately, appears to exist. The westerners, in particular, and all those everywhere interested in good water resource development and good government must make their views known so as to impress upon President Kennedy, Attorney General Kennedy, Secretary Udall, and the rest of the President's advisers on this legislation, that this is an important matter and that it should be treated in the manner you and I, and others familiar with water development, know it must be treated—by enactment of S. 1275.

I am truly convinced that this time we are securing the necessary support to result in enactment of this vital legislation. Many important groups have already this year passed resolutions endorsing S. 1275, either specifically or by virtue of the scope of their stated position. Many good people have been working on this, including your own Nevada director and association first vice president, Hugh Shamberger.

We already have resolutions of support from the American Bar Association, the National Association of Counties, the National Association of Attorneys General, the Western Association of Attorneys General, and various State and local governments and associations of which I am aware. There may well be some national organizations which have expressed their support and which I do not personally know of at this time—the resolutions are coming in thick and fast from all around.

You probably noticed that I did not mention the National Reclamation Association. This is because you have not yet passed a resolution since introduction of S. 1275, though you did pass one on the subject of water rights last year.

I hope that during this convention you will adopt a clear-cut resolution putting the full, unqualified support of this important group behind S. 1275.

As I said, the course necessary to help the cause of water resource development and good government is clear. Other groups are doing their part to help. I hope the Kennedy administration will not stand in the way. I hope you will lend your voices to the cause.

Thank you very much.

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, yesterday the Social Committee of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a very broad declaration on racial prejudice which is of great interest to the people of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that the declaration may be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the declaration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECLARATION BY U.N. ON RACIAL PREJUDICE

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Charter of the United Nations is based on the principles of the dignity and equality of all human beings and seeks, among other basic objectives, to achieve international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction, as to race, sex, language or religion,

Considering that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set out in the declaration, without distinction of any kind, in particular race, color or national origin,

Considering that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims further that all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection against any discrimination and against any incitement to such dscrimination,

Considering that the United Nations has condemned colonialism, and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith, and that the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples proclaims in particular the necessity of bringing it to a speedy and unconditional end,

Considering that any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and that there is no justification for racial discrimination either in theory or in practice,

Taking into account the other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the international instruments adopted by the specialized agencies, especially the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in the field of discrimination,

Taking into account the fact that, although international action and efforts made in a number of countries have made it possible to achieve progress in that field, discrimination based on race, color, or ethnic origin in certain areas of the world nonetheless continues to give cause for serious concern,

Alarmed by the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas of the world, some of which are imposed by certain governments by means of legislative, administrative, or other measures, in the form inter alia, of apartheid, segregation and separation, as well as by the promotion and dissemination of doctrines of racial superiority and expansionism in certain areas,

Convinced that all forms of racial discrimination, and still more so governmental policies based on the prejudice of racial superiority or on racial hatred, besides constituting a violation of fundamental human rights, tend to jeopardize friendly relations among peoples, cooperation between nations and international peace and security,

Convinced also that racial discrimination harms not only those who are its objects but also those who practice it,

Convinced further that the building of a world society free from all forms of racial segregation and discrimination, factors which create hatred and division among men, is one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations,

Solemnly affirms the necessity of speedily eliminating racial discrimination throughout the world and in all its forms and manifestations and of securing understanding of and respect for the dignity of the human person,

Solemnly affirms the necessity of adopting national and international measures to that end, including teaching, education and information, in order to secure the universal and effective recognition and observance of the principles set forth below, and

Proclaims this declaration:

ARTICLE 1

Discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, color or ethnic origin is an offense to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of the human rights and funda-

mental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples.

ARTICLE 2

1. No state, institution, group or individual shall make any discrimination whatsoever in matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the treatment of persons, groups of persons or institutions on the grounds of race, color or ethnic origin.

2. No state shall encourage, advocate, or lend its support, through police action or otherwise, to any discrimination based on race, color or ethnic origin by any group, institution, or individual.

3. Special concrete measures shall be taken in appropriate circumstances in order to secure adequate development or protection of individuals belonging to certain racial groups with the object of insuring the full enjoyment by such individuals of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These measures shall in no circumstance have as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups.

ARTICLE 3

1. Particular efforts shall be made to prevent discrimination based on race, color or ethnic origin, especially in the fields of civil rights, access to citizenship, education, religion, employment, occupation and housing.

2. Everyone shall have equal access to any place or facility intended for use by the general public, without distinction as to race, color or ethnic origin.

ARTICLE 4

All states shall take effective measures to revise governmental and other public policies and to rescind laws and regulations which have the effect of creating and perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it still exists. They should pass legislation for prohibiting such discrimination and should take all appropriate measures to combat those prejudices which lead to racial discrimination.

ARTICLE 5

An end shall be put without delay to governmental and other public policies of racial segregation and especially policies of apartheid as well as all forms of racial discrimination and separation resulting from such policies.

ARTICLE 6

No discrimintaion by reason of race, color, or ethnic origin shall be admitted in the enjoyment by any person of political and citizenship rights in his country, in particular the right to participate in elections through universal and equal suffrage and to take part in the government. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

ARTICLE 7

1. Everyone has the right to equality before the law and to equal justice under the law. Everyone, without distinction as to race, color, or ethnic origin, has the right to security of person and protection by the state against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials, or by individual, group, or institution.

2. Everyone shall have the right to an effective protection and remedy against any discrimination he may suffer on the ground of race, color or ethnic origin with respect to his fundamental rights and freedoms through independent national tribunals competent to deal with such matters.

ARTICLE 8

All effective steps shall be taken immediately in the fields of teaching, education, and information, with a view to eliminating racial discrimination and prejudice and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

ARTICLE 9

1. All propaganda and organizations based on ideas or theories of the superiority of one race or group of persons of one color or ethnic origin, with a view to justifying or promoting racial discrimination in any form, shall be severely condemned.

2. All incitement to, or acts of violence, whether by individuals or organizations, against any race or group of persons of another color or ethnic origin shall be considered an offense against society and punishable under law.

3. In order to put into effect the purposes and principles of this declaration, all states shall take immediate and positive measures including legislative and other measures to prosecute and or outlaw organizations which promote racial discrimination or incite to or use violence for the purpose of discrimination based on race, color or ethnic origin.

ARTICLE 10

The United Nations, the specialized agencies, states and nongovernmental organizations shall do all in their power to promote energetic action which, by combining legal and other practical measures, will make possible the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. They shall, in particular, study the causes of such discrimination with a view to recommending appropriate and effective measures to combat and eliminate it.

ARTICLE 11

Every state shall promote respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and shall fully and faithfully observe the provisions of the present declaration, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the declaration was adopted by a vote of 89 to 0, with 17 abstentions. One of the countries which abstained was the United States. The reason for the U.S. abstention was a provision in the declaration which may possibly present problems under the Constitution because it called upon the member states to pass legislation that would "outlaw" organizations which may be advocating racial discrimination or segregation. This presents a question for us under the Constitution of the United States and the right of free speech under the first amendment.

I have little doubt that we can deal with this issue when an opportunity comes to do so again in the General Assembly. I hope very much that, by making the necessary reservations as to the constitutional protections of the United States, or by other appropriate means which can be presented by our representative at the U.N., Gov. Adlai Stevenson, the United States will find it possible to join in this declaration. It is important that we do so.

First, the U.N. declaration affirms the basic human values of the charter.

Second—and very importantly—it lines up the whole world in a declaration against discrimination and segregation which is international in scope and demonstrates to the whole world that not only does the United States suffer from manifestations of this character, which affect particularly American Negroes, but that other nations have similar problems, and that the world is cognizant of them, and is now about to take a role in helping individual nations meet the problems.

I am particularly impressed with two of the declarations in this master declaration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. The declarations are, first:

Convinced also that racial discrimination harms not only those who are its objects but those who practice it,

Another declaration is:

Convinced further that the building of a world society free from all forms of racial segregation and discrimination, factors which create hatred and division among men, is one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations,

I think all mankind will applaud this declaration and its quality. I would feel deeply disappointed if the United States did not find a way to join in it, as I am confident it represents the overwhelming opinion of the people of this country, both as respects manifestations of segregation and discrimination in the United States and as respects our feeling that such discrimination and segregation should be eliminated, wherever else it may be, notably in connection with the policy of apartheid in the Union of South Africa, which is unjust for so many millions of persons there, and which endangers the peace and security of that great continent.

I am confident this can be done by appropriate reservation, in view of the legal problems which it presents to our delegation at the U.N., but I rise today to call attention to the importance of the declaration and to emphasize the fact that it is not only meaningful to point out that there is a great problem in the world and that segregation and discrimination on an international scale are one of the great problems of mankind, but that the United Nations is now trying to take a hand in an effort to solve them. This is to the good.

It represents my ardent desire—and I think it represents the desire on the part of the overwhelming majority of the American people; certainly the people in my State—that the United States should not refrain from being a party to the declaration, but that it should join in it, as can be done by appropriate reservation, at the time the vote is cast, to save itself from any implication that the constitutional mandate is being compromised.

That could not be done, anyway, under our law. The Constitution cannot be set aside by a treaty or declaration. In this case, the declaration is not a treaty. But I think we should make the necessary

reservations and not fail to aline ourselves with a movement of such great importance to mankind and to the conscience of our country.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the New York Times on this subject may be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.N. UNIT ADOPTS APPEAL TO ERASE RACE PREJUDICE—UNITED STATES AND 16 OTHERS ABSTAIN, FEARING CURB ON FREEDOMS—AMENDMENT SOUGHT

(By David Anderson)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., October 28.—A declaration against all forms of racial discrimination was adopted by the General Assembly's Social Committee here today. The vote was 89 to 0, with 17 abstentions.

The countries that withheld endorsement of the motion—Western Europeans, the British Commonwealth, and the United States—explained that they did so because the declaration threatened certain freedoms in its desire to stamp out race bias. In particular they opposed a provision that calls on all nations to outlaw organizations that "promote" racial discrimination.

"The purposes and principles of the declaration have our whoehearted support, as we have made clear time and time again," said Mrs. Jane Warner Dick of the United States. However, she continued, wording in the text upset a carefully worked out compromise by Asian, African, and Latin American delegations.

INCITEMENT IS FEARED

"Our legal and constitutional system has maintained a distinction between the mere expression of opinion and the voicing of statements likely to lead to crime or violence," she added.

A dozen speakers echoed this belief that the declaration trespassed on their countries' constitutional provisions.

While the size of the vote for the declaration made its adoption by the General Assembly a certainty, a move will be made to amend the one passage that the United States and the others cannot accept. The purpose would be to obtain unanimous approval.

Mrs. Dick said the United States was "confident that some basis can be found that will make it possible for this declaration to receive the overwhelming support it deserves." H. P. L. Attlee of Britain said it was still possible to improve the text at a later stage.

The Soviet bloc is expected to fight any amendment and a majority of member states may be content to let well enough alone. As one African delegate observed: "Free speech can go too far."

The declaration covers every aspect of racial discrimination that delegates from 111 nations could conceive possible. Its articles open with condemnation of any offense to human dignity and move one to outline what a state may not do, such as "encourage, advocate, or lend its support, through police action or otherwise, to any discrimination."

Civil rights, religion, jobs, and housing would be protected from bias of any kind. The policies, laws, and regulations of a country would be open to scrutiny if a nation abided by the declaration. Special reference is made to apartheid, as in South Africa, as something to be eliminated.

Guarantees of racial freedom in matters of civil service employment, the holding of public office, and voting were written into the declaration, as were such areas as teaching, education, and public information. A need for independent courts to hear racial cases is mentioned, along with the right to absolute equality before the law.

PROPAGANDA AIMS BARRED

The most controversial passages of the document deal with instruments or groups for propaganda and incitement of racial discrimination.

In conclusion, all member states and the United Nations itself are called upon to promote energetic action against racial intolerance and to foster respect for human rights, particularly as set forth in the declaration.

Much trouble was experienced in drafting the declaration. Debate on its provisions dragged on over 25 meetings, in the course of which 81 amendments or revisions were discussed. The dominant wish of the delegates was to strengthen a provisional text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights.

This came as no surprise since the Commission's approach was considered to be one reflecting its composition: of 21 member nations, only one, Liberia, was African and three—Afghanistan, India, and the Philippines—Asian.

Early in debate fear was expressed by the United States and Western European countries that the drive to abolish racial bias might get out of hand.

U.S. RELUCTANCE SHOWN

For example, it was felt that other freedoms, those of association and expression, were endangered. The question came to a focus in the hotly contested article 9, dealing with measures a government is expected to take against discrimination.

The United States reluctantly agreed to the outlawing of organizations that incite to or use violence for the purpose of racial discrimination. But then trouble developed.

Byelorussia introduced an amendment whereby groups merely promoting bias would likewise be outlawed and this was inacceptable to a number of delegations, including the United States.

It was to rearm this position that the United States abstained today and will attempt to have the text restored when it comes before the Full Assembly for final action.

Western delegates have been disturbed by other aspects of the debate. It was argued that confusion had arisen between a declaration and a convention.

A declaration should concern itself with general principles and moral precepts to guide the conduct and behavior of nations, it was reasoned. A convention, due to be drafted next year, is to detail specific legal objections and impose sanctions. Yet the present declaration includes such detail.

REPRESSIVE IDEAS FOUGHT

The search for strong language by the Africans and Asians opened the way for the Communist bloc to inject concepts that were discarded only after long wrangling sessions. Among these were passages terming racial discrimination a threat to peace, neo-Facist, and punishable under criminal law.

The United States led in the fight against every approach of this kind. "We do not believe it is necessary to restrict freedom for the expression of ideas, even ideas we loathe, in order to overcome discrimination," Mrs. Dick told the committee.

Adlai E. Stevenson, Chief U.S. Delegate, virtually assured the committee at the start of the debate that this country would support the declaration.

"We would not risk leaving the impression that we place anything but the highest priority on the fight against discrimination everywhere," he said.

Yet it now appears that the declaration, as it stands, would violate the U.S. Constitution.

Dr. Bonifacio de Miranda of Portugal noted that he had supported the declaration although abstaining in earlier voting. The reason, he explained, lay in Portugal's interest in abolishing discrimination in whatever form.

"We are pioneers in antiracism, the original multiracial society," he said.

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## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, last Thursday the Senate devoted its session to paying tributes to one whom I consider one of its all-time great Senators, Estes Kefauver, and I was proud to be among those who spoke. The tributes that poured forth from our colleagues were eloquent testimony not only to the esteem and admiration in which Estes was held but demonstrated the wide range of his activities, invariably in behalf of the public interest and for a better world.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from the September and October issues respectively of the publication, Freedom & Union, the first of which is entitled "Senator Estes Kefauver: Trail Blazer of Atlantic Union, 1903–1963"; and the second, "How Kefauver Submitted First Atlantic Convention Bill," as well as an article from the former issue by Edward J. Meeman, and an editorial from the same issue by Elmo Roper entitled "Kefauver, the Irreplaceable Man," be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, and that these be added to my tribute in the memorial volume which will contain the eulogies.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Freedom & Union, September 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER: TRAILBLAZER OF ATLANTIC UNION, 1903–63

"The answer of the State Department to every proposal for peace, Mr. President, is that it needs time to consider the proposal. My heaven, Mr. President * * * we need to utilize the brief time that we have * * * to quit drifting and start moving. The State Department evidently does not realize that we cannot kill time; it is time which kills us. And that was never more true than it is at this very moment."

POIGNANT TIMELY REMINDER

Thus spoke Senator Estes Kefauver in his speech, "Atlantic Union: The Way to Peace—Reply to the State Department," in answer to its opposition to the Atlantic Union resolution he had introduced July 28, 1949. He spoke on the Senate floor March 13, 1950—3 months before communism suddenly launched its attack on South Korea.

All that speech repays rereading now, but the paragraph quoted speaks most eloquently just today to all his generation, and most movingly to us Atlantic Unionists who know how priceless was his pioneering for Federation of the Free. No one in the prime of life can be reminded too often or too poignantly that, however much we act as though we had time to kill, all the while time is killing us. Estes speaks to us, and to all, with new authority on this subject now. He did not kill time, he crowded great good into his years, and wisely did he do so, for now time has killed him, when only 60, at the peak of his powers.

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# LIBERATOR

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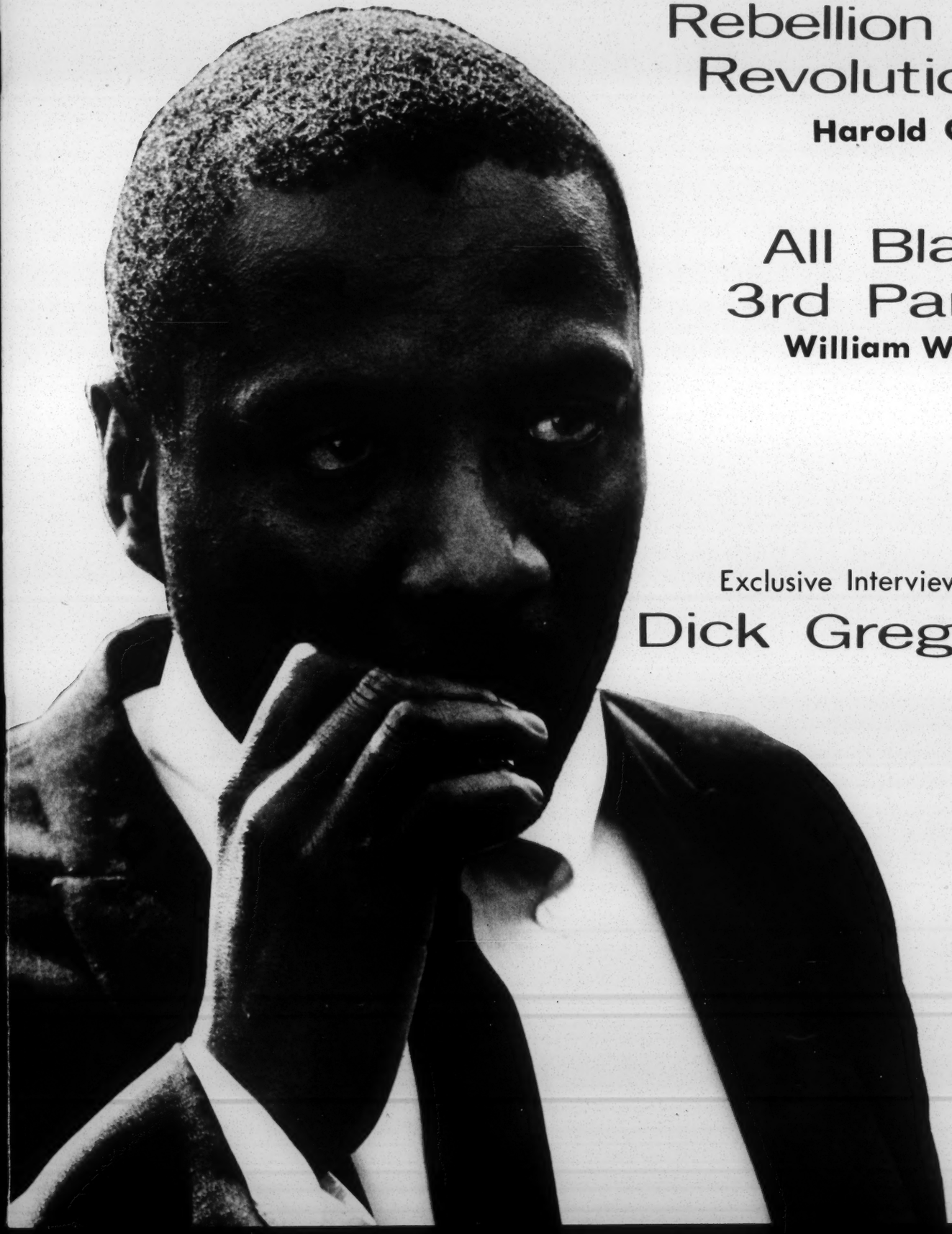

## Rebellion or Revolution?
**Harold Cruse**

## All Black 3rd Party
**William Worthy**

Exclusive Interview With
## Dick Gregory

# LIBERATOR

Vol. III, No. 10 October 1963

LIBERATOR is the voice of the Afro-American protest movement in the United States and the liberation movement of Africa.

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Cover Photo: Wide World Photo

EDITORIAL

## Dream and Reality

On the morning of Sunday, September 15, a bomb exploded in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. Cynthia Wesley, 14, Denise McNair, 11, Carol Robertson, 14, and Addie Mae Collins, 14, all students at the Church Sunday School, were killed by the explosion. Fifteen others were injured. Later that day Johnny Robinson, 16, was fatally shot in the back by a Birmingham policeman, and Virgil Wade, 13, was killed by two white youths.

These brutal murders of defenseless young Afro-Americans horribly point up the reality of the American scene in contrast to the dream which Rev. Martin Luther King recently revealed on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. These Birmingham outrages were not an isolated exception; they were a typical and inevitable result of the present national policy—the result of hundreds of unprosecuted bombings, burnings, personal attacks and violations of civil rights perpetrated against Afro-Americans in increasing number and intensity in the face of almost complete inaction on the part of both State and Federal law enforcement agencies. The finger of guilt for these murders points in a wide arc.

The finger of guilt points to the actual perpetrators of the crimes. They must be apprehended and permanently removed from society. As we go to press, there have not even been any arrests for the Church massacre. We fear that, even if the guilty parties should - contrary to precedent - be arrested, they will merely be treated to an extended vacation in some state mental institution in accordance with the new sophisticated precedent of handling such cases. (We refer to the case of James Beckwith, indicted for the murder of Medgar Evers and to General Walker, leader of the armed resistance to Federal authority at the time of James Meredith's enrollment at Mississippi University.)

The finger of guilt points to Governor Wallace and other southern State officials who have used the prestige and power of their office to encourage and defend racial violence and oppression. They must be impeached and permanently removed from any position of political power or influence.

The finger of guilt points to J. Edgar Hoover and his racist cohorts in the F.B.I. for their almost unblemished record of failure to apprehend perpetrators of racial violence - a record which is entirely consistent with racist attitudes and personnel policy within the Bureau. They should be removed from office for - at the very least - incompetency.

The finger of guilt points to Attorney General Robert Kennedy for failure to act against the above-named guilty parties who stand in open defiance of the laws of the land which he is sworn to uphold. He is also guilty for failure to take action on hundreds of complaints of violations of civil rights filed in his office.

The finger of guilt points to President Kennedy for failing to take action against the above-mentioned guilty parties and for failing to take all necessary action, including the use of Federal troops, to insure equal protection under the law to Afro-Americans.

The finger of guilt points to Rev. Martin Luther King for false leadership of the black people; for continuing to preach a policy of non-violence and love in spite of the daily toll of humiliation, blood and life which this policy has cost his people.

Finally and most tragically, the finger of guilt points to the Afro-American people themselves for failure to condemn and act against all of the above-mentioned guilty parties, and particularly for tolerating the misleadership of Rev. Martin Luther King. We must wake up to the fact that the issues of jobs, education, desegregation, and civil rights are only small parts of the basic problem of survival. If we do not organize for survival, we will not be here to enjoy the fruits of equality. We must demand that our leaders recognize the reality of our struggle and responsbily organize for physical self-defense and abandon all irresponsible reliance on the tragically demonstrated ineffectual powers of love and conscience.

- Daniel H. Watts

# Ghana Speaks Out

Determined Afro-Americans in Accra, Ghana, lead a march on the U.S. Embassy. (l. to r.) Julian Mayfield, Dr. W. Alpheus Hunton, Alice Windom, W.A. Jeanpierre, and Maya Angelou Make.

Afro-Americans and Africans staged a picket demonstration outside the American Embassy in Accra on August 28th to voice their support of the March on Washington which occurred at the same time (see page 4). A delegation from the demonstrators presented a petition to Embassy officials for President Kennedy.

Many of the demonstrators were in deep mourning for Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the internationally renowned Afro-American scholar and "Father of Pan-Africanism," who had died in Accra the previous night at the age of 96 (see page 12).

The leader of the delegation which presented the petition was Dr. W. Alpheus Hunton, author of "Decision in Africa" and Secretary of the Encyclopaedia Africana.

Many of the placards carried by the picketers criticized the U. S. positions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Dr. Robert Lee, a dentist who has lived in Ghana seven years, explained: "We see our American struggle as part and parcel of the African revolution."

Novelist Julian Mayfield said, "Black Americans have always fought for their freedom. The significance of today's struggle is that more freedom fighters in the United States know they are not alone. A growing number of young Afro-Americans are not afraid to use the term 'American imperialism.' They are fighting for equality, yes, but not to be identified with the Ugly Americans who have colonized Puerto Rico, who seek to starve revolutionary Cuba to death, and who are carrying on a secret war against the people of South Viet Nam."

One member of the group, Mrs. Maya Angelou Make, wife of Pan-Africanist Congress representative in Cairo, Mr. Vus Make, said that the demonstrators in Africa "are very much aware of the fact the Afro-American struggle is inextricably linked with the battle of Africans, Asians and Latin Americans against every form of imperialism and neo-colonialism."

Miss Barbara Masekala, a student from South Africa, said that photographs of dogs attacking Afro-Americans and white policemen clubbing black women had shocked her. "I thought they said America was the land of the free and the home of the brave. These photographs of Birmingham looked more like South Africa's Sharpeville to me."

### GHANAIAN STUDENTS BEATEN

Just 12 days after the above protest demonstration, three Ghanaian students were brutally beaten by a group of white men near Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The students initially called the Ghana Embassy who in turn called the State Department which was "reported planning to issue formal apologies" after having expressed its "regrets over the incident."

In marked contrast to the militancy of the demonstrators in Accra, the Ghana Embassy in New York does not plan to protest officially and considers the diplomatic part of the affair closed.

A section of the picket line which kept a vigil in front of U.S. Embassy in Accra in support of the March on Washington.

# The Pilgrimage

## a reappraisal of Aug. 28

**C.E. Wilson**

**Photos by Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor**

They came from every state in the union by plane, bus, train, on foot, to a shrine of American Freedom. On August 28, 1963 the world viewed a moving example of the Negro's faith in the American dream and Constitution. A faith so strong that it has outlasted 100 years of torture, sadism, violence and bitterness.

By now everybody's read and heard about what happened; most saw it all on television, probably seeing more of the proceedings than most of those who were there, but, let's review what happened. As soon as it became apparent that there was going to be a march, friends and foes alike predicted trouble and violence from the rabble that would descend on the Capitol. "Friends" of the Negroes were troubled by the thought of violence, the enemies were hopeful that there would be violence. It was hard to tell the difference between friend and enemy. As the day drew closer the fear of violence became the dominant theme - or was it the unconscious wish of America that there would be trouble so that the Negro drive for a fair break could be ignored and discredited. White Americans realized that if they had been treated so harshly and unfairly for 100 years they would have put on a show: "The Negroes might act just like us, you know - animals that we are."

The weatherman smiled and the day was beautiful. White Washington was annoyed and inconvenienced so they disappeared from the streets and left the City to the troops, the police and the pilgrims. Negro Washington applauded and wore smiles as broad as their faces. As busload after busload streamed through the Negro sections there were waves and applause from the people and the sight reminded one of the greetings received by liberating Allied armies of World War II. An aged white haired dark skinned woman waving and blowing kisses heralded the advance of this Gentle Army. White Washington was not present because it knew the meaning of this liberating horde. They came for Freedom and Jobs.

The police preparations were immense, for the law enforcement agencies were faced by a huge army heavily armed with picnic baskets, thermos jugs and unquenchable faith accompanied by their fierce allies—their children, mothers, grandmothers; their uniforms—white shirts, ties and their frightening battle hymns were We Shall Overcome and Freedom. This army had more chaplains, Negro and white Protestant, Catholic and Jew, than any other battle force ever amassed. the chaplains had instilled into this army's heart that the Lord was on their side. Washington's police force believed that the Lord was on

Cont. Next Page

# A Message from Lord Russell

Dear Friends,

I enclose a statement which I wrote for the occasion of the March on Washington. I hope that you will be able to make some use of it.

Yours sincerely,
Bertrand Russell

---

The treatment of the American Negro is an atrocity which has a history of three hundred years in what is now the United States of America. The number of Negroes who have died through torture, lonely murder and systematic maltreatment in this period without doubt is in excess of those killed by the Nazis in the course of their unparalleled barbarism in Europe. More than this has been done to the American Negro. He has suffered an experience of systematised terror in which he could, and indeed can today in many parts of the United States, be shot down at will. In the South he is subjected to what amounts to slave labour and a peonage system; in which he is told he "almost got out of debt" when it comes time to receive his pay. A casual glance can send him to the gas chamber. The Negro has had to experience depravity shown him not on one occasion but over many generations. I have heard Negro music, and if there need be an indictment of the experience of the Negro in the United States, it is contained in its lyrics and its mood.

A nation which can commit this crime is unhealthy. The crime against the Negro is the price paid not only for brutality. It is the cost of America's indifference. This indifference is the most serious indictment of all. I am convinced that the March on Washington is a turning point in the history of the United States. The Negro in the United States is on the move, and he will not stop. The meaning of this is that the values and the practices which have formed the United States over three hundred years are being fundamentally challenged. This March is the real emancipation proclamation, and if it is to be implemented and if the United States is to be saved from the brutality which has both subjected the Negro and which now threatens mankind with obliteration, the March on Washington must lead to an end to indifference, to suffering and mass murder; in short, a revolution in the thinking and acting of Americans.

I, for one, am with you heart and soul. "Let my people go" was no parochial cry on behalf of a small nation. It was a cry for an end to barbarism and cruelty and the voice was for all mankind. So it is with you today.

Bertrand Russell
26th August, 1963

LIBERATOR supporters at the March on Washington. Staff members shown are Carlos Russell (standing third from right), Clebert Ford (standing far right), Dan Watts (kneeling center) and Leroy McLucas (kneeling far right).

the side of the man with the most cannon so they came well armed just in case the good humored, smiling, middle-class oriented group remembered what indignities they had suffered. A quarter of a million showed up; TV and newspapers could only find 200,000. To admit that 250 thousand showed up would be giving their protest more impetus (a smashing victory). (One speaker jubilantly declared, "I told them you would be here - they didn't believe me.") This was a predominantly Negro group. There was (charitably) about 15% white participation, whose presence and assistance was duly acknowledged and acclaimed. Let's not ask who's in the vanguard of the fight for the Negro (or rather America's rights) after this show. However, A. Philip Randolph said afterward, "But the Negro cannot win the fight alone no more than the Jew or labor leader could win his fight alone. We need allies." This gentle army came for Freedom and Jobs.

The pilgrims were most considerate; they didn't display the victims of the system - the winos - the dope peddlers - the pool sharks - the failures - the unemployed - the uneducated and the undereducated. America didn't have to face its victims or maybe the victims were cleaned up for their TV appearance. They just couldn't face a nationwide audience with the scars of the treatment they had received (America is squeamish that way!).

One group of victims did show, however, a tiny embattled group from Mississippi, whose very presence brought back memories of the survivors of the Belsen concentration camp at the end of World War II. As they marched along Constitution Avenue spontaneous cheers rose for those heroic champions of the right to live. Somehow they had escaped past the cotton barrier and were showing how much they loved America, the America as she ought to be. These gentle giants would go back to their free prisons and struggle for rights guaranteed by the laws of the land.

The multitude soon dispersed in very orderly fashion to the four corners of the nation. As they left this army stood straighter, walked taller and their countless supporters who followed the proceedings back home felt prouder. From Los Angeles to Long Island the Negro population paused in spontaneous pride at its accomplishment. They left their debris, picked up their wounded (sun stroke, fainting, car sickness, twisted ankles), picked up their empty picnic baskets and jugs and departed. They had come to appeal to the American conscience for Freedom and Jobs.

Some of the youthful were dismayed - they wanted the Freedom and Jobs. They had come to the commencement thinking it would be a demonstration or a march but contrary to newspaper accounts they were not there to provoke violence. That would have been as unthinkable as hollering and screaming in church. If violence had developed, local toughs might have precipitated the trouble because they were not intimidated by the solemn shrines of the nation's Capitol. By 11:30 A.M. even the roughest must have realized that this would be a different day. As the young militants boarded the buses they wondered what had happened to Freedom and Jobs.

## Results of Commencement Exercises

1. Negroes graduated with honors showing proper respect for the shrines. Negro morale was raised 1000%, for these lost citizens and their allies had done something no other group had done. White morale was down 1000% because whites wanted a demonstration of unreadiness to share in America.

Cont next page

2. If there was a hero it was John F. Kennedy, for he had endorsed the activity. Further, he had shown how to handle peaceful demonstrations by permitting constitutionally guaranteed rights to be exercised. These demonstrations are a safety valve, only if the valve is tampered with does there exist any threat to law and order, and the danger that more than concessions may have to be made to the demonstrators.

3. The class valedictorian eloquently spoke of the future and clearly enunciated what should be the dreams and hopes for the future of all Americans.

4. America was given a bit longer to pay off the debt but was served notice that the debt will have to be paid—to wit: Negroes gave America the rainbow sign. They want payment or the fire next time.

5. The title "Negro Revolution" may be eye catching and spur the sale of magazines and newspapers but this is not a Revolution; it's an American Reformation - change within the framework of the American community, utilizing established means and seeking ends which the society allegedly endorses for all its members.

6. Even to a cynic, this pilgrimage (or commencement exercise) was a profound expression of Negro faith in America and the American dream. This was the strongest feature and thereby hangs the question that history alone can answer: Is this faith of the Negro misplaced?

But what about the appeal to the nation's conscience for Freedom and Jobs? This statement assumes that this nation has a conscience; yet, no less a moralist than Pope Pius XII once said that modern man has lost the power to recognize sin (right from wrong). Does a nation that thinks in terms of the fast buck, misleading advertising and sloganeering have a conscience? Is it a sign of our conscience when internationally our slogans are anything we do is good, worthwhile and expedient and everything Communist Russia or China does by definition is wrong, sinful and evil?

If there were a conscience would it have been necessary to march? Would not that conscience have been moved by Emmett Till, Trumbull Park, the Little Rock Nine, Meredith at Mississippi, lines of unemployed, the children of Chicago's garbage littered South Side? The truth is - to this day the conscience of America still develops screaming idiots like the teen-agers of Folcroft, Pennsylvania (destroyed a Negro home two days after the march). What conscience - silent, frightened, afraid to choose right for fear of losing status or friends or MONEY.

Freedom - what's that? Black America knows and dreams of freedom because it lives under economic, cultural, political and social tyranny. To white America its symbol is the dollar sign, its meaning is just the absence of visible restraints. White America has been propagandized into believing that it is free and therefore cannot recognize the real chains it wears.

"Why, everyone is free in America except the niggers and when you think that they are better off than any other black people you can excuse our slight imperfection." To admit Negroes are not free is too overwhelming. It's like saying some of the things I got, I didn't get fair and square or "my folks cheated colored kids so I could get a good education." This none dare admit. How is any man free in a conformist society; in a hypocritical society, in a double dealing, false society, in an undemocratic manipulative society?

Jobs - James Reston on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, the day of the Pilgrimage, wrote: "The jobs part of it may prove to be tougher in the end than the freedom; for the Negro leaders are not only asking for equal opportunity but for preferential treatment on jobs." Tougher than freedom, mind you. Further quote from Mr. Reston: "In July there were 3,382,000 whites unemployed in this country and 939,000 Negroes. In other words, the Negro unemployed percentage was over double the white - 11.2% to 5.1 and in some cities, Chicago for example, the Negro unemployed were over 17%." Read the Nation - (5/11/63) - Robert Theobald's article "Abundance" predicts the future. "Unemployment rates must therefore be expected to rise in the sixties. The unemployment will be concentrated among the unskilled, the older worker and youngster entering the labor force. Minority groups will also be hard hit. No conceivable rate of economic growth will avoid this result." That's right, the problem is not getting better; it's getting worse, and there is no agreement within the Kennedy Administration or in Congress about what should be done. Training even in formal edu-

cation is in such chaos that schools will continue to turn out poorly prepared Negro youth for some time to come. Labor is most happy that everyone is talking about full employment first as a way to meet the Negroes' demand for employment. Guess why? Try hard, now.

An appeal to National Conscience for Freedom and Jobs. The slogan itself has a deeply rooted moral conviction which gives rise to the question how relevant is religion actually in American life? Fred Cook in the "Corrupt Society" has said: "There are those who argue that the racket society (this one) must remain invincible until man as an individual has a change of heart through religion. Yet we are today living in an age of what passes for religious revival. There are more churches, more converts, more pastors pleading for the moral life than ever before. The result is Billie Sol Estes, pillar of his own church. Perhaps religion demands an austerity of spirit that does not comport with an age of abundance."

James Reston, on the other hand, feels that if one-half of the persons who listened to their preachers and believed them on this business of racial equality took the time to write their representatives in Washington then the political balance or racial equality would be transformed.

Freedom and Jobs - Good slogan but the pilgrims came back from Washington emptyhanded. If you can't put anything in his hand, put it in his heart, raise his eyes and hopes if you can't raise his position. Because there is no Conscience - no Freedom - fewer Jobs.

A sobering reappraisal of the so-called March would lead one to a more balanced view of what happened and why. It was neither a complete triumph nor a complete bust. The future will help place the event in its proper perspective. Remember, this is no time for idle daydreaming but cold hard thinking, planning and watching.

Anybody for another bus ride about 1965? This time we'll go down to Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

LIBERATOR Advisory Board Members Ossie Davis (above) and James Baldwin (below) participated in the March. Davis was master of ceremonies for the pre-march program and called for a minute of silence in Honor of Dr. DuBois after announcing the news of his death in a moving speach to those assembled at the Washington Monument.

# Dick Gregory

## Speaks His Mind

Clebert Ford

(Ed. Note - On the day this article was written, Dick Gregory was in the House of Correction in Chicago, Illinois, having been arrested with his wife on disorderly conduct charges in connection with a CORE demonstration against the use of mobile classrooms in overcrowded school districts in the predominantly Negro south side of Chicago. CORE had charged that these "Willis Wagons," named after Chicago School Superintendent Benjamin Willis, perpetuated racial segregation. Gregory was arrested once, released without charges, and then rearrested when he returned to the scene of the demonstration. At the police station Gregory said, "I don't want any bail, I intend to stay here. As long as I have breath left in me I will continue to fight for freedom and first class citizenship for Negroes." Gregory remained in jail for approximately two weeks and was released in late August.)

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Chicago, Illinois: Dick Gregory is a man possessed. It is impossible to come away after talking with him with any other impression. Dedicated, sincere, determined, Gregory seems to have but one mission in life—the gaining of complete freedom for the black man in America. Our meeting was relatively brief yet quite informal. Having participated with Mr. Gregory on a local television program I had some idea of his personality, but I could not help being impressed further by his knowledgeable, candid responses.

It was late afternoon when I arrived at University Apartments, a modest inter-racial housing development in the Hyde Park section of south Chicago. Gregory ushered me into an extremely well furnished apartment that initially gave the appearance of a baggage checking center for a Railway Express Agency. Commenting on the luggage that was neatly "strewn" about the living room, Gregory said that this was the usual state of things recently what with his being on the road so often. "That's the way I always am," he said. I couldn't help but notice the many trophies, plaques, and citations that were displayed in the room. Playboy Magazine's "Owl" award, a plaque from the Better Boys Foundation, an NAACP citation, and other commendations from various civic, social and religious organizations. On the bookshelves that were tastefully placed around the walls I could see such titles as Baldwin's "The Fire Next Time," Lerone Bennett, Jr's "Before the Mayflower," and "The Ebony Cookbook."

Our conversation wandered over many areas, and yet as relaxed as Gregory was one could sense this man's truly profound involvement in the matter of the American Negro's quest for freedom. "The Negro made himself over from his head to his toes for the white man," he said, "he put on shoes, he put on clothes, he even grew a mustache to hide his thick upper lip, bleached his skin, processed his hair, got an education, and 'Charley' still laughed at him. That's why he's out there in the streets, man." When I asked him what he thought about the method of non-violence as a means of protest, Gregory said, "It's a beautiful thing, man. Non-violence is a matter of definition. What may be non-violent to a cat from up north is violent to the next cat. To the southern Negro who left town by the hundreds when a Negro was lynched in the 1920's marching down town for a demonstration nowadays is as violent as hell." Gregory said that the northern Negro would probably resort to other "means" of protest. Of the northern Negro, particularly the New York Negro, Gregory becomes quite concerned. Speaking in an intense whisper, his speech dotted with the colloquial "man," "cat," and "baby," he said, "Man, that cat lives two blocks from downtown where the man makes all the big decisions and he still don't know nothing. The Chicago Negro on the other hand is a real hustler." He continued, "In New York most Negroes live in one slum—Harlem. In Chicago the Negro is all over the city. He made the man take him everywhere—north, south, east,

Dick Gregory giving a piece of his mind to the Marchers on Washington before the formal program began.

west." At this moment Mrs. Gregory came in from shopping with their two lovely daughters, perhaps two and five years of age. Mrs. Gregory handed him the day's mail and after looking at several letters, Dick suddenly said, "Man, this is a hate letter." When asked how he was able to tell without opening the letter, he said, "I receive a whole lot of them in the course of a week, sometimes a thousand, baby, and I can tell." I asked him if he received any from Negroes. "Some of them are from Negroes," he answered, "but more than likely his boss was looking over his shoulder dictating it." Gregory also said that he sometimes gets mail from a white person who tries to disguise himself as a Negro. "But they always give themselves away by using the term 'you people' somewhere in the letter."

Our conversation then shifted to Gregory's recent engagement at New York's Apollo Theatre where this writer had heard that he used the term "nigger" in reference to Negroes throughout his act. "The white man had a guided missile in the word 'nigger.' I planned to destroy this weapon by exploding the use of the word," Gregory said. "A white man in California could call a Negro in New York on the telephone and almost destroy him by calling him a 'nigger.' I introduced it in my act by telling a story in which I am the first Negro to move into a particular white neighborhood. I tell the audience that I myself put on a white sheet, and throw rocks at my own windows shouting 'nigger! nigger! nigger!' —thus beating them at their own game. After this I began to use the term more often."

Returning to the revolution, Gregory said, "This thing is also a revolution of television. Television is on the streets, man. Looking at television we saw what we were missing—how much had been kept away from us. 'Charley' didn't know what he was doing when he let us have TV."

There were other topics of discussion that afternoon. We spoke of the Black Muslims of which Gregory reserved press comment. Of Rev. Martin Luther King he said, "Rev. King made history, baby, because the Negro man for the first time committed himself to the defense of his wife and children. Seeing television reports and newspaper pictures of Negro women and children being mistreated by southern white policemen in those peaceful demonstrations made the Negro man for the first time stand up and firmly state that he would physically defend his wife and family should they be faced with dogs, water hoses, or angry white cops." I mentioned James Meredith and Gregory immediately said, "History was made here too; for the first time the Negro on the corner could identify with the idea of going to college." Finally, the coming March on Washington, D.C.— "Yea, I'll be there. Greatest thing would be 20,000 cars and buses all going to D.C., baby."

During our brief meeting I was able to observe a somewhat different person than Dick Gregory, new "Negro" comedian, but Mr. Dick Gregory, a man who was quite seriously involved in a fight in which he was willing to give the ultimate. I could discern no ulterior motives, no publicity gimmicks or political aspirations. No, here was Dick Gregory, a black man who also happens to be an entertainer and happens to be particularly concerned with the treatment of all black people in these United States. And not any special group, emergent middle class or otherwise, but every black man and woman in America. Dick Gregory's understanding of the implications and ramifications of the so-called "problem" is something to wonder at. Gregory is a man of the people. His sympathy and identification with the "cat on the corner" should serve as an example for every Negro regardless of his economic, political or intellectual status. Fortunately, we may not all be "cats on the corner," but no one of us can be free until every "cat" on every corner in America is free. Thanks to the likes of Dick Gregory that time may be a lot sooner than some of us think.

# The New Afro-American Writer

**Rolland Snellings**

I recently wrote a poem, "Cry Freedom," which appeared in the May issue of LIBERATOR Magazine. Its importance lies not in aesthetic excellence, but in the fact that it brings to light a generation of militant young people previously "invisible" to contemporary American society: the new nationalists or "Africanists" as dubbed by certain "Negro" publications—because of ethnic identity with Africa, its peoples and cultures.

These young militants are typical of the educated nationalists who have led colonial peoples to nationhood since the Second World War. Prior to the emergence of the "Africanists," black nationalism was confined to the socially rejected, poorly educated members of the ghetto—the black working class. Much of this is apparent in the "Nation of Islam" movement of Elijah Muhammad which has currently held the spotlight for militancy and radicalism within the black community. This fact has long been the main argument of opponents of this philosophy. Judging from the present situation, they will certainly be forced to re-examine their criticism.

I contend that black nationalism has come of age at last. Here one will find no gravel-voiced demogogue haranguing the masses. Here one will find no fascistic buffoonery prancing the streets in multi-colored plumes and peacock feathers to grace the pages of such outstanding novels as "Invisible Man" by Ellison, and "Lawd Today" by Richard Wright. These young people are mainly a thoroughly educated, politically sophisticated group—destined to play an increasingly dominant role in Afro-American affairs.

* * * * *

Now, a slight outline of the development of this latest phenomenon. Its roots go back to the dynamic and controversial Garvey Movement of the early twentieth century. Many of the same slogans and attitudes of racial salvation and elevation of the African Image have come down to the "Africanists" of the present era. For example: "Buy Black" (emphasizing support of black business), "Africa for the Africans at Home and Abroad," "Up you mighty race, you can accomplish what you will," "A race without a past is a race without a future," etc.

Usually when these young, middle-classed people become socially "aware" or "race-conscious," they immediately join the usual civil rights action groups which receive national attention. While working within these organizations their growth and development continue. As they become increasingly militant, they seem to become more "race conscious," thereby conflicting with the white "liberal" leadership. Such questions as "Wouldn't it benefit black people to learn African history?" "Why don't we give courses in it?" are met with the cold "liberal" charge of "black chauvinism." Similar questions about the white "leadership" also merit a similar charge. Finally, these young people get "fed up" with slow courts, paternalism, and the dignity-crushing tactics of non-violence and decide to go it alone.

While sympathizing with the Muslims, many disagree with the religious doctrine and rigid discipline of the movement. They also note the emphasis upon "Arab culture" rather than black African culture. Suspended between Islam and the civil rights organizations, they stubbornly grope for a militant solution within the vacuum created by the two. Now, triumphantly, out of this vacuum the Afro-American freedom societies are emerging. Rejecting the cliche that "Negroes" are "citizens denied their rights," the "Africanists" boldly state that black people are a subject people colonialized within a European society instead of their own homeland. Hence the rise of nationalism which connects them with the masses of oppressed people all over the world. Operating upon these premises, they are upsetting the "responsible 'Negro' leadership" throughout the nation.

* * * * *

For some strange reason, the "name" Afro-American writers of the past and present have refused to consider nationalism as a possible solution to the American racial situation; and even go to extremes to insult all nationalists with the distorted imagery of psychopathic fanatics representing the nationalist idea. Why this out and out abuse; this derisive slander through creative prose? Why this stain upon an idea which has led to the freedom and nationhood of three-quarters of the world's population?

Only the outstanding writer, James Baldwin, has shown any understanding of the nationalistic philosophy as forwarded by the Muslims. In his famous essay, "The Fire Next Time," though he disagreed with Elijah Muhammad (while defending racist America with luke-warm arguments) he at least gave a fair portrayal of a section of nationalism.

Why does nationalism seem to disturb and frighten the white applauded "Negro intellectuals" and self-appointed "spokesmen of the race"? Could it be a basic misunderstanding of nationalism? Or could it be a lack of confidence, and self-hatred resulting from a deeply imbedded inferiority complex that twists and erodes the psyches of these remarkably talented individuals?

Whatever the answer may be, it is highly advisable that the "name" writers re-examine and re-evaluate their ideas concerning nationalism and take note of its spread among the black masses in this country. It is a sad thing to watch writers fall behind the pulse-beat of their time. A militant new generation has arisen. Truly Garvey's "cubs in the woods" have become majestic lions of the valleys and plains.

# Rebellion or Revolution?

Part One of Three Parts

**Harold Cruse**

For the first time since the 1930's Americans of more than ordinary social insight are openly discussing the possibility of social revolution in the U.S. We know that during the 1930's "revolution" implied the overthrow of capitalistic institutions—a real threat which the more enlightened wing of American bourgeois wealth successfully defeated by the implementation of the various New Deal policies. But unlike the 1930's, when it was reported that some of the idle rich were so fearful of revolution that they had their yachts readied in the harbor for a fast getaway just in case, the talk of "revolution" today has little to do with conflicts in labor-capital relations or the imminent collapse of the capitalist system. It has to do with the present state of American race relations which some people (hopefully or fearfully) describe as the "Negro revolution."

There is no need to mention the obvious—that the racial crisis reflects broad and profound discontent within the American Negro minority. However, when one goes so far as to say that this racial discontent contains the seeds of social revolution in America this immediately calls up a flock of other questions concerning the present outlook of the American state of mind which, when considered side by side with a possibility of a "Negro revolution", has a very sobering, if not disturbing, effect on such speculations. Without a doubt it must have the influence of such considerations which prompted President Kennedy to counsel, some time ago, a propos the racial question, that the "revolution" be a peaceful one.

Considering the social, historical and political background of 20th century revolutions thus far, the talk about "Negro revolution" also demands that all segments of the Negro movement in America be examined very closely. In doing so, we will note that none of the leadership corps of any segment, be it the NAACP-King-CORE-Students-Urban League-Muslims, etc., is anti-capitalist. The same can generally be said for the followers of these leadership factions. If the Negro movement, then, is "revolutionary," it must be revolutionary in a sense which is uniquely different from the characteristics and aims of all other revolutions of our century.

The speculations about the "Negro revolution" have also inspired the usual suspicions that the integration movement is Communist inspired. In answer to such charges one could again point to the very conservative and loyal pro-capitalist sentiments of Negro leadership. But still this would not explain very much about the "Negro revolution." We know very well that Communists and other Marxist factions, such as Trotskyites, Independent Socialists, etc., are very much in support of the Negro movement in one way or another. One has only to read the Marxist oriented press to see this. The truth is, however, that the Marxist factions are trailing very eagerly behind the Negro movement in search of issues for their programs. Marxists are no longer able, as they once were, to initiate any movements among Negroes. Moreover, what is not generally understood by those who raise the issue of "Communism" is that the integration movement, by its very nature, has rendered the Marxist movement superfluous and irrelevant since Marxists qua Marxists are not needed in the integration struggle. The character of the integration struggle cuts the ground from under Marxist parties since they cannot beat the NAACP or CORE at their own game nor can Marxist theories about revolution cope with a Negro movement that is pro-capitalist to the extent of demanding no more than an equitable share of the abundance of capitalist democracy. Yet, people express the feeling that there is a revolution in the air. There is a tenseness abounding as reports of racial strife become more and more a common occurrence. Instinctively we sense that America is preparing itself for great social changes of some kind and the idea of "revolution" is the first that comes to mind. But to conjure up the idea of "Negro revolution" under the present conditions in America also calls for a definition or redefinition of what one means when one says "revolution" or "revolutionary" because in highly industrialized America it is not possible to use such terms as freely as one could in describing social conditions in, let us say, Latin America and still make sense.

People who loosely use the phrase "Negro revolution" are unwittingly adding fuel to the flames of racial crisis which can lead to

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# DuBois, an African Prophet

**from The Ghanaian Times**

A whole race mourns the death of William Edward Burghardt DuBois—the millions of Africans scattered over the continents and islands of North and South America, and the many more millions on the continent of Africa to which he returned as an old and honored pilgrim to the shrine of his ancestors.

He chose to die in Ghana, where his greatest disciple, Kwame Nkrumah, accorded him the shelter and honor which a great teacher and prophet always merits and seldom receives.

He chose to die as a citizen of Ghana, among a people whom he loved and by whom he was beloved. But Dr. DuBois was not a sentimentalist to be carried away by emotions. He became a Ghanaian citizen to symbolize his return to Africa; to do honor to a country where Pan-Africanism is the highest form of patriotism; to record his solidarity with a society striving towards socialism.

W.E.B. DuBois was a humanist, a Pan-Africanist and a socialist. In Ghana, he saw the first dawn of the new day he wanted for the whole of Africa and for the whole of the human race.

He died knowing that the final battle for civil rights for all Afro-Americans was being joined in the land of his birth, the United States. He died knowing that the Charter of Addis Ababa had vindicated the labors of his lifetime to unite the African race.

The March on Washington and the Addis Ababa Charter are his memorials. Every milestone in the liberation of Africans all over the world will be engraved with the name of William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

A mighty tree has fallen. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the father of Pan-Africanism, is dead at the age of 96. The great Afro-American scholar has died at his home in Accra in the independent Africa he had done so much to help create.

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was many things: philosopher ...historian ... poet ...visionary. But, above all else, he was a warrior who dedicated the whole of his genius to the struggle for Truth and Justice.

Those two words, Truth and Justice, were not abstract terms to Dr. DuBois. He was never an ivory tower scholar with his head in the clouds.

Born a black man in the racialist American society, he grappled all his life with the affairs of humanity, bringing clarity where there was confusion, bringing courage where there was cowardice, bringing light where there was darkness and despair.

Dr. DuBois dreamed and wrote and fought for a free and independent Africa more than 60 years ago when Europeans took it for granted that our continent was their playground for capitalist exploitation.

At the turn of the century Dr. DuBois attended the first Pan-Africanist Congress ever held, and he was principally connected with each succeeding Pan-Africanist Congress, including the Fifth Congress in Manchester, England, in 1945.

This historic conference was attended by many of today's African heads of state, including our own illustrious President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who was appointed Secretary-General.

Dr. DuBois died when Afro-Americans and their African brothers and sisters were preparing a civil rights demonstration around the American Embassy in Accra, a demonstration to support the massive March on Washington taking place at this time.

In a tragic sense, this is especially fitting for a man who contributed tremendously to the struggle for the liberation of the black man in Africa and in the Americas.

He was a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest and most distinguished of the civil rights organizations in the United States.

But he was a man who never stopped growing; his vision looked over the horizon. He never wanted his people to be simply like white Americans. He fought for a revolutionary America which would be a progressive force throughout the world.

This world distinguished scholar was arrested as a foreign agent by the American Government in 1951 because he was the chairman of a peace organization. At the age of 83 he went to jail, still fighting for truth and justice.

But the outrage of the working peoples and intellectuals of the world forced the American courts to free him. He wanted to die in Africa and last year he became a citizen of independent Ghana.

We shed no tears for Dr. DuBois. How can we even properly mourn for him? For his entire life was a triumph without any parallel in history; his 96 years was a magnificent victory over reaction and unreason. He died a socialist in the socialist Africa which he had helped to create.

To Africans only his physical self is dead. His genius, his spirit and his work remain alive in all of us who were privileged to live in the same century with him.

CARTY

# An Afro-Cultural Center in L.A.

Frank Greenwood, kneeling far right, Chairman of the Afro-American Cultural Center Committe, and several members of the organization in front of a mobile display before starting a door to door canvass publicizing classes in Afro-American history.

Joining the swelling movement of black Americans seeking to advance their own cause, is the Afro-American Cultural Center Committee of Los Angeles, California.

The group was organized by Frank Greenwood, actor, director, and playwright, who saw the desperate need of the black artist to have a building with a stage and other facilities for the artist, writer, dancer, musician, etc. Talented black artists are frustrated and thwarted in their efforts to create honestly and truthfully when they use their own people as the theme and subject of their work. The white owned mass media of communication force the Afro-American artist to compromise his talents and abilities to please the white power structure.

Greenwood's battle was joined by school teachers, students, artists, businessmen, housewives, pullman porters, etc., who enlarged upon the idea to include the aspirations and needs of all Afro-Americans. They pointed out the crying need of the Afro-American to establish centers similar to those of the Jewish, Korean, Japanese and Polish people who use these centers to unify their people through the teaching of their own culture and history and gain pride and respect that can only come through self-knowledge. Now, the AACCC's objective is to build a center that can be used to give concerts, plays, art exhibits, etc., and also to have forums, classes in saleable skills, good grooming, Afro-American history, family budgeting, etc.

To reach its objective the group decided the best way to do so would be to ACT, not talk, to hurl itself into worthwhile cultural activities.

The group's first cultural project was a community-wide handicraft exhibit to show the creativity of the Afro-American in all walks of life. The exhibit was held outdoors at the Vernon Library on the east side, the heart of the Black Belt. The activity not only displayed the creativity of community members but helped focus attention on the Vernon Library which was in danger of being closed because of lack of use by the community. The library's future is now safe, however, and the committee feels that it played a small part in its salvation.

The next activity was New Songs, a showcasing of the song writers in the Afro-American community. The response was overwhelming. Dozens of song writers submitted songs and the general high quality was astounding. Many publishers and recording companies were invited but only a few came to the show. One songwriter, however, did obtain a contract with a song publisher, and many of the other songwriters were encouraged by the committee's efforts on their behalf.

Sharing his skills and abilities, a business owner and ace salesman of the committee volunteered to conduct free sales classes for community persons who are in this profession. Automation and growing unemployment have struck the Afro-American harder than any other group in the country. This class is not only valuable to the unemployed but to Afro-American business persons and merchants who are hard pressed to compete successfully with the white merchants who control the economic life of most Afro-American communities. The class teaches the best and latest techniques of salesmanship.

The group's most recent activity was the setting up of summer classes in Afro-American history for the children who up to now have had no opportunity to learn of their history and contributions to world and American culture. The public schools don't teach this. Our chil-

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# Thru Women's Eyes

**by Jeannette**

I walked into a shop the other day and a beautiful woman shyly (here my attention strayed) approached me. Strangely two things happened at once. I saw long rows of exotic female frocks encased in cellophane — at the same time, "May I help you"..."Just browsing." Realizing that my answer was cryptic, my attention swung back to her. Madam was dressed in a striking black printed design of handwoven cotton. It had a boat neck-line; the sleeves were elbow length; about ten inches from the shoulder was a flat panel that ended in neat smocking across the front of the dress. Of standard length, it was lovingly all-weather, strongly reminiscent of the "Empire Look." Her sandals of lattice-designed black morrocan leather, with slender heels of clear lucite, were a stunning complement to her dress. She was an exciting accessory to the shop. She showed me several garments and told that they were all hand-made by a designer who specialized in creating modes to enhance the natural image of the Afro-American.

My interest fired, I continued to browse and found a showcase with exotic Zulu bead belts; rope beads of porcupine quill, mahogany, shell, bamboo, rosewood, enamel and acorn designs. Naturally, I couldn't resist the chance of owning some daring circular earrings and pin of stripped rosewood. How chic I looked and what a compliment to my skin tones.

Mr. James Davis, the proprietor, is an energetic, ambitious, purposeful and enthusiastic ball of fire. Through his efforts the Ntu Stop shop was opened about six weeks ago at 63 East 125th Street. Garments made and displayed at the Ntu Stop (pronounced "en-too") are original designs and imports from Africa. These designs are intended to create a fashion trend to enhance the image of the black woman, and to encourage a cultural concept of self. In essence, Mr. Davis desires to outfit his women with traditional African designs generally handwoven and acceptable to Western dress. An imaginary conversation may go like this: "My, what a lovely creation you're wearing. Is it a Dior or Givenchy?" "No, darling, this is an Ntu. He's the most."

Creations are made of several materials: raw silk, homespun cottons, (Egypt and Sudan) mohairs and cashmires. As I listened I felt good to know that the opportunity had at last arisen where the African in exile could attempt to produce his own market for his wares. Yes, I made an appointment to be outfitted in a design made to flatter me. May I state at this time that creations found at the Ntu Stop are priced for someone on a budget. In Mr. Davis' words: "We made an effort here to give elegance to America's tenth man." I daresay this is the first retail store of its kind. I don't know of any shop where the particular customer's needs are so charitably handled.

I forgot to mention, while talking to the saleslady, the most delightful aroma engulfed the room. "What kind of perfume are you wearing?" "This is an Ethiopian perfume. Let me tell you about it. It is made from an ancient Ethiopian formula. The base of the perfume is oil from the civet cat. The civet cat is indigenous to Africa. It seems that the civet is made angry and then sweats out an oil. Through some process these oils are taken and used as the base for a perfume. Would you believe that these oils are very expensive and sell for $500 an ounce." A tinge of pride circled down my back. It is good to hear a proprietor speak fluently about his wares. Did you know that you could shop on 125th Street? As one who loves the unusual, make the Ntu Stop a must on your next shopping spree. Remember when you shop at Ntu you shop for you, too!

**Ntu Accessories...**

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CULTURAL CENTER cont.

dren learn about the greatness of such slaveholders as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson but know little or nothing about Crispus Attucks and Frederick Douglass. To get the classes started the committee hired a sound truck, equipped it with a display of children's books dealing with Afro-American history and canvassed the neighborhoods for nearly a whole day. The members knocked on doors, used the sound truck, distributed literature on the committee and classes, and urged parents to enroll their children in the free classes. Many did. Classes were taught by members of the committee and were so successful that the committee plans to repeat them in the fall and also to start classes for adults. The committee also plans in the fall to start a campaign to get the public schools to include the black man's history in the textbooks.

Paul Coates, of TV prominence, heard about the group's works and had the chairman of the committee, Frank Greenwood, and his wife Vera, appear on KTTV before a west coast audience. Letters and telephone calls poured in from all over the state and many new persons have sought to join the committee. Caucasians who sought membership were politely told that the movement is a "do it yourself" project.

The group has even greater enthusiasm because of its exemplary aims and positive achievements and is confident of achieving its objective. They have many projects planned for the fall and they will soon apply for their charter. Then they will begin their fund raising campaign to buy a lot upon which to start building. The committee wants every brick and nail to be touched only by black hands, so that our people can gain the pride and self-respect that can only come through self-help. Impossible? Not at all. Booker T. Washington showed it could be done. So did Mary McCleod Bethune, and so did the many, many others of Afro-American history. Yes, it can and will be done because the Afro-American people will do it.

HAROLD CRUSE cont.

more racial chaos instead of racial solutions because such people are not helping to explain exactly what the Negro is up against in his struggle to win racial equality in America. Winning racial equality in America could very well require revolutionary methods, and very probably will, but then we will have to understand why a revolution and how could the Negro possibly make one.

The why and the how are important considerations because the racial crisis does lay down an indirect challenge to the American capitalist status quo while the Negro leadership, at the very same time, seeks integration into the status quo with no professed desire to alter it. This creates for the Negro movement a highly contradictory situation which is also a dangerous one. It is dangerous because Americans, of all people in the world today, are the least amenable to, adaptable to, or desirous of any far-reaching changes in their social structures. It is also dangerous because the Negro leadership has been instrumental in creating a situation which has implications far beyond its limited range of program. Taken as a whole Negro leadership does not measure up to the demands of the racial crisis - a crisis which developed because the Negro movement has now transcended the moderate limits established by the leadership.

The Negro movement represents an indirect challenge to the capitalist status quo not because it is programmatically anti-capitalist, but because "full integration" of the Negro in all levels of American society is not possible within the present framework of the American system. If this sounds categorically absolute one can only say that the time has come for blunt appraisals of reality: The United States cannot and never will solve the race problem unless Americans change the economic, political, cultural and administrative social organization of this country in various sectors. Any super-optimism concerning the race question based on a

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# Letters To The Editor

Dear Editor:

"Won't You Reassure Me" is a great piece of writing and interpretation of solid thinking and analysis. The analysis of the liberal in the liberation movement is the big problem and the important question. If the liberation movement does not smoke out the opportunist elements in it at the very outset we will continue having more of "The American Way" and who needs that?

You mentioned James Baldwin's famous contention that all Negroes hate whites...this question I have argued about with many people and the reaction of most people (white or black) to what I feel is probably one of the most hopeful aspects of the relationship between black and white; and is a good barometer of the depth of the hypocrisy that marks our culture...In all relationships the most encompassing emotion toward another person (or persons) is predominantly LOVE or HATE. All the other feelings are lesser in quantity of feeling. BUT all feelings ebb and flow. We live in a society of exploitation and the white is the chief robber. He has the most and rules the whole society...if he doesn't hate (which could be argued, too) it is because he doesn't have to. He can concern himself with concealing his robbery (and he does) and part of that task is filling his subject with a great concern over the state of his emotional being...Take away the exploitation and BINGO, there is love replacing hate. The white man's hate is a much more complicated process and it would be much more difficult to treat him but Negro hate does not threaten the "best order" of what the white man "says" is the purpose of life.

At this very moment I am doing a lot of reading and research on the destruction of the Iowa Farmers Union by the National Farmers Union who collaborated with the "Right" and used Communists to redbait this powerful organization and its leadership. This organization was destroyed by its own parent organization—the National Farmers Union, who used the very same people they emasculated the Iowa Union for associating with. HERE IS A LEAF OUT OF MACHIAVELLI'S BOOK.

The liberation movement has the right as well as the responsibility to demand (above and beyond the call of duty to talk brotherhood) performance from its allies. The shameful past of many participants in the Negro struggle would not bear much scrutiny under the eagle eye of a conscientious advocate. It is insane to think that any man who lives off of a pattern of exploitation that works for him is going to voluntarily give the key away. The role of the U.S. left so far fits them for contributions of money—not brains or self-sacrifice, either. This is a matter of their record, not cynicism. If progress is to come the truth must be seen and told by its guardians. The time for "adventurism" is past. Let us fight for the future.

Again thanks for the fine presentation and documentation in the service of National and International understanding. You can feel very proud.

Viola Beeson
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Editor:

Enclosed you will find my check for a subscription to the LIBERATOR magazine. I particularly enjoyed your editorial, Peace At What Price, and the excellent article by my old friend, Dick Moore, Criticism Is Not Anti-Semitism. Please accept my best wishes for your success.

Sincerely yours,
Cyril Briggs

Gentlemen:

I am writing to tell you how much I enjoyed reading your magazine. Although I have read only one edition (June, 1963) of the LIBERATOR, I found it very interesting. I especially enjoyed the article entitled "My Unwilling Brother." The LIBERATOR is one of the few "black" magazines that has been straightforward and frank in dealing with the plight of the black man in America. You have not, as many others have, "bitten your tongue" or "pulled your punches" for fear of hurting the white man's feelings or saying something which he might not like. I think your magazine has the potential of becoming one of the leading and outspoken publications in the fight for full freedom for the black man in Africa and America.

Enclosed you will find a check in the amount of three dollars ($3), which I believe is the cost of a one-year subscription to your magazine. Please start my subscription with the July, 1963 edition of the LIBERATOR. Keep up the good work and good luck.

Yours sincerely,
Robert Fluellen
Philadelphia, Pa.

# An All Black Party

**William Worthy**

On August 28, 1963, during the March on Washington, the National Committee for a FREEDOM NOW PARTY distributed "The Declaration of Washington" to demonstrators.

A week earlier the domestic and foreign press had disclosed that the March would be the occasion for a call to form an all-black political party. The New York Times published a front-page story, and followed it up with an editorial, "Racism in Politics," criticizing the idea. Radio and television networks carried interviews with attorney Conrad J. Lynn, acting chairman of the Committee. On "Meet the Press" Roy Wilkins of the NAACP was asked for his opinion of such a party. Within a matter of days, tens of millions of people, here and abroad, learned that Afro-Americans were at long last striking out for truly independent political action.

For a long time, many black Americans have been concerned about the political blind alley that they are in. But after Birmingham, people everywhere began asking: "Where is our party? What are we doing in bed with "Bull" Connor (who is still the Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama)? Why haven't our leaders organized a party of our own? Even with the mass demonstrations we don't seem to be getting anywhere."

As late as the last part of the winter, realizing how strongly an all-Negro party would come under false and contrived attack, some of us thought that possibly a Freedom Now Party could be interracial. But as tensions grew, as the resentment of black citizens mounted over the failure of the Kennedys to protect Birmingham Negroes with federal troops, as white liberals began hailing the Birmingham settlement as a great victory, we came to realize that the masses of Afro-Americans would not join in an interracial movement that would be the political equivalent of CORE.

Then, the Establishment's alarmed reaction to the Party's announcement convinced us we were on the right track. One example: The Cleveland Plain Dealer, a conservative daily that ordinarily does not go in for yellow journalism, used the New York Times story on its front page and wrote an editorial entitled "This Is Not the Way." It resorted to the hoary device of quoting an "acceptable" Negro "leader" to discredit other Negroes with a new approach, in this case the local head of the NAACP. (Query to readers: What can be done about our so-called leaders who haven't yet learned to say "no comment" to whites who are transparently trying to use them? I suppose that every revolutionary movement in history has faced a similar problem, and I imagine that it has had to be dealt with eventually.)

Three days after the first of three Plain Dealer editorials, there was a front-page story on the departure of Cleveland marchers for Washington. One paragraph told of "several black-shirted" leaflet distributors from the new Freedom Now Party who had passed out literature to the marchers, but had not themselves boarded any of the buses for the trip. In just one short paragraph there were "several" lies -- two specific, one implied. There had actually been two distributors. One wore a dark green shirt; the other, a brown shirt. Both boarded one of the buses; I myself had dinner with them in Washington.

Then there was a second front-page smear in the Plain Dealer. The newspaper made use of files of Cleveland's Subversive Squad, to go into the personal histories of the two young men who had organized a local committee for a FREEDOM NOW PARTY. There was one political charge: an alleged admission by one to Sergeant John Ungvary of a past affiliation with the Labor Youth League. The other charges were arrests for disorderly conduct on civil rights picket lines and several criminal matters.

The officers of the National Committee met this first test head-on. In a letter to the Plain Dealer, Mr. Lynn took the position that the many petty crimes committed by Negroes are part of the pattern of revolt against an intolerable society. The new party is designed to be a constructive form of revolt, and it is just those men and women with backbone that are needed and wanted in the party. Above all, the white enemy would never be permitted to dictate the membership of the FREEDOM NOW PARTY. On that point and on other matters of principle not one inch would be conceded to the Right wing. The initial brochure said that "All blacks who wish to be free will be equal, and equally welcomed." That position will be strictly adhered to. There will be no Eastland Committee inside the FREEDOM NOW PARTY to screen membership applications in the interest of a respectable public "image." Someone once remarked that "the fear of appearances is the first symptom of impotence."

Only a party with no illusions about winning immediate and

Atty. Conrad J. Lynn, Acting Chairman of the National Committee for a Freedom Now Party.

sweeping electoral victories is likely to take a principled position when the heat is applied. While there are prospects of victories in specific councilmanic, legislative and even possibly congressional districts in 1964, the politically sophisticated leaders of this movement see the new party, initially, as an instrument for forging racial unity, as a vehicle for putting forth a set of integrated demands, and as a means of carrying on a vast educational program about what is happening in this country and what damage U.S. foreign policy is inflicting on Africa, Asia and Latin America. As "The Declaration of Washington" points out, the new party "will concentrate the voting power of black America in a single organization that can deliver knock-out punches to the enemies of equality." For instance, some of the most important of our enemies are not the loud-mouthed Dixiecrats, but U.S. business interests who are the perpetrators of neo-colonialism abroad and who virtually dictate the State Department line on The Congo, South Africa, Cuba, Southern Rhodesia and oil-rich Middle East sheikdoms.

As the fledgling political movement undertakes this explosive task, it is going to need all available moral support from Africa and other parts of the world. To predict wholesale and wild smears, to anticipate local and federal efforts at repression and suppression is merely to recognize the potential threat that the party represents to vested racist, economic and political interests. President Kennedy's margin of victory over Richard Nixon in 1960 was fewer than 200,000 votes. In 1964, if Negroes turn in substantial numbers to the new party and if the party decides to run a Negro for president for the first time in United States history, one result could be the defeat of the President for re-election and the end of the entire Kennedy dynasty. If Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is next in line for the Presidency, as is thought, and if, as Gore Vidal pointed out in Esquire magazine, he has a "dangerously authoritarian" personality, if he has far fewer scruples than even his brother and a vindictive streak in his makeup, a family defeat in 1964 will serve the future of this country. If "Bobby" realizes that Negro voters will punish him and the Administration for their derelictions in Birmingham, Oxford, Miss., and elsewhere, only the naive would expect him not to use the great powers of the Department of Justice to try to destroy the party and its leaders.

I regret to say that, with this prospect ahead, I personally would vote on just that ground alone to keep whites out of the party. There are other good practical and tactical reasons. But the sad truth is that of the thousands of whites whom I know, I can think of only a handful who would stand up to the bitter end when home, job, reputation, even freedom from imprisonment are imminently threatened. Negroes, however, have reached the point where they feel they have nothing to lose.

The new party leaders have already thrown down one gauntlet. On the morning after the March, Mr. Lynn led a delegation to the Department of Justice and staged a brief symbolic sit-in at the office of J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. It is a sign of the times, and an indication of Negroes' potential power, that within five minutes he ushered us into an inner office to defend his wretched record in upholding constitutional safeguards for Negroes. Five years ago we probably would have been arrested for disturbing his peace. In view of Mr. Hoover's long immunity from criticism, the demonstration was almost like sitting in on the Pope.

Many tough problems of policy, strategy and publicity lie ahead. They must be argued out in numerous local action and study committees across the country. Educational material must be made available on a regular basis to the study groups. A balance has to be struck between informed and well-planned action, a program of long-range study and a plan for sound building of a principled political movement. My own feeling is that, if this party should founder, the militancy of the past spring and summer could easily turn into despondency and apathy and that it might be many years before Afro-Americans could again be roused to action.

The leadership wishes to avoid bureaucratization and dictation from the top. It would welcome the formation by every LIBERATOR reader of a study and action group of six to ten persons meeting regularly in homes, maintaining contact with other such groups in the same community, federating to form local committees for a FREEDOM NOW PARTY, and working towards a founding congress of the new party. The National Committee can, for example, send everyone a national survey of the practical problems facing a new party that seeks to get on the ballot in different states. Other literature and buttons are also available.

The address of the National Committee is: Suite 207, 81 East 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10035; telephone: 212 MOnument 2-0618. Mrs. Pernella V. Wattley is corresponding secretary.

The end is in the beginning. The process itself is the actuality. If this movement starts off with sound principles, with a program adequate for the times, and with local and national leaders who will not cave in at the first offer of a pay-off or the first threat to bread and butter, it will end up with a record of very worthwhile accomplishments.

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HAROLD CRUSE cont.

lesser assessment or hope for a neo-liberalistic American revival is heartening but hardly realistic.

Is this the same thing as saying that in order to solve the racial crisis what is needed is a revolution? Again the question is: What do we mean by "revolution"? Social change in any society can be either "revolutionary" or "evolutionary" depending on what organizational methods are pursued and who directs the organizational methods. In the U.S. the capitalist system in all of its major and minor levels of economic administration is owned, controlled and directed by whites of various classes. Even white labor of the trade union type can be said to have a "stake" in white ownership of capital either by racial identification with the ownership class or membership in unions with a bureaucracy with a capitalist mentality to match its capital investments.

Racial discrimination growing out of the racist ideology of the dominant whites of the capital-labor alliance in America has traditionally excluded Negroes (both bourgeois and workingclass) from equal participation in either the industrial or trade union fields or administration in the capital-labor alliance. Hence, if the Negro movement is "revolutionary" or has revolutionary potential how could the Negro movement have the power, in and of itself, to enforce structural and administrative changes in this capital-labor combination in order to make room for the democratic participation of the Negro as an American equal? Essentially, this is what is implied in the word "integration" as projected by the Negro bourgeoisie or, at least, that portion of the "black bourgeoisie" that supports "integration." But since the "integration" program does not demand alterations in the structural forms of American society, and since the white capital-labor alliance does not desire such changes and would further cement their alliance to block such changes, and since the Negro movement must have such changes in order to achieve its aims - where does this leave the Negro movement? From this analysis - which admittedly is oversimplified for the purposes of illustration - we have to conclude that the Negro movement at this moment is not a revolutionary movement. It is not a revolutionary movement because it has no present means or program to alter the structural forms of American institutions. Hence, it is pure political romanticism, at this point, to call the Negro movement the "Negro revolution." It is more properly called the "Negro rebellion" against the American racial status quo.

But there is a great difference between "rebellion" and "revolution" - two conceptions which some people insist on confusing. This confusion is what led, for example, to the outcome of the situation in Monroe, North Carolina involving Robert Williams. The American Marxists of certain tendencies - and Marxists are incurable romantics - tried to make a "revolutionary" out of Robert Williams who was not a revolutionary but a rebel. The Monroe movement was but a small, local manifestation of the growing Negro rebellion which some Marxists and others mistook for the "revolution" in the making. One can say that the final outcome of the adventuristic happenings in Monroe was unavoidable due to the tense racial situation in America. Nevertheless, this does not excuse incorrect and superficial assessments to be applied to the Negro movement in whole or in part. A rebellion is not a revolutionary movement unless it changes the structural arrangements of the society or else is able to project programmatic ideas towards that end. Of the latter the Negro movement does not have, and in America neither arms, nor demonstrations, nor protest marches mean very much without such ideas.

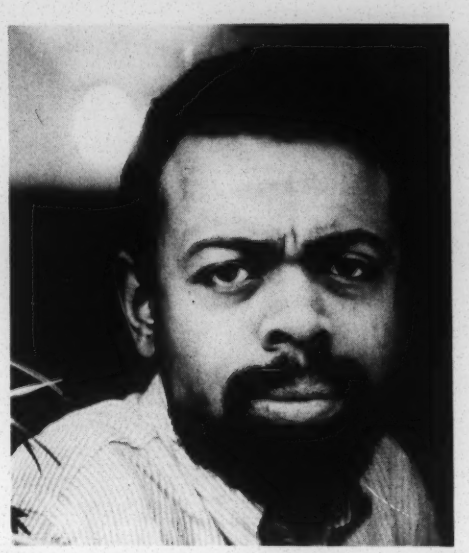
The question that follows is: If, indeed, a revolution is required to achieve Negro aspirations of whatever class stratification in America how is it possible to change the Negro movement from a rebellion

Cont. next page

into a revolutionary movement? But again this is predicated on whether or not social changes to come in America will be revolutionary or evolutionary. This has not been determined as yet. It is a dialectical question. However, prior to making any rash, or let us say, unscientific predictions, let us get a clearer conception of the American capitalistic status quo and the American Negroes' relationship to that status quo.

What all of us Americans, black and white, are facing today is a racial crisis which is, in part, the accumulated results of white liberal lying and dishonesty about race, caste and class in this country. On the other hand, it is due, in another way, to the superficial and intellectually empty racial propaganda projected over the years by Negro middleclass moderation policies on civil rights. The liberal New York Post which has for years been catering to the NAACP and later to Martin Luther King, Jr., was forced to admit, through Stan Opotowsky, one of its reporters, that the class of Negroes that revolted in Birmingham and transformed King's "orderly" protest movement into a race riot, had nothing to hope for, no benefits to anticipate from whatever integrated gains King's properly behaved passive protesters would achieve. The liberalism of the New York Post is very late admitting what many of us voiceless Negroes have been saying for years in criticism of white liberalism for catering to the aims and aspirations of the middleclass Negro. Belatedly the liberals have discovered a class of Negroes in Birmingham which Opotowsky described as "lost men." If these Birmingham disprivileged mavericks are "lost" then, verily, we are all lost - the majority of Negroes in America are lost because such Negroes cited by Opotowsky represent the majority. The majority of Negroes cannot be restrained or contained within the legalistic, gradualistic, passive-moderation approach any longer. Hence, the civil rights movement moved from NAACP protest to broad and general rebellion. It is a rebellion which cannot be put down; a rebellion which if not handled with the highest order of internal statesmanship will lead to racial and social chaos.

But Opotowsky came to the wrong conclusion about Birmingham's "lost men." While it is true that the integration movement offers the majority of Negroes very little, it is far from proving that the majority of Negroes are "lost," i.e., to social history and eternity. If we are that lost there is nothing left but to join the Muslims or some other like movement for "repatriation" or "separation." On the contrary, what the Negro rebellion is proving in its own, as yet, inconclusive manner is that the United States, the greatest and most advanced of the capitalist nations in the western combine, is not at all exempt or immune from the forces of social change that are sweeping the world today. Unhappily, this is a fact which American whites will find most difficult to comprehend. Americans think they are a very special and privileged people as they peer uncomprehendingly beyond their ocean beaches into a world wracked and seething with revolution, discontent and political turmoil. Americans have been lulled into a deluded fog of complacency by America's ability to maintain long-term stability. This expertly controlled stability is why there is so much perplexity, desperation, fear and resentment shown by whites all over the country as the Negro protest movement moves into open rebellion. These attitudes are but a reflection of the uncomfortable fact that America, at present, has no clear answers to the problems emerging out of the racial crisis. President Kennedy voiced this fact right after the Birmingham crisis when he said, "The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand." This is the bitter truth which the NAACP et al could not admit. For to admit there is no "legal remedy" for "full integration" means that the integrationist leadership is out on a limb.

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BOOK REVIEW

# Blues People

BLUES PEOPLE: Negro Music in America, by LeRoi Jones. Morrow, $5.00.

BLUES PEOPLE is, essentially, a history—viewed through the large end of the telescope—of the Negro in America as evidenced by his music; it is in many ways a fine book (humorous, at times, in that special way Thelonius Monk's music is), and should be read by people who care about literature, by people who care about "Negro Music," and by that select few who care about both.

Mr. Jones develops, quite logically, the point that Negro music began with the blues (the immediate predecessors of the blues, the work songs, he defines as Afro-American music), and that "Blues is the parent of all legitimate Jazz." This is a very crucial point, a pivotal one even, for the thesis of the book is that "the most expressive Negro music of any given period will be an exact reflection of what the Negro himself is." And that by a "musical and a socio-anthropological scrunity something about the essential nature of the Negro's existence in this country ought to be revealed..." as well as something about the nature of American society as a whole.

It is an interesting thesis. And beginning with the work songs of the Afro-American, Mr. Jones traces the journey of the blues from New Orleans, to Chicago, and finally to New York; the landmarks of the trek being the works of Bolden, Oliver, Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Armstrong, Ellington, Basie, Parker, Gillespie, Monk, Rollins, Coltrane, and finally Ornette Coleman. Along the way, Mr. Jones points out the dubious role the black bourgeoisie has played in the development of Negro music, as well as the efforts of the supermarket culture to dilute Negro music; the former he condemns for their negative attitude towards Negro music, and their attempts to deny anything reminding them of their Negroness; the latter ("whose only strength lies in its ability to destroy itself and the rest of the world..."), he indicts for their unending battle to reduce Negro music to insipidness.

Nor does Mr. Jones belong to that school of Negro thought espousing the belief that the Negro's facility for playing Jazz lies in some innate quality the Negro alone possesses; rather he states that it is the Negro's experience in America, his philosophy and way of thinking about the world that made him the creator and innovator of Jazz; and the Negro's music "changed as he changed, reflecting shifting attitudes or...consistent attitudes within changed concepts."

BLUES PEOPLE is written with much force, and the reader must be exceedingly cautious lest he find himself overwhelmed by Mr. Jones' persuasiveness. Many times, as when Mr. Jones explains why a Benny Goodman, and not Basie or Ellington, was deemed the king of swing—or, the reasons Dave Brubeck's picture appeared on the cover of Time Magazine and not, say, Miles Davis'—the reader finds himself musing: "Ah Ha! Yea, I figured something like that was going on. So, that's what really happened!"

And yet, for all its power, BLUES PEOPLE raises a fundamental question: What is Negro music? Or more specifically, who can say with authority that the avant-garde Jazz played by Coltrane, Rollins and Ornette Coleman is THE Negro music, when the masses of Negroes are listening to the "expressive music" of Ray Charles, Sam Cooke and Jimmy Smith?

However, despite these reservations, it must be admitted that, in general, Mr. Jones is equal to the course he has charted for himself. BLUES PEOPLE poses basic questions about the nature of the society the Negro so urgently seeks to enter, and the disdainful manner in which that society has always viewed the artist. But then the reader will find the book worth its price if for no other reason than to find out what Mr. Jones means when he states that "...the young Negro musician of the forties began to realize that simply by being a Negro in America, one was a nonconformist."

Charles L. Russell

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Commentary
October, 1963
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*LESLIE A. FIEDLER*

# RACE—THE DREAM & THE NIGHTMARE

DEEP IN the mind of America, if not actually below, at least at the lowest level of consciousness, there exist side by side a dream and a nightmare of race relations; and the two together constitute a legend of the American frontier, of the West (when the second race is the Indian), or of the South (when the second race is the Negro). In either case, it is the legend of a Lost Eden, or in more secular terms, of a decline from a Golden Age to an Age of Iron—as America moves from the time of the trapper to that of the settler, from the era of the great plantations to the days of Reconstruction. What makes the Golden Age golden is, in the case of the Indian, an imagined state of peace between white man and red man, transplanted European and aboriginal at home; love, innocence, a kind of religious, even other-worldly calm preside over this peace. And what makes the Iron Age iron is a state of war between redskin natives and paleface invaders; a burden of hatred and guilt, a history of scalpings and counter-scalpings, revenges and counter-revenges make this war ultimate hell.

For a long time, indeed, it seemed not only a peculiarly but an *exclusively* American nightmare; for though the history of every nation may be, as Joyce suggests, a bad dream from which it cannot awake, each has its own night-time fantasies, as each has its own fate. With the rise of the dark-skinned people everywhere, however, a peculiar white American experience (shared, up to now, perhaps, only by white South Africans) may become the common experience of all the whites of the world. I am talking about our sense of acting out our national destiny in the presence of *witnesses,* involved in that destiny (through fear and hate, we know; through love as well, we hope) by virtue of their color, but by the same token detached from it. It is this special experience which has bred our special nightmare, as well as our special dream.

In a somewhat different form, this essay will appear in Mr. Fiedler's new book, *Waiting for the End,* to be published by Stein & Day in March 1964. Mr. Fiedler is the author of *An End to Innocence* and *Love and Death in the American Novel,* among other critical works, as well as of the short stories collected in *Pull Down Vanity,* and the recently published novel, *The Second Stone.*

This situation is not a creation of Americans, but a pre-condition of their existence as Americans: a heritage from the Europeans who settled on our continent before America itself was invented. With the darker races, white Americans have, of course, inevitably mixed, mingled, even mated, in friendship and in furtive lust; but *they have not assimilated to them.* The three races remain distinguishable in America today—though there are few Indians and perhaps even fewer Negroes without some admixture of white blood, and though culturally (even psychologically, as we shall see) differences once quite real begin to blur and disappear. Indeed, the distinction seems to become for most white men and some colored ones, too, more and more psychically important to maintain, as it becomes more and more difficult to do so. At any rate, the majority of white Americans at the moment seem unwilling to surrender a distinction it pains them to maintain. What satisfaction would it be, in any case, to reach a time when lines between colored and white can no longer be drawn, if there are no colored people around to applaud it—as there have always been colored people to suffer under and deplore discrimination?

To the two darker races, with whom he must in many places live, the white American is, then, bound by bonds of guilt, older than his national identity itself; and of those bonds he and those races are *both* aware. The white man knows his guilts have long been mitigated by law and statute as well as by kindness and love; but they will not disappear, cannot, he suspects, short of the moment of total assimilation which he rejects for reasons he does not ever clearly understand. And when he has persuaded himself that somehow they do not matter, he sees in the eye of the Negro or Indian watching him (or fancies he sees, it scarcely matters) evidence that they do. The intelligent white man's burden of guilt consists not merely in knowing himself an oppressor but in knowing the oppressed know this, too.

Indeed, in our latter-day, liberal world the weight of reflexive guilt has become greater than that of direct guilt (and it is to this that a recent writer like James Baldwin has learned to appeal). We are aware that the Negro is aware of his long sexual

and economic exploitation; we are aware that the Indian is aware of his expropriation and the disruption of his communal life. And it is their awareness from which we have now come to flinch. For we know even the most rapid advance of reform and amelioration in race relations cannot change it; as long as the Negro remains a Negro, the Indian an Indian, a part of his self-consciousness must be the consciousness of our offenses against him. And so long as we are able to recognize him as something distinctly other from us, we are convinced he must feel himself an other, too. But without a hatred equal to our guilt he would not know himself for what he is—i.e., what we have made him.

This is why we have long not merely dreamed a dream and a nightmare, but dreamed that the colored man dreamed them, too. We long for an accounting which we pray we may be spared, and need somehow to believe the oppressed peoples among us long for it, too. If only they dreamed it, perhaps that would be enough; or if, alternately, they dreamed with us figures of forgiveness like Harriet Beecher's Uncle Tom. If only in fantasy we were united, no matter whether in fantasy of reconciliation or revenge, then we could forgive ourselves. But we do not forgive ourselves. And, indeed, it is hard to know which comes first in the logic of the psyche, which on that level is the cause of which: our not forgiving ourselves, or our not being able quite to imagine the dark-skinned people we oppress forgiving us.

Our greatest literature has always understood what we are just beginning to come to terms with in the realm of social action: that white Americans have from the first hopelessly confused the real Negroes and Indians—with whom they must, for the sake of social survival and civil peace, learn to live—with certain projections of their own deepest minds, aspects of their own psychic life with which precisely they find it impossible to live. Here is the deepest sense in which the oppressor suffers equally with the oppressed, enslaves himself along with those who are his slaves. But to understand it adequately we must be willing to risk a detour (from which some have never returned) into the no-man's-land between politics and psychology.

WHAT WE customarily call "oppressed minorities" (and the same is true when the oppressed are, in fact, majorities) are exploited not only economically and politically, but also *psychologically;* though this latter fact is less noticed in election speeches, newspaper editorials, or even serious analyses of class and race relations, whether pro or con. Oppressors, that is to say, project upon the oppressed certain of their own psychic dilemmas, elements of their own mental life of which they are ashamed, or toward which they are deeply ambivalent. And such projection, it is worth noting, *does not work both ways*—only from the more favored group to the less favored one; from, say, white to Negro, but not, in a white-controlled society, from Negro to white. So in the Middle Ages, males projected upon females their own longings for lust and treachery, their unconfessable fear and hatred of marriage; so under Hitler, Germans projected upon Jews their own self-hatred and resentment of their demonic leaders, as well as their own most secret erotic impulses—particularly toward children. So adults project upon school-children and adolescents their own denied desire for irresponsibility and sheer dirt; so masters project upon servants their suppressed wish for more disorderly sex lives, less devotion to honor, etc., etc. So, finally, heterosexual males, in our society, project upon homosexuals their own unconfessed dream of aping and competing with women, of turning the other cheek. But in all of these cases, a one-way psychic transaction is involved; there is no equal and opposite projection possible for females or Jews, children, servants, or homosexuals.

Meanwhile the psychically oppressed flounder in their attempts to come to terms with the burden imposed upon them: the obligation—clearly understood or dimly felt or unwittingly suffered—to act out, in addition to their own authentic roles, secondary ones corresponding to the inner necessities of quite alien others. The culture they share with their oppressors demands of them duplicity; and like all who lead double lives, they are troubled by anxiety and guilt. To allay this, various strategies are available to them, all aimed at mitigating or destroying the unendurable doubleness of their lives, by denying either their authentic selves or their projective roles.

In the first instance, we are dealing with the strategy called by American Negroes "passing": the attempt of the psychically exploited to remake themselves in the image of those who exploit them, to assimilate to those exploiters; or at least, to seem to do so. With such an end in view, homosexuals marry and beget children; Jews join the Episcopalian Church; the Irish send their children to finishing schools; and Negroes take out hunting licenses. But "passing" is, alas, impossible to those of the psychically underprivileged who are as clearly distinguishable from the group that imposes its fantasies upon them as, say, women and children; for they cannot, in ordinary course, disguise themselves as males or adults. Indeed, total assimilation is even difficult in America for Negroes and Jews, conventionally identified by certain quasi-mythical physical traits: kinky hair, blubber lips, great hooked noses, etc., etc.

Yet there are, of course, businesses and professions which flourish precisely on the basis of attempts to change or conceal such identifying traits: the producers of skin bleaches and hair-straighteners, or those doctors who specialize in bobbing noses. Where

names serve as additional devices for segregating the unfavored group, name-changing becomes a conventional device: those with conspicuously non-Anglo-Saxon family names, for instance, applying to the courts for others, or at least bestowing on their children names derived from ancient English castles or more recent English poets. So in the 19th century, women eager to write books rather than appear in them as archetypal characters, rechristened themselves as males (usually choosing, for obscure reasons, to call themselves "George"); and so in the 20th, Indians eager to be done with reservation restrictions depend on some conveniently French name to make them seem more *Canadien* than redskin. Finally, however, only intermarriage does the trick, actual physical assimilation; though in cultures where interracial psychic exploitation flourishes, the children of such mixed marriages have still to make the choice of "passing" or not. The unions which produce them may, indeed, be motivated by mythical pressures as well as love (the hunger of one partner for what he has cast out of himself on to the people of the other); and choosing between Mother and Father, the children take sides, or are chosen for one side or another before they have a chance—in the most desperate of psychological games.

There is, however, another order of assimilation, a kind of "passing"-once-removed, in which the psychically exploited emulate in the privacy of their own excluded world, and for no eye other than their own, the behavior patterns of their exploiters. It is as if they sought to prove to themselves their absolute immunity to all the impulses and desires projected upon them by those exploiters; as well as their complete identity with those who consider them completely other—whether those others ever acknowledge it or not. So, for instance, Jewish boys gathered in fraternities dedicate themselves to athletics, hard drinking, and sex, to make clear that they are by no means the joyless scholars, the bodiless "brains," that gentile fantasy would make them. So, too, the members of all-Negro P.T.A.'s in more prosperous neighborhoods gather to discuss juvenile delinquency or the threat of comic books—the ladies in fur scarves, the gentlemen in rimless glasses—to prove their lives are as earnest, well-regulated, and gray as that of any white philistine. So, finally, high-school kids, even from Indian reservations, gather in jackets and ties at Boys' States to hold mock U.N. meetings, to second motions and pound gavels; as if they never "made out" in parked cars, or wallowed drunkenly on illegitimately bought whiskey, or sat with their parents around the bonfires at *peyote* "picnics."

Such "passing"-once-removed often results in parody rather than genuine emulation: an unconscious parody of the solemn idiocies of the social world of the psychic exploiters, which those exploiters find it easy to take as a joke on the exploited. Certainly, for generations now (up to the recent moment when the N.A.A.C.P. decided to impose its veto on such traditional literary condescension), white American humorists from Mark Twain to Octavus Roy Cohen and the writers of "Amos and Andy" have delighted in mocking the Negro's attempts to re-enact the mores of white society and white business—not realizing how double-edged the ridiculousness of such travesty in fact is.

A SECOND STRATEGY of the oppressed, generally called "Tom-ism" after Harriet Beecher Stowe's much admired and much maligned Uncle Tom, represents a resolve on the part of the underprivileged to be done with doubleness by becoming entirely what it pleases their exploiters to think them, thus abandoning any attempt to establish an authentic identity. So Anglo-Saxon women, for instance, not merely endured but enthusiastically embraced the symbolic virginal role imposed on them by male guilts and fears from the mid-18th to the early 20th centuries; and, indeed, they not merely read but wrote the books which defined for their fellows such archetypal functions. The scornful "Uncle Tom" has been conventionally used to designate only those willing to turn themselves into the images of humility and forgiveness dreamed by their oppressors; but similar satisfactions are provided by those who agree to become the bogeymen of terror and revenge also dreamed by those oppressors. Uncle Tom and Bigger Thomas are not very different in the end; woolly-haired sniveler and black bully both sacrificing the possibilities of authenticity and full humanity, in order to provide "satisfaction and security" for those bound to them by ties of mutual terror. To play the black rapist of D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* is as abject a surrender as to play the hero (really an Anglo-Saxon Good Woman in blackface) of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. And precisely such a surrender we see these days in the "beat" young (really Bad Negroes in whiteface), who act out the repressed fantasies of their middle-aged parents in a profitless and self-betraying charade.

Indeed, the woman who turns herself into the pale embodiment of Virtue, the young man who assumes the role of Mother's Helper, the pious black advocate of understanding and non-resistance are likely to seem in the end more disturbingly ambiguous and more truly dangerous to husbands and parents and white segregationists than the dark, passionate vamp, the run-away young rebel without a cause, or the sullen, insolent Negro. For the professional Good Darky, like the Good Girl and Good Boy, the psychic oppressor cannot help suspecting, may be putting him on, pulling his leg; and, indeed, there is a wavering and uncertain boundary between true "Tom-ism" and what homosexuals call "camping"; the flagrant exaggeration of characteristics attributed

to the minority of outsiders by unsympathetic insiders—in order to disarm and mock those insiders.

Who can tell the moment at which the bluff and hearty stage-Irishman, the obsequious and hand-rubbing Jew, the mincing, wrist-flapping fairy, the blond, blue-eyed, dependent girl, the faithful black servitor crying "Yassuh, massah!" cease genuinely trying to assume the humble roles in which they have been cast, and begin to exploit those roles subversively? A recent book by Elia Kazan, finally published under the title of *America, America* was called originally *That Anatolian Smile*—with reference to the placating, insidious show of teeth common to all those who flaunt before their oppressors the humility demanded of them, yet somehow make it a threat. Such a smile represents a first level of slave-revolt—a psychic counter-attack which presages social and political action, but which can be proved against those who practice it in no court. Thinking of all that smile means, James Baldwin has written to Kazan in praise of his book, "Gadge, baby, you're a nigger, too"; thus recognizing how not only Greeks, like Kazan's forebears, but all the psychically underprivileged, including Negroes, have learned to tread the dangerous line between being "Tom" and playing "Sambo": between, that is to say, genuine self-abasement and self-denial, on the one hand, and the secret freedom of mad, mocking "camp," on the other.

Even "camping," however, is an activity less than fully human: a slave's secret revolt that leaves him (even in his own deepest self-consciousness) a slave still; and the joke of composing manifestoes of freedom in code, a language of gesture and speech really comprehensible only to the in-group, soon runs out. What final satisfaction is there in Emancipation Proclamations written in Yiddish which the gentile exploiters cannot read; or of songs of contempt in a jive-talk which the square white masters do not understand? The point is ultimately, of course, to make them understand; and all minorities dream of the day on which they will be able to declare openly their freedom not only from archetype and stereotype, but from the devious strategies with which they have long had to come to terms with their double existence: the day they will be able to boast that they have begun to invent themselves.

American Negroes have in fact reached that point during the last decade or two, not only on the level of mass culture and popular propaganda through the political movement which calls itself the Black Muslims, but also in the fiction of Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, John Williams, and William Melvin Kelley. It was, however, in a prophetic little story by a white author, which first appeared in *Partisan Review* for May–June 1943, H. J. Kaplan's "The Mohammedans," that the New Negro, the Negro as his own mythologist—comic and terrible at once—entered our literature. And the younger Negro writers who have followed him have not been able to start from scratch, but have had to construct their images of themselves on models provided by white writers, European and American—by Faulkner, for instance, or Franz Kafka. Nevertheless, Negroes in the United States are coming to exist at last *in their own minds,* not reflexively but directly, despite the images of Aunt Jemima which beam out at them from the boxes of pancake flour, or the pictures of Little Black Sambo that grin up at them out of kids' books.

And this is perhaps why the old ladies of Harlem, however little they may be able to formulate such an idea even to themselves, hail James Baldwin as he walks along the street—quite as if he were a leader in their political struggle like, say, Martin Luther King. But at the moment that he invents himself, the Negro begins to invent the white American, *his* white American, too; *must,* indeed, invent him out of the scraps he has left over, the human elements he has chosen—painfully or in apparent relief—to discard from his own image. And already there are white Americans who begin to see themselves as "fay" or "o-fay," as everything the Negro thinks them when he names them so in contempt; just as all Negroes once, and many still, thought and think of themselves as "niggers."

One nail, however, has not yet quite driven out the other; for still in our greatest books, and in our deepest imaginations, we find the old archetypal images of Negro and Indian, and we turn to those images still, eagerly though with diminishing psychic returns. What, then, have and do the darker peoples (not only Indians and Negroes, but Polynesians and Orientals, too; even Mediterranean Europeans, who are half-Negroes to the pallid Anglo-Saxon-Celtic-Scandinavian-Germanic blend that makes up the legendary *Amerikansi*) represent to our pale-face majority? Two things chiefly, closely linked but still distinguishable: nature itself, which is to say the romantic's nature—the wilderness, anti-civilization, anti-culture; and the impulsive life—the extra-rational part of the mind, which earlier Americans liked to call "The Heart," but which we prefer to call instinct or *libido* or *id.*

Ask any American for his attitude toward Indian and Negro, and you will discover his attitude toward his own impulsive life; or conversely, find how any American deals with his own basic drives, and you can guess his attitudes toward our colored minorities. The man who "whops niggers" or "shoots injuns" is, symbolically, trying to kill the savage in himself, though he may, perhaps must, at the same time lust for dark flesh. Mrs. Stowe, much more acute than anyone can ever quite remember, knew all this when she made Simon Legree a son of the Puritans to begin with, and portrayed him as pursuing black females when not tormenting black

males. But maybe both, after all, are forms of exorcism congenial to the Puritan mind: whipping and rape—a double assault on the despised natural. There is a curious pessimism in Mrs. Stowe; for though her book may have provided an ideology for abolitionism, it does not really foresee such a solution, ending short of any Happy Ending, even the rescue of Uncle Tom by the White Boy who loved him. For her, love comes too late, here on earth at least; and the reconciliation of Black and White must be remanded to Heaven.

OTHER AMERICANS have, however, if not quite hoped, at least imagined more; for they have known how much depended upon our making peace with the Indian and Negro, on the symbolic level as well as the literal one; Thoreau, who both lived and imagined the role of a white Indian, was one of these. His account in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* of the idyllic friendship between the trapper Alexander Henry and the Indian called Wawatam represents first of all, of course, a desire we all share to achieve social peace and a united nation; but on a second level, it stands for our need to come to terms with the wilderness, into which emigrating Europeans were thrown with a rude suddenness which created perhaps the greatest culture shock of human history: the shock out of which our image of ourselves has exploded. And on a third, the deepest, perhaps the ultimate level, it represents the need of men divided against themselves by the heritage of the Puritans (which alone enabled them to survive that culture shock) to join together their sundered selves: the impulsive self identified with the hostile forest and its inhabitants, the moral self identified with the best they had rescued from the Old World and hoped to preserve in the New.

In the other very greatest American writers, in Melville, for instance, and Mark Twain, even (despite his embattled political position as a latter-day Southerner) in William Faulkner, we discover the full realization that until the American solves what he calls the "Negro" or "Indian Problem," the white American cannot be a whole man. The Emancipation Proclamation we long for is the proclamation of our own emancipation from a genteel rigidity of spirit, the *rigor mortis* of Anglo-Saxon morality; and it is in search of this that Ishmael yields himself to Queequeg, Huck embraces Nigger Jim, and the Boy of Faulkner's "The Bear" makes himself the foster-son of the half-Indian, half-Negro Sam Fathers. Yet none of our greatest writers, however idyllic their celebration of the union of white and colored, is without ambivalence. Elsewhere in *A Week,* Thoreau ponders the tale of Hannah Dustan who was carried off by Indians after her infant had been murdered and who not only escaped from the threat of naked gauntlet or rape but brought back with her "the still bleeding scalps of ten of the aborigines" whom she had killed in their sleep. Mythicizing this old story, Thoreau continues:

> The family of Hannah Dustan all assembled alive once more, except the infant whose brains were dashed out against the apple tree, and there have been many who in later times have lived to say that they had eaten of the fruit of that apple tree.

In Twain, the murdering Indian is balanced off against the loving Negro, while in Melville the loving Polynesian is answered by the treacherous Black; and in Faulkner the representatives of instinct and nature are sorted out not by tribe or race, but by age: post-menopausal colored women and aging colored men playing saintly or even Christ-like roles, in contrast to young and potent Negroes who are cast as demi-devils.

But this we expect, and indeed, find everywhere until very recent times, when political liberalism and the cult of the primitive succeed in driving the dark side of our ambivalence deep, deep underground. Traditionally there have been two contradictory attitudes toward nature at work in the American mind, the "Rousseauistic" and the "Puritan"—the first, as we have seen, expressed in the dream of Alexander Henry, the second in the nightmare of Hannah Dustan. Not only in our literature but in our lives, we have shuttled back and forth between a romantic nature cult and a philistine anti-nature religion: on the one hand, becoming enthusiastic advocates of nudism, and the world's warmest supporters of Freudian psychology; on the other, joining movement after movement against whatever pleases the flesh—alcohol, meat, tobacco, drugs. In fact, we maintain these two polar attitudes not alternately but simultaneously, choosing duplicity rather than compromise, and this, indeed, is the essence of the American way.

Corresponding to each attitude there is, moreover, a program, a kind of politics which creates divisions more fundamental and real than the purely nominal ones which separate Republicans from Democrats among us. One program urges us to *Stamp Out Nature:* chop down trees, kill off buffalo, slaughter whales, rape and ruin the wilderness, join the Christian Science Church. The second cries in answer, *Disappear into Nature:* preserve our primitive areas, guard our natural resources, provide summer camping grounds with real live bears, strip to the buff and lie in the sun. And each of these approaches, of course, entails a corollary program in respect to the Negroes and Indians: the first, *Stamp out the Coloreds*; the second *Blend with Them.* In its most extreme form—as in the case of the Indians, for instance, who have always seemed to us economically dispensable—the negative program is simply: *Kill Them Off,* an American version of the Nazis' Final Solution. And certainly

there rings deep in the mind of anyone who has ever seen an old-fashioned Western movie or read an old-fashioned Western story the folk saying: "The only good Injun is a dead Injun."

But the advance of civilization quite soon mitigated the naïve totalitarian approach with which we began; and *Pen Them Off* replaces *Kill Them Off* as official policy. Especially if there are economic advantages, as with the Negroes, in keeping the underprivileged alive, but, for enlightenment's sake, too, in other cases, it seems preferable to isolate the oppressed in segregated communities, in colonies abroad or ghettos at home, on reservations, in slave-quarters, or red-light districts. The last has always appeared to us an especially attractive solution. In the West, for instance, the early brothels were stocked largely with Indian girls; and even when the gun-fighters we honor had begun to bring in and protect their white replacements, a longing for more local fare remained. Similarly the slave quarters on Southern plantations were notoriously private brothels for the master and his sons; and a taste for Negro women survived their abolition. To make a woman a whore is like making any human a slave; it denies her identity, even reality (especially in a bourgeois world where the human is defined almost wholly by the family group), and ends by making her a thing, a device for pleasure.

Ghettoization has, then, two purposes: to force on those who are ghettoized conditions of squalor which seem to verify the grounds of discrimination against them; and to make them if not unreal, at least invisible. We affect surprise at how "invisible" the German concentration camps were to many Germans; but precisely as "invisible" are the Negro ghettos of New York and Chicago to those who never walk that way; for to be thus "invisible" is precisely the point of their existence. And if, in the United States, poverty has in recent years become "invisible," too, this is because it has tended to become more and more exclusively the lot of those already penned off for their skin color or cultural backwardness. But this is the final triumph of Puritanism, to have ghettoized the unsuccess it fears as the outward sign of sin, along with the dark-skinned people who symbolize its own deepest guilts and fears.

ALONGSIDE the Puritan program of annihilation and segregation, however, there has always flourished a sentimental counter-program of conciliation and love. Beside the figure of the Indian-killer, there lives in our imagination that of the Indian-lover; and if the former is likely to be, like Hannah Dustan, a woman, and the latter, like Alexander Henry, a man, this is because we have always sought to keep distinct the notion of a comradely union (which our deepest mind approves) and miscegenation (which our deepest mind abhors). Though we have continued to tell each other in the schoolroom the tale of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas, we have traditionally distrusted the squaw man, the renegade; and the notion of the woman who goes over to the wigwam has until recently stirred on the popular level nothing but horror. In the past, at least, it has been only the dream of a Garden of Eden with two Adams—one colored, one white—and no Eve, that has given us the illusion of "satisfaction and security"; though as early as the 20's, Sherwood Anderson and D. H. Lawrence had begun to express overtly an envy of and a longing for the presumed superior pleasures of dark-skinned sex; and in the 60's the "spade chick" begins, at last, to replace Chingachgook and Nigger Jim as a mythical figure of reconciliation in the novels of, say, Jack Kerouac and Robert Gover.

The recent popular success of the latter's *One Hundred Dollar Misunderstanding* marks, perhaps, a critical point in the evolving mythology of the Negro in the United States. Certainly few would have predicted, even a year or two ago, best-sellerdom for a book which tries to turn Topsy into America's Sweetheart, by glorifying her as a fourteen-year-old black whore, who understands orgasms and drugs, but despises fast cars, television, and war. Gover's is finally a false book motivated less by a desire to tell the truth than by white self-hatred and self-abnegation (his chief white character is a cartoon version of what the "o-fay" imagines the Negro imagines him); but it is not untypical of a moment in the history of our culture, when a young white Montanan can write and believe, after a night of peyote-eating at the bonfires of the Cheyenne: "The Indians are collossal downmen (they are too lazy to write). While we have been playing checkers they have been playing give away. As a result they have nothing but poverty, anonymity, happiness, lack of neuroses, wonderful children and a way of life that is free, democratic and in complete fulfillment of the American dream. . . ."

Yet the myth of an Earthly Paradise for males only has died hard. Not so long ago, in fact, it was for the first time expressed without camouflage or disguise in a popular movie: a film called *The Defiant Ones*, which closes on a scene in which a white fugitive finds peace in the arms of the Negro comrade he has begun by despising, after both of them have been betrayed by an evil white woman. And in Saul Bellow's most recent novel, *Henderson the Rain King*, his white hero flees the world of female love to find satisfaction in the affectionate embrace of a preternaturally well-read black prince. Yet there is a sense, especially among the very young, and those who, like Norman Mailer, speak to them most directly, that the old myth is no longer quite viable in a world in which Indians and Negroes, along with non-whites everywhere, come close to the end of their long indignity. The dream which

began with the trapper Henry and flowered into the mid-19th-century cult of male friendship, seems to many contemporaries too sentimental, or wrongly sentimental, too blandly liberal, perhaps—at any rate, too *easy* to sustain us here and now. And in certain of our latest books, in the whole cluster of works, for instance, called "hip" or "beat," as in our recent life, we have seen the emergence of a new dream, a new Edenic ideal—pointed toward the future, rather than, as in Thoreau's case, toward the past.

Yet the new dream begins with the old—in fact, presupposes it; but it goes further, for it not only imagines joining with Indian or Negro in pseudo-matrimony, or being adopted by some colored foster-father—but being reborn as Indian or Negro, *becoming the other.* The *locus classicus* of this altered archetype is Norman Mailer's essay "The White Negro," reprinted in his *Advertisements for Myself.* "In such places as Greenwich Village," Mailer writes, "a ménage-à-trois was completed—the bohemian and the juvenile delinquent came face-to-face with the Negro, and the hipster was a fact in American life." Mailer is not a notably clear writer, and it seems at first reading as if he were merely talking about yet another sexless union of the races, in which, as he tells us, "marijuana was the wedding ring" and "it was the Negro who brought the cultural dowry," *i.e.*, jazz, "the music of orgasm." But he is trying to tell us about something else: about the child born at long last out of that union, about the hipster himself—rebel without a cause, pseudo-psychopath, drug addict, and pursuer of danger: in short, the White Negro.

Here, then, finally is the justification of Thoreau's boast about the friendship he describes, "so almost bare and leafless, yet not blossomless nor fruitless": the strange fruit, not of the physical miscegenation so long feared by white supremacists, but of the innocent union of Huck and Jim on the raft. And here, indeed, may be the solution to our deepest guilts and starkest quandary (making possible without further ado even physical assimilation, to which not skin color but cultural and psychological differences have always been the real impediments), the resolution we scarcely dared hope for in actual life, however often we imagined it in books. In light of this, it scarcely matters whether the Negro whom the hipster becomes in his imagination ever really existed at all; for it is with the projection of our rejected self, which we have called "Negro," that we must be reconciled. Moreover, a new generation of Negroes are presently learning in Greenwich Village, or at Harvard College, to be what the hipster imagines them to be, imitating their would-be imitators. It is the kindest joke our troubled white culture has played on them; and, one hopes, the last.

In any case, the "savage" proposed by Mailer as a model for the hipster is, though he calls him a Negro, quite as much an Indian; which represents a further reach of absurdity, considering that even some forty years ago, D. H. Lawrence was already able to say, "The Red Man is dead, disbelieving in us," and that, certainly, few of his remaining representatives ever penetrate the bohemias of America's big cities in 1963. But Lawrence knew, too, that, contrary to folk-belief, even the dead Indian is not a good Indian; quite the contrary. "The moment the last nuclei of Red life break up in America," he wrote, "then the white men will have to reckon with the full force of the demon of the continent." It is not merely that the hipster's beloved marijuana is rather the gift of the Indian through the Negro, than of the Negro himself; but that, as Mailer reports, those two imaginary Indians, D. H. Lawrence and Ernest Hemingway, are among his "intellectual antecedents," and that, therefore, he feels himself "a frontiersman in the Wild West of American Night life." Somehow it has been necessary for white Americans to be reborn as imaginary Indians before they could become imaginary Negroes; and, indeed, Americans were imaginary Indians from the start, our national destiny beginning when certain New England palefaces, eager to demonstrate they were no longer Europeans, put on feathers and war paint to celebrate the Boston Tea Party.

FROM the beginning, there have been in myth, if not in fact, White Indians among us, Crévecoeur, for instance, asking in his *Letters from an American Farmer*, "By what power does it come to pass that children who have been adopted when young among these people [the Indians] can never be prevailed upon to readopt European manners?"; and crying out in astonishment, "There must be something in their social bond singularly captivating . . . for thousands of Europeans are Indians, and we have no examples of even one of those aborigines having from choice become European. . . ." Even in the movies, Tom Mix and Gary Cooper (spiritual offspring of Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook) preceded Marlon Brando and Elvis Presley (cultural sons of Huckleberry Finn and Nigger Jim); but Hemingway could never tell where Gary Cooper stopped and he began, and may, indeed, have died of the effort to prove that they were one. If the frontiersman was a mock Indian, and the Western movie star a mock frontiersman, what is Hemingway but the White Indian twice removed, out of whose union with the imaginary Bad Negro, the black rapist of the *Birth of a Nation* recast as a hero, the hipster, or at least Mailer's version of the hipster, has been born.

In our very lives, we have come to repeat this pattern, individual biography recapitulating cultural history. Born theoretically white, we are permitted to pass our childhood as imaginary Indians, our adolescence as imaginary Negroes, and only then

are expected to settle down to being what we are told we really are: white once more. Even our whiteness, however, threatens to become imaginary, as the Negroes we have long mythicized begin to mythicize us; and we think of the embattled whites of Reconstruction days in the South, attempting to assert counter-myths of themselves against those of their former slaves and the abolitionist ideologues. And how comically-pathetically that experiment worked out we cannot forget; intending to appear White Knights out of Sir Walter Scott, the imaginary white men of the Ku Klux Klan in fact revealed themselves as the gibbering and sheeted dead, anonymous ghosts of nameless fathers, able to ride only in malice and in the dark. The White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, appalled at such a prospect, has had, to be sure, the alternative option in the last couple of decades of becoming in late youth or early middle-age an imaginary Jew—modeling himself, in accordance with his politics and taste, on Herman Wouk or Leon Uris, Irwin Shaw, Saul Bellow, or Bernard Malamud. But that option, too, begins to wear out.

In any case, for a long time now we Americans, white or black, gentile or Jew (and the rest of the world oddly follows our example, though without the deep impulses which motivate us), have been somehow pleased to see our children at four or five and ten or twelve dressed, if not actually like Indians, at least like the frontiersman, the trapper, the cowboy: all those who learned from Indians to dress in the skins of beasts, to carry a weapon, stalk the woods, and present to the world the bronzed stolid face, the inarticulate hero's gaze common to Sitting Bull and Gary Cooper and Ernest Hemingway. Wherever jeans go in the world, and they go everywhere that Coca-Cola goes, the dream of the West goes with them; and wherever that dream goes, the drugs we have learned to use from the Indians follow after. First, of course, came tobacco, carried back with them by the sailors of Columbus, and introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh to the English bohemians of the Age of Elizabeth, wild young Indians like Christopher Marlowe, who added smoking to atheism and homosexuality to round out their sum of sins. And ever since the series has continued without flagging, marijuana, mescalin, the Mexican mushroom—all moving from tepee to high school or college or young man's "pad," as our youngsters at last begin the shift from a whiskey culture to a dope culture; and all carrying with them cancer, hallucinations, addiction, madness: the red man's revenge.

But the boy who smokes "pot" is an adolescent, not a child—which is to say, no longer an imaginary Indian but an imaginary Negro; and, indeed, nowadays, it is the black man rather than the red who is likely to have introduced him to the red man's "medicine." But it is not merely a matter of dope, this affinity of the young and the Negro. Indeed, there is scarcely a father of adolescents in the United States who is not in the year 1963 beginning to be aware (though he may feel it as a pain, rather than know it as a fact) that his sons are in their whole life-style—their speech, their gait, the clothes they wear, the music they love, as well as the vices they emulate—closer to the life-style of Negroes than he could have foreseen on the day of their birth. He may find them, in fact, in posture and in gesture, in intonation and inflection, perhaps even in the deepest aspirations, which, after all, control such outward behavior, closer to the great-grandfathers of their Negro friends, than to their own great-grandfathers—Anglo-Saxon or Italian, Jewish or Greek, Scandinavian or German or Irish or Slav. It is what we have really longed for from the first—perhaps what the story of Alexander Henry has all along meant; but we have scarcely begun to acknowledge it to ourselves, much less come to terms with it. And if we are awaiting the artist who will make poetry of the pathos and comedy it entails, we scarcely know even this.

R+R Rel. Gen

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

November 1-3, 1963

Statement on AJC AND NEGRO PROTEST ACTIVITIES

The American Jewish Committee has traditionally sought to combat discrimination and inequality of opportunity through education, negotiation, and appropriate legislation. At the same time, it has sought to identify basic social and psychological causes of prejudice, discrimination and intergroup tension. While stressing these approaches to intergroup relations problems, the Committee has never, in principle, disapproved more direct forms of protest or action, where appropriate.

In their struggle for the basic rights so long denied them, most American Negroes have become impatient with gradualism and half-remedies, and have called for a concerted drive to win equality now. This campaign has included sit-ins, freedom rides, selective buying campaigns, picket lines, marches and demonstrations. Such direct mass action has at times awakened the conscience of Americans and proved to be an effective technique for achieving equality.

While these activities are largely under Negro leadership, the drive for equality is not solely a Negro problem. It is a challenge calling for moral commitment and decisive action by Americans of every race and religion and of every section of the country. It is increasingly clear to whites as well as Negroes that gradualism and "tokenism" will no longer solve this most urgent of all domestic problems.

Responding to this challenge, the American Jewish Committee, along with the Synagogue Council, the National Council of Churches,

the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, labor unions and many other civic groups, supported the August 28th March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, D.C. We considered that demonstration a "proper, and indeed, characteristically American means of petitioning Government for the redress of grievances and for fulfilling rights guaranteed to all Americans," and called on AJC members to participate.

Many groups have also urged their members and leaders to join with Negro groups in local demonstrations and other forms of protest action. The American Jewish Committee, in dealing with these issues, has traditionally been guided by a number of criteria, such as the justice of the cause, the effectiveness of the proposed technique, the question of its constitutionality, the responsibility of the proponents, and the groups associated in the proposed activities. We recognize that social protest and pressure are, at times, effective means of mobilizing support for negotiation and agreement. As the aim is to remedy those inequities which provoke protests, efforts to bring about remedies by such means as negotiation or legislation should be continued. Chapters can often serve a useful function in interpreting to their members and leaders of the community the tensions underlying demonstrations.

The question of AJC participation in particular protest actions must therefore be determined by a review of each situation, with all of the criteria herein set forth remaining the touchstones in arriving at that decision.

Adopted November 2, 1963
Edgewater Beach Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

R&R Rel. Gen

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

November 1-3, 1963

Statement on QUOTAS AND RACE RELATIONS

The American Jewish Committee strongly supports the constitutional principle that civil rights are individual, not group rights. Law protects individuals against discrimination based on race, color or creed; it does not protect or prefer groups or entire categories such as minorities. The legal recognition of groups even for benign reasons would give rise to a new political principle, one that would perforce make of the group the source of individual rights -- a principle repugnant to democracy. We therefore oppose any attempt to create a system of quotas as such for Negroes or anyone else in housing, employment, education and other areas.

However, we must recognize that Negroes, as a group, have been discriminated against systematically and deprived of the normal benefits and opportunities of society. Consequently, only large-scale measures deliberately designed to establish a new place in society for Negroes will be effective. Since Negroes have suffered discrimination in jobs, housing and schools for generations, it is incumbent upon the nation to provide measures to help close the wide and growing gap which separates the overwhelming masses of Negroes from other Americans. To be meaningful, equality of treatment in all walks of life must be the foundation upon which is constructed a new social framework of supportive devices enabling the individual Negro to overcome a heritage of social deprivation.

America has historically rendered special assistance to special categories of people upon whom society has enforced extra

burdens and who have had special needs that could not otherwise be met. These have included, among others, veterans, workers, farmers, migrants and the aged. We think, therefore, that agreement should be sought on a crash program that would help Negroes and members of other minority groups to overcome their disadvantaged positions. Such a program should include the following elements:

Education Provision for first-class schools for culturally deprived children, with the most modern facilities and the best teachers; intensified remedial instruction in the lower grades for such children; intensified efforts by schools and colleges to seek out qualified Negro and other disadvantaged youths; after-school tutoring programs; expanded adult education programs geared to the needs of citizens lacking basic literary and technical skills; and assumption of responsibility by school officials and boards of education for achieving school integration wherever educationally feasible through such devices as site selection, the redrawing of district lines and rezoning where practicable.

Employment The enactment of federal and state fair employment practices legislation to ban discrimination in public and private employment; intensification and expansion of apprenticeship and training programs -- both by management and unions -- in order to increase the reservoir of trained Negro and white manpower; assumption by employers and unions of greater responsibility for making all categories and levels of employment available to qualified Negroes and other minority workers without discrimination.

Housing The extension of the President's Executive Order on discrimination in housing to cover all existing public and publicly assisted housing, and housing covered by mortgages of lending

institutions supervised or chartered by the Federal Government; the adoption of fair housing laws and ordinances by states and cities; and the assumption by builders, developers and real estate operators of responsibility for building and operating open occupancy developments and promoting racial diversity in communities throughout the country.

We urge the development of intergroup relations training programs in schools, in housing projects, in industry and unions, and elsewhere.

We also urge all our members, and indeed all American citizens, to express their personal commitment to these objectives and to extend their direct support for the achievement of these goals.

The cause of integration will be better served if less energy and attention are devoted to controversy over a "quota" system, and more to the broader scene. Only imaginative, vastly-conceived programs can cope with this situation. Our energies should be devoted toward that end.

Adopted November 2, 1963
Edgewater Beach Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

(See letters to the Editor attached)

R + Race Rel.

The New York Times Magazine Nov. 10, 1963

*High-school students protesting desegregation in Birmingham, Ala.*
"Many attractive and voluble youngsters are eager to proclaim white superiority."

# A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind

**Disturbed by the militancy of young white Southerners in resisting school integration, a Southern writer and editor interviews an 18-year-old Mississippian.**

**By MARGARET LONG**

OXFORD, MISS.

THE harsh and hating faces of young Southerners photographed in troubled scenes of the desegregating Deep South have shocked and baffled most other Americans, among them, indeed, many rational and peaceable people in Dixie. To investigate the ideas and feelings that fire many of these boys and girls I made a mission to Mississippi, the state where segregationist sentiment is most intense. Here I found many attractive and voluble youngsters eager to proclaim white superiority, Southern culture and Negro contentment. These high-school and college boys and girls exhibited a common innocence of the Negro movement, which they believe is fomented by outsiders and Communists. (The N.A.A.C.P., the only civil-rights organization most of them know, seems to them a blend of both.) They also showed intense emotions of both affection and revulsion toward Negroes.

The sweetly mannered young people I talked to seemed most of all gripped by a poignant loyalty to the precarious present and the easy past of the white South, a fealty uncorrupted by alien facts and ideas from beyond the tight and turbulent little world of Mississippi.

From here, the common ground fell away into varying attitudes, ranging from the valiant "Never!" of one Delta boy who would "die for" segregation, to the "It's coming" of several others and the pained confusion of a 17-year-old girl who thought, "It's *awful* Nigras can't come to our *churches*."

The Confederate dedication of one 18-year-old probably best expressed the adamant segregationist mood typical of many young people of the Deep South. He was Don Barrett, a Phi Delta Theta pledge at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, who answered questions at word-tumbling length, his replies replete with nice, old-fashioned "Yes'ms" and "No'ms." His forebears came to Mississippi from Virginia and South Carolina, and his great-grandmother, he said, gave $80,000 that she had hidden away to the Confederate Army after her plantation, Newstead, was used by Grant as headquarters during the Vicksburg campaign and then was sacked and ruined.

"She turned it over, lock, stock and barrel," he said, his round, rosy face glowing and his eyes dark with love. "That's the kind of heritage I come from—and I'm proud of it."

YOUNG Barrett's more immediate heritage includes a pleasant childhood of play in backyard pecan treehouses, fishing and hunting, adoration of a beautiful mother (she was beauty queen in high school, at Millsaps College in Jackson, and at Ole Miss) and a trusting attachment to his energetic and commanding father. ("He's got more sense in a minute than I've got in three weeks. He's the wisdom I draw on.") He also exhibits the usual masculine pleasure in two little sisters and pride tinged perhaps with rivalry, in an older brother, Pat Jr., who is taking psychology at Millsaps and planning to study law at Ole Miss.

"Yes, of course, I used to play with Negro children," he said. "We quit, well, we quit when . . . when we both realized the difference, and they went their way and I went mine. You may be surprised that our next-door neighbors were Nigras. They lived catty-corner across the street from us . . . the nearest neighbors."

Mr. Barrett spoke ardently of the good Negroes and his affection for them and their (*Continued on Page* 114)

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**MARGARET LONG** is a novelist ("Louisville Saturday") and former columnist for The Atlanta Journal who two years ago received the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award. She is at present the editor of the Southern Regional Council's magazine New South, in Atlanta.

# A Southern Teen-Ager

*(Continued from Page 15)*

profound loyalty to him and his. He smiled quickly and radiantly at the memory of these ancient felicities. Dora, who cooks and cleans up, is "a young 43"—like his mother. They were born on the same day and exchange birthday presents. Allie Mae, a registered nurse by correspondence course, "respected by the white community and venerated by the Negro community," nursed Don when he was born and promised his grandmother "she'd always take care of Sara," his mother. Allie Mae visits frequently in Miss Sara's bedroom and on the phone. Amelia, older, cooks on Sunday, and Pecolia, he confided with a flash of delight, "is making me a quilt." There are several Negro hands on his father's cattle farms who are also life-long familiars at the Barrett house in Lexington.

LEXINGTON is the seat of Holmes County, seven miles in the hills at the edge of the Delta, "the heart of Mississippi and the citadel of Southern rights," with "stark nekkid bluffs looking out to the Mississippi River." It is to him the most beautiful place in the world, a rich center of farming which produces the best crops and "the best people, too." The citadel of Holmes County has 19,600 Negro citizens and 7,000 whites.

"I feel, as do most of the white population of the South, that the Negro is inherently unequal," Barrett said. "Now they say it's lack of opportunity, cause and result, the reason men first took the fire and light of learning, that the Nigras never had the need in Africa because they could just pluck the fruit of the woods and all, and sustain life on that. But you can't say they didn't get learning and civilization because of the easy climate, because they've got a range of all climates and mountains and jungles. They came into contact with the Saracens in North Africa. And Alexander the Great and they never did catch the light of learning, nobody in the region. If they hadn't been taken over by the white man . . .

"Well, where they're not, they're still eating each other," he said, his voice vibrant with triumph and disgust.

"BUT the white South has taken the Neegra, fed, clothed, taught them how to speak and wear clothes and taught him Christianity. Still, look at 'em, their illegitimacy rate!"

Mr. Barrett was at such polite pains to say the respectful Southern "Nigra" and never to lapse into the easy and offensive "nigger," and I was so vigilant with my proper and hard-learned "Negro," that we quite rattled one another. Once, in the heat of exchange, he said "Neegra" and, again, "Neeger," and I once wildly pronounced it "Nigroo," to our mutual dismay. But we both behaved well upon these lapses, quite as if they had not occurred, and proceeded as nice as you please.

"In my opinion," he said, "the South made its biggest mistake—because they hated to do it out of our love and affection for the Nigras—but our mistake is in talking states' rights instead of anthropology."

"THE moderates" (and here Barrett used the term as it is widely understood in Mississippi, as equivalent to Communists or other enemies of order and freedom), "prophets of gloom and doom, say it's coming—we gotta accept it. I think if the Nigra is able to live on an equal footing after the troops leave, then we are wrong—wrong when we say the Nigra is not capable.

"Yes'm, I expect there'll have to be an occupation before there'll be integration in Mississippi, and the Kennedy twins are ruthless enough to do it without batting an eye if they're re-elected. It would probably be the most tragic thing that could happen to our beloved state. But afterward, when the troops leave . . ." Here he explained that white resistance to the troops would be so adamant that upon their despairing withdrawal, "everything would be just like before, only the poor Nigras would lose all the friendship and goodwill they had."

Barrett's uncle is a cotton planter and head of the Citizens' Council in Lexington and his father is a founder. Don himself is "a sort of honorary member" because he "wanted to give my $5," though he is under the usually accepted age. Contemplating the possibility of Negro political control in the Delta through its 65 to 70 per cent Negro majority—"although it would *never* happen" — Barrett said such a regime "without white man's control would be chaos."

"If we turned politics over to them, we'd have another Congo. It's not wild like that under the patient, restraining hand of the white man, when they behave reasonably well.

"Do anything to us? I don't think so, no'm. I don't believe the Nigras, if they got control, would have any reason to hurt people who have nurtured and cared for them, but it would be chaos. Yes, out of their incompetence. The economy would collapse, and it would be like Reconstruction. You remember the Nigras in power in Reconstruction were voting themselves carriages and all kind of luxuries. It wouldn't be out of malice—they're a kindly people—but out of inability to run things. The Southern code of hospitality, gentleness, kindness—they've learned it and accepted it. . . .

"IF the majority of Nigras with the vote there"—this was in reference to Charles City County, Va.—"haven't taken over, it's because they haven't got the initiative. But look at Memphis. Nigras are 32 per cent of the electorate. They're beginning to control politics, and Memphis is beginning to look like a dirty Northern city," he said in another spurt of disgust.

Barrett is also apprehensive about treatment of white women under black domination. "If the social system is thrown out of kilter, as moderates would do, there would be more danger than there is now under the patient hand of white leadership. I would certainly take up arms to protect our women. To me there is nothing more wonderful than a Southern lady. Gosh! It's

**PATROL**—Military police on duty on the University of Mississippi campus during the racial tension there a year ago.

really undefinable. But she's cultured, genteel, intelligent, beautiful — usually beautiful, anyway."

In defense of the social and economic system, Barrett would not eat with a Negro, or call one Mr. or Mrs. or Miss, because "it's not socially acceptable, it's not done—anymore than I'd cut more than one piece of steak at a time or tuck my napkin under my chin."

NOR would he betray his manners for distinguished Negroes or for different customs in other places. In Milwaukee, where he visited an aunt and "a wonderful Yankee uncle—the only good Yankee I know," he did not desist from giving his bus seat to standing ladies, in the Mississippi way, just because it was not the usual practice in Wisconsin.

As for celebrated and accomplished Negroes, Barrett says, "more power to 'em." He cited "Gaston in Birmingham"—a millionaire Negro banker and property owner. "You can see he obviously has a very high I. Q., is well-mannered and a fine man, I'm sure. Well, it's just a combination of genes that worked out that way. But the chances are 1 in 5,000 that his children would be like that."

There are "exceptional" Negroes in Lexington, who own stores, cafes and funeral businesses, but no professionals. "We are courteous and treat them with the respect due their education," he explained. "There's none of this pushing around or 'Get outa my way' for them in stores or anywhere —or for the lowest field hand either."

Barrett scoffs at the outsiders' notion that it's deprivation and "brutality" which makes Negroes migrate from the South.

"That's ridiculous. It's economic. The Negro definitely was necessary to farming 20 years ago. My uncle owns a plantation where he had 60 families chopping cotton, borrowing money, depending on him — you know, old-style sharecropping. Ten of the 15 left live there now because they love my uncle and they depend on him, although he just needs five of 'em. But he gives them Saturday-night spending money and everything and he could say, 'Fred, go up the hill and kill me a big snake,' or 'Go cut off your head,' and Fred would do it.

"They don't help *him*. They're an economic liability. He supports 10 families out of love and loyalty. He's a fine fellow, president of the Tchula Citizens' Council. The others left because they had to sell their small farms—with mechanization, the Nigras can't make a profit on a little farm —and had no place to live. Now you just see old grandfathers and little bitty children, pickaninnies. The young ones have gone to Chicago.

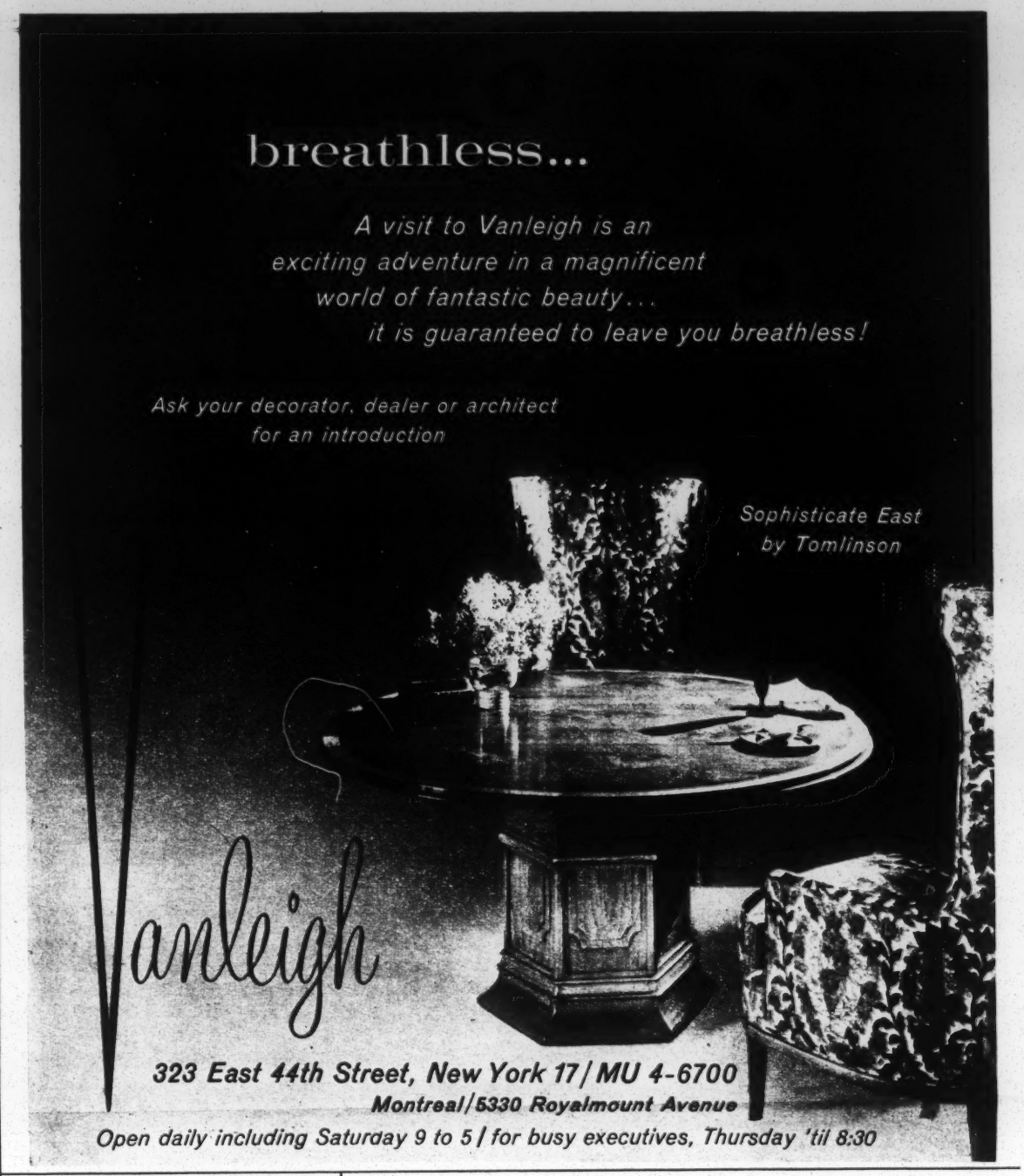
"My girl, I talked to her on the phone and this horrible thing had happened. Houston was dead. Houston drove their tractor and she just loved him. Mr. Foose's father —that's his name, Mary's father, Mr. Foose—and Houston's father were always on the place together. Houston's father had worked for Mr. Foose's father all that time, and they loved him.

"THE Citizens' Council, Mr. Foose is a leader in it, is not like the Ku Klux Klan. We hate violence. But we are determined to keep our way of life," he declared with rapidly rising fervor. "Nobody can take it away from us, and I would die for it. I wouldn't do anything foolish, but we will not give up.

"People say Nigras are catching up—that's wonderful —but that's no justification for social change in 1963 for what might happen in 500 or 1,000 years."

Barrett is not much disturbed by the current Mississippi Negro drive to write in

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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*(Continued from Preceding Page)*

15,000 or 20,000 Negro protest votes for Aaron Henry, state N.A.A.C.P. president, for governor, and the Rev. Ed King, a young, white civil-rights devotee, for lieutenant-governor, and to draw 200,000 disfranchised Negro votes in a straw election for Henry. Nor does he share outside dismay at intimidation of Negro voting aspirants — random violence, arrests of demonstrators, eviction of would-be voters from jobs and property, and a few killings.

"FEDERAL right to vote? No, the Constitution gives the states the right to say who shall vote and who shall not. There's no such thing as the right to vote. It's a privilege, earned only after qualifications set up by the state have been met. Instead of reducing voting requirements, we ought to make them more strict. I believe in the poll tax. Our $2 poll tax goes straight to the schools, white and colored.

"I don't think there's any harm in a few qualified Negroes voting. But you can't open the floodgates. I don't condone violence, but the state has the right of police power to protect the health, morals and general welfare of the people. And when feelings are running high and the spark is there, they could set off a riot.

"I think the police were right in Greenwood and Jackson [scenes of summer disorders and mass arrests of Negroes seeking the vote and other civil rights]. And about these peaceful grievances, they should not trespass on private property."

BARRETT went—"defending my state; no, not that, either, as an observer"—to the University of Mississippi upon the entrance of James Meredith to the university. He drove to Oxford with a friend, without his father's permission.

"I was close enough to the marshals to see what was happening," he related. "Some of the boys were armed, and one man was standing by the Y Building shooting out street lights with a .22 rifle. The students were jeering and sneering and occasionally tossing a cigarette butt at the marshals. All of a sudden, McShane [Chief U. S. Marshal James Joseph McShane] said, 'Gas 'em!' and from a clear blue sky, a patrolman got hit in the head, from behind, and knocked down by a marshal throwing tear gas—that metal case hit him.

"Barnett [Gov. Ross Barnett] made a mistake. That Sunday, if he'd issued a call to white males of Mississippi to stand firm at the gate, why, you'd have seen 600,000 men mustered at the gate. I know all of Holmes County would have come, except a couple of scalawags.

"I didn't attack the marshals, and I was not armed, it was not my place to. But if Governor Barnett had called the Citizens' Councils and other responsible citizens, and had said, 'Come, it is Armageddon, get your gun'—well, I certainly *would*. Yes, *ma'am!*

"Oxford seemed to me a nightmare. I felt I was not in the United States, but in Budapest or a Warsaw ghetto. If that was American action, then God save us."

If whites and Negroes attend schools together, he wonders "what's to keep little white Mary from bringing home little black Johnny from school some day, and that leads to mixed dating and mixed marriages."

Would either of his sisters grow up to choose a Negro husband? "Heavenly days, no! But girls who haven't had the upbringing would if we change the social order."

He considers Cleve McDowell, the Negro recently expelled from the University of Mississippi for carrying a gun, as "more dangerous than Meredith. The way he behaved, like I've heard people say, 'he's a good Nigra, he just wants an education.' And that would lead to acceptance. He behaved like a nigger, he would open doors, he had good manners and he scuffed his feet and held his head down. So, he could be the leak in the dike, and then the dams burst.

"Of course, Meredith was the most segregated Nigra in the United States. He was ignored. Yes." (He laughed in appreciation of the placard rhymes which appeared on the campus: "Ignore the Nigger with Vigor" and "Nigger-free in '63.") "Ole Miss has never really been integrated."

BARRETT was "not much impressed" by the Negro March on Washington. "It wasn't any different from what I see Saturday night in Lexington when they come to town to get drunk and cut up, except they're happier in Lexington." He smiled here at the remembered spectacle of Lexington police warning the tipsy Fred, "Now, Fred, how many times I got to tell you?" and at Fred's shuffling, laughing promise to stay sober.

He described Negro pleasure in Government "'modities"—the surplus foods that they get on welfare—and the willingness of "many, many, many" simply to collect relief and "'modities" rather than work. All the Negroes on the Barrett place "get real butter and cheese" from the welfare, and "we use oleo."

Barrett, a 96-average student in high school and on a scholarship at Ole Miss, would vote for Governor Barnett, "the most courageous leader of our time," for "dictator or anything." He is now more proud of being a Mississippian than an American, and laments our "Federal power, a crushing force, a rampage," under which we're "no longer the land of the free." He also deplores foreign policy which, with the United Nations, "is destroying the only pro-West governments in Africa. Katanga and the Union of South Africa, we stab them in the back."

He takes a grisly view of Federal aid to states and localities. His story is "not original," but he compares Federal aid to the starving hunter who whacked off part of his famished dog's tail, ate off the meat, and threw the bone to the beast. Whereupon the "whimpering dog," like recipients of Federal aid, gratefully "licked the hunter's hand."

**SPOKESMAN**—Don Barrett in his room at home in Lexington, Miss.

FOR all his lordly and loving attachment to Negro friends, Barrett sees an eventual solution in the departure of all Negroes for the North "to live on welfare," since the planters and automated land no longer need them. He also believes the Delta will be "forever agrarian," though partly industrialized with small, imported industries employing whites in a prosperous blend of his beloved old way of life and new Yankee paychecks.

This, then, is the romantic tradition and reactionary passion with which the young segregationists of a dwindling old South face the nonviolent Negro revolution. In love with the life long gone, they stand embattled, fighting change with talk of old times, planter-rulers and good servants happy in subjection.

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# CITY OF ATLANTA

Atlanta 3, Georgia

SAM MASSELL, JR.
President, Board of Aldermen

November 13, 1963

Mr. Lester Maddox
Committee for Human and Property Rights
891 Hemphill Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Maddox:

This is to acknowledge your telegram of November 12th, requesting a meeting with members of the Atlanta Board of Aldermen regarding racial problems.

It is my personal policy to meet, upon request, with any recognized civic organization at times mutually convenient for the purpose of exploring problems and possible solutions. I am interested in all of Atlanta's people, and as a public official, elected by the city-at-large, I feel I have a responsibility to represent them all equally, whether or not I always agree with them on debatable issues.

If you and your organization accept the premise that all people are entitled to equal rights and if you profess opposition to discrimination against people, based on race, religion or nationality, then we may proceed to make arrangements for a conference. If you cannot begin with this foundation, which I feel is so basic in the Godly, humane and democratic way of American life, then it would be a waste of time for us to discuss the problem further.

Awaiting your reply, I shall hold open 3:00 P.M. on Friday, November 29th. If this is convenient for you, I will be available and will invite the other members of the Board. So that proper seating arrangements may be made, please also advise me the names of the officers of your organization who will accompany you at this meeting.

Sincerely,

Sam Massell, Jr.

Sam Massell, Jr.
(Office: 40 Pryor Street, S.W.)

SM, Jr:epv

# INTERMARRIAGE AND THE RACE PROBLEM—

## As Leading Authorities See It

**"The New York Times" recently reported:**

**"Marriages between Negroes and whites have been increasing in New York and have become a poignant part of the life of the city."**

**How widespread is racial intermarriage? Although banned by law in 19 States, is it increasing in other parts of the nation?**

**What effect is intermarriage likely to have on the nation's race problem? On the nation itself, and on its people?**

**Is the U. S. population on the way to becoming a blend of races?**

**Such questions are being raised with increasing frequency as the Negro drive for equality spreads across the country.**

**For answers, members of the staff of "U. S. News & World Report" interviewed some of the world's leading authorities on race and race problems. Following, in their own words, are their views on a controversial subject.**

## "YOU CAN'T CHANGE SOCIAL SITUATION BY LAWS"

Interview with Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish social economist, now professor of international economics at University of Stockholm

At STOCKHOLM

**Q Dr. Myrdal, in 1944 you wrote a book about the Negro problem, calling it "An American Dilemma." Do you now foresee a solution to that problem?**

**A** Solution? Well, you can find solutions to technical problems. But in social problems—particularly those which are so intrinsically difficult and mixed up as the Negro problem—there is no solution, in an absolute sense.

You don't change the over-all situation by law. In a sociological problem, what we mean by a solution is something creating conditions for development in the right direction, toward an improvement. But there is no real solution, like solving a mathematical equation.

**Q Do you mean you can't change the situation by laws?**

**A** I wouldn't want to say that exactly. You change the situation by laws to an extent, but not wholly.

Put it this way: The whole protest movement in which the Negroes are engaging now is directed primarily at civil rights in what we might call the broader sense, including the right to be employed, to have equal employment opportunities.

All right, let's say this is achieved by law—that the Negro has the same right to a job as a white man and is not discriminated against when he applies for the job.

But you would still have Negroes living grouped together, segregated, and they would remain a substantial part of the American people who have less schooling and not-so-good schooling and live in slums. And his rate of unemployment would be higher, on the average, than the white man's.

But I wouldn't say that the law isn't changing things. It

**Dr. Gunnar Myrdal,** a Swedish economist of international reputation, was chosen by the Carnegie Foundation in 1937 to direct a study of the American Negro. A result was publication in 1944 of his book, "An American Dilemma; The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy." This book was cited by the U. S. Supreme Court in its 1954 ruling that segregated schools deprived Negroes of equal opportunity. Dr. Myrdal has been Sweden's Minister of Commerce. Now 64 and a professor at the University of Stockholm, he has continued close study of the U. S. and has just written a book, "Challenge to Affluence," dealing with the U. S. economy.


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very definitely is changing things. But you can't change a whole social situation and a whole nation merely by laws.

There are many other things which have to be done at the same time. And I think the really encouraging thing about the situation is the position which the press and other enlightened leadership have taken in America at this time—in both North and South, incidentally. They have understood that changing the law is not enough.

**Q What more is needed?**

**A** If the Negro wants better housing, then you must improve housing generally. If you want to improve Negro education, you must improve your school situation for poor people all over America. And this means more doctors, more lawyers, more teachers, more schools, better schools. And all this costs an awful lot of money. You see what I mean?

**Q The Negro seems to be asking for what he calls "complete integration." Is this the answer to his problem?**

**A** Integration is a very loose word. Sure, the Negro is asking that his color shall not be used for discriminating against him under any circumstances. He wants to be an ordinary American. As a matter of fact, he is. There is nothing strange about the Negro. He is not different from other people, except that for a long, long period, since he came to the country as a slave, he has been living under very extraordinary conditions. And he wants to be equal to other people.

**Q Does this mean social equality, too—including intermarriage with whites?**

**A** No educated or intelligent Negro could ever agree that, because of his race, it should not be possible for him to marry as he pleases. He is against that.

I don't think, however, that—as a practical thing—intermarriage is very much on his mind. It is more on the white man's mind than on the Negro's.

**Q Do you mean the Negro wants to be free to marry a white person if he chooses, but that he is not very much interested in exercising that freedom?**

**A** Well, surely, as an American citizen, he doesn't want laws that say it is a crime for him to marry a white girl. That's an open rebuff to his dignity.

But, as I pointed out in my book, there is a difference in what I call the "rank order"—order of importance—in the things that the Negro wants and the things that the whites want, or don't want, as far as the Negro is concerned.

This is a hopeful thing, I think. It means that the things the Negroes most want are the things that the whites are most prepared to give him. What the Negro is most interested in is being able to make a living, to live in decent houses, to be treated equally in the courts—not to have justice automatically against him—to have equality in social-welfare policy. He wants not to be discriminated against in buses and in public facilities of various sorts and so on.

What the whites call "social equality" is much lower on the Negro's value scale. However, he does want social equality, too, and the right to marry freely.

But now take the white man: He is most against what the Negro wants least—intermarriage and miscegenation. Most white Americans now are getting prepared to give the Negro what he wants most, which are the things I mentioned before, such as being able to earn a living without being discriminated against and having equally good schools—and you can't have equality in school if you have separate schools; it doesn't work.

In this difference in "rank order" you have the possibility of progress as far as the Negro is concerned.

**Q Should all laws against racial marriage and miscegenation be eliminated?**

**A** I do believe that every Negro and every good American must be against these laws because they are obviously discriminating. But I don't believe that eliminating them solves any problem.

Incidentally, the big period of miscegenation was during slavery. This is why, say, 80 per cent of American Ne-

## INTERMARRIAGE AND THE RACE PROBLEM

continued

groes have white blood in them. Slavery was the time of real miscegenation. There was also a lot of it in the period after slavery. But I think there has gradually been less and less of it, partly because the Negro knew he was being exploited. It was the Negro woman who was exploited by the white man. This has produced a very deep feeling about miscegenation in the Negro.

Of course, from a scientific point of view, there is no reason why people shouldn't marry as they please and get along with each other.

**Q How does intermarriage affect the races involved?**

**A** Well, race, race—we are all a mixture of many things. You have much Negro blood mixed in the peoples of Southern Europe. I don't have the source now, but I remember that there was a large Negro population in one of the big British port cities, and this Negro blood now has disappeared by absorption into the white population. We are all mixed in our racial character.

**Q Do you mean that the Negroes in America—10 per cent of the population—could be absorbed into the white race through intermarriage?**

**A** Well, you're putting a rather hypothetical question there, because something like that is not in the cards. I don't think anything like that is going to happen very soon, for various reasons. Even if it did happen, maybe the whites might be a little darker, or even a little gayer, something like that. But I wouldn't put any importance on it. All big countries are a mixture of all sorts of races, anyhow, if you go back thousands of years to where we started from.

**Q Why don't you think such a racial absorption is going to happen in the U. S.?**

**A** Well, it won't as long as there is racial prejudice—and remember you'll have racial prejudice even if you take away the legal and institutional barriers, even if you create full formal equality, which, by the way, I believe will come in 10 years, being rather optimistic myself.

Nevertheless, there will be feelings on the white side which, in most cases, will prevent intermarriage. And there is, also, not prejudice, but a certain pride on the Negro side. The intellectual, upper-middle-class Negro particularly feels, first of all, a shame about the long period of miscegenation when his Negro women were exploited by white men. Furthermore, the Negro also has a sort of racial pride.

I don't think normally the Negro is looking for a white girl. This is a kind of bug in the white man's brain—that the Negro is particularly anxious to marry his daughter. I've not seen very much of that.

Anyway, I don't think this business of intermarriage has much to do with the problem at all—not at all. I don't think it's practical. But, of course, America is full of racial prejudice in many other aspects. You have anti-Semitism. It's not only the Negroes who are segregated in housing. Jews and some other peoples also are.

**Q Do you think that the fear of racial interbreeding accounts for a lot of the white resistance to integration?**

**A** In principle, yes. But one has to be very careful here. To a large extent the fear of interbreeding is a kind of rationalization. It is a stereotype which developed in order to bring some sort of order and rationality into their attitudes. It is very convenient if you want to keep school kids segregated to say that we don't want to bring on miscegenation. To some extent this is just a pretense, this fear.

You see, this intermarriage business is used all the time by people who want to prevent advancement by the Negro. There is a lot of irrational feeling and irrational belief in this intermarriage fear, and probably many people genuinely have these fears, but it's a foggy and phony idea.

**Q Is there any scientific or historical reason for believing that racial mixture is bad for a country?**

**A** We have had a great deal of intermixture in every country, if you look back far enough.

I don't think there is any scientific foundation for believing that intermixture of the races is detrimental to the quality of a country's people. There is none if you talk about it in biological terms or in psychological terms.

# "MOTIVE FOR INTERMARRIAGE OFTEN NEUROTIC"

Interview with Dr. Ernest van den Haag, professor of social philosophy, New York University

**Q Professor van den Haag, do you see any real solution for the race problem in this country?**

**A** Well, I don't know what is meant by "solution." Some people have proposed racial intermarriage as the only ultimate solution—intermarriage to such an extent that there wouldn't be any real Negroes left.

**Q Do you think intermarriage is a solution?**

**A** I think it's an insulting proposal—insulting to the Negroes and to everyone else.

**Q Why do you consider it insulting?**

**A** Because it seems to imply that Negroes and whites, as long as they remain Negroes and whites, will necessarily hate each other, and that the only way to avoid hating each other will be that they stop being Negroes and whites and all become gray or brown or something like that.

**Q Do you think this is likely to happen here—that Americans will some day blend into a common color?**

**A** No, I don't think there will be racial intermarriage on a scale large enough to produce such a result.

**Q Do you foresee any great increase in intermarriage?**

**A** There will be an increase, certainly, over the amount there is now. But I think it will remain stabilized on a fairly low level. I really doubt that it will be on a scale such that it can even come near causing the Negro race to disappear.

But even if Negroes should disappear, as a distinct race, it still would not be a solution to the problem. Some people would still be lighter in color than others, and the same problems that arise now would continue to rise.

**Dr. Ernest van den Haag** is a sociologist and a psychoanalyst as well as a professor of social philosophy at New York University. He has dealt with race relations in several publications, including his latest book, "Passion and Social Constraint." Born in Holland in 1914, he studied in Italy and France, came to U. S. in 1940, completed his education in this country. He formerly taught at City College of New York, Brooklyn College and University of Minnesota.

Let me point out that in places like India, numerous lawsuits occur in which the bridegroom complains that the bride had been powdered when presented to him so as to appear lighter in color than she actually was. So, even in a population which is relatively homogenized in skin color, as in India, the light-colored skin is preferred to the darker-colored skin, and the same sort of difficulties arise that we encounter here.

**Q Do you mean that humans are so constructed that a difference in the color of their skin creates an antipathy?**

**A** Not necessarily antipathy. But the visual aspect of another person plays an important role, particularly in sexual selection but also in other relations. After all, skin is the most visible part of the body and I cannot believe that people will ever disregard it.

Now, I don't wish to indicate that people will necessarily be hostile to people of a different skin color. What I do wish to make plain is that people will consider skin color as part of their aesthetic and psychological evaluation of another person. Since skin colors will remain different—regardless of intermarriage—this problem will remain with us.

**Q Has there already been a considerable mixing of the white and black races in this country?**

**A** Yes. But, you see, "interbreeding" and "intermarriage" are very different things. The normal disposition in most people is to prefer people who look like themselves—people of the same kind. There are deviations from that, but this would be the normal disposition. I think, on the whole, people are likely to prefer to marry in their own race.

**Q Is there a basic difference—a difference in cultural heritage, you might call it—that sets the black and white races apart and which is hard to overcome, even when they live in the same environment?**

**A** There are basic differences in culture, but whether these differences are due to race is an open question. The fashionable reply 50 years ago would have been to say that the differences in culture are absolutely linked to genetic differences of race.

The fashionable reply today is to say that the differences in culture are absolutely not related to race.

I regard both these replies as merely fashions. As for the evidence, it is simply not conclusive, either way.

There is no explanation satisfactory to my mind as to why, for instance, Negroes in Africa never invented a written language or built a major political empire, as almost every other race has done. There may be a racial connection. But we don't know the nature of the connection, if any.

**Q What about the effect on individuals of extensive interbreeding?**

**A** The effect on individuals is individual, so I cannot generalize on that. From the physical standpoint, some anthropologists feel that some difficulties can result, but the evidence is not strong enough to indicate that we have much to fear from that.

Psychologically, the difficulties that result tend to be much more social in origin than genetic.

**Q Do children of mixed marriages face special difficulties?**

**A** Such children often do not have a sense of belonging to either side. Under present circumstances, a mixed marriage does give its children a special handicap. Now, in a completely mixed society, it would be different. But we don't have a mixed society, and that's that.

**Q How about the problems faced by the husband and wife in a mixed marriage? Is there any evidence to indicate how such marriages usually work out?**

**A** I practice as a psychoanalyst, and I have treated some cases of people involved in mixed marriages. I haven't encountered many such marriages which seemed very happy.

In the cases that have come to my attention, the motive for intermarriage was often neurotic. Usually the white person would marry a Negro as a way of defying authority. The person that I would consider psychologically healthy is not very likely to intermarry under present circumstances.

Here I don't wish to be misunderstood. I don't mean to say that everybody who marries a person of a different color is neurotic. What I'm saying is that under present circumstances, in our society, the probability of a neurotic motive is exceedingly high.

But if the motive for marrying a person of another race is healthy—a genuine personal feeling for that person—I don't see any good reason why the marriage shouldn't work out, though it might face social difficulties. There is usually bitter opposition to such a marriage on the part of the parents.

**Q Do you expect that, as integration increases and the number of mixed marriages grows, there will be increasing social acceptance of mixed marriage? Or will there be a rising resistance?**

**A** I think probably there will be some of both results. In some circles, there will be greater acceptance, while some other circles will be reinforced in their rejection. The likelihood is that there will be deeper splits, if anything, in attitudes.

*(continued on next page)*

## HOW MANY INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES?

There are no official statistics to show the number of Negroes married to whites in the U. S.

Estimates vary widely. A 1956 survey indicated that, in States where mixed marriages are legal, fewer than 1 in 20 married Negroes have non-Negro spouses and fewer than 1 in 200 of all marriages are between white and Negro. Andrew D. Weinberger, a New York lawyer who has made studies of miscegenation laws, estimated recently there are almost 1 million interracial married couples in the U. S. But he says some 810,000 of these are not known as mixed marriages because they involve persons of mixed ancestry "passing" as whites.

## INTERMARRIAGE AND THE RACE PROBLEM

continued

**Q All in all, what do you expect will be the effect of intermarriage on the race problem in the U. S.?**

**A** I don't regard it as either a threat or a promise. I do not think it is likely to be very significant.

**Q What do you foresee as the answer?**

**A** I think that material discrimination can be eliminated, to a large extent, by appropriate legal measures—and I would be in favor of such measures. By "material discrimination" I mean discrimination that places someone else at a material disadvantage because of race.

Personal preferences, however, cannot be thus eliminated—nor do I think we have a right to ask people to give up their preferences. If a man says, "I don't like Negroes," that's a preference, just as though he were to say, "I don't like blondes." And as long as he does not discriminate against Negroes—that is, as long as he does not place them at a material disadvantage merely because of his personal dislike—then I think he is entitled to his dislikes.

Furthermore, in my opinion, a man is entitled, if he wishes, to remain separated from Negroes, wherever possible—a right to mix or not to mix, provided again that he does not thereby place the other person at a material disadvantage.

In the long run, we must hope that people will find it possible to accept the justice of nondiscrimination—but be content with the fact that some people simply don't like some other people. They have a right to likes and dislikes on any basis.

# "NEVER LOOK TO INTERMARRIAGE AS A SOLUTION"

## Interview with Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., President, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

**Q Dr. Nabrit, do you think that we are going to see more racial intermarriage in the future in this country?**

**A** I don't think so.

You know, intermarriage is a two-way street. It takes two people. And there just doesn't seem to be much desire for intermarriage on the part of either group. So I would never look to intermarriage as a solution to our problem. There just isn't that much intermarriage and I don't believe there's going to be that much.

**Q How much importance do Negroes attach to interracial marriage?**

**A** To an individual, marriage is a major interest. But up to this time interracial marriages have not risen to the level of importance which would warrant any broad legal consideration or treatment. Many questions of disabilities affecting masses of Negroes and other racial minorities are too critical for a diversion of scarce legal talent into studying the relatively minor area of interracial marriage.

In my teaching on civil rights over the years, we expended our efforts on basic areas of civil rights—namely, suffrage, housing, transportation, employment, education, public accommodations and justice before the courts.

**Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., is a Negro lawyer and educator. As a lawyer, he handled many cases involving Negro civil rights. As an educator, he organized and taught the first course in civil rights to be offered in a U. S. law school. With Howard University since 1936, he became dean of the law school there in 1958 and president of the university in 1960. His age is 63.**

The subject of interracial marriages, while generating much heat, is really not of sufficient scope at the moment to merit the publicity which it is receiving.

My own personal view is that interracial marriages are constitutionally protected, but they affect such small numbers of people that their consideration might very well be postponed at this critical time in the lives of our citizens.

**Q If there were more interracial marriages, do you think that would help race relations?**

**A** I don't know. My own opinion, which is not based upon study, is that the more contacts and the more relations we have between the races, the better the understanding will be. Now, whether or not this would be helped by interracial marriages, I'm just not able to say.

**Q What do you think is the practical solution to the problem of race differences in this country?**

**A** I think the practical solution is to give the Negro certain things like a fair break at a job and at advancement on that job, a fair chance at decent housing at a price which he can pay, a fair shake at education, and an opportunity to enjoy the normal use of public accommodations.

These in themselves would occupy him for many years in trying to take advantage of them, and the development through those areas would ameliorate many other things which are really primarily acerbations. You just get so frustrated at these major things that you strike out at everything, and you get a feeling of hopelessness.

So, if you had these things, which most people in the country really don't object to as long as they are not affected—which most of them would accept—I think that to reach that stage in race relations would give us a long period in which the Negro would try to consolidate his position and consolidate these gains, and a lot of the fringe things that bother us would just vanish.

# "WE'VE GOT A BLENDING OF RACES RIGHT NOW"

Interview with Dr. Margaret Mead, anthropologist and associate curator of ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, New York City

**Q Dr. Mead, does the United States have a racial problem that is unique in the world today?**

**A** We are trying to do something in the United States that has as yet never been done. We have here representatives of all the great races of mankind. They arrived here under startlingly different conditions. The white European arrived as a happy and enterprising colonist and adventurer. The African arrived as an unwilling slave. The Asians were brought in originally as manual laborers. And the American Indian, of course, is the displaced original owner of this land—displaced at a time when his civilization was at a very simple technological level.

Now, under these circumstances, with the best will in the world and with the highest religious and political ideals, it takes time to weld a unified people.

**Q Do you see a solution to this problem?**

**A** I don't think this is a single problem, or that it has a single solution. I don't like to call it a problem, but a situation. The situation contains problems—but also opportunities, hazards—and also new possibilities. You see, I don't like to describe it as *the* Negro problem. I think, given the situation we have in this country, we have the problem of blending peoples together harmoniously.

**Q What do you mean by "blending together"—integration?**

**A** Well, integration is the term that's being used at present, and it's being used almost exclusively to refer to Negro Americans—that is, to Americans with some African ancestry. This ignores the fact that Negro Americans have a large amount of European ancestry and are actually a new kind of people in the world.

But I think we ought to keep in mind that there are other groups in this country who are not fully integrated into American life—people who are not given all the privileges and opportunities that are appropriate for American citizens.

**Q Do you think that integration will remove whatever racial difficulties exist in this country?**

**A** No. I think people are always going to react to other people in terms of any kind of differences between them, and differences in racial ancestry are always going to be somewhat conspicuous.

**Q Do you foresee a time when we will have a blending of the races in this country—a physical blending?**

**A** Well, we've got a blending of the races right now. We have been blending busily with Africans ever since they landed on this shore. It is exceedingly difficult to find in this country today an individual of pure African descent.

**Q Do you expect integration to increase the amount of blending—the amount of racial interbreeding?**

**A** No. There may even be less.

**Q Why?**

**A** Because there may be a decreasing amount of illegal intermixture, for one thing. We've always had interracial breeding in this country. Now, the difference between interbreeding and intermarriage is that, with intermarriage, you treat the women of both races with equal courtesy and consideration. With integration, Negro women would be as well protected as white women are.

**Q How about intermarriage? Will that increase?**

**A** No, I don't see any reason to believe that there will be a great increase in intermarriage. I should think that, if we had really full integration, if Negro Americans acquired full civic and economic privileges, then conceivably the rate of intermarriage might go down. And certainly the rate of intermixture would go down, as the premium on illicit intermixture would go down. And the premium on "passing"—a person of part-African descent passing as a white—would disappear.

So, conceivably, the total amount of racial intermixture might decrease, rather than increase, because we have a general tendency in this country at the present time toward the self-segregation of like groups.

Most people nowadays want their children to marry people exactly like themselves. It makes life so much simpler if they eat the same foods and celebrate the same holidays and have the same prejudices.

When interracial marriages are fully sanctioned by society, both families are brought into the picture. Today, very often, young people who intermarry have to run away because they are marrying against the disapproval of both of their families and the entire society. And the average Negro family is not going to welcome intermarriage any more than the average white family.

**Dr. Margaret Mead** is internationally known as an ethnologist, anthropologist and writer. She has made intensive studies of primitive societies and written several books about them. She also has made a continuing study of modern American society. Now, at 61, she is a professor of anthropology at Columbia University and associate curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

**Q Then you don't expect intermarriage to be a material factor in race relations in this country?**

**A** Oh, yes. I think that every interracial marriage which is agreed to by both races—specifically by the families of the marrying pair—and which is treated with respect by society increases the possibility of both groups treating each other as equals. Americans, on the whole, do not believe that anyone they don't marry is their equal.

**Q With the present attitudes of society, could interracial marriages impair racial relations, retard integration?**

**A** To the extent that cross-racial marriage is heavily disapproved or punished in any way, this creates a temporary hazard to the orderly progress of integration, because it is not intermarriage that the Negroes are primarily working

## INTERMARRIAGE AND THE RACE PROBLEM

continued

for at present. They are working primarily for public privilege and responsibility and opportunity—for the right to vote, to buy a house in the same way that others buy houses, to send their children to a good school, and to have equal economic opportunity.

Intermarriage is not something that Negroes articulately are working for. Therefore, to put intermarriage at the forefront of the discussion is, to a degree, a distortion of what is actually going on in the civil-rights movement.

**Q As an anthropologist, do you see anything especially injurious or especially beneficial in race mixing?**

**A** Well, there is a condition known as "hybrid vigor" which sometimes characterizes the descendants of different races or stocks—when they are physically superior in some way to either ancestral group. We recognize hybrid vigor in plants, in animals, and in human beings as well. We can also say that when a group of living beings is segregated from crossbreeding, the descendants may develop characteristic weaknesses.

In general we can say that quality of the individuals who are the offspring of crossbreeding will depend on the quality of the individuals who mate. If interbreeding occurs only among the least able members of two groups, then the outcome may be a group that is inferior to the rest of the population.

**Q Is there any evidence that there are basic differences between the white and the black races that would raise a cultural barrier to their intermarriage or interbreeding?**

**A** There is not the slightest evidence that there are any basic differences that are relevant to culture. Science has not yet demonstrated—and that's all science can ever say—that there is the slightest correlation between those particular physical characteristics which cluster to produce what we call different races and those particular characteristics that are important to the development of culture.

By "culturally relevant" I mean intellectual ability, creativity and powers of self-discipline, development and character. All these things, as far as we know now, are completely dependent in their expression on culture and learning.

Now, there's one question you have not asked that comes up in such discussions. That is the question: "Don't you believe in heredity?"

**Q Do you believe in heredity?**

**A** Of course, but individuals inherit from individuals and not from races. Because we say that there are no differences among races does not mean that we are saying there are no differences among individuals. Of course there are. Every race has very bright people and very stupid people.

But if you have one race that is socially disadvantaged, then the children of that race usually will show a lower degree of achievement when achievement is measured. Then the accusation may be made that this race has a hereditary defect. But all the evidence we have at present suggests that any widespread defective achievement which is found is the result of faulty education and social deprivation—not of race.

# "I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS A SUPERIOR RACE"

Interview with Dr. W. Montague Cobb, head of the anatomy department, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

**Q Dr. Cobb, what is the attitude among Negroes toward interracial marriages?**

**A** I would say that, on the whole, the Negro community accepts both partners in an interracial marriage—or should we say the "foreign" partner—more readily than the white community does. There is not so much intolerance.

But there is no particular desire among Negroes to intermingle or intermarry with whites.

**Q Is there objection among Negroes to marrying whites?**

**A** No. I would say just indifference. Both of my daughters married Negroes. They had other opportunities.

**Q Among Negroes, is intermarriage considered an important factor in race relations?**

**A** It never has been.

**Q Do you anticipate any big increase in mixed marriages?**

**A** There would be no deluge of interracial marriages even if there were no bars to them whatsoever, because that is not taking place now where the opportunity exists.

**Q Do you think that, if there were more mixed marriages, it would increase social acceptance of them? Or would it increase racial tension?**

**A** I can't evaluate that, but I don't think that anyone would advocate increasing mixed marriages. Marriage is a personal thing. I don't see how you can force it.

**Q Do interracial marriages face considerable difficulties in the United States at present?**

**A** Sometimes. There are places where an employe could be discharged if it is known that he or she is married to a member of the other racial group. In small communities, no matter how enlightened—like, say, university towns—the interracial couple is likely to have it hard. In large or cosmopolitan areas, where identities are not so important and there is relatively little neighborhood gossip, it doesn't matter so much. I know of a number of interracial marriages which are successful, and some that have broken up—but not on the grounds of race.

**Q Does the child of an interracial marriage face a severe handicap?**

**Dr. W. Montague Cobb** is an anatomist, physical anthropologist and medical writer. A graduate of Howard University, Western Reserve University and Amherst College, he has taught anatomy at Howard since 1942, headed its anatomy department since 1947. His writings include biological studies of the U. S. Negro. He is 59, describes himself as of mixed race.

**A** No. Now, on this matter of intermarriage—I'd like to put that in the rather minor perspective in which I consider it by referring to what is talked about as "biological inferiority."

We know that people differ in their individual abilities and special talents, but there has never been any particular segment of mankind which has had a monopoly on superior ability or talent. And no great culture has developed in isolation. The possession of a capacity and its development are two different things.

Great cultures, or people with great potential, can stagnate by lack of contact. I do not believe that there is an inferior or a superior race.

Now, as to what harm admixture does, I don't know of any evidence for that.

I am an admixed person myself and so I am able to regard this problem a little more objectively than someone who thinks he is all white—or all anything else. I have some Indian ancestors, some Caucasian—not known to me—and a larger segment of Negroid.

I've been unable to isolate any of my own qualities and say, "This came from that ancestor," or so on. And as far as I'm concerned, the racial identity of the fellow I've got to compete against has no meaning at all. And I am sure that there has never been any biological antipathy between human groups.

Furthermore, the white man doesn't know how many Negro genes he's got in him.

# "NATURE DOESN'T CARE—BUT SOCIETY OFTEN DOES"

## Interview with Dr. Brewton Berry, professor of sociology and anthropology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

**Q Dr. Berry, is interracial marriage increasing in the United States?**

**A** It is my understanding that there has been a slight increase in some places, such as New York. But the increase has not been sufficiently large to make it significant. It's very difficult to get reliable statistics on that subject. But the number of marriages between Negro and white is really very small in this country.

There has been, however, a great deal of mixing of white and Negro in this country—with or without marriage. This has been going on since colonial times.

The result is that about 70 per cent or so of the American Negroes today have some white or Indian blood—or both.

**Q How about the number of whites with some Negro blood?**

**A** Well, that's a subject that's almost impossible to study, since white people who are aware of Negro ancestry would conceal it. But there has been some investigation of that.

One study, using a rather elaborate statistical methodology, arrives at the conclusion that about 20 per cent of the white people in the United States have some Negro ancestry. I think this is not at all difficult to believe, because there's always been a certain amount of "passing." People leave the Negro race and slip over into the white classification surreptitiously. In my recent book, "Almost White," I deal with a considerable population that is in the process of doing that now.

**Q How extensive is this "passing"?**

**A** Sociologists have studied this question, and a conservative estimate, I would say, is that 2,500 persons per year resign from the Negro race and take up life as whites. Some people put the number much higher than that.

**Q It has been suggested by some that mixing of the races—widespread intermarriage—might help solve the racial problems that exist in this country. As a sociologist, what is your view on that?**

**A** I can't see intermarriage as a feasible or practical solution of any problem. It seems to me that when unlike racial and ethnic groups begin to eliminate their differences, intermarriage generally follows. But it's a consequence of solving the tensions and conflicts—not a means of solving them.

**Q If intermarriage should become so extensive as to produce a racially blended population—**

**A** I don't believe that intermarriage results in a blended population. Even with intermarriage occurring over a long period of time, we would still have persons who are physically different from each other, so that we would still have these racial characteristics that we could use as symbols of status if we chose to. So I don't see intermarriage as really relevant to the solution of our problem.

*(continued on next page)*

**Dr. Brewton Berry** is the author of an award-winning textbook, "Race Relations," and of a recent study of Americans of mixed racial descent, "Almost White." A graduate of Wofford College, Yale University and the University of Edinburgh, he taught at the Universities of Missouri and Rhode Island, and has been professor of sociology and anthropology at Ohio State University since 1946. His age is 62.

## INTERMARRIAGE AND THE RACE PROBLEM

continued

**Q What has been the result in countries where there has been extensive intermixing of the races?**

**A** In countries such as Brazil it is still advantageous to be light, rather than dark, and a black skin is still a social handicap—although they do not attach anything like the significance to it that we do.

**Q What are the effects of race mixing on individuals?**

**A** The effects of interbreeding depend not on biology, but on the social situation.

From a biological point of view, there has been a difference of opinion among scientists as to the biological consequences. Some have maintained that its results are disastrous—that it results in what they call "disharmonious combinations." Other biological scientists have maintained that the biological consequences are advantageous—that it results in what is known as "hybrid vigor."

My personal opinion is that nature doesn't care at all. I've been studying hybrid people for several years, and I am unable to report any monstrosities that result from the mixture. Nor do I find any great abundance of genius. So, in my opinion, nature doesn't care—one way or another—about the mixing of races. But society often cares. The social consequences are extremely important.

**Q Do many Negroes want to marry whites?**

**A** No. I think that intermarriage is at the bottom of their priority list. What Negroes want are their rights as citizens. I think most articulate Negroes would say that they feel if Negroes want to marry whites they should have the legal right to do so. But it's one thing to want the right and another thing to want the marriage. And Negroes, I think, have little or no desire for marriage with whites.

**Q If there were a sizable increase in mixed marriages in the U. S., would there be a greater social acceptance of them, or would resistance rise?**

**A** Generally, I think, our prejudices follow our behavior, rather than the reverse, and if a particular practice became common or widespread, we would come to accept it. We get used to certain patterns of race relations and learn to accept them. I grew up in the South and I have seen this happen many times.

**Q What do you see as the solution to the race problem in this country?**

**A** Well, wherever unlike groups of people live together, there's always tension and friction. This has always been the case, and probably will continue to be.

However, friction and tension and conflict can be reduced, if not entirely eliminated.

There are many places, in our own country and elsewhere, where unlike peoples have learned to dwell together in peace and harmony, so I think there is a possibility of our minimizing or reducing, if not completely solving, our race problem.

**Q How can we achieve this peace and harmony?**

**A** In my opinion, the United States has done a very good job in resolving many of our minority problems—a much better job than most other countries. With respect to our Negro minority, we probably have done the poorest—and with respect to the American Indians, too.

Now, I would say that, in resolving a problem with minority groups, one fact that has to be considered is the wishes of the minority. There are some minority groups that don't want to be integrated. In the case of the Negro, he wants to be integrated into the mainstream of American society. And I think that no solution is possible as long as we frustrate that wish. So I think that the solution lies in our eliminating the discriminations that the Negro suffers. But that is only part of the story.

**Q What is the rest of the story?**

**A** I think the Negro himself needs to be prepared for integration through an educational program. We tend to blame most of our troubles on discrimination. But if discrimination could be eliminated instantly we would still have the problem because most Negroes lack the education and the skills to take advantage of the opportunities that integration would offer.

Also, the fact that we have an unemployment problem in this country means that, even if the Negro had the education and the skills, there still are not enough jobs, and he is the one who feels the pinch first.

So I think the solution of the problem in this country lies in resolving our problem of unemployment, in improving the education of the Negro, and in the continuing elimination of the discriminatory obstacles that Negroes face.

# "RACIAL MIXING COULD BE CATASTROPHIC"

Interview with Dr. Henry E. Garrett, professor emeritus of psychology, Columbia University, and visiting professor of educational psychology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

**Q Dr. Garrett, it has been suggested by some people that intermixing of the white and Negro races might be a solution to the race problem in this country. From your studies of racial differences, what is your opinion?**

**A** I think racial mixing is undesirable in this country and could be catastrophic. Racial amalgamation would mean a general lowering of the cultural and intellectual level of the American people.

**Q Why?**

**A** From what we know about race differences, the Negro has less of what I call "abstract intelligence" than the white man. He functions at a lower level when it comes to the sort

of ability that creates a modern technical society. That is, he is not so able to think in terms of symbols—words, numbers, formulas, diagrams.

**Q What is the evidence for that?**

**A** The evidence goes back over nearly 50 years of psychological testing in this country. The differences between the two racial groups in a variety of mental tests are so large, so regular and so persistent under all sorts of conditions that it is almost unthinkable to conclude that they are entirely a matter of environment.

**Dr. Henry E. Garrett is a psychologist. Born in Virginia in 1894, he is a graduate of the University of Richmond and Columbia University. He taught at Columbia for 33 years, was head of the psychology department there from 1941 to 1956, now is professor emeritus at Columbia and visiting professor at the University of Virginia. He has written several books and made studies of racial comparisons.**

**Q What are these differences?**

**A** In recent studies in the South, it has been confirmed that, on the average, the Negro pupil is from 15 to 20 points in I.Q. behind the average white pupil in the kind of abstract intelligence that I spoke of. In school performance in the elementary grades the Negro lags from one to three grades behind the white student. In high school the lag is much greater.

**Q Do you mean that the Negro race is somehow inferior to the white race?**

**A** I don't mean that the Negro is *generally* inferior. Physically, he is certainly as strong and agile as the white man. But there are differences in the biology, in the brain structure and in the blood groupings of whites and Negroes. These are not very large, to be sure, but they are large enough to convince many of us that there are significant differences between the two racial strains, besides those brought out on the tests.

**Q Have any of these differences shown up in the Negro's behavior or accomplishment?**

**A** The fact that the Negro lags in abstract intelligence—in the ability to deal with symbols—is shown, I think, in his history.

The Negro in Africa has exhibited little capacity for creating a civilization such as that in Europe. He is today pretty much where he was 5,000 years ago. South of the Sahara Desert there was never any *literate* civilization. The Negro invented no system of writing. He didn't build a bridge or a terrace, domesticated no animals, did not discover the principle of the wheel, probably did not discover how to build a fire.

Arnold Toynbee, the eminent British historian, has said that, of the 21 great civilizations of the past, not one was in black Africa.

It seems to me that this fits in with the lag which we find in this country in mental testing.

Now, when you come to a race mixture, I don't see that there would be any evil effects so far as the physical structure of the hybrid is concerned. We all know that the mulatto is viable—he lives as long as the Negro or the white man. The difficulty, it seems to me, comes in mass mixing, which is the goal of the Negro pressure groups.

**Q Do you think that mass intermarriage is a major Negro goal?**

**A** You can't help but think so. If you look at any Negro newspaper or magazine, or if you listen to the statements made by such people as Adam Clayton Powell, the Negro Congressman from New York, you get the idea clearly brought out that what they look to is an amalgamation with the white group. I think they strive for amalgamation because they feel that they'll never get social equality without it.

**Q Do you foresee a material increase in racial intermarriage as a result of integration in this country?**

**A** I don't see how intermarriage can fail to increase if young people of both races are thrown together in their formative years. I think that's what the Southern white parent dreads most.

I am afraid that what a good many white parents are going to do is to teach their children to hate Negroes to offset what they think might be the result of intimate personal contacts.

This would lead to a very unhappy situation. We regard any alien group as people to be treated courteously and fairly only when they constitute no threat to us.

**Q Isn't the Negro improving as his status improves in this country?**

**A** The Negro has not improved intellectually in this country, relative to the white man, in spite of his great social and economic progress. In the first World War, for example, about one Negro out of seven did as well as the average white soldier. In World War II, about one in seven or eight did as well, and in the Korean War we had exactly the same ratio. That is, while both groups improved, they maintained the same relative distance, the one from the other.

I think one of the fundamental fallacies in the thinking of many people today is that the Negro is a sunburned white man, and if he is treated fairly will behave like a white man. My contention is that he will never behave like a white man because he is not a white man.

The Poles, the Italians and the Irish were assimilated into the American populace because they are all Caucasian. If the Negro is assimilated, however, you are likely to get a mixture such as one sees in some of the West Indian islands, in Puerto Rico, in parts of Brazil and in Central America.

**Q What have been the results of racial amalgamation in other countries?**

**A** I don't believe that, historically, amalgamation with the Negro has ever done anything except lower the general level of the national life of those people who have been willing to mix.

**Q How long would it take to obtain a racial amalgamation in this country?**

**A** It would probably take 200 or 300 years to absorb all of the Negroes in this country or to get their number down to a very small proportion. Even then we would probably have a caste system based on race and color—a stratification of society in which you would have a group of white people who would refuse to mix, a group of very black people of low intelligence who would not mix because they couldn't, and a large intermediate group that would continually be pressing to displace the upper white group.

**Q What do you see as the ultimate solution to the race problem in the United States?**

**A** I don't think there is any pat solution. I suspect that there will be a long series of adjustments over the years. It might well be that, as the Negro gets more status, better jobs and more acceptance in public accommodations, then he will cease to strive so hard to push into white society.

But whatever happens, I believe we'll continue to have a kind of segregated society—a society that is segregated socially, though not segregated in some other respects. **[END]**

The Negro-white problem
is greatest in the North
where the Negro is taking over the cities—
and being strangled by them

# Racial Collision

A Two-Part Article by

*Newly militant Chicago Negroes protest school facilities at City Hall. Their demands led to school superintendent's temporary resignation.*

PART I

# Rushing to a Showdown That No Law Can Chart

Richard Daley, three times mayor of Chicago, is aging now. Under the shiny black vest, his girth has thickened; but the China-blue eyes in the wide, pale face still stab as he leans forward to talk to a visitor about the Negroes of Chicago.

Civil rights? Daley rumbles. Civil rights in Chicago? Negroes can vote, can't they? They can register, can't they? They can go anywhere they want, can't they? He talks of the jobs they hold, their numbers among his cops (14%), the phenomenal improvement in their education. This is Chicago, he says proudly—not Birmingham.

All that Mayor Daley says is true. Everything promised by the civil rights bill now before the Congress has long been granted to Negroes in his city. Negroes can, indeed, freely enter any hotel or restaurant in Chicago (downtown, that is, *not* in the suburbs). Negroes can indeed vote (seven South Side Negro wards alone provided 118,000 of the 139,000-vote margin by which Daley won re-election).

No distant federal government need intervene, as suggested by the civil rights bill, to protect Chicago's Negroes. They have their own aldermen in the city council, and it stands clearly on the record of history that Daley was the first big-city political boss to grant full equality and loyalty to the Negro captains of his Cook County machine. Out of loyalty to them—as well as to President Kennedy, whom Daley reveres—the mayor has just compelled a bitterly resentful city council to pass a bill which, if enforced, opens housing to Negroes anywhere in Chicago.

Yet, in the South Side Negro wards of Chicago, Richard Daley's name is today hissed and booed; his Negro aldermen are nicknamed "the Silent Six" by other Negroes, and scorned as part of the white man's machine. No Negro leader in Chicago can define what it is they want—except that they want action. "Dick Daley," says one leader, "is a man surrounded by tame Negroes. The mayor of this city doesn't need silent Negroes—he needs an action committee."

Daley is not the man to unburden himself to a stranger. But the fact is that he has cashed every claim he held on the loyalty and obedience of the machine in order to pass this housing bill for Negroes; it has cost him votes all through white Chicago, which resents the bill. How will he defend the action in the white wards next year—the Polish wards, the Irish wards, the Italian wards, the Jewish wards? In the gravelly, rough voice that seems to style all mayors of Chicago, Daley says he'll ask the white voters how many of *their* folks came over on the Mayflower. All men are equal, aren't they? And there follows, then, a recitation of the noble prose of the Declaration of Independence.

But the crisis that Daley will not discuss goes far beyond the arithmetic of voting in 1964, either in Cook County or any other big city of the U.S. For Richard Daley and the men who really lead the Chicago Negro community are out of contact: they simply do not understand each other. Whites and Negroes in his city, as in every city of the North, have passed far beyond the simple legal remedies provided by the current civil rights bill. Whether they want to or not, they must explore a future no law can chart.

Detroit's mayor is 26 years younger than Chicago's Daley. Handsome and articulate, Jerome Cavanagh, at 35, glows with the engaging freshness of the young new politician. His perspectives for the nation's fifth-largest city are large and visionary. But he wilts as he estimates that 65% of his time is spent on Detroit's Negro problem. "You come home," he says, "after one of these days and you're desolate. You've spent the entire day putting out fires—but what about the other important things?"

In Los Angeles, a woman voices the perplexity in a woman's way. Rosalind Wyman of the Los Angeles City Council: "What can you do? You sit there watching what happens in the South and you rack your brains. My God, what can you do right here in your own backyard?"

These are fragments from this reporter's notebooks after six weeks of travel through the nation's cities in a season of trouble. For, as black Americans and white Americans began, in 1963, to move toward an ultimate showdown, there were actually two stories to report. One was the battle for simple decency, fought from Birmingham picket lines to Capitol Hill, and now moving to formal climax in the civil rights legislation before Congress. But beyond this headline story looms the larger, more important, yet frighteningly obscure story of race ferment and change in the great cities, where the American Negro increasingly lives and seeks



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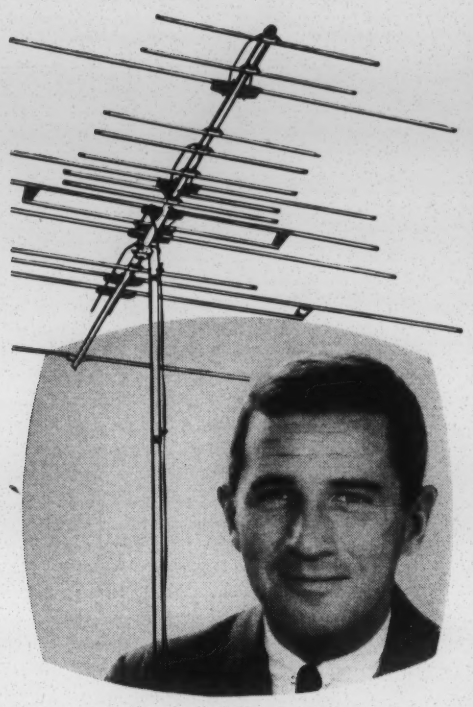

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# Neither whites nor Negroes will look the grim facts squarely in the face

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

his future. There, all that the new civil rights bill promises has already been won—from the Negro's right to vote, to his right to eat hamburgers sitting beside white men.

In the big city the story of the Negro is one of unshaped perplexity—the perplexity of the Negro with the city, and of the city with him. The city's promises to him are as large as freedom itself, but delivery on those promises is another matter. In the North, the happy, traditional refusal of the American temperament to admit that any problem is insoluble is confronted by the equally traditional but unhappy refusal to look facts squarely in the face.

White and Negro urban leaders both know that a bad situation has to be changed—all the while refusing to examine what the situation really is.

The very questions that explore this larger story have an ugly ring to them: Why, really, are white people abandoning their big cities? Will Negroes take over—and if so, when? If the centers of the cities become black and the suburban rings around them become white, what kind of metropolitan civilization will we have? Do Negroes want this? Can the cities alone support the burden of Negro need? What do northern Negroes demand and what responsibilities are they prepared to assume? Will the election of 1964 turn on the race problem and, if so, will this obscure or illuminate the nature of this crisis in American civilization?

Every story, great or small, is a story of individuals and individual decisions; and this story can begin, as this reporter began it, on a Saturday afternoon driving through Los Angeles, Calif. I was following a blue, rust-streaked sedan that was weaving with the stop-and-start uncertainty of a stranger looking for something, when I suddenly realized that the driver was looking in the wrong place.

The driver was a Negro; and he was four blocks east of Alameda Street. The children in the back seat pressed their noses against the window, peering at the palm trees of the Promised Land. But the Texas license plate said the family

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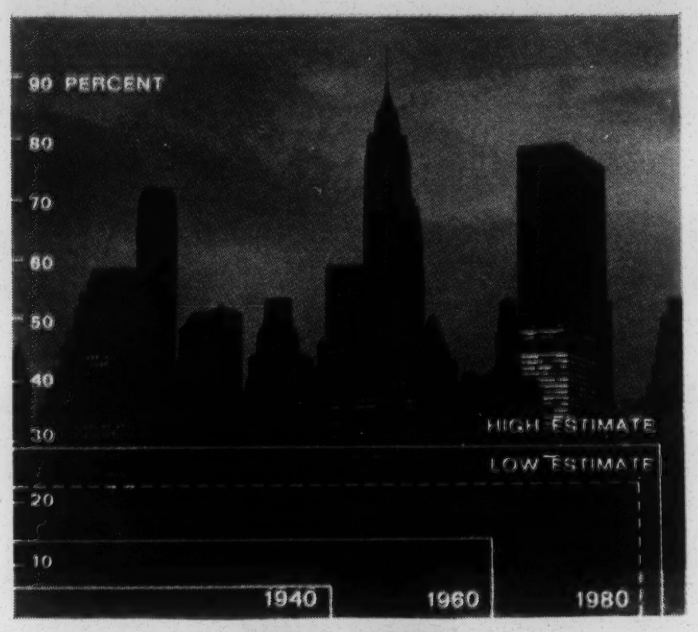


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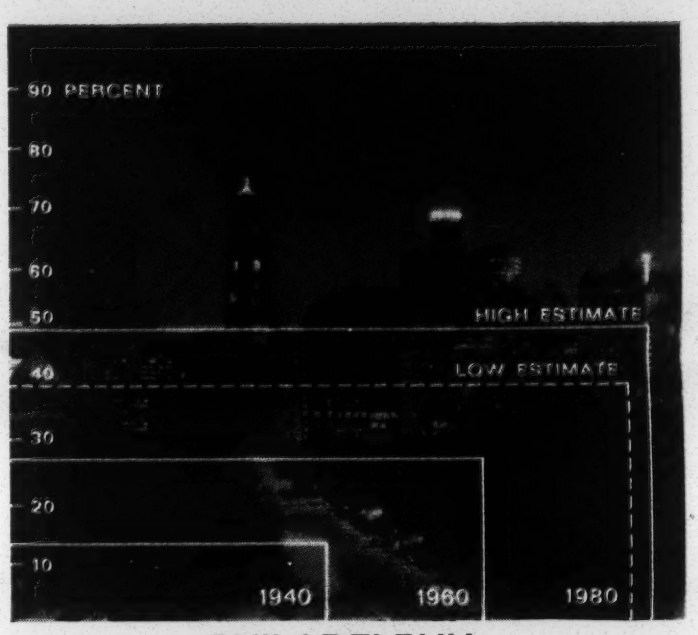


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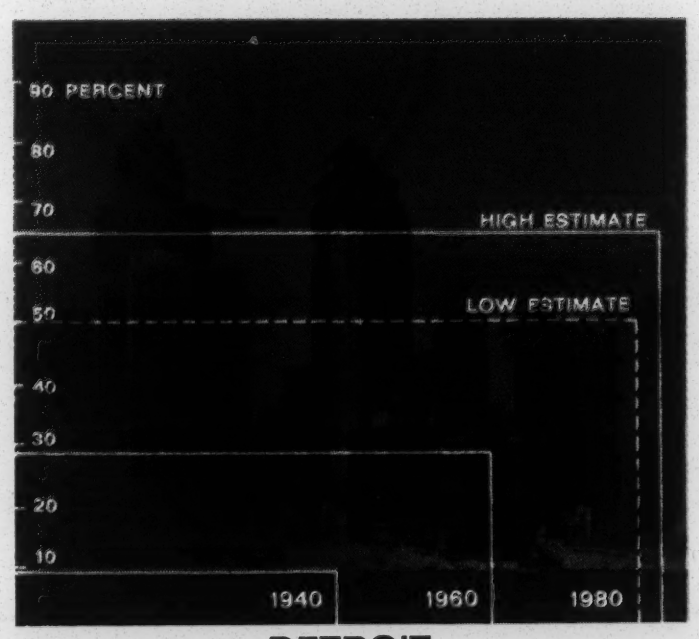
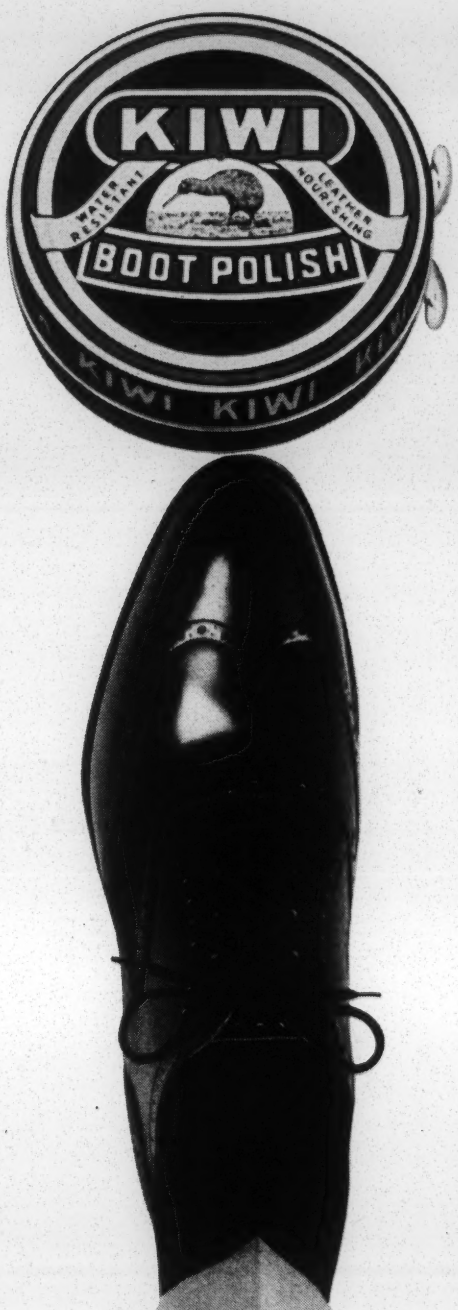



DETROIT

Racial outlook for six major U.S. cities is projected against their skylines, here and on page 106. Solid line at top of each graph shows percentage of Negroes in each city by 1980 if they continue to increase at the 1940-1960 rate. Broken lines represent more conservative estimates of city planners.

# A buff is enough with

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## Within two decades, Negroes may be in the majority in most of the largest U.S. cities

### NEGROES
CONTINUED

was migrant, too newly arrived from the South to know that in Los Angeles the Negro boundary is fixed at Alameda Street. In the South, discrimination is as sharp as a knife-edge and every Negro knows where the cut comes. But in the big city it is subtler and it would probably take some time for Mr. Texas Sedan to get the message and rattle back across Alameda to the black ghetto if he wanted shelter for his family.

About a thousand Negroes like Mr. Texas Sedan come to Los Angeles every month from the South, mostly by auto. But I had also seen them come into Chicago, at midnight, up from Mississippi on the brown-and-orange special of the Illinois Central, and come into New York and Philadelphia on buses from the Carolinas and Virginia. And whether they come by car, bus or train, they all look as innocent, as hopeful, as puzzled as Mr. Texas Sedan and his wife beside him and the children in the back seat: singularly undramatic.

Yet they are the stuff of high drama—for they are history moving to a crest, feeling its way into an uncertain future, producing by accumulation these simple facts of change: Washington, D.C. is, today, almost 60% Negro in population. Within 14 to 16 years, *if present population trends are arithmetically projected into the future*, Negroes will be in the majority in Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, Chicago and St. Louis; and, in the decade following, in Philadelphia. Such arithmetical projections have, in the past, both underestimated and overestimated Negro growth figures in the big cities. But if, by the decade 1980–1990, which is almost tomorrow in the eyes of history, these unchanged trends *do* give America a civilization in which seven of her ten largest cities (all except New York, Los Angeles and Houston) have Negro majorities, then that civilization will be transformed.

One must look back to grasp the full dimension of the change in the nation's urban life and the direction in which it points—for this change surges from a national adventure that may, some day, be seen as romantically as the migration of the covered wagons. Until

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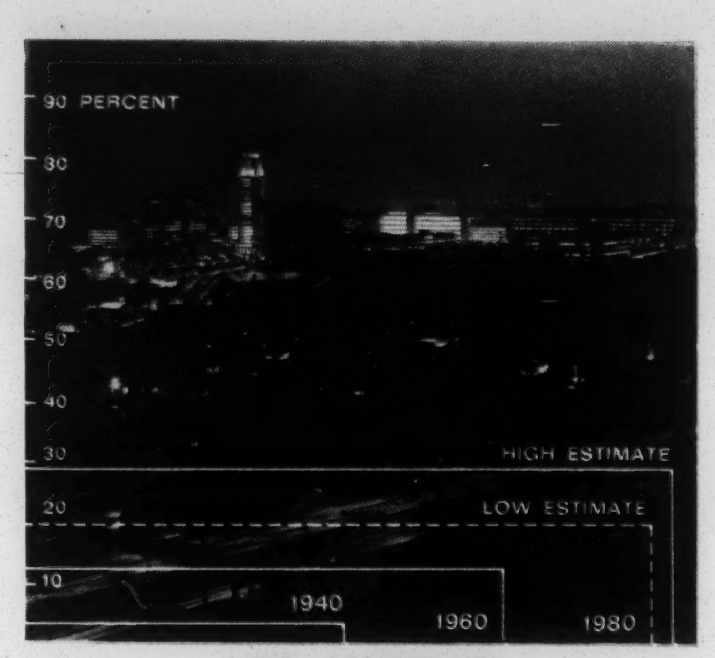
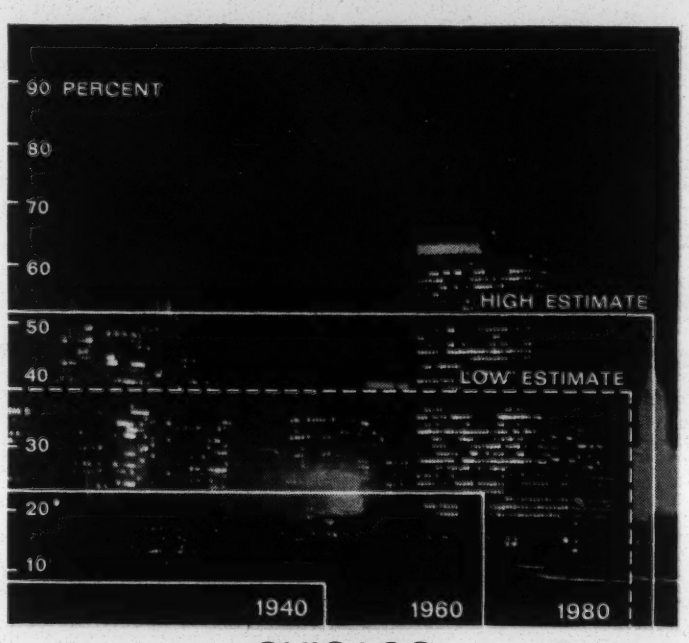
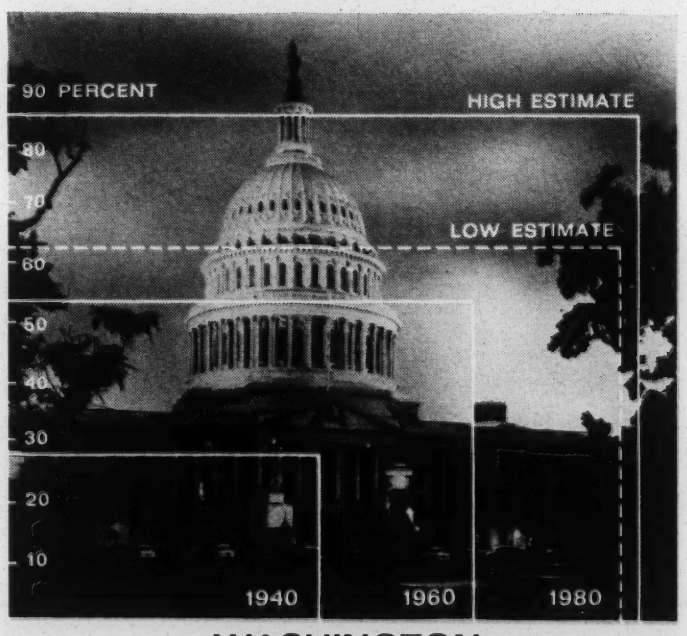



LOS ANGELES



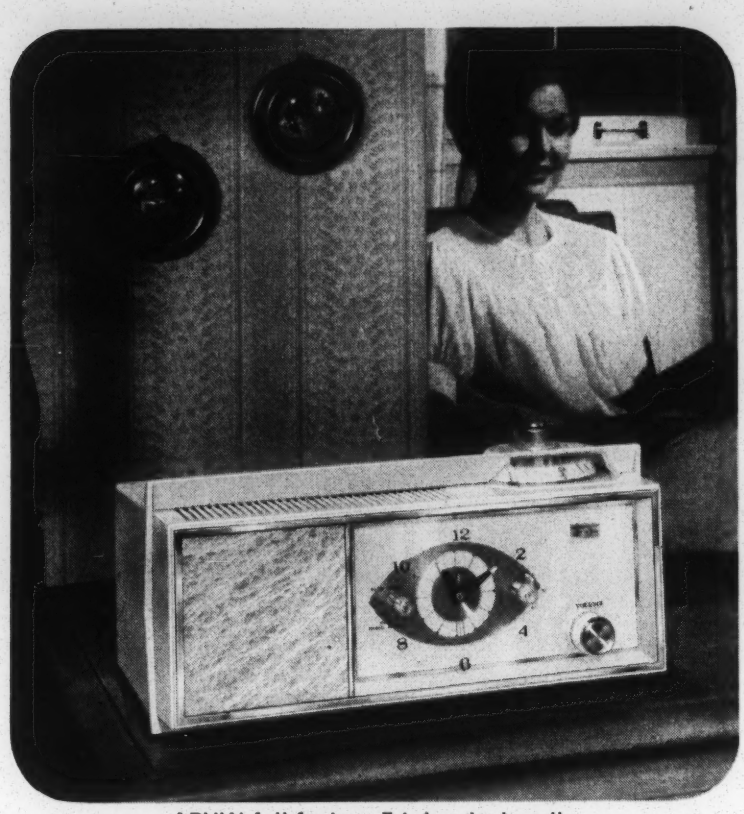

CHICAGO




WASHINGTON

Among 10 largest U.S. cities, only Washington now has Negro majority—411,737 of 763,956 residents in 1960. By contrast, New York's 1,087,931 Negroes were 14% of total; Chicago's 812, 637 were 22.9%; Philadelphia's 529,240, 26.4%; Detroit's 482,223, 28.9%; Los Angeles' 334,916, 13.5%.

# Arvin the most beautiful sound of time



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# Everywhere 'For Sale' signs mark the edge of the Negro frontier

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

1940, 75% of U.S. Negroes lived in the South, the great majority of them functionally illiterate, primitive, excluded from society and so cruelly policed as to have no respect for law but fear. But World War II made the North into a great industrial furnace—and the draft of the furnace sucked Negro labor by the scores of thousands up the Mississippi valley, up the east coast to the forges, foundries and factories of the war effort. The postwar boom and the Korean war kept the furnaces blazing and the migration northward continued. In some years in the 1950's as many as 200,000 southern Negroes moved North or West to the big cities in search of jobs and freedom.

Where they pooled, Negro death rates fell and birth rates rose. In the 20 years 1940–1960, the Negro populations of New York and Philadelphia doubled (to 1,100,000 and 529,000 respectively); the Negro populations of Chicago and Detroit tripled (to 812,000 and 480,000 respectively), and that of Los Angeles multiplied by five (from 63,000 to 335,000). Though migration from the South has now slowed, the urban Negro crude birth rate—approximately 40% larger than that of whites—continues to swell their numbers. In Chicago, for example, where Negroes have risen from 278,000 in 1940 to approximately 900,000 today, their natural-growth rate is nine times faster than it was before the war. The fertility rate of Chicago Negroes increased in the 1950–60 decade three times as fast as that of Negroes generally. We are, in short, witnessing in our cities one of the great population explosions of all time.

Something has to give. And what gives is the neighborhood pattern in big-city living as Negroes, bursting out of inhumanly crowded slums, fleeing the smell and the rats and the noise and cackle, like flood waters under pressure, squirt and spill over adjacent neighborhoods. Street by street, block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, solid black precincts crunch their way year by year through the hearts of our cities.

In 1956, on a similar survey, I remember that the white people in Chicago still hoped to hold "them" (the blacks) to a few small

THE PUBLIC WELFARE PROBLEM

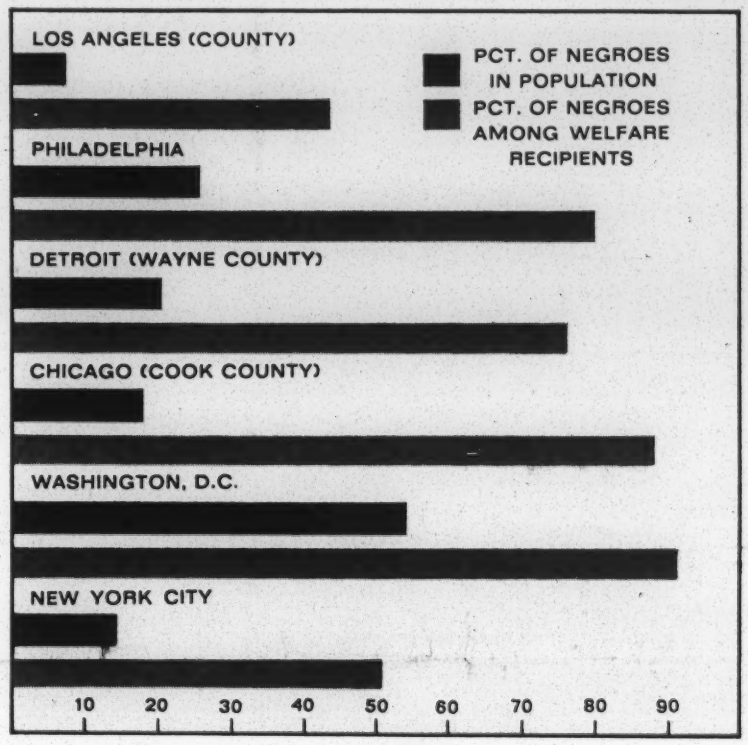


*Chart of welfare costs (for general relief and aid to dependent children) shows the disproportionate amount paid to non-whites. In Los Angeles County, for example, Negroes make up 7.6% of population, get 43% of relief funds.*

CONTINUED

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## A white suburban noose tightens around a Negro inner city

### NEGROES
CONTINUED

beachheads north of the Chicago River which would then, as an internal Mason-Dixon Line, divide the city into a white north and a black south. This fall I found the Negro beachheads north of the Chicago River had developed into a breakthrough.

Ninety-sixth Street was to be the line protecting the "perfumed stockade" of East Manhattan, the most fashionable all-white enclave on the island. But Negroes have begun to appear on the East Side as far south as the 80s. In Boston, "they" were supposed to stop at Franklin Park; "they" have by now completely outflanked the park in Dorchester and have closed in on Blue Hill Avenue. In Los Angeles, in Philadelphia, in Cleveland, too—everywhere the For Sale and For Rent signs on lawns and apartment houses mark the moving edge of Negro frontiers. And everywhere the problem is seen shortsightedly in terms of localities, of individual block-busters or block-moppers—not as an elemental force bursting dikes.

"Where are the whites going to stop running when they know they can't hide?" asks Loren Miller, the great Negro housing champion of Los Angeles.

The answer is, of course, as clear as the maps that chart Negro expansion: "they," the whites, are going to the suburbs. There, a white population explosion in the suburban ring matches the Negro population explosion in the central city.

In Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Boston—everywhere except New York City—the same pattern repeats itself; the suburban "white noose" tightens about an inner city that is becoming more and more rapidly Negro while, within the strangulating city, a turmoil begins that feeds on fear and hate.

To understand what is happening inside the major urban centers, one must look freshly at the city—for city-Americans behave in silent patterns which are familiar to all of us, yet totally at variance with what is publicly taught us about the metropolitan melting pot.

The melting pot melts different minorities at different rates. Also, from Boston to Los Angeles, most urban Americans live in neighborhoods of their own "kind," with people of their own origins and traditions. One usually leaves the "old neighborhood" to move up. Thereafter, most racial and ethnic groups in America sort themselves out by income and class. In the new neighborhoods they "mix" with "strangers" only as education grows, and then by seeking out people of kindred interest: businessmen with businessmen, professionals with professionals, union leaders with union leaders, politicians with politicians. The lower the educational level, the more people tend to cluster with their "own kind," seeking social life with those who live nearby.

What makes a neighborhood different from a ghetto is simply that a man can always choose to leave his neighborhood—but in a ghetto he is locked in.

When Negro leaders call their neighborhoods ghettos, they mean that they are locked in; and thus the black ghettos become, for sensitive and aspiring Negroes, prisons. Most Negro leaders are convinced that if Negroes were free to move anywhere they want, they—like most other ethnic groups—would prefer to live with their own and sort themselves out into the quiet and the noisy, the diligent and the shiftless. But Negroes are given no elbow room.

Most Negro communities expand only by crude pressure of numbers—the resistance outside usually determining the rate and direction of growth. Across the country Negroes usually gobble up Jewish neighborhoods first, then Italian neighborhoods. In the folklore of the big city, Negroes meet their toughest resistance in Polish or Irish neighborhoods, so that police watch the frontiers of a Polish-Negro or Irish-Negro neighborhood as a potential flash-line.

In the big cities, thus, two primordial emotions confront each other: one is that of the Negro who wants out, who wants room and dreaming space; the other is that of the white workingman who has the deep emotional need and hunger to live comfortably with others

CONTINUED

## Three miles apart stand a model Negro district and a hideous slum

### NEGROES
CONTINUED

like himself. For many a white workingman, his two-family house represents the dream-end of life. He plans to live on the lower floor, rent the upper floor and add the rent to Social Security or pension, finishing his life in modest contentment near his friends, watching his grandchildren grow up. For him, the Negro neighbor ravages the dream.

When the Negroes' tormenting need for housing rubs against the tormenting need of other American groups to live with their own kind, trouble comes; and very few men in the big city, as we shall see later, have had the candor to examine this problem in public and explore practical solutions that may meet both needs.

Any solution, or any approach to a solution, must begin with commonly agreed facts. Yet the facts attack any reporter who examines the Negro community with this paradox: the progress of Negroes in the North breathes hope into the meanest of men; at the same time the internal decomposition of Negro society frightens the most hopeful of men. In the big city things are better than ever for the Negro—and they are also worse.

The big city is a street called "John R" in Detroit—a dirty, trash-littered cord of filth running through the center of the Negro ghetto. John R. is the center of one of the two worst crime districts in all Detroit (the other is Twelfth Street, also an all-Negro neighborhood). But just three miles away is a district called Conant Gardens. There elm trees arch over the street, the white churches nestle on green lawns, teen-agers shyly court each other on porches; the smell of fall makes the air fragrant. This is the kind of suburb Longfellow might have envisioned as an American future. Conant Gardens is a working-class, lower-middle-income district distinguished for two reasons: it is the most crime-free precinct in the most crime-free district in the entire city of Detroit; and it is also 100% Negro. What makes the Negroes of Conant Gardens such superb citizens, and the Negroes of John R. such a menace to society? No one can answer more adequately, as we shall see later, than to say that these outer differences measure the distance between self-respect and despair.

In the big cities of the North, Negroes have found success and

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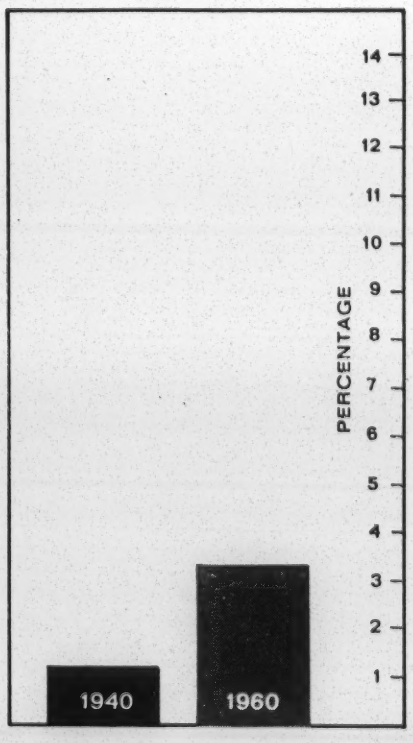
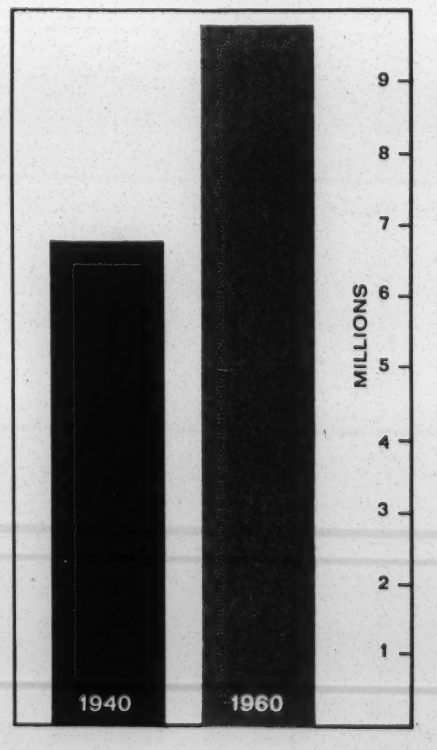
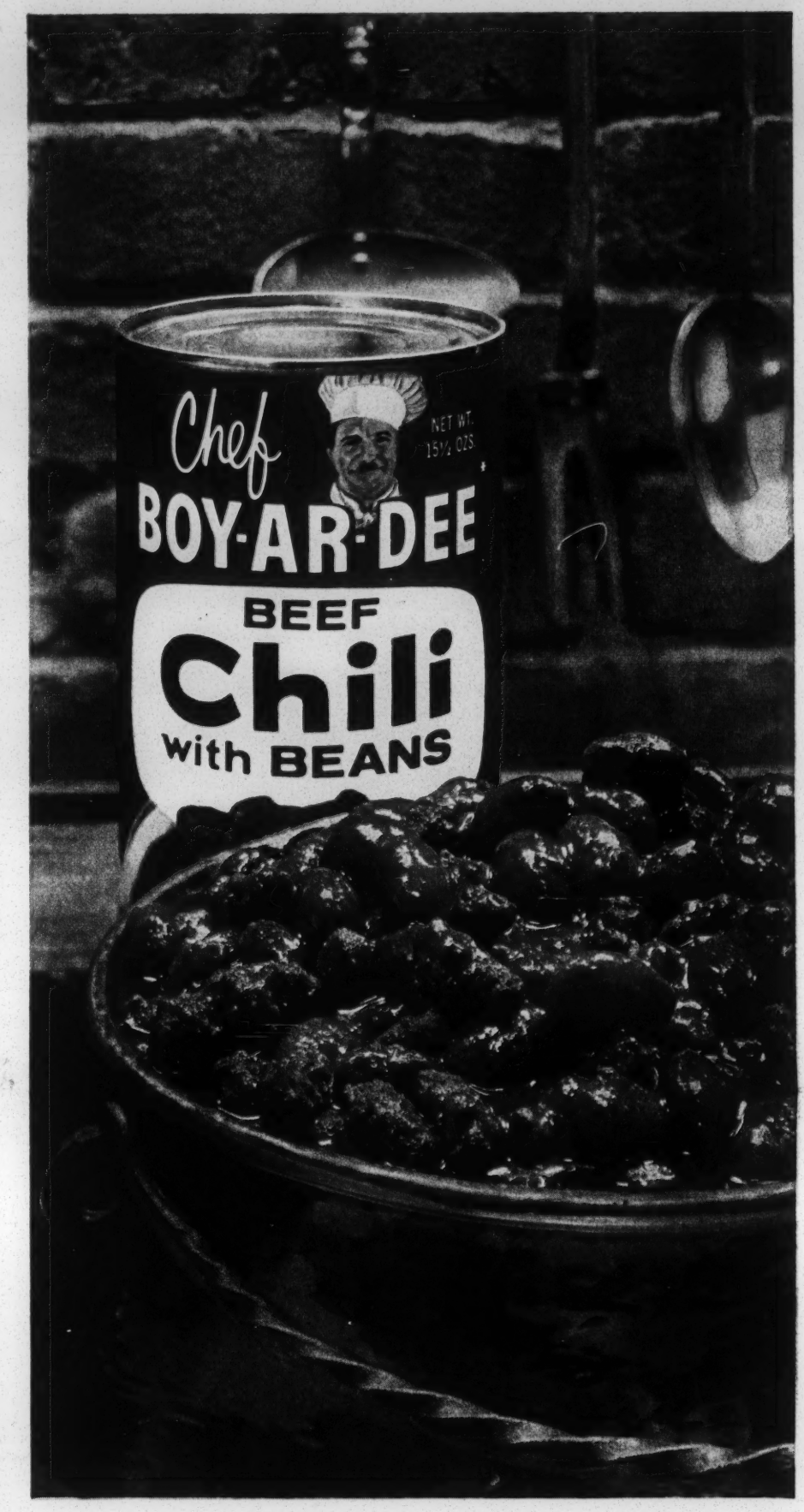
NON-WHITES WITH COLLEGE DEGREES




TOTAL NON-WHITES AGE 25 AND OVER




*Number of college-educated non-whites* (above) *has risen to a still inadequate 3.5% of the adult non-white population* (among whites it is 8%). *Nevertheless the number of college graduates is rising rapidly at faster rate than non-white population* (right).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# Automation knows no prejudice, but it still costs the Negroes jobs

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

disaster at the same time. Success is the political power to claim in one recent year over 30 judgeships in New York City. Success is as tangible as Baldwin Hills in Los Angeles, with its slickly modern homes and their ground ivy, their fiber palms, their dichondra lawns. Success is Pasadena, with its small colony of Negro scholars, engineers, scientists. Success is education—in 1947 U.S. colleges and professional schools counted 124,000 Negroes; in 1961 they enrolled 233,000. Success is Negroes directing embassies, leading orchestras, commanding Army units. In the decade of the '50s alone, the number of Negro engineers jumped fivefold. Since 1940 Negroes have claimed government jobs more and more insistently—and won them, particularly in the big cities. In that period Negroes employed in government jumped from some 4.5% to almost 13% (in Philadelphia, to about 50%). Success has found the Negro in the big city and delivered to him not only a solid, educated middle-class but given him a leadership group of dazzling achievement in the arts, in writing, in politics, in sports and in their own community affairs.

But disaster also has found him in the city. The Negro who migrated to the North came chiefly to work at the heavy jobs—the steel mills, the packing houses, the assembly lines. For the past 10 years these jobs have been evaporating as automation has condemned scores of thousands of middle-aged Negroes to discard, and scores of thousands of their youngsters to a future that holds nothing.

In Detroit proper, for example, the largest employer of labor is Chrysler—and until late this summer, before the new-model boom, in the automated metals division of Chrysler, layoffs under union seniority rules affected every man hired after February 1948. Automatically and without prejudice the great mass of Negroes who migrated to Detroit in the '50s was eliminated. In Chicago, erstwhile "Hog Butcher for the World," the packing houses once employed 20,000 workers, heavily Negro. Today Chicago no longer butchers hogs for the world, for the packers have moved out to new and more efficient plants and their South Side workers will never be employed again. In Chicago the Urban League estimates that 18% of all employable Negroes are unemployed.

Generally, across the country, unemployment averages 5.6%, but

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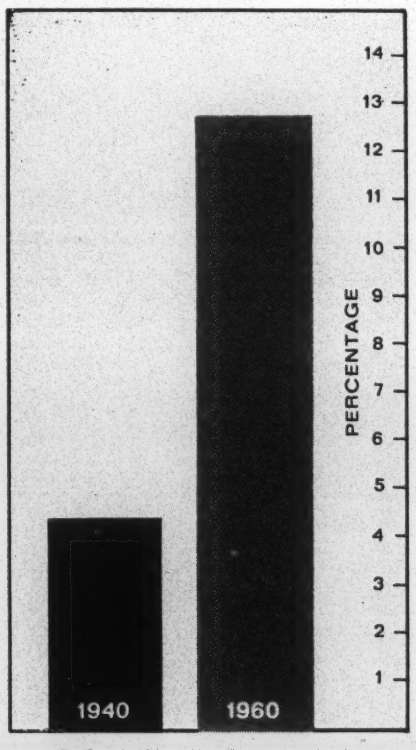
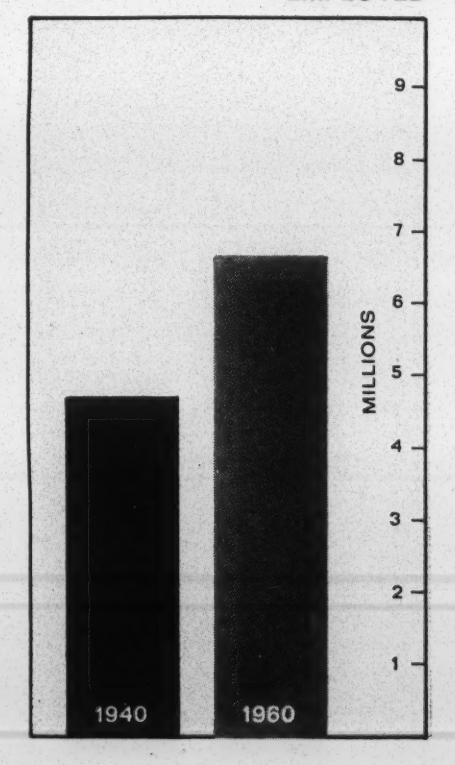
NON-WHITES IN GOVERNMENT JOBS




TOTAL NON-WHITES EMPLOYED




*Key role of municipal and federal governments in broadening Negro opportunity shows in this comparison: non-whites in government jobs almost tripled in 20-year period* (above). *Non-white employment rose only 44%* (right).

THE

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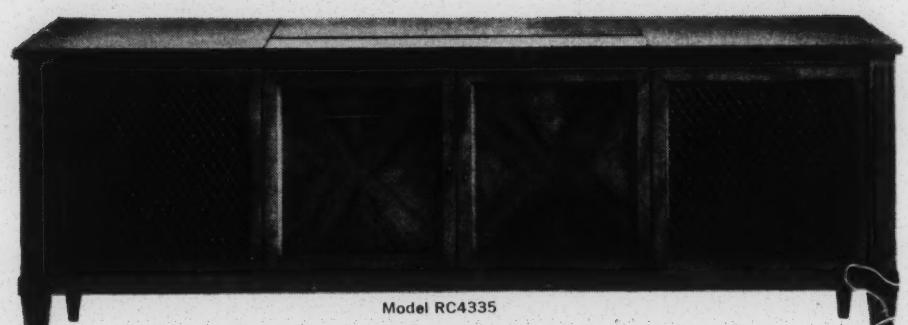

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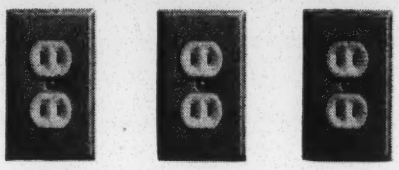
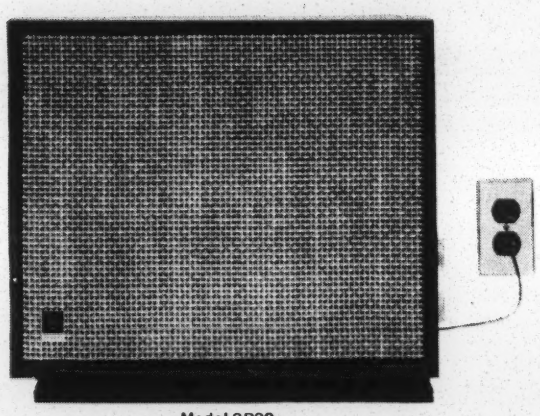


kitchen...den...patio



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# What the white man remembers seeing is the trash and squalor

## NEGROES

CONTINUED

among Negroes the figure is double that—11%. Next year, 1964, is not only an election year—it is 18 years from the baby boom of 1946, and the number of untrained and unskilled Negro adolescents will almost double. As late as 1948, in the adolescent years between 14 and 19, unemployment was worse among white youngsters than it was among Negro youngsters; but this summer, in our new technological society, 24% of all Negro youngsters were unable to find work, while this was true of only 9% of all white adolescents.

These statistics begin to live and breathe on the pavements of the ghetto: the wino on the street, lurching from side to side; the mid-morning drunk with his bottle in a brown paper sack, the three, four, five hopeless ones leaning against the corner post or sitting on the curb at high noon watching the world go by. And these, unfortunately, are the ones whom the white neighbors of the Negroes in the city see and remember. Ignoring Conant Gardens or Baldwin Hills or St. Albans, N.Y., and all the known evidence of Negro achievement, the emotions of white people fix on the spectacle of decomposition and its effects.

Here, alas, the reporter must contend with an issue that, when raised, so embitters Negro leaders as almost to hush friendly dialogue. But the inescapable truth is that, just as the challenge of the city has led many Negroes through education to breathtaking achievement, just so has the challenge of its industrial civilization caused many others to collapse in squalor. And one must report squalor if one is to begin identifying problems.

Crime, of course, is the most immediate charge against the Negro community. In the past five years Negro crime rates in the cities have risen four times as fast as the white crime rate—which is rising too. Some hitherto unpublished figures for the rise in Negro crime in urban areas over the five years 1958-62 read: murder, up by 25%; robbery, up by 32%; larceny, up by 43%; forcible rape, up by 13% (narcotics, *down* 28%). More than half of such Negro crimes are perpetrated against fellow Negroes, much of their wrath at the world being spent on each other.

What is more disturbing to those who plan the future of the big city are the pathetic and frightening figures on out-of-wedlock births. In general, across the country, Negroes bear 10 times as many babies out of wedlock as do white families. Nationally, one fifth of all Negro children are illegitimate. But in the big city this figure soars—so that in central Harlem more than a third (37.5%) of all children are born out of wedlock and in Chicago the figures come to 27.3%.

Where one can analyze the problem—and pitifully small work of analysis has been done—it is not at all a calculated pattern of brood mothers scheming to bring up babies on relief. It is rather a pattern of the drifting, unemployable Negro male who abandons his mate as soon as she becomes pregnant, because he cannot support her; of the lonesome southern-born girl in the big city, too ignorant to consider what a night's warmth will cost in the future. Still, however innocent or pathetic are the

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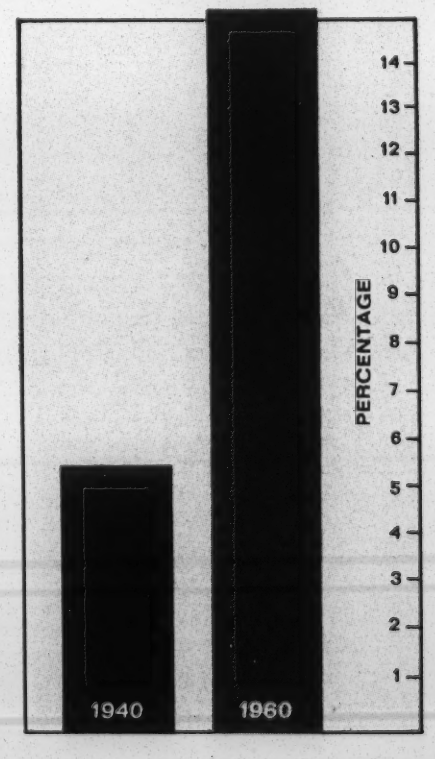
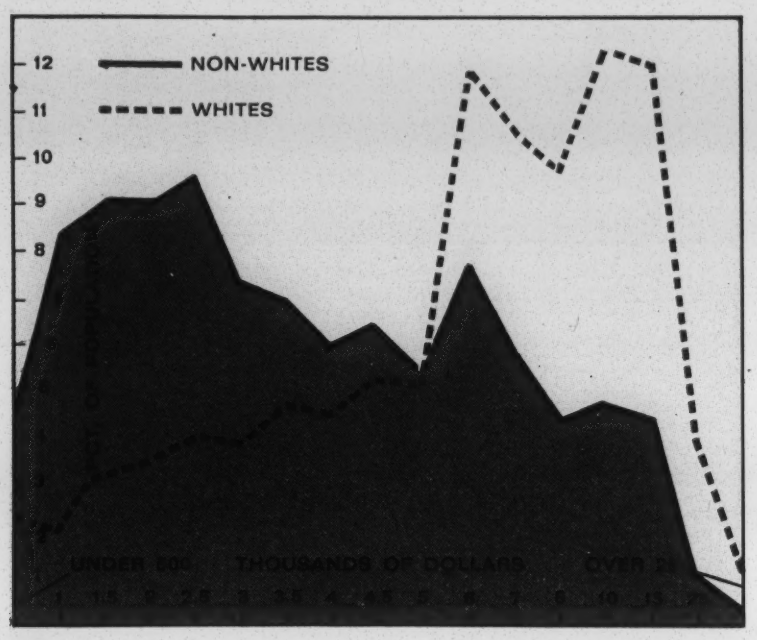
NON-WHITES HOLDING WHITE COLLAR JOBS




*Non-whites holding white-collar jobs have risen 150% in 20 years, while total of employed non-whites has expanded 44%—a sign that a Negro middle class is emerging.*

COMPARISON OF FAMILY INCOME




*Graph shows sharp difference between family income of non-whites (shaded area) and whites (dotted line). Differing pattern of white and non-white family income is emphasized by scale which shows income in $500 steps up to $5,000, in bigger jumps for higher income categories.*

reasons for such out-of-wedlock births, they pose a real, pragmatic problem as their number increases steeply. The city must become father and provider for such children; and if one generation of illegitimate children proceeds to breed another and larger generation, the perspectives are endlessly gloomy. In Chicago, for example, it is estimated that the city spends $7,000 to raise each such child to the age of 17, and last year Cook County was supporting 51,000 such illegitimate Negro children. In New York City, last year alone, the number of illegitimate Negro children *increased* by 10,000.

There begins to swirl, thus, in the ghettos of big northern cities, a pattern of twin cyclones—an upper cyclone carrying some families up in aspiration and ambition, another cyclone carrying others down to decomposition. In the big city the Negro community begins to take on a weird hourglass configuration: an educated middle-class at the top and a "subculture" of despair at the bottom: Negroes beginning to "make it" (only 5.7% of Negroes earned more than $5,000 in 1948; by 1961 this figure had grown to 28.4%) at the top; and at the bottom Negroes in hopeless misery. The Negro community, in short, lacks "structure."

The needs of these two groups of Negroes are as different as the needs of whites who go separate ways of life. But both groups are teased by the dreams and visions offered by the white man's culture, thrust on him by the white man's television every night—and both groups are tormented at their own levels by the frustrations that come when they try to touch what those dreams offer.

"You sit there," says Alex Fuller, a vice president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Detroit, "and you listen at night to these people selling suburban real estate: 'Come see Goldenwood Manor,' says the announcer, 'where the water of your swimming pool turns gold in the moonlight at night.' You sit there with your kids, listening to this manure, and as they grow older, you wonder."

"She says," reports a Chicago relief worker of her client, "'I'm 16. I'm pretty. Why can't I have nylons like the other girls? I need a new compact. I need a dress.' She sees it on TV, and she wants it and she's going to do *anything* to get it."

"For the middle-class Negro in Chicago," says Professor Ray Mack of Northwestern University, "there's no way out. The movable generation can't move. There's no Beverly Hills or Scarsdale or Highland Park waiting to take him. The middle-class American Negro—it's his kid that gets beaten up by the lower-class Negro. It's he who pays the price of the ghetto. He's followed the rules, he's gone to school, he's got a good steady job. But he can't leave. He's won in the sweepstakes—but when he goes to the window, he finds they won't pay off on his ticket."

It is this conjunction of educated Negro leadership and Negro working-class misery that gives the Negro problem of the North its punch, its confusion and its menace. For, just as much as ordinary

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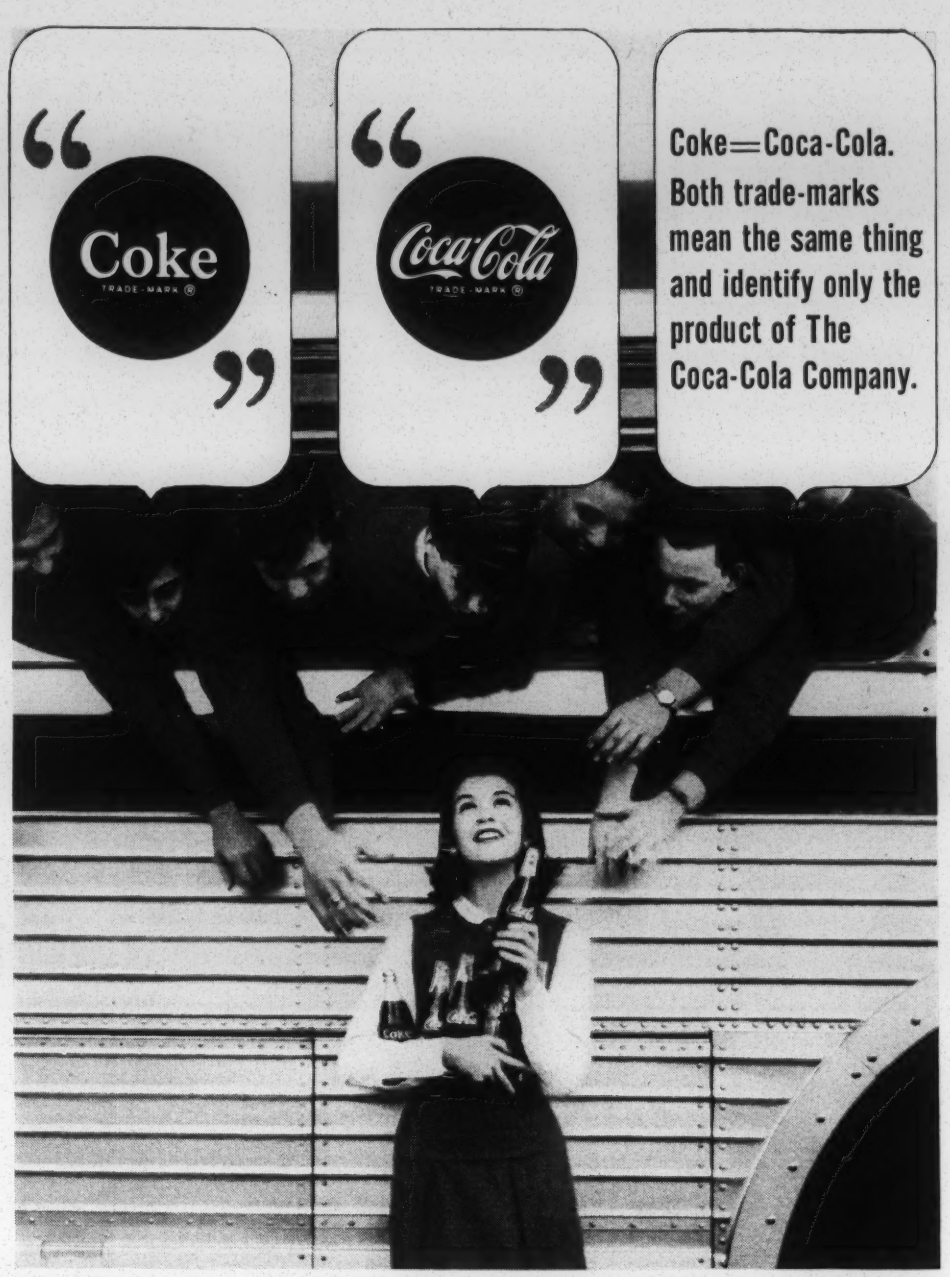


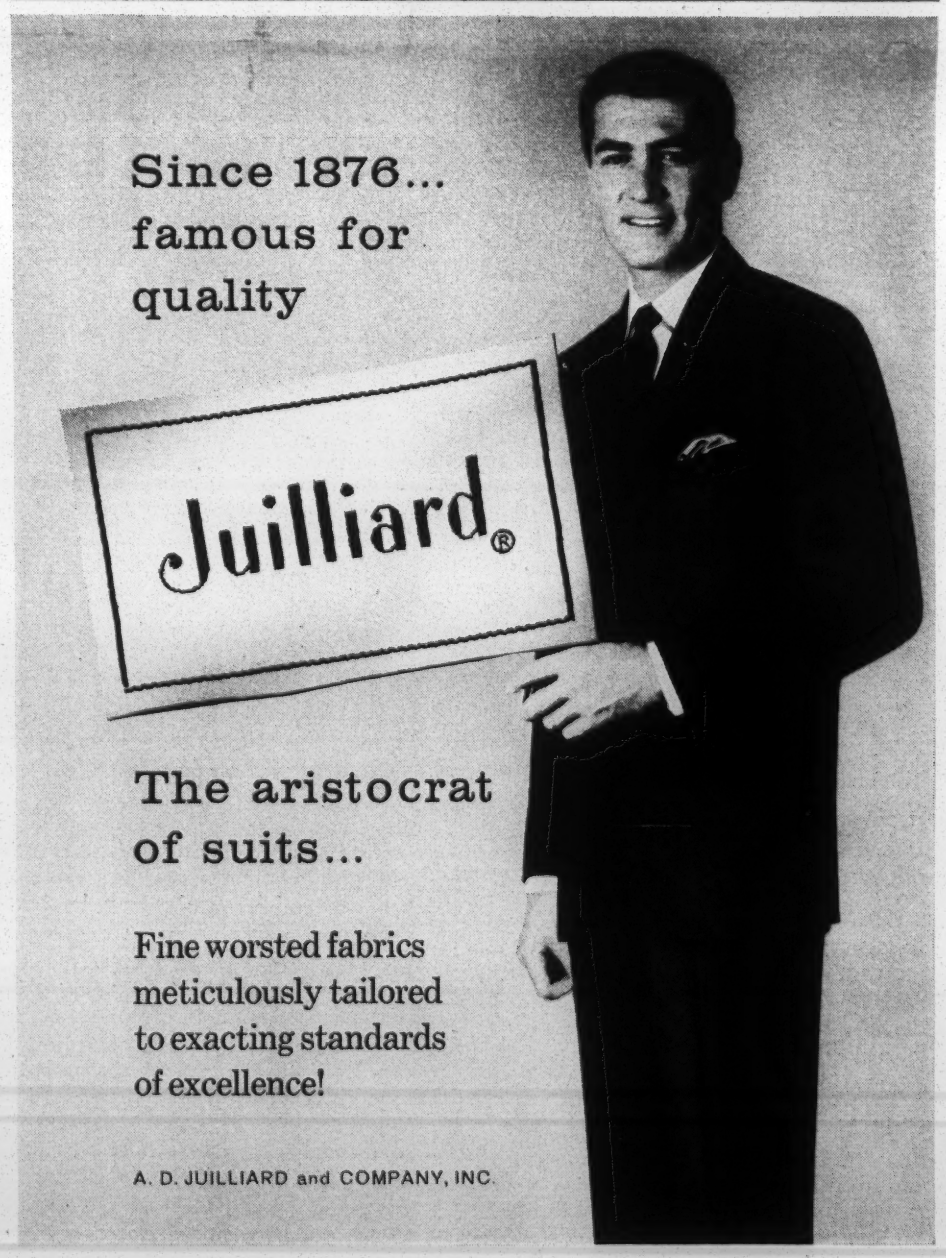

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# To the frustrated Negro leader, the whites become a conspiracy

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

people need jobs, a certain number of men in every group need to lead. It is a hunger in them, as song is a hunger in the musician and creativity is a hunger in the heart of the artist. And the Negro middle-class, for all its achievement, has been —and remains—as excluded from general leadership as the Negro workingman is generally excluded from the skilled unions. Most Americans with a leadership urge express it in private business and industry, where the nation's executive talent so brilliantly flourishes. But this world of private enterprise is largely closed to leadership Negroes by prejudice, and only rarely have Negroes tried to penetrate it, as other groups have done, with ventures of their own. Thus Negro leadership talents turn inward. And as their educational levels, horizons and abilities rise, they find they can lead only one way—against the common enemy they perceive in all white people.

The most bitter—and perhaps the most eloquent—of these talented Negro leaders have arrived thus at what can be called the conspiratorial theory of American life: that there is a conspiracy, somewhere, to lock Negroes in ghettos and exclude them from the general white life of the metropolitan center. When asked to pinpoint the "conspiracy," they can occasionally finger a racist like Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn (Detroit) Mich., ex-Marine, ex-unionman, who believes in "complete segregation one million percent on all levels." (His police wagons carry two signs—one of them his euphemistic racist slogan, "Help Keep Dearborn Clean"; the other, just below it, "Be Nice to People.") But generally when one seeks for evidence of this conspiracy in the North, the charges dissolve into the anonymous "they." For the white "they," just as the black "they," have conspired at nothing, planned nothing. "They," both white and black, have been—and continue to be—incredibly irresponsive to each other's real needs and fears.

Dr. John A. Morsell of the N.A.A.C.P., who is one of the most thoughtful Negro leaders of this country, likes to explain the race demonstrations of the past year by analogy with nuclear physics. "It was only a question of time," he says, "when it was going to happen. At a certain point when you enrich a mass of uranium enough, it becomes fissionable. When you add enough educated people to any contained group, when you add enough leaders—then you get a fissionable mass and it goes off by itself. The year just happened to be 1963."

The growing mass of Negroes in the northern urban centers is already fissionable. By 1970, estimates the Urban League, 18 million Negroes (more than the entire population of Canada) will be living in the big cities of the U.S. Unless their demands are met—and unless *they* meet the demands of their white neighbors—we face a continuing moral and constitutional deadlock new in the history of our country. It is, therefore, vitally important to scrutinize, as we shall next week, the demands that the Negro leaders are leveling against white society, and their dilemma in leading their own people; to measure how greatly the presidential election of 1964 can complicate, by partisan politics and political requirements, the tentative search for solutions; to consider how greatly that election turns on the present civil rights bill before Congress; and, finally, to report the general consensus of men of goodwill as they reflect on where and how American life has wounded the Negro most deeply—and what responsibility Negro as well as white leaders must bear in healing those wounds.


**NEXT WEEK PART II**
**Negro Demands**
**ARE THEY REALISTIC?**

# Letters

11/24/63
NYT Mag.

## A YANKEE'S VIEW

TO THE EDITOR:

Let me state my respect for Don Barrett's intelligence and the coherent expression of his views as portrayed by Margaret Long, in "A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind" (Nov. 10). Yet, I find it criminal that a person of high intelligence should make emotional distinctions between "good Nigra and bad Nigra" and "good Yankee and bad Yankee." When Barrett cites respect for Negroes of high I.Q. he should note that studies and experiments have shown that I.Q.'s of uneducated, illiterate people can be raised considerably.

I am a Yankee, not much older than Barrett, who has lived in and traveled through parts of the South (incidentally without ever having taken part in any freedom rides). When he draws his Mason-Dixon line, I would like to mention that I have been called "nigger lover" by other "Yankees" of similar background. I have scrapped with Negro boys in schoolyards, and I have been taught by Negro teachers in schools. When I look at Negro society in Harlem and other slum neighborhoods, I don't see a savage race which will take another few hundred years to reach the whites (as even my own brother believes), but I see a people, who, for so long, have been told how low and worthless they are, that they have begun to accept it.

When he praises the high degree of white civilization at the time Negroes were "eating each other in Africa," I suggest he read Jonathan Swift's essay, "A Modest Proposal," in which the satiric suggestion of children as a delicacy was not far removed from the beggarly conditions throughout Europe.

If only Mr. Barrett would be able to study history more coolly, if only his brain wouldn't so easily be clouded with fire and smoke!

What I have previously termed his "crime" is not his alone; it is a failing in us all with which we will forever have to contend.

ROBERT FOX.

New York.

## 'YOUTH'S REACTION'

TO THE EDITOR:

What is incomprehensible to me personally is that all over the world young people usually can be found in the advance of new movements and efforts at social reform, but here in this country the young people are more reactionary than their grandparents.

Don Barrett says he "was not much impressed" by the Negro march on Washington. "It wasn't any different from what I see Saturday night in Lexington when they come to town to get drunk and cut up, except they're happier here in Lexington."

Whatever the faults of the march, to allow this boy to compare it to a happy Saturday night in Lexington, Miss., is a joke. IRENE SAYLOR.

New York.

## 'PROGRESS BARRIER'

TO THE EDITOR:

Miss Long disclosed a major obstacle to racial progress that I had never really comprehended. There are two different worlds within the United States which must come to terms with each other before any of their mutual problems can be solved. With a new view of both sides, I think it will be easier to know where to find the main barriers of prejudice and how to attack them. MARTHA SCOTT,

Wilson College.

Chambersburg, Pa.

## 'LOST GENERATION'

TO THE EDITOR:

Margaret Long's interview dramatically exposes the lost generation of Americans. The ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; equal opportunity; freedom from oppression, and many other phrases which describe our American ideals are lost in meaning to so many people. All over the world we Americans loudly declaim oppression. We decry all forms of it in other nations. We belittle the Russians and the Red Chinese and speak out loudly against what we consider to be denial of man's basic human rights. We berate the Germans for their lack of understanding and violent murder of the Jews, and we express a surprise when their youths fail to understand why Eichmann was wrong. Yet here in America——.

Why have the ideals, the despairs, the hopes, the dreams of our Founding Fathers been pushed back into the crevice of history and out of modern-day American traditions?

ALMA ARMSTRONG.

New York.

## 'WHY WORRY'

TO THE EDITOR:

It is difficult to accept the idea of the militancy of young white Southerners, as expounded by Margaret Long, after looking at the picture of attractive young people who all seem to be having a wonderful time.

The charming young man interviewed has obviously had all his ideas handed down to him. The beautiful myth of the purity of Southern womanhood doesn't hold up with the oft-expressed fear of miscegenation. There seem to be very few Negroes without some "white" blood and though undoubtedly most of it came from the paternal side, why should anyone worry about Southern women if they are so inherently pure?

HELEN R. SIMON.

Warren Township, N. J.

## 'WORST SYSTEM'

TO THE EDITOR:

The article by Margaret Long is yet another indication that Mississippi's educational system is the worst in the United States. Although the article is entitled "A Southern

(*Continued on Page* 141)

# Letters

*(Continued from Page 22)*

Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind," Don Barrett has obviously not learned how to use his. His "opinions" are feeble parrotings of the Southern aristocratic tradition, an essentially 19th-century tradition which the rest of the world has largely abandoned.

Barrett's words would seem to indicate that the "educated" Mississippian can have a mind as closed as that of the most illiterate.

ALICE E. PRICE.
JANET E. ST. CLAIR.
SARAH E. MCPHERSON.
MARILYN R. MOSES,
University of Rochester.

Rochester, N. Y.

## 'MISGUIDED'

TO THE EDITOR:

I am deeply saddened, indeed, to see an "intelligent" young man with such ingrained prejudice; so misguided.

Did you say he had 96-average in high school?

COUNCILLE E. BLYE.

Gainesville, Fla.

## 'NOT TYPICAL'

TO THE EDITOR:

Coming from Virginia and having traveled widely in various other parts of the South, I can honestly say I have never once heard such an extreme and narrow-minded viewpoint confirmed by Southern youths. I feel that Mr. Barrett has exaggerated the problem and the prejudice through his own limited background and experience and has done more to evoke publicity than to present an accurate picture.

I was especially alarmed upon concluding the article to hear the author present his segregationist mood as the epitome of young Southern feeling—"in love with life long gone, they stand embattled, fighting change with talk of old times, planter-rulers, and good servants happy in subjection." I realize that there are a few youths who advocate Barrett's extremist opinions, but they can never exemplify the bulk of Southern youths, many of whom may disapprove of the integration movement but are more inclined to accept the change with little dispute as a necessity of American social life.

KAREN COURTNEY,
Vassar College.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

## 'LACKS SPIRIT'

TO THE EDITOR:

Where Don Barrett says he is more proud of being a Mississippian than an American, I get the idea (from what he said) that he doesn't have any American spirit.

This country is not perfect, and it won't be, until a couple of million people like him have changed their ideas greatly.

DONALD J. ISLER.
(age 11)

New York.

Life Magazine
Nov. 29, 1963

Part II

The angry U.S. Negro's rallying cries are confusing his just and urgent cause

# POWER STRUCTURE, INTEGRATION, MILITANCY, FREEDOM NOW!

by THEODORE H. WHITE

In the American South the Negro has a relatively simple goal: to wring from hostile white men an end to legally imposed indignity. But in the big cities of the North, where Negro Americans increasingly seek their future, no such simple objective rises from the dialogue between white and Negro leaders. The nature of America's future civilization depends on clearing up the bitter tangle of misunderstanding between whites and Negroes; yet the noise of the present dialogue deafeningly confuses the real issues they pretend to discuss.

The historian of the future will, of course, see the ferment and change caused by city Negroes more clearly than we do today. His report will start, as ours must, with an account of the centuries-old injustice of the white man to the black, of the crippling of emotion which every Negro suffers every day as he tries to live in a white world that prefers to ignore his existence.

With the advantage of hindsight, the historian of tomorrow will coolly strip the noise from the action to measure how well or ill Negroes fared in this episode. But those Americans who try in this decade—*now*—to meet Negro demands live with a dilemma of understanding. The problem is compounded by the reluctance of well-intentioned whites to bring up harsh but inescapable facts. No one can describe this dilemma better than to offer for consideration four of the key words or phrases of the bitter dialogue—each reflecting one facet of the many-faceted confusion.

MILITANCY is a word that today reflects a special posture or a type of person. A Negro leader must be known—first and above all—among his own people as a "militant." Not to be "militant" exposes a Negro to the charge that he is an "Uncle Tom." Once known as an "Uncle Tom," his career is over.

"Militancy" thus makes the public confrontation between the races chiefly a dialogue of black demand on white guilt. On occasion the "militant" Negro can be a man of incandescent, self-denying heroism—a Martin Luther King. But the "militant" Negro can also be one who substitutes pure flamboyance for leadership. Congressman Adam (We-Got-the-White-Man-on-the-Run) Clayton Powell is, for example, the single Negro most strategically placed (as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor) to operate on two of the greatest problems of his people: jobs and schooling. Not a hint of creative thinking or leadership in these supremely vital fields has come from Powell. Yet, as New York's leading "militant" Negro, he is politically invulnerable in Harlem. Powell called for "a Birmingham explosion in New York City" this fall.

"The word 'militancy' detonates such a charge," says one Negro leader, "that you simply can't afford *not* to be a 'militant.' Of course, this has a crippling effect on strategy. You ask in a closed meeting, should we go all the way, even to insurrection? And everybody says, no, we haven't got the force. If that's so, shouldn't we try to make progress with the help of the best elements of white society? But if you *say* that, it sounds as if you won't do anything unless you're sure of white support. You're not 'militant'—so where are you?"

It thus takes far more courage for a Negro leader in the North to compromise in the open with white leaders on a given program than for him to hold firm as a "militant." A charade then ensues whereby "militant" Negro leaders gather at various city halls; sympathetic white leaders listen to their demands and respond with promises that sound as if they were written by the Negro abolitionist Frederick Douglass. And then, as the promises slowly vanish in a blur, the banners wave and the audience chants: "Freedom *now!*"

FREEDOM NOW! is a mood phrase that links the militant leader to the passions of his followers. It is almost as difficult to quarrel with this phrase as to denounce The Star-Spangled Banner or Caroline Kennedy; it is as impossible to reply to it as to the question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?"

But "Freedom *now!*"—no matter how wonderfully it lends itself to the emotional mood of orator and crowd, no matter how bravely the placards wave the phrase above good people softly singing *We Shall Overcome*—is a phrase with explosive potential. For the problems of bad housing and education, unemployment and lack of opportunity cannot be solved anywhere near fast enough to satisfy the cravings generated by orators who chant: "We want it *now!* We want it *all!* We want it *here!* Freedom *now!*"

By wiping out reasonable public discussion of steps and procedures, the phrase "Freedom *now!*" blinds rather than clarifies. It could conceivably deliver leadership of the Negro community to demagogues who, if they insist that "now" is 1964, will force the major parties to polarize on this demand to the peril of both Negro and white.

Only when one attempts to pin down what "freedom" really is does one begin, for the first time, to grapple seriously with the Negro

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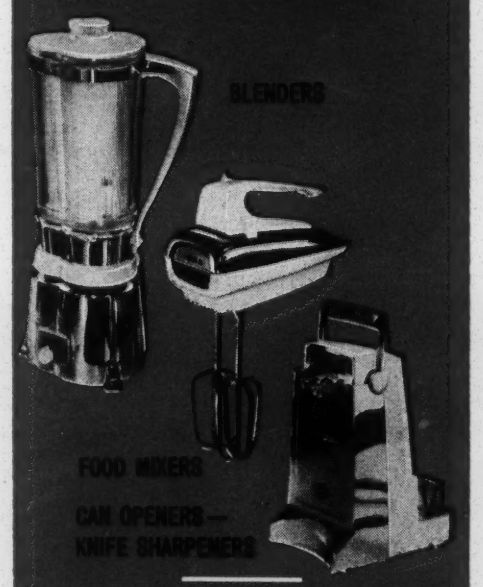


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dilemma. For, the definition of "freedom" becomes "real integration," and the word "integration" itself remains to be defined.

INTEGRATION is a word of substance that covers goals and ends, but no one has ever defined it except as the opposite of "segregation." Segregation originated in the South as a system of laws which imprisoned a man by the color of his skin at birth. From hospital waiting room, through school and work, to the grave, segregation shut Negroes out of community life. This system, long recognized as morally wicked, is now—thankfully—illegal. In the northern city it has been outlawed almost as long as the whipping post and thumb rack—though replaced by a system of white hypocrisies and subtleties which erects before Negroes an invisible web of prejudice that excludes them from the promise explicit in the laws.

"Segregation," being a legal term, can be outlawed by courts, supported—if necessary—by armies. But courts cannot define its opposite, "integration," nor can armies enforce what courts cannot define. Thus confusion—since "integration" has as many meanings as it has champions.

"Integration" can mean, for example, jobs. But in jobs it can be a demand as solid as opening locked unions to fair opportunity for Negroes—or as silly as the unblinking complaint, on opening night, by pickets that Cleopatra, an African heroine, should have been played by a Negro rather than by a white woman—Elizabeth Taylor. "Integration" can also be applied to the symbolism of American life—it can support the insistence of Negroes that TV, movies and stage begin to show the Negro in true achievement rather than as permanent servingman; or it can invite the absurd proposal of some Los Angeles Negroes that they organize a protest march of 10,000 if no Negro girls are included among the beauty queen finalists for the Tournament of Roses parade on Jan. 1, 1964.

Chiefly, however, "integration" enters the public dialogue in two areas of real demand: schooling and housing. Yet "integration" as applied to schools in the North defines an emotion, not a program.

**"We all marched together in Washington last August, but when it comes to being together with whites in their home neighborhoods, it's different."**

**WILLIAM PATRICK JR.**
**Detroit City Councilman**

No one has yet constructively and pragmatically defined what "integration" in the schools requires. Clearly, by the historic decision of Judge Irving Kaufman in New Rochelle, N.Y., separation of children by color, when *purposefully* practiced by school boards in the North under hypocritical cover phrases, is as illegal as the South's openly acknowledged practice. But, equally clearly, parents are not inevitably bigots if they prefer to have their toddlers attend schools in their own neighborhoods. In between these two clarities, however, is the large expanse of gray battleground where "integration" triggers off automatic demands on the school system.

Enough survey work has been done to show that Negro parents, like white parents, are more interested in the quality of education than in the chromatic proportions of the classroom. Yet in every city so much emotion is spent weighing the numbers, the percentages, the admixture of black with white, that Negro leaders have convinced far too many of their own people that Negroes sitting together in one classroom retard each other's education. In cities like Washington, D.C., where 80% of children in public schools are Negro, or areas like Manhattan, where 69% are Negro and Puerto Rican, "integration" could be achieved only by the most mechanical and arbitrary importation of white children from distant areas.

So in the name of "integration" some Negro leaders, notably in Los Angeles and New York, are demanding that white children be transported into Negro slums to achieve the proper chromatography. In New York the most advanced proponent of this impractical proposal is Dr. Edward Lewis of the Urban League. Talking to this good and genial man, one has difficulty believing he takes his own demand seriously. One has the feeling that he would like to get off the hook but that he is hung there by the word "integration" and the need for "militancy." Few Negro leaders in New York dare denounce the idea publicly for fear they will be blasted by others of their race for being against "integration." Meanwhile white parents can be tormented by a magnificently emotional appeal: "Integration means your kids will be forced on buses and shipped to Harlem schools with all those illegitimate and backward kids."

The kind of confusion set up by the word "integration" as applied to education is best reflected in a conversation with a bitter young Negro student leader in Chicago who began by listing as his No. 1 demand of American society: "separate but superior education for Negroes—if we could get it." Then, after increasingly emotional talk for an hour, he took up the matter of cross-busing white children into Negro districts and said, "The white kids got to pay for what their parents did to us. Even at the age of 6, they got to pay—because they're going to pay one way or the other. Besides, it'll be good for them."

"Integration" as applied to housing leads to hypocrisy. Outside of New York there is no substantial evidence that any neighborhood of mixed colors, if left unprotected against the pressure, has ever been successfully and permanently stabilized against the torrent of in-migrating Negroes. If there is any consensus in the heated race confrontation, it is this: in the crowded central cities, given the bursting need of Negroes for housing, Negroes can be introduced to white neighborhoods in orderly fashion only by quotas or, as the University of Chicago nicely puts it, "managed integration."

This somber judgment was shared by at least 50 of the 60 white and Negro leaders to whom this writer has spoken in the past few months. But almost no one will speak this judgment aloud. Alone among public agencies, the New

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PART II

# MY SIN

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**"Emphasis should be on superior or compensatory education, integrated or not. You can do irreparable harm to some Negroes by simply busing them to white schools."**

**PHILIP M. HAUSER**
**Sociologist**

## NEGROES
**CONTINUED**

Jersey Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has this fall courageously spoken up for "benign quotas" to lead Negroes out of their ghettos in orderly manner. In Chicago, Saul Alinsky, one of the Negroes' great white champions and a man who favors quotas, has said, "An integrated neighborhood—that's a neighborhood between the day the first Negro family moves in and the last white family moves out."

But elsewhere public statement and private view contradict each other. One of the most respected of American Negro leaders recently testified officially to this view: "I think any quota is odious, and I don't know how you maintain a quota." But the same man told me privately this fall that he feels quotas have "pragmatic value." White officials in New York City who deny publicly that any quota system exists in the public housing system will tell you, privately, how they work to maintain a balance.

Yet for all its haziness the word "integration" does, somehow, represent a genuine goal—the day when whites and Negroes will enjoy equal opportunity in the nation's life, will "communicate" with each other, will ignore the color of their skin and become friends. This greatly desired end will not, naturally, come about by itself; thus both strategy and tactics are necessary—and both of them are knit into the operational phrase of the present Negro unrest: "power structure."

POWER STRUCTURE is the commonest phrase on the lips of every Negro thinker and political analyst. Where the phrase originated is known only to scholars, but today it emphasizes the gap between two different visions of reality.

The word "power," to white politicians, means votes, police, armies, a government's power to compel. But as Negro leaders use the phrase, it means the entire structure of American life. Whoever has any privilege (either public or private) to give or withhold is part of the "power structure."

To Negroes "power structure" means not only government but the men who control the banks, industry and insurance companies; the men who control newspapers, magazines and television; it means the schools and their administrators; it means the churches and their hierarchies; it means the labor unions and their leaders.

Of these elements of the "power structure," Negroes have leverage only in one: government. This leverage they have won by translating the growth of Negro population in the big cities of the North into solid blocs of votes that swing six to eight of our greatest states one way or the other. Exploiting this strength, Negro leaders insist that government use *its* leverage on all the other elements of the "power structure," private and public. They propose that government press itself into *every* area of decision, that it penetrate and dominate everywhere that discrimination in any form is practiced.

All Negro leaders, whether of the intransigent radical fringe or the most docile and mendicant timidity, demand that the "power structure" be opened to include them at every level, right up to the policy-making summit. This, they insist, is the most important single transaction of this generation of Americans—the single overriding priority for all the nation's effort.

One should pause over the phrase "power structure" because it leads directly to the hard, true needs of the Negro community: the often-repeated trinity of demands—jobs, housing, education. And none of these problems, Negroes say, can be cured except by pressure on the "power structure." In New York City, for example, it is estimated that the construction unions control over 100,000 jobs. At the present rate of admitting

CONTINUED


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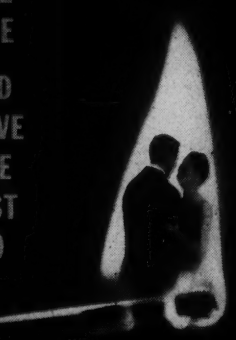

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**I dare say that 85% of all Negroes do not adhere to nonviolence. . . . They are allowing the nonviolent movement to go ahead because it is working.**

JAMES FORMAN
Executive Secretary of S.N.C.C.

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

apprentices in, say, the Steamfitters Union, if Negro applications are accepted beginning right now, it will be eight more years before the first Negro fills an opening as apprentice in that union. This, Negroes point out, is patently unfair and completely unrealistic; they argue that the union must be forced open to them *now*, preferentially or not.

Negroes in big cities across the country also want to pressure the "power structure" to force open the schools, public or private, to their students—or to force into their schools the best teachers available. As for housing, federal financing for more than 30 years supported the "power structure" of real estate developers who insisted that new suburban dwellings be covenanted against Negro occupancy; why, then, should not federal power now be used, asks Loren Miller, the Negroes' outstanding housing expert, to break open those suburban rings that trap Negroes in their urban ghettos?

The Negro community has needs as urgent as hunger, as hard as rock—yet the rhetoric of today's dialogue hides the reality. There is, for example, the clear national need that human beings eliminated by automation from industry, black *and* white, should not be dumped on the slums of our cities like animal refuse awaiting garbage removal. This urgent need can be expressed in several ways.

It can be expressed in the words of Louis Martin, a Negro journalist, who says, "After the civil rights bill goes through, what next? We have to take care of the guy out of work. He's mad. He won't lend himself to morality. This guy being tossed out by automation—you have a quarter of a million of him in the big cities. If you let him linger in poverty too long, you're developing another kind of culture in the city, a culture you can't reach with nonviolent preaching. I say you've got to take a billion dollars a year, if necessary, and toss it into the pool and say that any Negro—*or any white man*—who makes less than half the national average income ought to be able to find government work. I say that this basically illiterate guy has got to have another choice besides crime or relief."

Martin is now deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee and is, therefore, relatively free of the pressures of interior Negro politics. Inside Negro politics, however, few men can speak of the problem as one shared by both races. Instead they speak in the dogma of the civil rights movement, of "reparations." As voiced by the National Urban League in its demand for a national "Marshall Plan for Negroes," the concept of equal opportunity must be expanded to include the "concept of indemnification"; and there is the warning that, if such sin-gold is not paid by white Americans to black Americans, the "power structure" is inviting "social chaos."

The inflammatory language of the indemnification proposal illustrates a troublesome political paradox. The Urban League, led nationally by the brilliant Whitney Young and in Chicago by the distinguished Edwin C. Berry, is perhaps the wisest and most responsible of Negro civil rights groups; it knows best the internal problems of the Negro community in the city; it is most willing to accept Negro responsibility for what must be done—and is consequently suspect among extremists within the Negro community as "a front for the white men." The Urban League must, thus, advance its share of extreme public demands—and, once these demands are voiced, all other groups, in order to be "militant," must back them too.

This militancy of language—supported by moral indignation yet coupled with total confusion about what practical steps must first be

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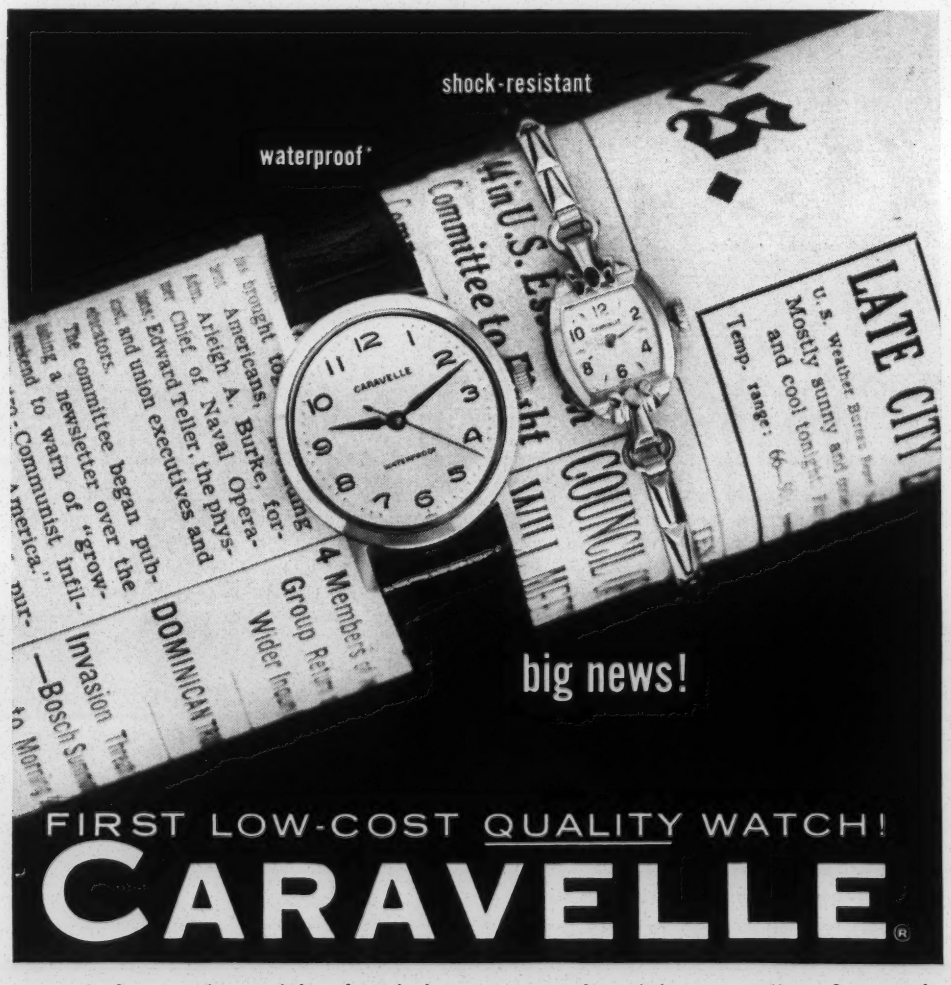


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**"Housing alone won't solve the Negroes' problems. Their delinquents are like others. Most have never met an adult they can trust. Only families with love and security can provide stability."**

**GEORGE EDWARDS**
**Detroit Police Commissioner**

## NEGROES
**CONTINUED**

taken—has brought into the crusading Negro movement a fringe of extremist followers, white and black, moved by many other inspirations, both domestic and alien.

Some of the wildest civil rights militants are descended from America's native radical tradition, which goes all the way back to the Boston Tea Party, to Thoreau and the Abolitionists, and descends through Populists and Wobblies to the radicals of the '30s. These are people learning, with zest and wonder, how delicate is the meshing of big city civilization. Their sit-ins and demonstrations have kept police forces across the nation strained for months. They have dumped garbage on City Hall in New York City, picketed a Chicago newspaper whose editorials they disliked, closed up construction sites in Philadelphia. Some of the leaders and participants in the civil rights movement insist that direct action, whether it works or not, is the only form of therapy which can reach Negro despair. Others find a simple joy in what can be done by mischief: "What if," mused a Chicago direct-actionist, "we all went into Marshall Field's, by the hundreds, and ordered parcels shipped C.O.D. all over town? I'll bet we could wreck them if they didn't negotiate with us."

The most remarkable thing about this past summer's protest demonstrations has been the ability of responsible Negro leadership under the most desperate cross-pressures to keep such extremists under control.

The central and most responsible vehicle for direct action in the country is the Congress of Racial Equality—CORE. CORE is led by some of the highest-minded, most dedicated men of the Negro movement—and it believes, with magnificent simplicity, that it alone can decide for its members which laws they shall obey, which disobey. Disciplined and well indoctrinated in the techniques and philosophy of civil disobedience, CORE represents a thoroughly American, though thoroughly disturbing, tradition of protest by direct action.

There are other direct-action groups—sometimes organized, sometimes not—who are far less reputable. For example, in Detroit this summer a local, unaffiliated university group called UHURU (an African word for "freedom") on its own initiative sat in at City Hall to demand, among other things, that the mayor immediately arrest the prosecuting attorney of Wayne county and appoint a Negro chief of police.

Still more sinister groups are also interested in direct action. One is the Communists, who again are trying to mount an important penetration into American politics. One staff member with definite Communist ties was uncovered in Martin Luther King's southern office this summer and was fired; but a continuing outside Communist effort—so far frustrated—to penetrate King's leadership circle is known to exist. National officials of CORE have already warded off Communist infiltration in chapters in Pittsburgh and in San Francisco; but Communist efforts to penetrate the Los Angeles group remain of concern to them.

A more serious penetration by unidentified elements is believed to have been made in S.N.C.C.—the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. On two occasions—once in Jackson, Miss., once in Birmingham—agents of this group tried to convert a peaceful march into a violent *Putsch* on government offices; both times they were headed off by responsible Negro leadership acting in time.

One of the most chilling documents this writer has seen recently was the draft "battle plan" discussed by S.N.C.C. (and rejected by Negro leaders) for use this fall in Alabama. It advocated a march on Montgomery in "nonviolent battle groups," with their own insignia and flags. These "battle

**CONTINUED**

"We assisted the GI after the war because he was out of the mainstream for four years. Negroes have been out of that mainstream for 300 years."

WHITNEY YOUNG
National Urban League

groups," trained in street-battle tactics, were to cut Montgomery off from all communication with the outside world—presumably to provoke "nonviolent" combat between Alabama and the U.S.

It cannot be overstressed that such lunatics and aliens are, at the moment, no more than irritants in a vast and inspiring thrust of Negroes toward dignity. But the confusion in the dialogue over civil rights magnifies what these irritants can do. Consider the riots in North Philadelphia on the weekend of Oct. 28. They were triggered off, after a Negro was shot by a policeman in self-defense, by one car roving the Negro districts with a loudspeaker and calling for "an eye for an eye" retaliation. The loudspeaker-equipped car was proved, on later investigation, to have been manned by a member of a Communist splinter group. But several hundred angry Negroes took to the street in response to the call.

As they try to sort out historic, long-range problems from short-range tactics, the Negro leaders face their largest dilemma in the elections of 1964. A quick analysis of the last presidential election explains both their dilemma and their power.

Of Kennedy's 303 electoral votes (Nixon received 219), 57 came from states of the Old South. But no less than 100 more of Kennedy's electoral votes came from states where his majority was less than 51%, shading down to margins so thin as to be an electoral twitch—indecision transfixed during a momentary count.

Under the discipline of conscience, Constitution and history, President Kennedy, in the role of 1964 candidate, must now grimly contemplate sacrificing as many of those 57 southern electoral votes as are necessary to move this country forward in race relations. He cannot, however, afford to give up also the 26 electoral votes of Illinois (his 1960 margin—9,000 out of 4,757,000 votes cast), the 21 of Michigan (1960 margin—67,000 out of 3,318,000), the 12 of Missouri (1960 margin—10,000 out of 1,934,000) and be re-elected President. Yet whether he gains or loses votes in such big city states (his prospects, it should be said, are much brighter in New York, Pennsylvania and California) depends almost as much on the Negro leaders as on his own behavior and performance.

For everywhere in the big city states the edge of friction cuts where Negro and white workingmen jostle each other—in jobs, in schools, above all in white working-class, home-owning neighborhoods. As a union man, the white worker has generally voted Democratic. But in local election after local election this fall season of 1963, wherever the Negro issue can be sensed in working-class votes—from Boston through Cambridge, Md. through Philadelphia—the white workingman has voted increasingly anti-Negro in defense of his neighborhood base.

As Negro leaders continue to press the white liberal leaders of the North (Republican and Democratic alike) for the demands that rise from the inner torment of the Negro community, they also press white liberal leadership further and further away from the white working class—and the working class itself toward the temptation offered by anti-Negro demagoguery. By pressing hard enough the Negroes can as thoroughly wreck or alter the nature of the present two-party system as did the Democratic radicals of the 1890s. (The battle cry of those radicals is oddly evocative of the Negro uprising of 1963: "If we can't all sit at the table together," said 'Ma' Jones of the Populists, "let's kick the legs off the goddam table and all sit on the floor.")

Much of the urgency with which Administration leaders and many Republicans endow the civil rights bill now before Congress comes from this perspective on the elections of 1964. If the bill is defeated, or filibustered to death, or

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"There is deep bitterness and disillusion over the fact that whites can settle for the hypocrisy of tokenism as the price of social and racial peace."

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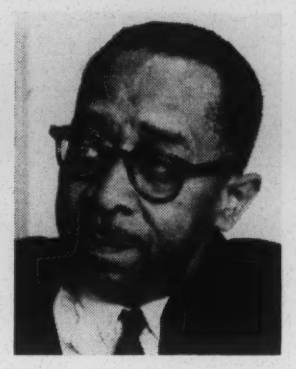
Psychologist



## NEGROES
CONTINUED

compromised to nothing, it will inevitably strengthen and feed the passions of the most extreme Negro militants, boil over into the presidential politics of next year, and thus divert the nation's attention from the far more complicated next step, which is the effort to solve the over-all problem of the Negro in the big city.

Is there any area of this problem in which men of goodwill, both white and black, do agree privately if not publicly?

Perhaps the most encouraging discovery this writer made in journeying across the country is this: that among themselves the more farsighted of Negro leaders have come to recognize that if they press responsibility for community behavior on the white, they must accept a black community responsibility too.

But they can only speak openly of their own responsibility, they insist, if the white man first moves to pick up his. The white power structure, they say, must first show by massive public and private effort its willingness to cope with the human fallout of automation, must demonstrate by massive public and private effort an intent to raise the quality of education and opportunity for Negro children. Then—*and only then*—they say, can Negroes face what they euphemistically refer to as their "housekeeping problem." In the discussions of "housekeeping," one of the words used by Negro extremists offers a helpful point of departure. It is the ugly word "castration."

When Negro intellectuals use the word "castration," they mean the lack of pride of so many Negro men which has come down from the days of slavery. Marauding white men and African black chieftains conspired, centuries ago, to tear apart Negro family life by buying and selling human bodies. For two hundred years thereafter in the New World, white men defiled the bodies of Negro women and violated the spirit of Negro men powerless to protect the women and children they loved. A great many American Negroes bear on their faces the signature of the white man's lust and ancestry; and so, the theory goes, the responsibilities of parenthood and family have become less important to Negro males than to white males.

To this historic "castration," say the Negro intellectuals, has been added the newer "castration" of industrial city life. Most of the brawn-and-back jobs for which Negroes originally came north are fast disappearing; in an automated world the robust, masculine heave of shoulder and muscle earns less. Negro women can become school teachers, collect tolls on highways, become clerks or secretaries. But for Negro males the doors are closing. In the U.S. three Negro women attend college for every two Negro men; among white people the proportion is just the reverse. In the big city, the father of the Negro family becomes less and less able to support his family—or to care for it. And fatherless babies grow up in a world with no family standards of decency, a burden and menace to all about them, white and black.

Many of the problems that beset the big city Negro are problems that plague other Americans too; and the purpose of the nation's politics is indeed to frame laws in which all people have equal opportunity to solve their problems. But the particular problem of Negro family life can only be solved by Negroes themselves.

In South Los Angeles last year, the Reverend Douglas Ferrell became the first Negro to win a seat in the state assembly from his district. His all-Negro neighborhood is a delight to the eye and, on Christmas week, white people drive through its streets to see the competition over Christmas decorations among blocks. Ferrell is no intellectual, but he has a shrewd answer as to why his neighborhood is so attractive while other all-

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**"Negro youngsters must be encouraged to prepare for new job opportunities. They can no longer use discrimination as an excuse for lack of education and preparation."**

THOMAS BRADLEY
Los Angeles City Councilman

## NEGROES
CONTINUED

Negro areas just a few miles away are both an eyesore and a stench.

"The root of the problem," says Ferrell, "is despair. A man says to himself, 'I've been down so long till down don't bother me.' Something happens to him. Defeat sets in like a disease. It's like a cancer; it eats away his will power. He gives up. He wants to be with other people like himself, no matter what level he lives on. He's got no design for living, no pride, no courage, no ambition.

"What happens to make a neighborhood like ours? I'll tell you—somebody has got to 'want to want.' It begins with one individual usually. One man and his wife begin improving their house. And if two of them on one street start, it catches on."

Across the continent, in a setting as different from South Los Angeles as a trash barrel is from a palm tree, stands a grime-coated, red-brick building on Harlem's 135th Street. Within this building an experiment is being conducted by three Negro intellectuals—Kenneth Clark, Cyril Tyson, Kenneth Marshall—men as different from the Reverend Douglas Ferrell as the settings they inhabit. But their reading of their people is the same. The Harlem experiment, called HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited), is supported by New York City and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, and it is the most successful exploration of Negro youth problems done in this country up to now.

Though HARYOU has no final answer yet, it has learned this: little can be done *for* Negro youth from the outside; but almost anything can be done *with* Negro youth. Given hope, leadership and opportunity, they can confront and tackle—as they are already doing—the dope pushers, the hustlers, the winos, the despair within their community with the same fervor they have shown in mobilizing their resources against the white enemy downtown. One of the oddest discoveries made by the HARYOU leaders in talking to their Negro youngsters is that some of the most popular teachers in the much-denounced schools of Harlem are the toughest teachers—those who insist that the children toe the line and measure up to the work. Such teachers apparently care.

"What these kids need," says Cyril Tyson, the talented director of the project, "is to begin to look at themselves in different ways, not the way they've been taught to look at themselves. They need what all Harlem needs—structure and discipline. Money alone isn't the answer—it's what you do with it. We're trying to use the internal resources of Harlem to create a new kind of community, something with self-sustaining inner energy."

HARYOU is some 2,800 miles from Los Angeles. Yet, if there were a consensus that stretched over white and Negro leaders from New York to California—covering almost every city in between, including cops in uniform, clerics in collar, sociologues with surveys, politicians in office—it would be this: before the big city and the Negro community finally adjust to each other, despair must be pushed back to give room for dreaming. Only then can Negro family work be reconstructed and responsibility within the family established. And if there is any one point where the cycle of despair must be broken, it lies in the juvenile-adolescent years, where hope and education must be made to take root.

But the white man of any city is, alas, badly equipped to bring the healing quality of hope into the Negro ghetto of the big city. History has pressed white man's cruelty so vividly on Negro minds that the friendliest of Negroes find difficulty in trusting white people. The white man in the slum is the enemy; he is the cop; the relief administrator; the boss; "the man." The white man must open the gates of opportunity, keep them open,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 93

beckon the Negro in—but only Negroes can lead their communities through those gates to hope and respect.

One calls thus, finally, on the mayor of America's largest city, New York's Robert Wagner. Now in his third term, Mayor Wagner has changed from the pudgy, benign man elected in 1953 to the rather gaunt and perpetually exhausted official he is today. No one has ever accused Wagner of blinding eloquence, but warmth of heart, patience and growing courage have slowly established him as one of New York's greater mayors.

After an hour's talk of Negro problems, of jobs, of housing, of commitment, of all that the city is trying to do, the mayor ends by talking about children: "That kid in Harlem who lacks skill, that kid who lacks the will to go on. He just isn't going to rush into a youth worker's office and say, 'I want to be trained.' You've got to go out and talk him into coming in. And that can't be done by government. Government has to have help. It's got to be done by leaders in the local community. Those kids in Harlem—they're discouraged, they're living off the bottom of the well; somebody's got to give them the spirit to climb up into the sunshine."

It is morning and the mayor is still in bathrobe and slippers, wearily facing the trip downtown to City Hall. At City Hall statistics and budgets will confront him; at City Hall, he knows, it is estimated that the Negro community requires two and a half times as much expenditure from the city for each Negro child as does the white community for a white child—and children eat up more than half of the city's entire $3 billion annual budget.

The sun in Gracie Mansion is warm and bright; the mayor knows how limited is the power of the city to deal with matters of spirit and hope. Yet he must do his part. He bends his head and doggedly faces the unpopular decision: "We're just going to have to spend more, a lot more. That's the job of the elected official—to go out and explain why we need the dough."

All over the country, in every big city, councilmen and mayors, congressmen, governors and greater officials know that they must now go out and explain why they will need "more dough." And they must explain the problem knowing that all the money in the world will not be enough. For, as Mayor Wagner put it, the job the nation faces on the urban frontier is not a job for government alone, nor for whites alone—or blacks alone.

It is a job, first, of thinking, of examining where American life must change as well as where it must be guarded. It is a job of sorting out the short-range problem of guaranteeing opportunity for the Negro and separating it from the long-range problem of reaching commonly accepted standards of behavior and morality in the big city. It is a job as practical as apprentice-training, as delicate as the rules of love and marriage.

No other free system of politics has ever before coped with problems of spirit and of reality so complex. History offers no other precedent to guide Americans—except their own. In America the children and grandchildren of immigrant hordes, acceptable nowhere else in the world, joined to transform existing tradition and create one of the wonders of Western civilization—the self-governing American city. The agony of the tongueless immigrant arriving in the strange land has never been adequately chronicled—nor the agony of the city that received him. But we know that the adventure succeeded. The immigrant, finally recognizing what he must learn, learned to strive; and the city, responding to his effort, finally accepted him for the rites of citizenship. The Negro's problem with the city and the city's problem with the Negro are, today, far more complicated. But the first step to solution must be found, surely, in the tradition of the American city itself.

**"Wherever there is reasonable acceptance by the white leadership, you will find responsible response on the part of the Negro leadership."**

**ROY WILKINS**
**Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.**

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# EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGROES

## ARE NEGROES LIKE OTHER IMMIGRANTS?

*In a book entitled,* Beyond the Melting Pot, *Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan analyze New York's ethnic groupings. The following excerpt on the Negroes was written by Mr. Glazer, who is now professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.*

**Nathan Glazer**

"Much has been written about the failure of the Negro to develop an entrepreneurial class. In the early 1900's, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, one an accommodationist and the other a militant, both exhorted the Negro to go into business, to develop wealth and power. Today Negro business is if anything less important than fifty years ago. The catering business, in which Negroes played a role of some significance in the late nineteenth century, has declined and fallen into other hands. The only important forms of Negro business are beauty parlors, barber shops, the preparation of special cosmetics, and undertaking parlors. Negro insurance companies (which once developed because Negroes found it hard to get insurance from established companies), banks, the Negro press, Negro real estate, whatever their importance symbolically, are of small importance economically in supplying jobs, economic contacts, skills. Perhaps one may make an exception to some extent for real estate, for a sizable amount of savings has been invested in houses and business property, and there are now a good number of real estate brokers. . . . And yet, this is for the most part all on a remarkably small scale. . . .

"There are some obvious explanations for lack of Negro businesses. Negroes emerging from slavery had no experience with money, and had no occasion to develop the skill in the planning and foresight that even the smallest businessman must have. In this respect, the European peasant, whose standard of living may have been as low as a slave's, was better off, for he had to market his produce and manage a small stock of money and goods.

"The upper class of slaves, the house servants who might have been given some small education, had as models the lavish expenditure of a plantation society, and it was easier for them to observe the processes of consumption than those of production and marketing. The freed slaves and later the migrants to the North were absolutely without financial resources, even the scanty sums needed for tiny businesses. They met unbending prejudice and discrimination in their efforts to get stock, capital, or space for rent.

"Yet surely there were in the great Negro city that grew up in Harlem in the 1920's opportunities for the business-minded to get a foothold by serving their own, as so many ethnic groups had done before them. But other factors came into play to inhibit the rise of Negro businessmen. One of them was that the Negro, while a migrant, was not like the immigrants bearing a foreign culture, with special needs that might give rise to a market. There was no local demand for a Buitoni and a La Rosa to make pasta, for a Goodman and a Manischevitz and a Schapiro to supply matzos

and kosher wine. The only demand was for undertakers, hairdressers, and cosmetics. As we know, in time these small beginnings in supplying members of one's own ethnic community might grow into sizable enterprises which laid fee on a world of customers that extended beyond the initial ethnic base.

"Perhaps another way in which Negroes differed from European immigrant groups was that they did not develop the same kind of clannishness, they did not have the same close family ties, that in other groups created little pools for ethnic businessmen and professionals to tap. There was little clubbing together of the South Carolinians versus the North Carolinians versus the Virginians—life in these places was either not different enough, or the basis of the differences was not attractive enough, to create strong local groups with strong local attachments. The Negro family was not strong enough to create those extended clans that elsewhere were most helpful for businessmen and professionals.

"Negroes often say, 'Everyone else sticks together, but we knock each other down. There is no trust among us.' This is a stereotype and probably has the same degree of truth that most stereotypes have, that is, a good deal. Without a special language and culture, and without the historical experiences that create an élan and a morale, what is there to lead them to build their own life, to patronize their own? The one great exception to this is the Negro church, and it is perhaps no accident that tight church-like groupings among the Negroes have often branched out into business enterprise, as was true of Father Divine and Daddy Grace and is now true of the Nation of Islam.

"In the end, the most important factor is probably the failure of Negroes to develop a pattern of saving. The poor may have had nothing to save; but even those better off tend to turn earnings immediately into consumption. The reasons are clear enough to anyone sensitive to the frustrations under which almost all Negroes in America live. They are sufficient to explain the search for pleasure in consumption which makes the pattern of saving and self-denial so rare. . . .

"But if problems of incapacity for business prevailed among Negroes coming up from the South, it did not among that large part of the Negro population of New York that comes from the West Indies. We cannot help, when we talk about any group, obscuring differences that are important within it. When we say 'Negroes,' we speak of those born in the city as well as those coming from the South, the middle class as well as the lower class, the native-born as well as the foreign-born, the light-skinned as well as the dark, the speakers of French and Spanish as well as those who speak English. To the external white eye all these distinctions seem of no importance. This tendency to create a group by perceiving people as being all one occurs not only in the case of Negroes—very different groups of Jews were merged by the perception of the outer world, more than by their own self-perception of similarity. But this process affects Negroes more harshly because the outer world makes so few distinctions among them."

Negroes from the West Indies "were viewed from the beginning by native American Negroes as highly distinctive—in accent, dress, custom, religion (they were Anglican), and allegiances (they celebrated the King's birthday). Distinctive as they were, they were forced to live in the same quarters as other Negroes. Furious at a prejudice far greater than that among whites in their home islands, they were helpless to do much about it. Many, as a consequence, turned radical. Negro Communists and labor leaders, it has been said, were disproportionately West Indian.

"But the West Indians' most striking difference from the Southern Negroes was their greater application to business education, buying homes, and in general advancing themselves. James Weldon Johnson (whose parents stemmed from the British West Indies) described them in 1930: they 'average high in intelligence and efficiency, there is practically no illiteracy among them, and many have a sound English common school education. They are characteristically sober minded and have something of a genius for business differing almost totally, in these from the average rural Negro of the South.' They contributed disproportionately, all observers have agreed, to the number of Negro leaders and accomplished men. Claude MacKay, himself a Jamaican, pointed out that the first Negro presidential elector in New York State, the first elected Negro Democratic leader (Herbert R. Bruce, in 1935), one of the first two Negro municipal judges, were West Indians. Marcus Garvey, who in the 1920's, led one of the greatest Negro political mass movements in American history, was a Jamaican. A sociologist wrote (in the only book-length study ever made of the foreign Negro in America) in the late 1930's, 'It is estimated that as high as one-third of the Negro professional population—particularly physicians, dentists, and lawyers—is foreign-born.' The ethos of the West Indians, in contrast to that of the Southern Negro, emphasized saving, hard work, investment, education. . . .

"The West Indians have by now pretty much merged into the American Negro group, and their children do not feel themselves to be particularly different. They never found it possible to create a separate residential area. They are citizens, have given up the Queen, and lost their accents. The group might have been maintained by renewed immigration which reached a thousand a year from Jamaica alone after World War II; but the new McCarran-Walter immigration law of 1952 radically cut the numbers eligible to come in from the British West Indies, and the stream was deflected to England, thus becoming indirectly responsible for the development of a new, large Negro community there. . . .

"No one has studied why the West Indians were superior in business-enterprise and educational achievement to the native Negro. Very likely the fact that they came from islands which were almost completely Negro, and in which, therefore, Negroes held all positions in society except the very highest, inhibited the rise of a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority, and gave them the experiences and self-confidence that Southern Negroes on the whole lacked. . . .

## IS DISCRIMINATION THE WHOLE STORY?

"Aside from all the problems we have discussed, the facts still show that Negroes, at the same levels of education as whites, do not get as good jobs, as high incomes. These are still the crude, brute facts of discrimination. And yet the same facts can be responded to in different ways. The Japanese in California before the war found it impossible to get good jobs outside the Japanese community; Jews until the Second World War took it for granted that they would find few jobs in engineering or with large corporations. But at the same time, Japanese attended college in phenomenal numbers; they became the best educated racial group in California. Jews did the same. This meant frustration for Japanese and Jews who could not find jobs for which they had trained and were qualified. Graduate Jewish chemists peddled cosmetics that they had concocted and bottled, graduate Japanese technicians worked as busboys.

"But this overtraining also meant that when the barriers came down these groups were ready and waiting. The Negro today is not. It is true his experience has been more frustrating, prejudice more severe, personality damage more extensive. And yet in some ways the situation is better; never has there been more opportunity for education and training at government expense, never has there been a more favorable environment for minority students in colleges. . . .

"We do not propose a single explanation of the problems that afflict so many Negroes; obviously, if the schools were better, the students' performances would also be better. If housing and job conditions were better, there would be less illegitimacy. If the police were fairer, there would be [fewer] arrests of Negroes. If Negroes had better jobs and higher incomes, fewer of them would be sentenced, fewer criminals would be made in prisons and reformatories. All these things are true. And since it is easier to do something about education, housing, jobs, and police administration than many other things, there is where we should put our emphasis, and there is where we begin. But I think it is pointless to ignore the fact that the concentration of problems in the Negro community *is* exceptional, and that prejudice, low income, poor education explain only so much.

"Migration, uprooting, urbanization always create problems. Even the best organized and best integrated groups suffer under such circumstances. But when the fundamental core of organization, the family, is already weak, the magnitude of these problems may be staggering. The experience of slavery left as its most serious heritage a steady weakness in the Negro family. There was no marriage in the slave family—husbands could be sold away from wives, children from parents. There was no possibility of taking responsibility for one's children, for one had in the end no power over them. One could not educate them, nor even, in many cases, discipline them. . . . What slavery began, prejudice and discrimination, affecting jobs, housing, self-respect, have continued to keep alive among many, many colored Americans.

"This is the situation in the Negro community; it will be the situation for a long time to come. The magnitude of the problems in the lower-class and disorganized sector of the population is so great that the middle-class element is inadequate to deal with them, as other middle-class elements, of other ethnic groups, dealt in the past (and deal today) with their problems. Consequently, while the problems of other groups are in large measure their own, the problems of the Negro community become the problems of all of us. It is true (as is often pointed out by sociologists) that we do not hear of Jewish illegitimacy or juvenile delinquency because the community is so blanketed with institutions that it gets them before the public agencies do. But this works only because the proportion of problem-solvers to problem-producers in this community is so large. . . .

"[Thus] it is not likely that we will see a massive self-help effort. For one thing, the middle-class Negro, separated by a thin line from the lower-class Negro, is often too busy maintaining his own precarious adaptation to offer sympathy or assistance. But more important, it is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic groups viewed themselves because—and this is the key to much in the Negro world—the Negro is only an American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect. He insists that the white world deal with his problems because, since he is so much the product of America, they are not *his* problems, but everyone's. Once they become everyone's, perhaps he will see that they are his own too." *(Beyond the Melting Pot)*

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# Is the White Southerner Ready for Equality?

by Raymond W. Mack

Two major issues with which the Kennedy administration must grapple bear a relationship to one another which is not visible at first glance. Significant progress in race relations—a matter of utmost urgency in both domestic and foreign policy—is closely linked to the whole question of federal aid to education. Neither civil rights legislation nor court decisions can provide a panacea for the problems of inequality between the races so long as we tolerate massive educational inequalities among the states.

In general, resistance to desegregation is highest where level of education is lowest. Industrial regions attract more people with more schooling than non-industrial regions. Rural areas have lower average educational levels than urban areas, and rural people find rapid social change less congenial than urbanites do. The doctrine of massive resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision has its roots and strength in the least industrialized, most rural portion of the United States, the region where levels of formal education are lowest: the South.

During my brief tenure as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Mississippi a decade ago, I was struck by the sharp division of the faculty into two groups. Some — mostly young men, newly appointed, many in their first teaching post—oriented their thinking and their work toward the day when they would leave. The others were there to stay.

Those intending to leave were not a disgruntled or unhappy crew. They were scholars with a cosmopolitan view of the boundaries of their profession. To them, what was happening in physics or in psychology was more relevant than what was happening in Mississippi. They subscribed to national professional journals and presented research papers at national meetings.

## Regional Boundaries

For those who would stay put, the world was local, not cosmopolitan. Their significant "reference groups," as sociologists would say, were Mississippi and the South. I do not mean to make them sound like narrow, uneducated dunces; they were (and are) not. They were part of a university faculty, interested in painting, politics, music, writing, and the exchange of ideas. But their dinner party discussions were likely to be devoted to topics with regional boundaries. What do you think of the new southern poet? Who are the most liberal southern Senators? Is the cultural life of Atlanta superior to that of New Orleans? What university has the strongest department of history in the South?

Even where they might come up with the same answers, the cosmopolitans and the locals phrased their questions differently. The former would ask who is the greatest contemporary American novelist; the latter would ask who is the greatest contemporary southern novelist.

The same choice of primary allegiance divided the student body. Most belonged to the group whose world was centered in Mississippi and bounded by the South. A markedly different few had their sights set on the time when, and the way in which, they would leave.

This division typifies the South as a whole. It represents the South's own problem, and the problem of the South as part of a larger nation. Some

white southerners "pass" into the wider society. Others remain segregated within the only large, clearly-defined regional subculture in the United States. These locally-oriented people are behaving exactly like what they are: a minority group.

So accustomed are we to thinking of minorities in racial and national terms—Italian-Americans, Negroes, Orientals, Jews, Polish-Americans—that it is easy for us to overlook the existence, much less the problems of our largest minority: the white southerners. By most criteria sociologists use in defining and studying minorities, white southerners are a minority.

## Southern Stereotype

A minority is stereotyped by the dominant group. Whether Jews, Negroes, or white southerners, they are thought of as a category sharing common characteristics and treated as a lump. Most Americans may expect one Oregonian to be different from another. But it is customary, even among editorial writers, columnists, and other intellectuals, to generalize about southerners. (Indeed, this is true to such an extent that it provides another example of the status of the American Negro as an "invisible man." When Americans say "southerner," they mean southern white.)

*The southerner passes the ultimate test of the stereotype: people who do not conform to expectations are exempted from the category.* Several times in social gatherings the turn of the conversation has led me to comment that my wife was born and reared in the South. The usual reassuring reply is, "Why, she doesn't seem like a southerner at all."

In the North, the statement "you don't seem like a southerner" is invariably intended as a compliment. It is like saying, "she's a Jew, but she's very quiet"; or "he's a Negro, but a real gentleman." However, such generalizations about southerners are made by people who describe themselves as liberals and would be offended if accused of holding a stereotype of a racial or ethnic minority. But there is no better evidence of the existence of a stereotype than the need to exempt individuals from membership in their social category.

A minority is self-conscious. They are aware of the fact that the dominant group in their society views them as inherently different. They have mixed feelings of pride in their origins and defensiveness about the characteristics which set them apart. Irish-Americans boast to one another and kid among themselves about being hard-drinking fighters while resenting that public stereotype of Irish uncouthness. No other jokes contain the mixed tribal tenderness and vicious anti-Semitism of Jewish stories about Jewishness.

## They Used to Hate Us

Southerners, too, know that they are scorned by other Americans. But who waves the Confederate flag at football games? One would be hard put to find a more potent example of paranoiac chauvinism than the best selling (in Mississippi) automobile tags proclaiming: *Mississippi—the most lied-about state in the Union.* The cross borne in the Bible Belt was described poignantly by the late poet-sociologist Howard Washington Odum of the University of North Carolina: "They used to hate us; now they laugh at us."

The way of life of a minority is viewed by others not as conforming to a set of standards with a value of its own, but as a measurable deviation from the "right way," the standards of the majority. It is an annoyance and a bother when a Jewish holiday falls on the day of college registration. Jewish students must be registered the day before or the day after everyone else. They cause trouble. Somehow registration does not happen to fall on Christmas or Easter. Similarly, in a university whose English department harbors defenders of the Third Edition of Webster's International Dictionary and teachers of the "usage, not rules" school of English, students with a southern accent take special corrective work in the School of Speech to learn to speak "correctly."

## No Southerner for President

A minority is excluded from full participation in the society's business. The "balanced ticket" dear to the hearts of New York and Chicago politicians is not only a concession to minority power; it is evidence that the minority lacks true access to the power elite. We debated whether or not we could elect a Catholic President. No one raised seriously the question of whether we could elect as President a man really labelled a southerner. John Sparkman with Adlai Stevenson made a balanced ticket. But when Lyndon Johnson decided to try seriously for the top office, he and his supporters spent months creating an image of him as a Westerner and a national leader.

It is true, however, that white southerners enjoy influence and power in Congress very greatly out of proportion to their numbers, and in this way they differ from other minorities. Southern Congressmen are elected by small tightly-controlled electorates from which many whites as well as most

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Negroes are excluded (although these are counted in the census for determining numbers of "representatives"). They easily build up seniority over representatives more democratically elected and in greater danger of being defeated; by being secure in their offices southerners have come to dominate the majority of standing committees that actually control Congressional business. Even this great power, however, the South uses as an embattled minority would—mostly defensively, to stop what it doesn't want and to extract concessions and special privileges.

For the southerners are a minority. We stereotype them. They see themselves as different, and take pride in their race history and their ghetto. We are prejudiced against them. We discriminate against them.

While we are involved in a national effort to abolish residual slavery and raise the Negro American to the level of a full-fledged citizen, we tend to use the word "southerner" to connote someone oppressing a minority. But this should not blind us to the fact that the oppressors are themselves a minority.

We are committed to equality for the Negro. What about the southern white? Is he ready? Are we?

## Can They Be Assimilated?

The resolution of this problem, like any minority problem, lies in the answer to the question: Can they be assimilated?

Assimilating "southerners" into American society will be a tremendous job. (I am now using *That Word* to refer to locally and regionally oriented southerners. I am stereotyping and excluding those cosmopolitans who are already primarily Americans and only secondarily southerners.) The reason the South is hard to assimilate is not only that it has a distinctive history and culture. Goodness knows, southerners have participated in the country's crises; they have helped to make many and to solve others. The Mississippi National Guard, which was called upon to defend Mr. Meredith when he enrolled at Ole Miss, is proud of its record, and justifiably so. In the Korean War, it enlisted more volunteers and won more medals than any other state. But its pride is in the Mississippi National Guard, not in the United States.

The South has been largely excluded from the processes which made the rest of America. The South remains predominantly agrarian, with a high birth rate and a low level of formal education. It is the most rural section of an urban society, the least schooled segment of an educated society, the least industrialized part of an industrial society. Historically, as Philip M. Hauser says, the North and West have been the productive parts of the United States, and the South has been the reproductive part.

## Penny-Wise Education

Since the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, many people have become familiar with

**Table 1. STATE SPENDING FOR EDUCATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

| Average Annual Expenditure for Education per Pupil | State | Percentage of Population 18 years of age and over with less than 6 years schooling |
|---|---|---|
| Less than $200 | Alabama | 19.1 |
| | Arkansas | 18.0 |
| | Georgia | 20.6 |
| | Kentucky | 16.2 |
| | Mississippi | 22.0 |
| | North Carolina | 19.3 |
| | South Carolina | 23.8 |
| | Tennessee | 17.3 |
| | Virginia | 15.3 |
| | West Virginia | 12.9 |
| $200-$249 | Florida | 10.8 |
| | Idaho | 3.9 |
| | Louisiana | 24.9 |
| | Maine | 5.5 |
| | Nebraska | 4.2 |
| | Texas | 15.7 |
| | Vermont | 4.4 |
| $250-$299 | Arizona | 11.7 |
| | Colorado | 5.5 |
| | Connecticut | 7.4 |
| | Kansas | 4.3 |
| | Illinois | 7.4 |
| | Iowa | 3.5 |
| | Maryland | 9.0 |
| | Massachusetts | 7.0 |
| | Michigan | 6.8 |
| | Nevada | 4.6 |
| | New Hampshire | 5.2 |
| | New Mexico | 14.3 |
| | North Dakota | 7.0 |
| | Ohio | 6.3 |
| | Oklahoma | 10.1 |
| | Pennsylvania | 8.1 |
| | Rhode Island | 8.7 |
| | South Dakota | 4.8 |
| | Washington | 4.0 |
| | Wisconsin | 6.2 |
| $300 or more | California | 6.7 |
| | Delaware | 7.7 |
| | Indiana | 5.7 |
| | Minnesota | 4.7 |
| | Missouri | 8.3 |
| | Montana | 4.8 |
| | New Jersey | 8.2 |
| | New York | 9.1 |
| | Oregon | 3.9 |
| | Utah | 3.3 |
| | Wyoming | 4.2 |

the social science data on Army Alpha tests of intelligence by race and region. Whites from Arkansas, Kentucky, and Mississippi scored significantly lower on these tests than Negroes from New York, Ohio, and Illinois. These research results do not mean that southerners are innately inferior to northerners, any more than similar contrasts should be interpreted to mean that urbanites are smarter than farmers or that Negroes are inferior to whites. They simply emphasize the consequences of unequal educational opportunities. Seven years ago, ten states spent less than $200 per pupil on education, and every one of the ten was a southern state. At the same time, as Table 1 shows, 31 states spent $250 or more per pupil, and not one of them was in the South.

The products of these regional educational inequalities are immediately apparent in other statistics. Only eleven states in the continental United States have a rate of adult illiteracy of over 15 percent. Again, every one of them is in the South. This is one reason that literacy tests for voting can be skillfully used as instruments of racial discrimination in the South. Tennessee is the only state of the old Confederacy where as many as a third of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote; the figure in Mississippi is 5 percent.

Of the total population aged eighteen to twenty-four who were enrolled in college in 1960, we find nineteen states where the figure falls below 21 percent: the entire South, several border states, but only four states from all the rest of the country.

The social cost to the nation of this kind of inequality is documented in Melvin M. Tumin's study of what he calls "the hard core" of Southern resistance to desegregation. The outstanding characteristic of those most willing to resort to violence to defy the law of the land is a below-average amount of formal education. The violence-prone hard-core people belong to churches in about the same proportion as others and attend as frequently; they are as stable in residence patterns as their neighbors. But their earning power is significantly lower than that of their neighbors, and a much smaller percentage of them have completed

**Table 2. THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH**

| State | Percentage of Negroes of Voting Age Who Are Registered to Vote |
|---|---|
| Alabama | 12% |
| Arkansas | 31 |
| Florida | 28 |
| Georgia | 22 |
| Louisiana | 26 |
| Mississippi | 5 |
| North Carolina | 28 |
| South Carolina | 13 |
| Texas | 31 |
| Virginia | 20 |

**Table 3. PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN COLLEGE, BY STATE, 1960**

| State | College Population as Percentage of Total Population Aged 18-24 |
|---|---|
| Less than 20% | |
| Alabama | 15.0 |
| Arkansas | 16.5 |
| Delaware | 18.9 |
| Florida | 16.0 |
| Georgia | 12.8 |
| Kentucky | 16.7 |
| Louisiana | 19.1 |
| Maine | 14.9 |
| Maryland | 19.4 |
| Mississippi | 17.1 |
| Nevada | 16.2 |
| New Jersey | 18.8 |
| New Mexico | 18.3 |
| North Carolina | 14.6 |
| South Carolina | 12.5 |
| Tennessee | 18.6 |
| Virginia | 14.0 |
| West Virginia | 19.0 |
| 20% to 26% | |
| Idaho | 20.0 |
| Illinois | 24.1 |
| Indiana | 23.0 |
| Iowa | 25.1 |
| Michigan | 24.9 |
| Missouri | 22.4 |
| Montana | 22.9 |
| New Hampshire | 24.8 |
| North Dakota | 23.9 |
| Ohio | 21.4 |
| Pennsylvania | 21.4 |
| Rhode Island | 24.4 |
| South Dakota | 25.2 |
| Texas | 20.5 |
| Wisconsin | 23.3 |
| Wyoming | 23.5 |
| 26% and over | |
| Arizona | 28.1 |
| California | 32.1 |
| Colorado | 29.2 |
| Connecticut | 26.4 |
| Kansas | 27.3 |
| Massachusetts | 31.3 |
| Minnesota | 26.7 |
| Nebraska | 28.0 |
| New York | 26.6 |
| Oklahoma | 27.2 |
| Oregon | 30.7 |
| Utah | 37.9 |
| Vermont | 30.0 |
| Washington | 26.7 |

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nine years or more of school. As a result, the wider society impinges much less directly upon them; they are less influenced by the mass media of magazines, newspapers, radio, and television.

### From Bad to Worse

The trouble with a serious imbalance regionally in education and income is that it tends to feed upon itself. What is bad becomes worse precisely because it is known to be bad. A recent study by Russell Middleton, University of Wisconsin, shows that most department chairmen in southern colleges and universities believe that their recruiting of staff is hampered by the images scholars have of the South. Middleton's survey of doctoral candidates about to enter college teaching shows that the South is the last region where scholars choose to work. He concludes that "for the immediate future the prospects for higher education in the South are dubious."

They are likely to remain so until we accept the need to correct inequalities in the educational opportunities available to Americans regardless of race, color, or region. It is difficult to see how we can achieve this if we cling to pathological fears of federal aid to education instead of using our federal government for what it is and should be: an instrument of our own will and destiny.

Americans have chosen to attack courageously the problem of unequal opportunities for Negro citizens. The task of redressing this shameful situation might be expedited by turning our attention at the same time to another culturally deprived minority.

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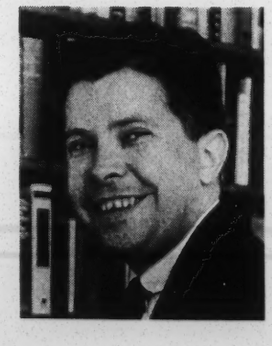

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# Political Types--

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field achieve a game and entertain a common but diverse audience. A single authority is not necessary.

The best example perhaps is science. There is no generalissimo giving orders to scientists, nor even settling disputes among them. They have instead a self-correcting method and discipline which all legitimate scientists follow, a general goal, and a highly desirable social product. Tasks are set, a division of labor is assigned, adequate communications exist, and workable methods to seek out and eliminate error are in force—all without generals or jails.

### The Model of Science

We consider science the most rational and free pursuit in our society—and also the one most likely to search out the truth. But in looking for the ideal model of rational administration our "organization theorists" are turning not to science —nor even to other models of a free give-and-take through which a common direction is hammered out—but to the increasingly closed society of the modern corporation.

Today's corporation, however, seeks to become, not a growing arena for contending forces and change, but an entity that will survive, however statically, providing a haven and way of life for its members. It does not compare to science as a model for administering our pluralistic democratic society, or for fulfilling that ideal stamped on every American coin—E Pluribus Unum—which is variously translated, but means unity through diversity.

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The author, a native of California, discusses the wide gulf between what he believes to be right and how he actually behaves when he meets the Negro as an employee, a boss, or simply an acquaintance whom he hesitates to invite to a party in his home.

# A WHITE MAN LOOKS AT THE NEGRO

BY GILBERT CROSS

I'M WHITE. I live in New York City where the paths of the black man and the white man must often cross, whether they want them to or not.

Not long ago, I visited a Negro nightclub and, for once, I found myself a member of a scorned minority. My overtures at friendliness were haughtily rebuffed. I realized afterwards that my clumsy eagerness to be accepted by the Negroes there was a form of condescension, and they recognized it.

There was condescension also in my studied cordiality to a lone Negro who happened to be seated next to me in a restaurant, in our discussion of the race problem, and in my promise to have him over to my place for dinner soon. There was cowardice in my subsequent preoccupation with how I would arrange the guest list, and brief the guests, so as not to embarrass *me*. There was a real sense of guilt that I was not having him over as a friend or a man with an interesting mind, but as a Negro—a curiosity.

A few weeks later, I was the one who was briefed, by a careful hostess. A mutual friend of ours, a white girl, was going to bring her Negro boy friend to a cocktail party. Despite the briefing, when I saw her walk through the door with her Negro beau, I felt a sudden backlash of anger: at her, for betraying a life and a code we both knew; at him, for trying to intrude upon us.

These personal episodes, and others like them, have made me wonder about the strange and often contradictory mixture of tolerance and prejudice, anger and idealism that governs or rather confuses my reactions to the Negro, and his struggle to win a place in my world.

Why am I so condescending? Why so frightened? Why so angry when a Negro touches my life?

I was born and raised in California. My father was and still is a minister, and in the city where we lived, I do not think there was any man more active than he in supporting Negro organizations in their struggle to advance their race. As a little boy, I was proud that my father was so idealistic. I thought this put us a cut above the neighbors. Yet I do not recall that a Negro ever sat at our dinner table, and we children always knew, without ever being told it, that any but the most casual of friendships with a Negro child was simply not for us.

For several years, my father conducted a radio program, and this made it necessary for him to travel often with the members of a Negro quartet. Time after time, he came back from his trips storming in indignation at the hotels that had refused to house the Negroes. I remember how he tried to impress upon us children how neat the singers' homes were, and what clean, bright and well-bred children they had.

Yet, looking back, I guess what must have impressed itself upon my young mind was that there were a great many hotel clerks in this world who really did think there was something wrong with the Negro, no matter what my father said. And I still remember the look of shock and outrage on my father's face when he heard that a former member of the quartet had married a white girl.

So prejudice comes early, and quietly, more through things unsaid than those that are said. But the fact of prejudice does not explain its power. Why is the white man so afraid to have a Negro touch his life?

Sociologists I have asked about this claim that it is not so much because of the white man's opinion of the Negro as it is the presence of the Negro, which threatens the white man's opinion of himself. A lady who lives in East Flatbush, Brooklyn—an orderly, pleasant, middle-class white neighborhood—filed suit recently to prevent her son from being transferred to a junior high school on the edge of Brownsville, a neighboring Negro-Puerto Rican slum. She explains her feelings this way:

"My husband was a Brownsville boy. Even when he grew up there, it was considered a slum area. He was the son of immigrant parents, and has worked his way up. After we married, we lived in Bedford-Stuyvesant until a lower-class element came in, and it became unbearable to walk the streets. We took a basement apartment in East Flatbush just so we could live in a nice area. We worked ourselves up so we could afford to buy a home.

"If you move to East Flatbush from Brownsville, you are considered on your way up. I feel it is unfair, when you have worked your way up, to have to send your children back."

I think this kind of "status feeling" plays a bigger part than most people realize, or like to admit, in keeping the bars of prejudice high, even for those of us who have not just escaped from the slums.

Not long ago, an Ethiopian lawyer applied for an extra room in my apartment that I was offering for

continued

rent. I found myself brushing him off with vague, guilty excuses. I did not think about the sort of person he was. I wondered: What would the landlady say? What would the neighbors think? What would I say to my friends? But when one of my friends, in a holier-than-thou tone, accused me of discriminating, I got mad.

It is this angry, guilty conflict, between the conscience of the white man and his feeling about his standing in the world, that complicates efforts to help the Negro solve his problems. Once, a Negro girl was assigned to me temporarily as a secretary. She worked so hard and seemed so willing that I said, with what was probably typical white-man condescension, that she deserved a chance, so I took her on as my regular secretary. But I soon found that her segregated schooling meant that she had never learned to think independently and show initiative. And she was in such a desperate hurry to improve herself that she was furiously studying shorthand before she had really learned to do the typing well.

But I am afraid she was not the only one who was found wanting. Several times, she reported to me that when she delivered papers to the offices of certain business associates of mine who were Southerners, they seemed appalled that my secretary was a Negro. I still remember the strange little fear that crawled up inside me when she said that, the fear that I would be downgraded in my colleagues' eyes because of her, that they would think I was some kind of nut or social reformer. After that, there were times when I took the papers to those offices myself.

When the colored girl was denied a promotion because she had not mastered the work, she told people in the office she had been held back because she was a Negro. At the time, I thought that was a silly statement. Now, I'm not so sure. I suppose if we really got to the root of the thing, that *was* why she was held back.

It had seemed to me at the beginning, as I'm sure it had seemed to her, that once the door of opportunity was opened, all would be well.

I hadn't counted on the price that was going to have to be paid, by both of us, for the generations of lost opportunity. I thought then the price was too much to ask. Now I'm not so sure. Somebody has to pay.

Somebody has to pay. Somebody has to come to grips with the Negro's interlinked demands—jobs, housing and schools—not only in high-minded chatter at cocktail parties, in policies of the Federal Government, in stately editorials in the New York *Times*, but also in the unwelcome and difficult adjustments that he must make in his own daily life.

Somebody has to pay. But I can't resist the impulse to say that if I'm lucky, it won't be me. I'm not proud of that thought, but there it is. I don't want trouble, especially the kind of trouble that puts my feelings and my conscience so agonizingly at odds. I'll run from this one if I get a chance.

But will I get the chance? To be cold-blooded about it, finding a solution to the Negro problem is, for the white man, a problem not only of justice but of self-protection. If we don't allow the Negro to touch our lives peacefully, we risk having him mark our lives violently. So how much, and in what ways, am I willing to let the Negro touch my life?

First, I believe that a properly qualified Negro ought to be entitled to work for the company I work for, at a job as good as mine—or better, if he is good enough—and that I should be willing to work with him as a professional colleague. (I have found that work is, for me, a surprisingly color-blind activity. I respect genuine competence, rare as it is, and am glad whenever and wherever I find it.)

Whether I would accept the Negro easily as a direct superior or subordinate is another question. It occurs to me that if an order comes down from the top of an organization that a Negro is to be employed in a certain capacity, that makes it easier. Then there is some outside force to blame. If I have to make the decision myself, it's harder.

(I had a colored boss once. While I was still a student, I was hitchhiking through Arizona and ran out of money. To grubstake myself, I got a job picking cotton. The boss of the crew turned out to be a good-natured colored man, big enough to lick any of the rag-taggle of harvest workers the employment office had turned up. I looked at him. He looked at me. Each one knew what the other one was thinking. I needed the money, so I went to work, stooping through the cotton field, while the colored boss sat in the shade watching me with a twinkle in his eye.)

If a Negro is professionally qualified to work with me, then I think he would probably be qualified economically and socially to live across the street from me, and should probably be allowed to. If he moved in, I hope I would treat him courteously. (Superficially, at least, I would probably treat him too courteously.) Whether I would have him into my home as a guest would depend in part, I guess, on what sort of neighbor he turned out to be.

If my neighbors started to panic at the prospect of a Negro moving in, I hope I would show some leadership in trying to calm them. But if ten Negroes wanted to move in, no matter how well qualified they were, with every evidence of a real panic and a drop in property values, then I might well work behind the scenes to block them. Failing that, I would probably sell and run. These questions involve the lives of white people as well as black, and they are matters of practicality as well as principle.

> "My father was indignant when a hotel turned away Negroes, but he was outraged when a Negro married a white girl."

In terms of acceptance of the Negro, there is one point that seems to recur in my mind. It is not a nice one, but it is an unavoidable one: White men want the Negro they accept to look as "white" as possible. If they are going to let him into their world, they want to feel at home not only with his education, his manners, his dress and his habits of living, but with his physical appearance itself and not color alone. I find that I respond best to a Negro who looks like a coffee-colored white man.

I wonder if foreignness of feature, and its unconscious implication in the white mind of a kind of primal earthiness, does not count as much as or more than color itself in keeping the bars of prejudice high. And I wonder if a presumed primitiveness does not account for some of the terror and fury that flare when the Negro male strays across the color line, and the snickering recounting by white males of the purported extra attractions of the Negro female.

This issue gets close to the heart of a question that lurks in the mind of any white man who thinks at length about the subject of race: "Would I want my daughter to marry a Negro?" It happens that I am a bachelor. But the question has as powerful an effect on me, I think, as though I did have a daughter.

Some of my friends who live in well-heeled, well-educated suburbs outside New York City, where the Negro can be viewed from a very safe distance, deny in the name of principle any prejudice at all. But when it comes to the question of letting a Negro into the family, they plead the prejudice of society. "Not with standards what they are in this country," says one man (who has never entertained a Negro in his home). "I hate to say this. If this were Brazil, I wouldn't mind."

But in a nearby community, an enthusiastically liberal mother, who has long worked for integration and tolerance, and has frequently entertained Negroes as friends, faced the problem much closer to home when her daughter wanted to date an intelligent, charming Negro boy. It was not a case of romance. The daughter simply wanted to prove a point, to show that she had the courage of her mother's convictions.

"I had kittens," admits the mother, "and the only reason I felt that way, I'll be honest, was because he was of a different color."

I'd have kittens, too, and whether this would be because of abject social cowardice or some deep, instinctual bar, I can't say, and I really don't care. I just don't want it.

But quibbling about interracial marriage is, too often, just a good way of avoiding the much less explosive, much more immediate steps that can be taken, in gradually weaving the life of the black man into the fabric of the white man's world. The simplest step, the easiest and, perhaps over the long run, the most fruitful in terms of avoiding trouble and laying a groundwork for understanding, is simply for the middle-class white man to go to the trouble to make the acquaintance of a few of his counterparts of the other race.

Yet, even here, there is a curious personal aloofness toward the colored man, an instinctive withdrawal from him, even by the white men who seem to care about him most. It could almost be called "apartheid of the heart." A teacher of social science who is making a career of studying Negro problems told me enthusiastically of the civil-rights campaign, "It's about the most important movement to hit this country since the Civil War, and not excluding the 1930's." I asked him whether he had attended last summer's Freedom March in Washington. He shook his head. "I gave some money," he said. "That was the extent of my contribution."

And as for myself, and my deep concern about the Negro, that colored man I met in the restaurant, the one I promised to invite to dinner: I pondered for a week or so the question of what to do about a guest list. Then I got busy with other things. I never called him.

FIRST OF A SERIES ANALYZING THE RIGHTS STRUGGLE

12/26/63 R+R/Rel.

# A look at the Negro Movement

By Joanne Grant
*(First of a series)*

IN ITS THIRD YEAR the Negro freedom movement has sharpened its impact on the nation as a whole and, more importantly, has widened its influence in the Negro community, with more and more working people becoming involved. This development has been described by one observer as a change from a "battle of the elite" to a battle of the masses. With this new direction, many in the movement now wonder: Where is it going?

Questions are being asked and answers debated in meetings and conferences of the freedom movement.

- Should Negroes demand preferential treatment in education and jobs in partial repayment for 300 years of exploitation?
- What is the extent of the resistance of the white majority and how much can it retard or abort the Negro drive for freedom?
- Can the movement be captured, or numbers of white participants to gain its end?
- Can the movement develop methods to cope with the economic aspects of discrimination?
- Are the tactics, the nonviolent demonstrations, sufficient to the task?
- Can it develop enough political power to gain its ends?
- Can it gain its ends without a deeper struggle joined with other major issues troubling the country?

**NEW EMPHASIS:** When the movement began in 1960, it was college students who staged sit-ins at "white only" lunch counters in Southern cities. The new turn toward involvement of adults, working people, in the movement accompanied a shift in emphasis first from

*(Continued on Page 8)*

# Rights movement

(Continued from Page 1)

public accommodations to voting, then to jobs.

What next? One answer is that of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Lewis says: "This must be a people's movement, not a leaders' movement. We must become radical enough to present a positive program to meet the needs of an oppressed people."

The development has already caused changes. For instance, a shift in emphasis from the courts to direct action. Even though legal action is extensive today the civil rights participants now are more often defendants rather than complainants. (This shift has taken place gradually since the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, when civil rights cases tended to involve one or more individuals suing to enter a school or desegregate a park or golf course. In 1963 the NAACP Legal Aid and Defense Fund reports it represented 10,485 peaceful protesters as defendants and handled only 120 cases in which complainants sued for desegregation of schools or other facilities.)

**BASIC DEMANDS:** The involvement of masses of people has meant that the movement must re-evaluate its aims and methods. But it is also the most important reason for the growing strength of the movement. It is also the cause of a sharpening of the movement's focus; that is, when the most deprived sections of the Negro population become involved in the struggle for equality, the demands become more basic. Thus the movement finds itself now not only re-evaluating aims and tactics but searching for solutions to the economic problem which face the masses of Negro people.

In the North the new goals are typified by demonstrations such as those at construction sites in New York's Harlem, and the current rent strikes, which are not demands for integration, but for

Langston in the Christian Science Monitor
**"Well, I'd rather be marching to a job."**

improved living conditions. The Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality has declared all-out war on rats, roaches, factories on residential streets and high food prices.

The campaign, called Operation Total Strike, will seek to spread a rent strike throughout Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn's Negro ghetto; rid the neighborhood of rats ("There are more rats than people in Bedford-Stuyvesant," CORE's Arnold Goldwag says), turn vacant lots into parks, end police harassment of residents, get traffic lights on 300 more street corners and force merchants to lower prices to match those in all-white neighborhoods.

**BOYCOTT EFFECTIVE:** In Philadelphia and other Northern cities the economic boycott has been used effectively to gain Negro employment and upgrading in companies which have discriminatory policies. The boycott has also been used effectively in Southern cities, such as Savannah, Ga., in campaigns for desegregation of public accommodations.

In the South, after the sit-ins and mass arrests of Negro students in many cities in 1960 and '61, there were gains on the legal front, and lunch counters in retail stores in more than 100 cities were desegregated. As advances were made in some cities, opposition hardened

**POLICE BRUTALITY HAS BEEN A HALLMARK OF THE RIGHTS BATTLE**
*Columbia, S.C., cops drag off a Negro demonstrator*

in others. Negro demands were pressed in places such as Nashville, Tenn., where a well organized student group led community demonstrations for an "open city."

With success in some areas and stalemate in others, civil rights groups turned from public accommodations to voter registration. In the fight for the right to vote conducted by field staffs and local chapters of the major civil rights organizations—NAACP, CORE, SNCC and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr's. Southern Christian Leadership Conference—and by local organizations, more and more people were touched by the movement.

In the Deep South this meant violence from segregationists. The Southern Regional Council recorded 64 acts of violence in Mississippi between January, 1961, and March, 1963. In Southwest Georgia churches used for mass meetings were burned, shots were fired into homes of voter registration leaders. But relentless as segregationist opposition was, it could not stop the drive, even though it held and used the weapon of starvation.

In Fayette and Haywood counties, Tenn., though hundreds of sharecroppers and tenant farmers were turned off the land, they lived in donated tents, started a handbag-making cooperative, and continued to register to vote. In Mississippi, where Herbert Lee was killed by a member of the Mississippi State Legislature, where SNCC worker James Travis was shot in the neck, where NAACP leader Medgar Evers was assassinated, 90,000 Negroes voted in an unofficial Freedom ballot for governor last month, and they continued to boycott downtown Jackson stores.

**'READY FOR CHANGE':** To the Southwest Georgia sheriff who says, "We want our nigras to continue to live just like they have for the past hundred years," there are Negro voices throughout the South who say with Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, who was driven off a plantation for trying to register to vote in a Delta town: "As long as I can remember I have been ready for a change. I was beaten in Winona until I was hard as melon. People have been dying in Mississippi, and I'm tired. I'm in this fight now and I will not be stopped until there is a change."

It is such expressions of determination by a sharecropper, a tenant farmer, a member of a teen-age gang, which make the Negro drive for freedom different in 1963 from 1960, or from earlier struggles. When 300 Negroes in Selma, Ala., are no longer afraid to go down to the courthouse and stand in line all day to ask the man for a voter registration application, a substantive change has taken place.

This change is marked not only by the shift from public accommodations to voting and jobs, but even in the character of the campaign for voter registration. In Mississippi the vote drive has created because of the nature of the problem, and the kinds of people involved, a parallel drive to eliminate illiteracy. Negroes who could not read and write attempted to register in Delta towns to show that they want to vote. This campaign is described by James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, thus: "The gains being won should not go over to the bourgeois Negroes. We want the people in the movement to get the benefits, to be able to exercise political power."

**POLITICAL FRONT:** A new emphasis was placed in the fall of '63 on political action. There was a focus on the civil rights bill by rights organizations and a recognition by Congress of the power of the Negro vote. Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, vowed that the NAACP would actively seek the defeat in 1964 of congressmen who failed to support civil rights legislation. Civil rights organizations supported Negro candidates in local elections—a city council candidate in Pine Bluff, Ark., and Slater King head of the Albany, Ga., Movement, who ran for mayor.

What seems to have been accomplished then, is an awakening of the ordinary Negro to a recognition of his ability to fight the system of segregation, a widening of the application of the call to "put your body in the Movement." What must now be confronted is the problem of poverty-level incomes. A recent study of the economic status of Negroes published by the Southern Regional Council reports that the median income of non-white families in Mississippi is $1,444, of whites $4,209; that 66.2% of Negro families and 22% of white families have incomes under $2,000.

Also to be grappled with is the pressure of the Negro drive for jobs versus staggering general unemployment. Negroes are demanding a greater share of the pie; but the pie simply is not large enough. Some in the movement do not see a solution to this problem as one of the movement's responsibilities. As Forman put it: "The civil rights movement's push for Negro jobs forces upon the country the question of full employment. Full employment is the country's problem; it is a national problem."

**SOME DIFFICULTIES:** Involvement of more working-class people in the struggle spells difficulties for the leadership in determination of goals and methods. Sometimes it is a question of restraining people outraged by some white act of violence. This was the case in Birmingham, when after the movement headquarters and a leader's home had been bombed Negroes burned stores, overturned cars, attacked police. Sometimes this angry thrust is blocked by timid leadership, when, some in the movement believe, it should be channeled into productive demonstrations, not stopped.

Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, wrote in Ebony, Sept., 1963: "Today, almost without exception, the leadership of the Negro's civil rights struggle is drawn from the middle-class group. The danger exists, therefore, that because of the widening alienation of the classes, each class may at times be working toward different goals. This is evidenced in support by working or lower-class Negroes for certain schools and public housing projects near or in their ghetto districts; and a resultant clash with middle-class Negroes who may oppose erection of such buildings because they regard them as strengthening segregation instead of weakening it."

But the civil rights movement is heading toward a time of decision in recognition of the needs of the working-class Negroes who are putting their bodies in the struggle.

R & R Rel.

# The Psychology of Persecution and Prejudice

by

DAVID STAFFORD - CLARK

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**VIEWS**

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# The Psychology of Persecution & Prejudice

by DAVID STAFFORD-CLARK

**FOR THE PROPONENTS**

I. THE CHIEF ENGINEER

" Shootin' is naught tae a Chinaman. They dinna min' daith, which way a white mon min's it. It's a scienteefic fack that a Chinaman has fewer nairves in his body than whit we ha'e; they canna feel pain. Nearer beasts than men, they are."

*—From IN HAZARD by Richard Hughes.*

II. BARRABAS

" . . . 'Tis a custom held with us
That when we speak to Gentiles like to you
We turn into the air to purge ourselves
For unto us the Promise doth belong."

*—From THE JEW OF MALTA by Christopher Marlowe.*

**FOR THE OPPOSITION**

III. SHYLOCK

" . . . Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, heal'd by the same means, warm'd and cool'd by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? "

*—From THE MERCHANT OF VENICE by William Shakespeare.*

IV. DR. MILLER

" If you call a man a bug, it means that you propose to treat him as a bug, whereas if you call him a man it means that you propose to treat him as a man. My profession is to study men which means that I must always call men by their name; always think of them as men; yes, and always treat them as men; because if you don't treat men as men they don't behave as men . . ."

*—From EYELESS IN GAZA by Aldous Huxley.*

**THE VERDICT**

V.

" If we take people as they are, we make them worse. If we treat them as if they were what they ought to be, we help them to become what they are capable of becoming."

*—Goethe.*

**THE LAST WORD**

VI.

" I mean not to accuse anyone but to take the shame upon myself in common with the whole of my people."

*—William Wilberforce.*

THE theme of this essay, which is based upon a lecture originally delivered in the Senate House of the University of London at the invitation of the Council of Christians and Jews, is nevertheless concerned in its widest sense not primarily or exclusively with those special problems which trouble the relationships between Jew and Christian. It is concerned with intolerance of all kinds, and particularly racial intolerance, everywhere.

For wherever and however it is encountered, racial intolerance remains the same terrible thing, no matter what its source or whomsoever its victims; and so our first task must be to examine together the basis of prejudice and persecution in the relationship between man and man, and to trace this through biological and psychological evidence to its final and challenging implications, with their inevitably tragic outcome unless the facts are faced, the implications acknowledged, and previous assumptions and attitudes fundamentally altered.

LET us begin with a few facts. The biological homogeneity of the human race is undisputed. In the Bible (Acts 17, 26), we are told that God created all nations of one kind of man; and geneticists, anthropologists and biologists, would agree that man is of one species; but they would also agree that there are a number of races of that species. We

must presently consider the precise implications of this statement: but what is immediately tragically and painfully apparent is that this division into racial groups has from time immemorial been the focus of so much inherent antipathy, cruelty, rancour, arrogance, hatred, spite, and all that sheer uncharitableness which so often mars the relationship of human beings with each other.

What do we mean by prejudice? As part of my preparation for this lecture I looked up the dictionary definition of prejudice, and of persecution, because although I thought I knew what they meant, I felt that an objective definition would be a good start. Prejudice has been defined as "An unreasonable, or unjustifiably adverse opinion without just grounds or sufficient knowledge". I can only say that although that comes out of Webster's Dictionary, I couldn't have put it better myself. Persecution: "To pursue so as to injure, grieve or afflict." Now those simple words, I submit, conjure up a very lively image in our minds of what those two states mean; of what it is to be the victim of prejudice, and of what it is to be persecuted. In the relations of human beings to each other there can of course be no final justification for either activity. And I mean that.

It is never, it can never, be justifiable to pursue so as to injure, grieve, or afflict another human being: still less, by definition alone, can it ever be justifiable to hold "an unreasonably adverse opinion of anybody, without just grounds or sufficient knowledge"; and yet, of course, this is the way we find ourselves behaving.

Now upon what do we base this? First of all, what *are* races? Ever since man's interest in his own state and in those around him has been displayed and recorded, the differences between groups of human beings have attracted attention. Physique, skin-colour, custom and language are all ways in which traditionally races have been distinguished, before objective or scientific examination of the problem was possible. But custom and language can never constitute a valid criterion for the differentiation of races. They are acquired characteristics, cultural and geographical but not racial, and in any scientific study we must begin by discarding them completely. We must also discard the colour of the skin, because although men speak of white races, yellow races, red, brown and black races, these descriptions are in fact in no way racially specific. Certainly they provide vivid examples of the foundations of prejudice, as we shall see in a moment, but they are not otherwise of value.

For a start, they are curiously misleading in their subjective application. Most, but happily not all, of my audience this afternoon would probably call themselves white: but a colorimeter would show that their skin colour range varies through greyish pink to sallow hyacinth. Indeed, perhaps the only approximation to a truly blanched and pallid white face is my own. But to pass for white in description is to imply membership of a privileged racial group; and this is the important consideration for the so-called white man, woman or child. Moreover, ostensible skin colour as a distinguishing criterion in racial differentiation is not simply descriptively inaccurate, but fundamentally unreliable, because black skins or very dark skins are not racially distinctive at all. The Southern Indians of India, South African Negroes, the West Indians, the Australian Aboriginals, and the Pacific Negritos are all the same colour, but they are as racially different from each other as they are from people of different colours. So that if we wish to find some basis which will be accurate and which will give us an idea of what we really mean by race, we have to look into the constitution of the individual: and this is where the science of genetics has come to our aid.

**Genetic Differentiation**

If we study the transmissible characteristics of human beings, those carried in their genes which they have inherited and which they pass on, then we begin to discover that there *are* characteristics which distinguish different races and thereby give us a basis of differentiation which is accurate and statistically valid. This kind of evidence, and this alone, entitles us to say that whereas man is one species, there are probably somewhere about ten main divisions of racial origin, and up to thirty sub-divisions in which cultural and geographical factors have played an additional part.

For example, by ascertaining the proportions of a relatively small number of genes, those connected with blood groups, we can differentiate races accurately and precisely. By studying the distribution of blood groups throughout the population, we gain an indication of the biological origin, in terms of race, of that population. The first thing that we learn is that

there is no such thing as a pure race. Groups of human beings are constantly mingling and separating; new groups are constantly being formed, all racial origins are mixed. The concept of a pure race is not simply a myth, for a myth can be valuable; it is rather a dangerous and often a hideous illusion: and the cruel and evil things which have been perpetrated in its name have, in fact, been based upon an assumption which is entirely fallacious.

Let us take a single example. Glass and Li calculated from blood group data that North American Negroes have about 30 per cent white ancestry. From the rate at which racial mixture has been occurring in this population, they estimate that American Negro and American white will have become indistinguishable, both races having become assimilated in a common population, in about 1,000 years, if racial mixture continues at a constant rate. Their observations also conclusively contradict the common belief that North American Negroes have a considerable amount of American-Indian ancestry. This kind of information, based upon the study of blood groups and other genetic factors, is objectively verifiable. It certainly tells us that races exist, but it also tells us that they mix; and it tells us, too, that their genetic diversity is the important thing about them.

Nevertheless there are factors at work all the time to alter the balance and proportion of the constitutional element of races. Nature is always throwing up new versions of man, and the version which has, for instance, a darker skin will thrive to the comparative exclusion of the version which has a very pale one, in very hot climates; so that natural selection will ensure that in people habitually living in very hot climates, pigmentation of the skin will tend to be a characteristic feature. Nature also throws up human beings who have a remarkable resistance to cold. Immerse their forearms in a bucket of iced water, and by comparison with others less well endowed in this respect, they will endure two or three or four times as long before they are compelled by pain to remove their arm; or alternatively before they lose sensation and the power to move at all. Logically you might expect to find a very high proportion of the constitutional factors connected with this resistance to cold among Eskimos and those who live in very cold climates; and this in fact is what you do find.

Biological variations of the proportions of racial constitutional factors produce a constant change and diversity of the genetic equipment of human beings; and biologically there is nothing ominous about this at all. Whence then comes the ominous way that people feel about this? Whence the hostility? Whence the misgiving? Let us return for a moment to the Bible, and there turn, as traditionally we are invited, to the ant for an illustration.

**Automatic Discrimination**

Ants are creatures which probably have not more than 15 per cent of their total behaviour in any way under their conscious control. By far the most of it seems to be innate, instinctive, automatic, and unreasoning, although very highly complicated. It is therefore interesting to note that ants can recognise members of their own colony, apparently by scent, and that they can and do avoid members of other colonies, particularly on foraging expeditions; that ants frequently make a particular kind of food for their colony by using various scraps of vegetable matter on which a particular mould will grow, taking from it a crop as men will take their corn. And if you then give an ant from one colony some of the crop from another colony, he will tend to refuse it.

Ants have in fact social prejudices, and prejudices about food. The work of Professor Tinbergen, formerly of Leyden University, now at Oxford, has shown that animals' behaviour is, to a remarkable degree, governed by what he calls "releasers". These are specific stimuli which release in the animal already innate patterns of activity. One of the reasons why mixture between different species seems to occur comparatively rarely in nature, is that releasers from one species are not represented by any activity of another.

The patterns of releaser activity in animals are indeed fascinating and complicating. An example is the mating pattern of the stickleback. A stickleback may begin its mating pattern with another little fish of approximately the same kind, but because the other little fish has an instinctive way of reacting to this which differs from that of the stickleback itself, nothing comes of it. Neither decision, choice, nor even conscious reasoning are called for here. Nevertheless, there is in fact no outcome: segregation has prevailed. But, on the other hand, take a stickleback, put him in a glass test tube, place him in a part of the tank

which he normally inhabits, introduce another stickleback similarly enclosed in a test tube beside him, and the other stickleback will immediately show all the evidence of an urgent desire to flee. He will start waving his fins vigorously, while the stickleback who is on his own ground will put his nose down and tail up, adopting the attacking position as Tinbergen has described it. Reverse the geographical situation by transposing these two in their respective test tubes to the other end of the tank where the former intruder is now at home, and the former defender of his territory is now on foreign soil, and although they can have no other communication with each other, the change in their environment releases precisely the opposite reactions in each of them. The formerly pugnacious stickleback will now try to flee, the former would-be fugitive will now become aggressive. Their environment, in fact, acts as a releaser, to which they in turn react automatically.

Tinbergen has also drawn attention to the characteristic behaviour of members of a group of social animals, towards one of their number temporarily isolated, threatened, or made " different " in some disturbing way.

During the process of attaching coloured leg rings to individual herring gulls, so that he could identify them on future occasions in the course of observing the whole colony, he was struck by the behaviour of the rest of the colony towards the temporarily netted gull, furiously struggling in a hitherto unrecognised and perhaps seemingly dangerous predicament. He has written : —

> " A gull struggling in the net promptly causes great commotion among the other gulls. They gather above it in a dense flock, screaming loudly, and swoop down in what seem to be actual attacks. We were always so taken up with getting the captured gull before it could escape, and with ringing and releasing it with the least possible delay, that we never stopped to study the reactions of the other gulls more closely; yet this would be very worth while because the phenomenon has interesting sociological aspects. The gulls seemed to show a double response. On the one hand, they are alarmed by the disturbance. I think I have heard the alarm call on a number of such occasions. On the other hand, their reaction to the captured gull seems definitely hostile. It is known in other instances, too, that social animals may attack individuals that behave in a different or abnormal manner.
>
> " One is tempted to compare this with human behaviour. In human society, ' primitive ' as well as ' civilised ', a similar instinctive reaction is very strongly developed. It is perhaps possible to distinguish three steps or gradations of rising intensity in the social defence attitude of a crowd. The first is laughing at an individual who behaves in a slightly abnormal way. This reaction serves the function of forcing the individual back into the normal, that is to say, into conventional behaviour. The next and higher intensity reaction is withdrawal; the individual has made himself ' impossible ' and his companions ignore him. This, viewed from the aspect of biological significance, is a still stronger stimulus to the abnormal person to behave normally. The highest intensity reaction is one of definite hostility, resulting in making the individual an outcast, and, in primitive societies even in killing him. In my opinion, it is of great importance for human sociology to recognise the instinctive basis of such reactions and to study them comparatively in other social species. . . ."

Some alternative to this innate instinctive pattern of behaviour, whereby we first deride, then reject and finally perhaps even attack the individual whose behaviour we do not or cannot accept, even the individual who differs from us in some striking or characteristic way, is of course essential if we are to raise ourselves above the level of animals in the way in which ultimately we treat each other.

Somerset Maugham's observation of the instinctive link between disability, difference and derogation, found telling expression in his story of the man with the club foot who always knew when he was winning an argument because his opponent would begin to call him a " club-footed bastard ". Here again the point is that any recognition of difference is immediate and instinctive raw material for defamation; and whether the discrimination is based upon deformity or racial derivation, it is equally shameful.

We have seen that in animals the capacity for discrimination is apparently innate and instinctive, and the reaction automatic and all too often hostile. How much can this teach us

about the roots of prejudice in human beings? Unlike most animals, we are capable of some degree of insight into our own behaviour : into our motives and rationalizations, as well as our actions. Given our marvellously elaborate brains, our capacity for introspection and abstraction, our well-stocked minds, our vast and flexible power of symbolic thought, what have we turned up on this subject? For we have certainly thought about it often, even if not ever enough.

Let me quote you one or two relevant observations by men and women whose opinions must command your attention and respect, whether you agree with them or not.

*Reinhold Niebuhr :*

> " Racial prejudice, the contempt for the other group, is an inevitable concomitant of racial pride; and racial pride is an inevitable concomitant of the ethnic will to live."

*Sigmund Freud :*

> " In the undisguised antipathy and aversion which people feel towards strangers with whom they have to do, we recognize the expression of self-love, of narcissism."

*Arnold Toynbee :*

> " Every living character is striving to make themselves into the centre of the Universe, and in this act is entering into rivalry with every other living character. . . ."
>
> " Self-centredness is thus a necessity of life, but this necessity is also a sin. Self-centredness is an intellectual error because no living character is in truth the centre of the Universe. It is a moral error, because no living character has a right to act as if he were the centre of the Universe."

*Marie Jahoda :*

> " . . . People who are driven by the need to hate reveal their first and deepest hate as—themselves. Childhood experiences make some people exceedingly insecure emotionally. If they have not been loved, praised and cherished by their parents, if they have been rejected, derided, despised, they often come to think of themselves as basically unlovable. Now what can a person who feels unlovable—' bad ', ' cruel '—do? Just as a lame person needs crutches, unloved people search for emotional crutches. Prejudice can serve as such a crutch. Despising others becomes a way of trying to bolster one's own shaky self-esteem by making others seem more inferior or contemptible. In fact, the only way some people can salvage their own self-respect is to feel ' lucky ' they are not a Negro, a Catholic, an Italian—or whoever is set up as the scapegoat for their own secret misery."

*William Temple :*

> " When we open our eyes as babies we see the world stretching out around us. We are in the middle of it . . . I am the centre of the world I see and where the horizon is depends on where I stand. Now just the same thing at first is true of our mental and spiritual vision so each of us takes his place in the centre of his own world. But I am not the centre of the world or the standard of reference as between good and bad; I am not and God is. In other words, from the beginning I put myself in God's place. This is my original sin. I was doing it before I could speak, and everyone else has been doing it from early infancy."

These are certainly some of the factors contributing to the ultimate strength and complexity of human racial prejudice. Writing of them in his brilliant thesis " *The Nature of Prejudice* ", Gordon Allport said : —

> " There is no master key. Rather what we have at our disposal is a ring of keys each of which opens one gate of understanding."

But when we examine this ring of keys we find that the master key which might be constructed from them is still missing. There is a reason for this. I believe that it is to be found in certain assumptions made about human beings which I think it is our duty to examine critically for a moment.

I was first made aware of these assumptions some time ago when, in the exercise of my social responsibilities as I then saw them, I lectured from time to time to parent teacher groups. These lectures dealt among other things with such topics as juvenile delinquency, the natural rebelliousness of adolescence, and indeed the total impact of the conflict between self-love, and love of parents and others, in childhood. Often, after such a lecture, starry-eyed and charming ladies came up to me and said, " But, doctor, isn't it sad; because all these little ones were born perfect and we must have corrupted them. . . ." And I looked at them; they looked attractive to me, many of

them wore wedding rings, and I can't believe that some of them had not had children. And yet they were up to their necks in a monumental fallacy: the terrifyingly sentimental assumption that man that is born of woman is indeed born perfect; that in Pascal's phrase, " Human nature is beyond needing a redeemer ".

But who can blame them? Up to their necks in error they might be; but they were (and still are) in very good company. For this error is but the general case of those very misleading half-truths, those specific sociological assumptions which we have just pledged ourselves to examine.

### Capacity to Love and Proclivity to Hate

These are that malice and resentment are not inherent in us; that no one is born prejudiced; that no child comes into the world hating or ready to hate a child of another race. Now this of course is partly true, but it isn't the whole truth. Man is born certainly without established malice or resentment; he is born moreover with a need to love and to be loved. But together with the capacity to love there is the proclivity to hate; and we need to see what are the circumstances in which this proclivity is aroused.

Alas, they are simple enough. When we are crossed, frustrated, disappointed, or thwarted in any way, then we are ready to hate; and to hurt; and never more explosively than in infancy. Professor Lewis once said that if a tiny baby was as strong, powerful and decisive as a grown-up man, he would be the most dangerous creature on the face of the earth. He wants what he wants, when he wants it, immediately, unconditionally, and he will do everything in his power to get it. And his rage is just as impressive as his delight. So perhaps we must recast that statement about the infant's blessed freedom from prejudice and shape it nearer, if not to our heart's desire, at least to the truth. It would then have to read : —

> " No one is born prejudiced against others; but everyone is born prejudiced in favour of himself. . . ."

So man is not born free of the capacity for prejudice. Aggressive self-assertiveness is present from birth onwards. It is fundamental, we cannot escape it, it is part of us just as the releasers and the patterns of recognition are part of the ants and the gulls. Race prejudice is learned. Religious bigotry is learned; but they can be learned only because they have an apt and inherent pupil in the prideful and instinctively self-willed aggressive aspect of each one of us.

Here we begin to get a clue. Psychologically and sociologically we can say that perhaps the soundest and most generally applicable theory to explain tension and hostility between different groups of human beings, is what is called the frustration-aggression theory. When we cannot achieve what we want, when we are disappointed, when our hopes outrun our attainments, when somebody else gets the job, or the girl, or the money, we would like to be able to tell ourselves that it wasn't our fault; that they had an unfair advantage; that if we had started with whatever particular gifts or luck they had, or if they hadn't been around, we would have done better. And indeed psychologically one and the same kind of mood and the same kind of frustration makes the thwarted child stamp the floor, the sacked workman kick his dog, the discouraged salesman blame his wife, the Gentile defame the Jew, the Jew despise the Gentile, the white man deride the Negro and now, in the Congo, the Negro put his gun into the back of the white man and demand his pass.

Cruelty and bestiality in the way human beings treat each other are not always confined to those who have the upper hand, for we are all in this; and we are all to blame. For the Christian there is the echo of an old lesson here; for he is bound to recognise that man is of infinite value, but that in his human condition he is not, and never will be, perfect; that he comes into the world ready to be hateful and aggressive as well as to be loving and appreciative and kind. Little children are, indeed, born free from racial prejudice, but not from aggression.

Now in the social setting in which we live there are always people whom we can make the natural targets of these aggressive feelings. They are those of whom we can say " They are not our kind ". And to some extent it is a temptation not only to make such people scapegoats but to thank God that we are not as they are. There could be no greater insult to our concept of a God of all mankind than this kind of sanctimonious, hypocritical, complacent gratitude. But not even our concept of God

can escape question or indictment in the context of this examination of the human predicament. As Hemingway put it : —

> "You did not know what it was about. You never had time to learn. They threw you in and told you the rules and the first time they caught you off base they killed you."

There is something in this. As human beings we start with a much bigger handicap than many of us realise. To the extent that sociological studies suggest to us that we are wholly social creatures, essentially conditioned by environment, I think they mislead us.

We have tended in the past to lay the blame for racial prejudice upon everything except the essential nature of the human personality; and have sought its solution everywhere except in a radical change of that essential nature. The sociological error is in this respect a fundamental error, starting from the false assumption that man, reduced to his essential self, is ultimately a social unit and can therefore be wholly explained and only explained by social observations.

The Christian correction of this would be that the various keys to prejudice all hang from one ring, and that this ring is the innate, inevitable, yet tragic self-centredness of the human personality. So much of what emerges as evil in man is indeed the product of his inherent nature, in conflict with his inescapable environment, that we cannot afford to neglect a single indication of the true nature of prejudice and persecution.

**Prejudice and Insanity**

There is, for example, a striking resemblance between the embraced prejudice and the insane delusion; between persecution and psychotic behaviour; between the method of apartheid and the madness of paranoia.

The fact that we can now often relieve or cure psychosis even in its most severe forms makes us perhaps less afraid to examine it; makes me, at any rate, less diffident about drawing this valid parallel, which personally I should have hesitated to draw had its impact been mainly to discourage or distress sufferers from mental illness, or their relatives and friends.

Certainly prejudice and certain kinds of psychosis have this in common, that they are rigid against rational assault, yet flow round and by-pass the facts; and that they ignore arguments and refutations, however sound and convincing, as though they did not exist. Ask anybody, who is convinced that racial segregation is the right answer to a social problem, for their grounds; begin to question them intelligently and politely, and almost always they will become angry with you; because you are attacking something which is fundamentally dear to them, which is important to them, which is a part of themselves.

Ask any one of the majority of M.P.s who voted in favour of corporal punishment in the House of Commons what is the evidence in favour of it, what evidence they can quote against the very substantial evidence that it just doesn't do any good, and they too will become angry with you. I don't enjoy anger in a fellow human being, but like Somerset Maugham's man with the club foot, when I encounter it in the course of what should be a rational discussion, I know that although perhaps I am not getting anywhere in convincing my opponent, he or she may at least be beginning to sense how flimsy are the arguments on which such prejudices are based.

Prejudice cannot be defended rationally : but then of course it never is; it is defended emotionally. The patterns shift and change, vary and fluctuate, but at the centre is always *self*. Jews and Gentiles alike are adept at this kind of rationalisation. Indeed, we have no need to pretend that Jews cannot, in their own way, be just as critical, just as contemptuous, just as arrogant in their attitude, as Gentiles.

Shylock's famous reminder of our common humanity came late in the day when he was fighting for his possessions and his life. Previously he had pointed out that Christians were a pretty soft lot, arrogant but foolish, and undeserving of respect. The whole context of that magnificently moving speech is Shylock's pleading as an astute lawyer in his own cause, opposed by an even more astute, and in the event, even more unscrupulous advocate. But for Shakespeare's audience this was no doubt entirely acceptable, because Shylock was destined to go down, and Shakespeare, whose superbly imaginative humanity compelled him to put those wonderful words into the doomed man's mouth, was nevertheless content to have him consigned to that miserable fate which was the currently accepted one. The corresponding contemporary Jewish attitude is further exem-

plified by Barrabas's lines in the "Jew of Malta" quoted in the sub-titles to this lecture. It can be just as uncomfortable to be spurned by Jews if you're a Gentile as to be spurned by Gentiles if you're a Jew.

"There is no caste in blood, which runneth in one hue
Nor caste in tears, which trickle salt withal . . ." *

In contemporary English society one might be pardoned for suspecting that segregation between Jews and Gentiles finds more support from orthodox Jewish custom and tradition than from Christian precept or practice. The established Jewish ban upon marrying out has certainly no Christian counterpart, and, as Professor Medawar has pointed out in his Reith lectures, the practical consequences of this resistance to miscegenation remain remarkable : —

> ". . . By marrying mainly among themselves, people who observe the Jewish religion retain a certain racial distinctness : their blood groups are characteristically those of eastern Mediterranean peoples; their fingerprints belong to a distinctive family of patterns; they are almost exempt from some hereditary diseases and almost the only victims of others. . . ."

Even so, this remarkable preservation of certain racial characteristics by what amounts to selective breeding has as its avowed object, not the myth of a pure race, whose basic fallacy we have already acknowledged; but rather the preservation of cultural and religious customs otherwise threatened or perhaps even doomed by the pressures and vicissitudes inseparable from the destiny of a migrant people. Nevertheless to the Gentile—to the racially self-conscious Aryan—as to the racially similar Arab, this self-imposed segregationistic policy is a constant reminder of Jewish separateness.

There are other reminders, too.

A little while ago I was talking to an Arab Professor who had come over to work at my hospital. In the course of our conversation—I was trying to solve the Palestine problem with him after lunch—he said, "You know, I had three friends at Medical School in the Middle East who were Jews; and the other day I wrote to them, all of them, because although I am an Arab, we always refer to the Jews as our cousins. I knew they were now doctors in Israel, and I had thought despite all the political differences that divide us, we might resume contact again. But I didn't get a single reply. So after a while I wrote again; and this time I had one of my letters sent back, unopened, followed by a card saying please don't write again. So you see it's on both sides. . . ."

But bitterness and hostility are sustained by rationalisations combining fantastic ignorance with delusional conviction. Richard Hughes' Scottish Engineer, with his confident assertions about the anatomical peculiarities of the Chinese is a vivid example—with a typical conclusion.

> "It's a scientific fact that a Chinaman has fewer nerves in his body than a white man. They can't feel pain. They're nearer to beasts than men, they are."

Have you ever been told that foxes enjoy being hunted? Or that fishes can't feel the hook? Well, neither I, nor our distinguished Chairman, both of us doctors who should know something about pain, can endorse either of these statements. We simply don't know. But personally, I have no reason to suppose that a fish cannot feel the hook, I have no reason to suppose that a fox enjoys being hunted, but I do know that the same number of nerves traverse the body of a Chinaman as of a Jew, as of an Arab, as of a Negro, as of a Caucasian, if you care for the term.

**Sense of Superiority**

Prejudice is bolstered by false information because of the prejudiced man's necessity to hang on to the idea that there is a difference in his favour between him and the rest of the world. Racial pride is ultimately simply a manifestation of the individual's innate sense of personal superiority : something he either believes or wishes to believe : something that rejects all that lies outside the hard core of his own self-centred will and desire. And this, tragically, is man's constant need, constantly supplied. Throughout history the Jew has had his Gentile, the Greek his Barbarian, the Crusaders their Infidels, the English had their Irish, the Irish their English, the Nazis their Non-Aryans, the white man his Negro. Prejudice is as mercilessly necessary and as morally corrosive to the prejudiced man, as alcohol is to the alcoholic. Moreover prejudice inevitably

* Ascribed to BUDDHA.

becomes to the prejudiced what alcohol becomes to the alcoholic; not a problem but a solution. In this sense prejudice is a drug of addiction; and like every other object of addiction, like cigarettes, drink or drugs, it becomes indispensable to the addicted subject; part of the very essence of existence, the thing that makes him feel worth while; take it away and he is unbearably distressed and diminished. Only by the implications of prejudice is the prejudiced man's own image of himself sustained. Only in the mirror of the aspersions which he casts on others can he see the distorted reflection of what he calls himself. Yet of course this is his tragedy no less than the tragedy of others.

Writing in the *Observer* on Sunday, May 10th, 1960, Miss Hannah Stanton had this to say : —

> " Because I was going to South Africa I read Father Huddleston's book, *Naught for your Comfort,* and while much admiring both the man and the message, felt that the picture it gave of the situation in South Africa was exaggerated, and that it was necessary for people like me to go to South Africa with an open mind.
>
> " A fellow passenger on the boat got into conversation with me and took very much the ' Huddleston line ', as I would probably have described it at that time. I remember thinking, and saying to her, ' Yes, but there must be another side to it '.
>
> " I managed to preserve this kind of ' detachment '—I put the word into inverted commas because I am not so sure now that the state of mind deserves the moral and intellectual compliments which the term detachment implies—for several weeks. Soon after I got there I spoke in the street to an African whom I know, and shook him by the hand.
>
> " ' You can't do that here,' a passing white woman exclaimed. I went on talking. The white woman's tone became hysterical. 'You can't do that here,' she repeated. ' Do you hear me? You must be from overseas. You can't do that here.' But she moved on and I finished my conversation.
>
> " It was embarrassing and difficult to reconcile it with an ordinary sense of people's prejudices, however deep. It was difficult and embarrassing, also, to meet the eyes of Africans standing in fantastically long queues, waiting to get on to buses, or waiting while the whites were served in banks and shops, while I was so obviously a member of a class as privileged as they were humiliated."

**Political Expediency**

To justify this kind of attitude, to make racial prejudice the basis of a philosophy, or to pervert it into a foundation for a religious belief, is to commit yet one more atrocious, terrible, tragic crime against all the standards that men between them have ever managed to erect. And yet, of course, politically it is sometimes expedient. If political expediency has achieved nothing else, it will surely have made us aware that standards which transcend such expediency are necessary, if we are to survive. Political expediency finds racial prejudice a very handy weapon for producing policies which not only politicians but indeed many of their followers are only too willing to believe are helpful. For when there is trouble it is expedient that there should be a scapegoat; and once again the innate self-centredness, the hard core within each one of us is enabled to say " Well, it's not my fault and I don't see why I should suffer. It's too bad for *them,* but then *we* were here first (or) this is *our* country (or) *we've* always been to these schools; *we* don't want *them* coming here."

There are other factors which whip this up; those amoral factors in a society which haplessly affect its entire moral balance. Given a lot of people who are readily distinguishable because of their colour, or their background, or their racial or cultural characteristics, easily and openly identifiable, who have already drifted into a society which they have believed to be golden, but which in fact finds it hard to provide them with work and homes, and you are saddled not simply with their own misery; but with the hatred, cruelty and arrogant projection of hostility upon them which this insensitively competitive social situation produces. It was a salutary but terrible lesson that we in this country, who knew so much better than the people of Little Rock or the people of Cape Town how to deal with our brothers, began to learn when we found ourselves with broken windows and broken hearts in Notting Hill Gate : and I dare to predict without hesitation but not without misgiving that if we were now to hit a slump, to have to endure a lot of

unemployment, if the housing situation suddenly became crucially bad, the first people to be blamed and brutally treated would be our West Indian immigrants, who came here because they believed that here they would be well treated; that here they would be able to earn a respectable living in a respectable way.

Of course they behave badly sometimes; in reaction to the treatment they receive or out of ignorance of the customs of their new society. Among their instinctive human reactions to cruelty and prejudice are included not only undue submissiveness with loss of self-respect; but, alternatively, deceitful indifference as a cloak for reciprocal arrogance and aggression.

These evils are part of the inevitable price to be paid for persecution; of which enforced segregation is but a special example. As Kyle Haselden has written : —

> " . . . racial segregation is a temporal behaviour which assumes that it has cancelled the eternal fact of the oneness of man; it separates on the social, or economic, or civil level that which cannot be separated in the deeper reaches of the human soul. And the result for white man and Negro is an illness, the illness of those who are estranged from those to whom they belong. For however fine we may draw out the nerve which connects man to man, it does not break. If it did, all the agonies, the aches and sorrows of human separation would break with it; but it does not break; it holds forever, thin and taut; and along this nerve throb the anxieties, the fears, the pangs of human estrangement.
>
> " From the anxieties of this separation the white man has in the past tried to escape, not by restoring and completing the broken union, but by seeking to make the severance complete. . . ."

This is the moral philosophy of Apartheid—and it is not confined to any one society. The agonies of the victim of segregation are the agonies of suffocation, because he is cut off from the source and expression of the fullness of life, by being segregated from that to which he belongs. To the extent that he cannot wholly and finally identify himself with all his fellow human beings, he is made to feel unwanted and unloved, and that is the most destructive wrong which can be inflicted upon a human being.

But the effect upon the segregator is ultimately even worse. In the expression of vicious and passionate racial prejudice, the segregator ultimately surrenders to the beast within himself. Newspaper pictures of the jeering, spitting, stone-throwing crowds which have resisted the de-segregation of public schools in the Southern States of America are dreadful evidence of this fact, and of the atmosphere of unconscious stereotyping; the white man becomes, in regard to the Negro, an amoral character. By making something human alien to himself, he inevitably diminishes his own humanity, and the fact that he does not know this, is indeed the measure of its destructive effect upon his own soul. The first tragedy of many passively but unreflectingly prejudiced people in their relationship to the victims of their prejudice, is not that they are passionately alive towards the victim in hatred or contempt, but that they are dead towards him in understanding, identity of feeling and simple compassion. This death is within the privileged rather than in the excluded. Unwilling to let the victim be, he denies, degrades and finally destroys himself.

So, undeniably, there must be an alternative. But what is it? Before we suppose it to be simple liberalism, we must return for the last time in this lecture to an honest examination of ourselves; of the dark places in our own hearts. By all means let us rise above our primitive animal releasers; let us abandon our ant-like behaviour, our herring gull attitude; but then how far are we prepared to go? And what will this demand of us?

**Intermarriage**

Here I think we come to the heart of the matter; that ultimately fundamental blend of human and animal feeling, capable of the greatest degree of intensity; the sexual instinct. For this may prove the crucial touchstone to our attitude.

By all means, we may say, let's be liberal, let's have no more segregation, let's not mind whether the hand that we shake is a different colour to our own. Let's ask the Gentiles to our celebrations, the Negroes to our parties; let's have a society in which we mingle freely. And then one of our opponents, one of these bigoted people, will confront us with the old, old question : " All right, how'd you feel if your daughter was going to marry a Negro? "

Or to a Negro, "How'd you feel if your daughter was going to marry one of those white men who has just broken your windows?" Until we can say that we should approach this in exactly the same frame of mind as we should the prospective marriage of our daughter to any other human being, then we are not facing this problem.

It is my own sincere and personal belief that the future of the human race is constantly to intermingle; and in this at least I am consistent. Some of the finest people I have ever known were the product of mixed racial ancestry; a Scottish father and a Malayan mother produced one of the most distinguished, brave, charming and lovable airmen I ever met in the whole of World War II; and I met some fine ones; this man is one of my lifelong friends, and his children have the beauty of this kind of hybridization. I do not proclaim, because I do not know, that hybridization is indispensable to the greatest vitality of the human species, but I can say without hesitation that biologically it does no harm. If we shrink from it, our misgivings are based not upon facts, but upon feelings.

We have seen something of the psychological origin of these feelings and so we need not be surprised at any inconsistencies in their expression. In the Southern States of America, for example, it has long been a traditional convention of white male virility to have had sexual intercourse with a coloured girl some time or another before marriage; of course without public acknowledgement, still less with any investment of personal responsibility. But just let this sexual miscegenation occur the other way round, and the outrage, the horror, leads immediately to appalling violence. Yet basically, both are biologically identical procedures.

Intermarriage between all human races is biologically, and I dare to suggest, spiritually, not only defensible but right. Hybridization at a biological level enriches natural diversity and tends to produce a more versatile genetic structure. It cannot of itself be a bad thing.

But the life which is led at the moment by the Anglo-Indians, by the high-yellows, by the Cape-coloureds, is a standing reproach not to them, but to those who despise, reject, persecute and oppress them; in the name of their own delusional superiority, to which they cling with the fierce, devoted, savage intensity of the prejudiced persecuters. Yet there is no evil, in my view, greater than the organized, persistent and strongly-maintained prejudice, that one human being can have against another. And miscegenation would be a very small price to pay for the end of that, if indeed it is regarded as a price at all.

And so, finally, let us attempt to grapple with the implications of this problem as it explosively emerges. If biologically miscegenation is an acceptable and possible solution, why is it the one thing that everybody strives against?

I think one of the reasons is that we cannot bear to admit that others, different from ourselves as we see them to be, are as good as we are. We set too high a value on ourselves, too low a value on human beings as a whole: and this is the universal problem. Study the psychological development of the infant. The most important, the most fundamental need that the infant has after being born is to be able to differentiate himself from the rest of the world; between that aspect of his experience which is constantly part of him and, although ever-changing, goes with him wherever he goes, and that part which he comes to recognise as ineffably separate and distinct from him. His most fundamental lesson is in fact to recognise his own separateness, his identity, which in fact he will later learn to call "me"; my body, my feelings, my thoughts, as something distinct from the whole of the rest of the world; which, infinitely varied, wonderful, packed with no matter what challenges, delights or possibilities, is not "me". This "me/not me" differentiation is made instinctively, inevitably, and indeed of necessity, and where it isn't made, it may well be that normal development is impossible. Until we know that we exist in our own right we can't make our way in the world at all. Yet the mystics have always said, and the Eastern philosophers are always saying, that this really is the fundamental, the basic error of us all: that in truth man is one with the Universe and that until he recognises and achieves that sense of oneness and wholeness and reabsorption, he is never fully aware of what he is or what life is.

So we are kept stumbling along an expedient but ultimately tragic path: and part of our original sin is our original error, which yet paradoxically seems an absolute, inescapable necessity of our original existence.

Do you remember Housman's poem: —

Stars, I have seen them fall,
  But when they drop and die
No star is lost at all
  From all the star-sown sky.
The toil of all that be
  Helps not the primal fault;
It rains into the sea,
  And still the sea is salt.

The primal fault; our loneliness, our individual uncertainty, our need for love and our proclivity for hatred; with this we come into the world and with this we are ready and raw material for suspicion, fear, hatred, prejudice, and all uncharitableness. Racial differences, real but biologically by no means dangerous differences, provide yet one more occasion for stubborn stumbling, for pride, for suffering and inflicting pain. For every time we yield to prejudice, every time we insist upon our supreme distinction from other man, then, whether we know or acknowledge it or not, our guilty hand is reaching for a stone. Can it be that although in the Bible God reminded us that he made us all from one mould, he has perhaps left it to us to discover just how difficult it is to live up to this, as to so many other truths? And at this point do we not echo the desperate challenging question uttered by Captain Ahab, just before he came to his death in the last exercise of his prejudice and his persecution of the white whale : —

" What is it, what nameless, inscrutable, unearthly thing is it; what cozening, hidden lord and master, and cruel, remorseless emperor commands me; that against all natural lovings and longings, I so keep pushing, and crowding, and jamming myself on all the time; recklessly making me ready to do what in my own proper, natural heart, I durst not so much as dare? Is Ahab, Ahab? Is it I, God, or who, that lifts this arm? But if the great sun move not of himself; but is as an errand-boy in heaven; nor one single star can revolve, but by some invisible power; how then can this one small heart beat; this one small brain think thoughts; unless God does that beating, does that thinking, does that living, and not I. By heaven, man, we are turned round and round in this world, like yonder windlass, and Fate is the handspike. And all the time, lo! that smiling sky, and this unsounded sea! Look! see yon Albicore! who put it into him to chase and fang that flying-fish? Where do murderers go, man? Who's to doom, when the judge himself is dragged to the bar? "

Now I speak as a very poor kind of a Christian, the doubting, believing, ineffectual kind of Christian, such as most Christians are. I believe that God's own suffering, and God's own purpose, are inscrutable in this respect. I only know that when God Himself came as Christ into human society, He didn't last very long. For the standards which He proclaimed, and the suffering He was prepared to endure, caught up with Him after only 33 years; and then, without condemning us, He let Himself be killed by us.

Is this then the message? That the only answer to cruelty, the only answer to prejudice, is in the open unprejudiced love in the heart of each one of us; a love which must be openly acknowledged, fearlessly followed through? It may seem strange that after an examination of the psychological foundations of something so universal, so indiscriminate, so recklessly justified, so stubbornly upheld, so irresponsibly loaded with misleading information, we should come back to the simple truth that only within the heart of each one of us lies the final solution. We must learn to love others as ourselves : unless we can do this, we not only doom others but are doomed ourselves. But if we can do this there is no problem of racial or any other kind of prejudice, which need overwhelm our judgment.

**Renunciation of Self-centredness**

If we can but renounce our innate determination to regard ourselves as unique and of supreme importance, with everything else ultimately going to the wall, then we can tackle this. But unless we are capable of this renunciation of self-centredness, then we cannot tackle it at all. Love and humility are the only answer to this problem and they must be calmly and vigorously maintained in the face of prejudice, in the face of indignation; of segregation, of all arguments, all the answers about what is good and what is sound, and what is practical for society and so forth; because these answers and arguments are based ultimately on fear, hatred, insecurity and the threat of being regarded as just like other men. Humility then and acceptance, are part of love: and love alone can pay the price for the abandonment of prejudice—and its natural outcome.

The Jews must allow, not their customs to disappear, but their race to intermingle; so must

the Gentiles. Negroes, Chinese, Arabs, Eskimos, Caucasians must be free to marry and be given in marriage. The diversity of human races which are simply a reflection of genetic flexibility, and of cultural and geographical diversity, must nevertheless not be segregated and kept apart but must be encouraged and enabled to unite. I believe this, and I put this forward as my personal answer, as a suggestion to this enormous problem. And I end as I began : the roots of prejudice are not in the actual fact of difference; or in the supposed superiority or inferiority of one race to another; persecution arises not primarily out of bitter situations, not out of frictions of human proximity or distrust, which varies by distance, but simply out of the will of living man to think more highly of himself and less highly of others than he ought to think. The essential feature is the inescapable self-centredness, separateness, and tragic personal pride of each individual one of us; whereby we do not love others as ourselves. If we can begin on that, we can begin at last to face and then, perhaps, one day finally to solve the problem.

## POSTSCRIPT

A lecture such as this can do no more than reflect the developments of its Author's opinions. Both their origins in his own experience, and those ideas contributing to their formation which he has derived from others, must almost certainly exceed his full awareness and capacity for acknowledgement. But in this instance I would like to record a special indebtedness to certain authors, whose books have conveyed to me a range of information, a breadth of vision, and a profundity of wisdom, without which I could not have dared to attempt this lecture. They include : —

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE. *Gordon W. Allport*. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1954.

READINGS ON RACE. (*Ed.*) *Stanley M. Garn*, PH.D. Blackwells Scientific Publications, Oxford, 1960.

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE. *Kyle Haselden*. Lutterworth Press, London, 1960.

THE FUTURE OF MAN. *P. B. Medawar*, F.R.S. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1960.

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THE HERRING GULL'S WORLD. *Niko Tinbergen*. Collins, London, 1953.

(*By kind permission of the Council of Christians and Jews. This article is obtainable from them in booklet form.*)

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TACTICS AND POLITICAL APPROACH ARE AMONG THE PROBLEMS

# Negro movement debates its course

By Joanne Grant

*Third and last article of a series*

THE ABSENCE of massive civil rights demonstrations at present represents a lull—but not a tranquil one—in the Negro drive for equality. It is a hiatus during which groups are attempting to consolidate their organizational structure, to find ways to deal with problems which have grown out of successes and failures, and to develop techniques for further progress.

The lull is not tranquil because of internal and external problems the movement faces. Stresses within the movement have mounted as people of varying backgrounds, occupations, economic circumstances and outlook have increasingly been caught up in the rights campaign.

This is illustrated in struggles across the country. Jose Rames, describing a housing campaign in Detroit, wrote in **New University Thought** (Dec., '63-Jan., '64): "Integrated housing was not approved among the goals and aspirations of the average Negro family. Suitable housing, yes, but not integrated housing per se." The differences between the desires of ordinary people and the goals of the middle-class members of older organizations such as the NAACP and the middle-class aspirations of those generally regarded as the top leadership of the civil rights movement have become apparent to many local leaders.

In the South it has been reflected in the inability of leaders to deliver on the oft-promised mass application for transfers to all-white schools where states have been ordered to desegregate. In community after community it has become apparent that Negro parents want better schools and prefer to have Negro schools improved rather than expose their children to inevitable psychological and possible physical violence by enrolling them in "white" schools.

**PLANNING PHASE:** These are among the problems the movement faces in this "lull," which James Baldwin has described as "like a football huddle." "People are reassessing, they are planning," he reassured those who thought the movement might have died.

One problem affecting all of the civil rights groups is that a turn toward more political action is called for. In an article in the **Nation** last June Los Angeles attorney Loren Miller wrote that a "broad political movement . . . comprehensive of pressing domestic and international issues" was needed. While such a development most certainly is not in the cards at present, there has already been political action and there are promises of more.

Marvin Rich, community relations director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said CORE planned to test enforcement of provisions of the civil rights bill if and when it is passed by sending test teams into the South, as was done after the Interstate Commerce Commission issued its order against discrimination in interstate travel and terminals. Rich said CORE planned no "cooling-off" during the '64 election year. As part of its political program CORE has expanded the concept of congressional lobbying by sending a field secretary, Jerome Smith, to Capitol Hill where, in his blue denim overalls, he buttonholes congressmen to "remind them that abstract principles affect people."

The NAACP plans to mobilize its half million members to campaign actively to defeat anti-civil rights congressmen. It has also announced a drive to register 500,000 voters in Texas. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is concentrating on political campaigns in Mississippi, with plans to run one congressional candidate or more, heading up to a major campaign against Sen. James Eastland in 1966.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, which has been working primarily with Southern whites for 25 years, has sent field representatives into the Midwest to urge church groups to press for enactment of the civil rights bill.

**NO MORATORIUM:** There is much talk within the movement about the Presidential election. Many view the coming year hopefully, since it will be crucial for President Johnson to woo the Negro vote. The intention seems to be to keep pressure on the White House despite the obvious desire of politicians of both major parties for an election-year moratorium. Bayard Rustin has called for marches on both party conventions.

Among the prominent Negroes Baldwin has been most emphatic about the need for alternatives for the Negro in politics. Baldwin repeatedly declares that "there is a point where one must say, 'I will not choose the lesser of two evils.' " He often speaks of the need for a third party, a "fusion" party. One group which has organized is the National Committee for a Freedom Now Party headed by attorney Conrad Lynn which intends to run all-Negro slates in some areas.

There has been no other serious attempt at organizing a political apparatus among Negroes apart from the efforts of the two major parties, which have been stepped up in the last few years. The Democratic Party has sought out several Negroes, among them Washington newspaper reporter Alice Dunnigan and Little Rock, Ark., leader Daisy Bates, who is with the Democratic National Committee. At last summer's NAACP convention the staffs of the Democratic National Committee and COPE (AFL-CIO political arm) were conspicuous and hospitality flowed at their two suites, with Negro staff members as hosts.

Palmer in the Springfield (Mo.) Leader & Press
**"Perhaps if we ignore it . . ."**

Yet, with an evident turn toward greater political action and with the obvious concern of the major parties for the Negro vote, the movement seems to put primary emphasis on development of a grass-roots organizing drive. The long-term aim of this drive is eventual political impact resulting from what John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, calls "pockets of power." CORE's Southern "task force," patterned after SNCC's subsistence level paid field staffs, and SNCC are concentrating on the hard-core rural areas of the South to organize the poor and the dispossessed into pressure groups outside the power structure. Their "power" will result from the fact that they are there, rather than from their ability to participate in the system by the ballot.

**ROLE OF WHITES:** The movement is also beginning to turn its attention to mobilization of whites. The civil rights struggle has attracted large numbers of Northern white students, who swamp Southern organizations with applications for work in the South. Consideration is being given to developing cores of white students to work among Southern whites and white unemployed as a parallel to the organizing drive among Negroes. This reflects increasing awareness of the link between the drive for equality and basic economic issues and the need for white allies to meet the economic needs of the Negro and the nation.

While the organizations are generally agreed on the need for political action, there are differences among them on what the approach should be. With a declared determination to press for early passage of a strong civil rights bill, for instance, the March on Washington was only obliquely directed at the legislation, except for a few brief minutes when the audience spontaneously chanted "Pass the bill" at visiting congressmen. While the March office has been kept open, with March deputy director Rustin in charge, differences among civil rights leaders have kept it from action in support of the legislation.

The debate on tactics continues, with the more radical spokesmen urging greater use of civil disobedience—immobilizing a city by lying in the streets and on runways; swamping the mayor's office and the governor's office with telephone calls; organizing city-wide placing of COD orders with a major department store.

There are differences in approach to nonviolent direct action itself. CORE's Rich says direct action "creates a moment of tension when people must make a choice." SNCC's Robert Moses speaks of it as an "annealing process" in which a community is brought to a white hot heat, then molded while cooling. The NAACP leadership has finally succumbed to pressures from its membership and has approved direct action as policy after a history of reliance on court action.

**SAFETY VALVE?** Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the movement's symbol of nonviolence, described it in his famous "Letter from Birmingham City Jail" thus: "The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, 'Get rid of your discontent.' But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist . . . maybe the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists."

**JAMES BALDWIN**
*He'd tackle basic issues*

Whether nonviolence is a philosophy or a tactic, whether it is a means of creative control of discontent or a method of deliberately creating tension which must be relieved, the fact remains, most leaders admit, that only a small group is committed to it. Young field workers from the NAACP, CORE and SNCC who are dedicated to nonviolent action have said in effect after a few months' experience: "I can no longer ask people not to defend themselves. I cannot take their guns. I cannot say, 'Don't fight back.' " Some have come to advocate organized defense similar to that of Robert Williams in Monroe, N.C. Some even talk of terrorism. They remember that federal troops were sent into the Birmingham area only after Negroes rioted. If white resistance continues to harden, many wonder how long the pent-up resentment and frustration will be contained.

Along with consideration of tactics are the problems of finding solutions to the basic issues of housing, education, health, jobs. As yet the movement has developed no long-range perspectives, no answers. As it searches and is driven to a more radical outlook, other problems will undoubtedly pile up. There will be increasing attempts to split the leadership, perhaps a loss of financial support from some quarters, direct red-baiting attacks on those who refuse to alter their course or purge their organizations. Whether the movement can withstand attempts to divert it or destroy it is difficult to predict.

ATLANTA AREA OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ROOM 703. 41 EXCHANGE PLACE. S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To: Les Dunbar
This is the unedited speech Gene Patterson delivered at the AJC Annual meeting in New York last May.
It has been proposed that AJC publish it, or, in the alternative, that New South might use excerpts from it.
Please let me have your reaction - and that of your staff - to its potential usefulness.

Charles F. Wittenstein
Area Director

JAckson 3-8451
ROOM 703,
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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

R & R Rel.



MR. EUGENE C. PATTERSON: Thank you very much.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to see the large turnout of ladies. It reminds me of James Webb's comment. The Administrator of the Space Agency was addressing a large press conference in the State Department auditorium in Washington recently and he was being cross questioned as to why he was picking certain people to be astronauts and certain other people could not make it. Why no women, for instance, why no Negro yet, and so forth. And Mr. Webb finally, a little confused, heatedly denied in his own words that "I have any prejudice whatsoever against women or any other minority group!" [Laughter]

Ladies and gentlemen, it is good to be here among friends. It looks as if I brought much of my hometown with me! [Laughter] We have, of course, I have seen at this meeting, Armand May from Atlanta, DeJongh Franklin, Cecil Alexander, Louis Regenstein, Morris Abram, of course, Charles Wittenstein and Joe Ross, who is now in Detroit and it is our loss. I have seen the work they have done in the AJC in Atlanta. It has been great work. But I have also seen the work they have done as individuals in that town. Joe Ross, at a time during the sit-in crisis in our town leading to desegregate luncheon counters, it was done under his leadership

in one of the great department stores there. So DeJongh Franklin, who led an election last year against a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who, while not defeated by DeJongh, was so severely chastened by him that we have not heard much from his since. I have seen, of course, Cecil Alexander get urban renewal off the ground and I have seen him in just recent weeks in one of those quiet actions that constantly occurs in our society and very few people know about them, resign from the Board of a private school because the Board did not share his views that children should be admitted without regard to race or color.

You see these quiet things done by quiet people throughout the length and breadth of the land and perhaps that is what your organization is all about. The individual man is the person who makes the progress. And so I am glad to be among such people and, of course, I do not need to tell you about Morris Abram.

I have come here direct from Cape Canaveral. The magnificent flight of the astronaut Gordon Cooper was the story there to cover. But something else happened there to form the thought that I want to bring you briefly today. The time was the 25th hour of Major Cooper's flight. The deadly peril of descent from orbit was still ahead of the man and a lot of us

newspaper men, tense and sleepless--and we were from all over the world, 50 foreign countries were represented there among 800 newspaper men covering it. We were in the space flight press center following the destiny of a man and a nation's space effort overhead.

In one corner of that bright and littered room down at Cape Canaveral there was a television set tuned to a commercial program, and another was the Mercury control amplifier bringing in the voice of Gordon Cooper from space. Two southerners spoke in that room last Thursday, one Alabaman, one Oklahoman, both drawled. The Oklahoman came up the hard way. He enlisted after graduating from high school. He went to college at the University of Hawaii and to the University of Maryland night school classes in Germany while flying mighty jets by day. He was a dozen years out of high school before he struggled through to a B.S. Degree from the Air Force Institute of Technology. The Alabaman is Governor of his state. The television set in the corner of that press room at Cape Canaveral presented first the face and the words of Governor George Wallace, "I am sick and tired," he said, "of this pro-communist line, our people wondering what people somewhere else are going to think of us." He was responding to expressions of shock following the race riots in his state.

"Some of them do not even know where they are in the world, much less where Alabama is," he said. "They take our foreign aid and then they feel free to criticize our Alabama for its way of life. The South pays 25 per cent of that foreign aid," he said, "so I think it is time we quit wondering what they think of us and let them know it is going to be a matter of what we think of them," drawled the Governor of Alabama.

Then the Oklahoman's voice came softly from the Mercury control amplifier in that room. Gordon Cooper was hurdling more than 100 miles above Addis Adaba in Ethiopia. A meeting of African leaders was in session. The small town Southerner from Shawnee, Oklahoma, spoke a message to them through a transmitter in his helmet, "Hello, Africa," he drawled, "this is Astronaut Gordon Cooper. I am speaking to you from the American space craft Faith VII. I want to wish success to your leaders there. Good luck to Africa." Choose your southern voice--two spoke Thursday.

What I submit to you is simply that the South has two voices. And the voice of Gordon Cooper and not the voice of George Wallace speak for it. The voices of men who reason, who speak, who dare all not for self but for the common good of all men are speaking above the voices of the uncomprehending already in many parts of the South. Two voices, yes.

I remember the morning in Atlanta when the temple was bombed. I stood in that place and I looked at the little blue choir rooms of children lying rumpled under dust and broken glass and I wondered what property of soul and spirit had to speak with dynamite. But I remember, too, the other voice, the other voice of genuine sorrow and shock and outrage in my City that rose up from those people. That brick and mortar bound us all into closer community than Atlanta had known before. I remember the burning of the Negro churches in southwest Georgia last year where Negroes had gathered in line to vote. I remember, too, the pencil scrawls on tablet paper that came to my desk later with dollar bills and dimes attached to them from humble white Georgians whose voices speak against such desecration and whose contributions to rebuild those churches exceeded $10,000 in the Atlanta Constitution's fund alone.

I remember the voice of the mob on the night that rioting took my Alma Mater, the University of Georgia, when unclean politicians in the squalid element of the Ku Klux Klan encouraged students to violence against the Court's order for desegregation, the first in my State. But I remember the other voice. I remember the voice of a valiant Governor, Ernest Vandiver who disregarded the counsel of cowardice that 98 out of 100 advisers gave him when they went

to the Executive Mansion that night and who instead ordered the state troopers to Athens to restore the peace and keep it.

One of the two men who stood with Vandiver in that hour and advised him simply to do what was right and who supported him in repelling Georgia's school segregation laws and in meeting school desegregation with dignity, Carlos Sanders is his name. That man's voice now speaks from the Governor's office of my State, for the people know he, like Vandiver, spoke for the right South and the racist bellows of the demagogue he defeated, a man who, incidentally, received the campaign assistance of Alabama's Governor Wallace. That man is now finished and forgotten in Georgia, as Mr. Wallace will be, I think, in his own state.

The South has two voices. The right one is going to prevail. My South is a great South. My people have known what it is to be poor, to be ill schooled and poorly led, and with all this, to be challenged by circumstances beyond their experience in racial changes. But my people have a great compassion and sense of justice, too, and a granite strength, the strength to take the hemlock of Civil War but the greatest strength for curative change of heart that the requirement of human dignity is now demanding of them.

The South has two voices, yes, but the voice you

will hear when the doomed voice of deceit has died in my South, will be the voice of a man, for instance, who grew up a couple of swamps and a couple of cotton patches removed from me in South Georgia, there in the wild grass of the piney woods. He is the son of an immigrant who reared his family in the small town of Fitzgerald. The son rose to be a Rhodes Scholar, then came home to practice law in Atlanta. But what he truly practiced was benign revolution. Through the courts this brilliant young son of my State fought the suit that struck down the incredible county unit system which for half a century had poisoned the wells of Georgia, had made all of the ill schooled poverty in my state, had latched it upon us, this system which put our substance as well as the values of our State in the hands of an unrepresentative rural minority whose irresponsibility grew with its venality, and these were not the steady farmers, sons of the soil that you speak of when you speak of the rural folk. These were the small court house reins and their hand maidens, the cynical advantage seekers of the big city who found control of the state was easy by favor of the few rural bosses. When the young Georgian, speaking with the true voice of my South had finished his day in court, that era when one tenant farmer and one small county had a vote equal to 100 college

professors in Atlanta, and that was the ratio. Once his voice had spoken in court, that system was dead forever. Suddenly everybody in Georgia has an equal vote.

This young man struck away the change of half a century's political imprisonment which, until he came, my people could only rattle in helpless protest. The political salvation of Georgia was so immediate and dramatic that it can only be termed revolutionary.

I have said the voice of a clean young governor who believes in justice now speaks for the Executive Office. It sharply defeated the voice of the past in a decisive vote of the people who were suddenly enfranchised. A reapportionment in my State now includes a Negro Senator. A year earlier this man would have been thrown out of the chamber if he had tried to sit in the spectator gallery. And no racist speech, not one, rang from the floor of the Georgia Legislature at this year's session.

These are the immediate revolutionary events that followed the great victory won by one man. I think you know by now the name of the young man who wrought the change through his masterful application of the weapon of law, this neighboring friend of mine from South Georgia, and when I speak of the voice that is prevailing in the South, I speak of

Morris Abram. [Applause]

It was against this background that I listened to Morris speak to you last night. And what he said struck me, as it did Adlai Stevenson, as crucially important, for having changed the past, he is looking ahead of the present. He foresaw what I am seeing now in the South when he said last year, "As urban majorities make their influence felt on government in the South, the court will find more and more popular support for decisions long resisted in the arguments of racism." Political reapportionment and realignment are easing, as he predicted, the path of racial decisions at the political level. But Mr. Abram's new message of last night must be heard. As political power comes to the cities, the problems of power come with the changes. As deprived populations move from the farms where he and I grew up, from those gray shacks, they are moving to the Birminghams, to the Atlantas, and the New Yorks of America and a new minority takes form unequipped to comprehend or cope, needful of understanding and help, not condemnation and vengeance.

There is a political power to apply against injustice, yes. Morris applied it. But he himself has said raw political power cannot eliminate prejudice, particularly the most subtle and cutting kind. Along with political power there

is the power of law and it, too, is mighty and must be clung to. But it is not wholly the answer, either. For just as Socrates believed an individual had the right to break the law if he considered it unjust and if he was prepared to pay the consequences, so the Negroes of Birmingham believed and so believed also the white students of Oxford, Mississippi.

The law is a mighty bulwark. So are our political systems. If they are not enough, the law can be violated. Politics can be pervaded.

Again in Morris Abram's words, it is the mind and heart of man which must be influenced and reformed. This requires education, inspiration, conciliation, mediation, patience, persistence. It requires the perseverance of wise human relations organizations such as yours and it requires, I submit, also a basic ongoing belief in the ultimate right-heartedness of man through all his periods of--"love" is perhaps the word for it.

The day we give up on that, we can turn in our suits as human beings and go back to the jungle where it did not matter. Only a growing concert of voices raised for justice can prevail over the course of chaos we have known in my South. And as I have said, I hear this growing concern in the South, the daily travail of decision is still our lot and long

will be. But I know what the voice of the South and of mankind will be. I see it day in and day out in the labored pencilling on tablet paper from rural Georgia. I sense it in the cautious acceptance of moral responsibility by my region's men of capital. I hear it in the blunt straight talk of the direct southerner revising his beliefs and in the quiet newly bold expression of the thinking Negro and in the drawled radio message from the sky above Addis Adaba and, above all, under the thunderous glory of mankind reach into that new element that I saw last Wednesday on a Florida beach.

What a symbol of the majesty of man that was. I do not know how to describe the moment of launch. All I know is that you are never the same again when you have seen it. It is a wrenching thing. A man has been there on the capsule in the beach in front of you for an intolerably long time and you look at him and there stands the silver missile and you wait for hours and suddenly the count comes down to the last ten seconds, and you realize he is going to be fired. And it comes to three, two, one, ignition, and a great spilling of flame comes from the bottom, all in dead silence because you are 8,000 feet away. And then to the left a great explosion, smoke and blaze and suddenly the fire is reaching up the side of the missile towards the nose where the man lies and you

stand with your heart thumping as suddenly you see this great rocket start to rise from its own bed of fire. On its own clean white blaze it climbs very slowly and it takes you by the throat because it is so important that it go. It is as if man, who is new in this element, is lifting himself on his wings like a baby bird and turning himself loose to see if he will fly, and you wait to see the escape tower reach that capsule loose and fire him away in some unseen emergency and all the time you are praying "Spare the man, preserve him." And it lifts and suddenly the sound comes in, rolling in like a great rumbling tide. It is a ripping, thunderous sound, a crackling burst of sound and it is there beating on your eardrums, and right in front of you he is going into this bright sky. Every one is tense. Beside me a woman suddenly broke into tears and sat down, and I remember the tears coming out from under her sunglasses, and it will do that to you because it is so important. A man is in there. Any man, and up there while this sound is cascading down and seems to flood the earth, you suddenly hear the transmission, "Fuel is go, oxygen is go, cabin pressure is 6.0." The man is doing his job in a tornadoed moment when at any second he could vanish in a burst of fire. Then after that enormous mission he flew, to come in on his 19th orbit and find his automatic systems

shot. If he would have been a chimpanzee, he would still be up there today. His oxygen would not last up until now and there would have been no way he could get down. Everything man on earth could do was thwarted by the mechanical failure of that automatic system. The man had to bring himself down. Not only that, he had to do it precisely or he would have been lost in one of the oceans of the world or one of the jungles. And he did it, as you know. He had an old friend out there coaching him along like a quiet football coach running their drills and the incredible thing is that this man performed with a perfection that exceeded that of the automatic system that Walter Schirra shot. He landed closer to the carrier than Schirra did in what they call a textbook triumph of human engineering, and this man had to do it after everything went haywire, after 34 hours aloft, and they did give him a dexadrine pill. He is the first astronaut who has taken it. He was drugged, and 80 minutes before he did it he took the pill and he was pretty shaky, as you know, when he came in and the sequence of things he had to do were enormous. He had to raise the nose of the capsule with his hand control 34 degrees above the horizon, hold it there while manually punching off three different retro-rockets which jolted interminably and all he had to hold was a cross hatch on his

window on the vague horizon that he saw to keep it from rolling off or to keep it from going too high or low. This was what happened to Carpenter and he pitched 250 miles over his rescue ship. Cooper kept it dead on with the vertical line on a star so that he would not yaw off.

With these crude implements compared to the automatic system, he held it in position, he fired his retro-rockets, he brought it back to level or zero rate, he induced a 2-degree per second slow roll and held it there going through like a slow rolling pilot coming down through the atmosphere and he plunged into the sea right beside the carrier.

Stephen Vincent Benet once wrote a poem that Cecil Alexander told me about once, a great poem to Icarus whose waxed wings did not quite do the job, and Benet seemed to think some day man would, and how apt they are today. Icarus failed, but Cooper did not, and Benet knew he would not, for he foresaw that in those far forgotten regions where the cold comes down like death, gleams the red glint of his pennants, steams the vapor of his breath. Yes, the South has two voices but, as the old automatic systems which have all the weaknesses of artificial things, falter and fail, man takes over and his true voice will come with a glowing tongue and clarity from my region, for I know myself what Pasternak knew

of all men, that we are one family called man, man not in the least proud, man the carpenter, man the plumber, man the shepherd with his sheep at sunset, man celebrated in all the cradle songs of mothers and all the picture galleries the world over.

The only thing we have to do is believe that.

Thank you.

[The audience arose and applauded.]

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~~Return to Mrs Tilly~~

R & R Rel.

STATEMENT ON CURRENT RACE RELATIONS IN NEW ORLEANS

The widespread racial tensions which are apparent throughout the United States are the occasion for soul searching on the part of many individuals who, a few years ago, considered spasmodic racial conflicts only as one more passing event. As the events have spread and explosive situations have erupted, concerned individuals and organizations in New Orleans interested in race relations have begun to take a new look at the underlying causes of the events which have become front page news in practically every metropolitan paper in the United States and abroad.

The tendency on the part of many American, Negro and white, has been to treat the symptoms of racial unrest and hope for the best. On the other hand, there is a growing number of organizations and individuals who feel that only solution to the problems is a sure elimination of the basic causes which produce problems of racial unrest.

Fortunately, New Orleans has not experienced the tragic incidents that have occurred in Jackson and Greenville, Mississippi, Birmingham or even Cambridge, Maryland. The fact that such incidents have not occurred in this Metropolis does not mean that many of the causes that triggered eruptions in other cities are not present here. To a great extent, there are problems in New Orleans which are similar to those in cities where major demonstrations have occurred.

There are, however, some organized and un-organizaed communications between Negroes and whites of influence which have provided an inter-change of ideas on problem areas. Included in the areas of communication are the Negroes who serve on the policy making boards of health and welfare agencies, as well as interracial boards of the Urban League, Catholic Interracial Council and the Community Relations Council.

The comparative progress which has been made in the intergroup relations in New Orleans whould not be looked upon as a solution to the social and economic problems which are basic in racial tensions.

In spite of encouraging progress which has been made in several areas of race relations, there are numerous discriminatory situations which, not only adversely affect Negroes, but the social and economic life of the community. Included in these situations are the widespread discrimination against qualified Negroes to secure employment in public institutions and business establishments. Housing has continued over the years to be a major problem.

I would like to enumerate some areas where segregation is in effect in New Orleans which create daily unrest and potential areas where tensions may develop --

Voting is one of the primary areas. Daily, Negroes are subjected to restriction in their efforts to qualify for the privilege of registering.

Theaters, restaurants, swimming pools observe rigid segregation practices which deny Negroes opportunity afforded non-Negro patrons. The discriminatory policies in hospitals not only adversely affect Negroes but the general health of the Community. Practically all hospitals, with the exception of Flint-Goodridge, either exclude Negro patients or limit their admission. Negro physicians are denied courtesy privileges in all hospitals, with the exception of Flint-Goodridge. Negro physicians are not permitted membership in the New Orleans Medical Association or any other professional organization, except those which serve only non-white professionals.

Negroes are neither employed as professional, technical or clerical workers by the City Administration nor are they included on any policy-making organization or committee under municipal auspices.

Protestant churches and private parochial schools do not accept Negroes in their memberhips or classes.

The New Orleans Dire Department has never given favorable consideration to a Negro applicant.

Any organization or individual concerned with some of the causative factors which produce frustrations, irritations and tensions will readily

observe that the inequities and discriminatory practices and policies should be seriously considred and dealt with in an affirmative manner.

Unlike many Southern cities, New Orleans has made some advances in intergroup relations which are significant. Some of these advances have been made because of the untiring efforts of enlightened citizens and public officials and some have been amde because of favorable Federal courts decisions.

New Orleans, with 47 (approximately) Negro policemen, has made greater progress in this area than any Southern city.

There were 107 Negro children in public desegregated schools - the largest number in any Southern city.

The New Orleans Library Board, by voluntary action, desegregated all public libraries before it became an issue. City Park, street cars and busses City Park Golf Links, the International Airport, railroad and bus station facilities are among court-ordered desegregated facilities which actions took place without unfavorable community reaction.

Catholic schools in all grades were desegregated in 1962. Loyola, Tulane and LSU-NO are among the institutions of higher learning where racially mixed student bodies are generally accepted as a matter of course.

Recently, a number of Canal Street Stores employed an aggregate of 59 Negroes as salespersons, clerks and in other positions above the menial level. Other area stores, including Dryades Street and Claiborne Shopping Center instituted fair employment practices in 1960-61.

As encouraging as the above instances are, they represent, on the whole, token progress in the several areas and should not be considered as the answer to the many unmet problems in the areas of housing, employment public accomodations and inter-cultural relations.

One of the greatest needs in intergroup relations in New Orleans is a broader communication between the responsible representatives of the Negro and white community.

More detailed study is needed in many areas to ascertain causative factors which may trigger behavior problems. In this regard, I would like to mention the explosive problems resulting from school droupouts. As alarming as the dropout problem appears to be in the Nation as a whole, the problem in Louisiana is far more serious. A recent study by on functional illiteracy based on the 1960 Census, showed that the rate for adults of all races ranges from a low of 2.8 percent in Utah to a high of 21.3 in Louisiana. The National percentage was 8.3. In the State of Louisiana, 348,000 adults have completed less than five years of schooling representing 21.3 percent of the 25 plus age group. This includes 159,000 whites (13.5 percent) and 189,000 non-whites (40.9 percent). The problem of school-dropouts in New Orleans is or should be of immediate concern to this and other committees.

According to a recent study of the New Orleans school dopouts made by Mrs. Mildred Seaman, Negroes represented 63 percent of all dropouts. According to this tudy, 290 Negroes dropped out of school between the first and sixth grades, compared to 75 whites -- 597 Negroes dropped out between the seventh and ninth grades compared to 347 whites. In senior high grades (10-12) there were 393 Negro dopouts compared to 307 whites. There are many dramatic situations behind these statistics which should be of special concern. The damaging effects are relected in many Negroes who are socially and economically handicapped, many are dependent, poorly educated and lacing in responsibilities of citizenship. Many of the problems of Negro citizens are a direct result of past and present discrimination and exclusion based on race. As Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, points out -- "As a matter of historic equity, special compensatory programs are justified and may well be the only means of overcoming the heavy aftermath of past neglect."

To correct the problems presented by this brief narrative and statistical report, the cooperative efforts of many individuals and organizations, public and private agencies are needed. Such a program will not only strengthen Negro family life but it will result in the saving of millions of dollars in health and welfare services.

Submitted by: J. Harvey Kerns, Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans

R+R Rel.

S.B.

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF INDIAN AMERICANS

by

Galen R. Weaver

# TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF INDIAN AMERICANS

Galen R. Weaver

In a half dozen or more previous years the Institute has had the privilege of having eight to twelve of its members from several Indian tribes. In most cases these have been men or women who were members of Tribal Business Councils. The presence of Indian Americans has added colorfulness to our company in several respects - they have sometimes presented Indian dances in brilliant Indian regalia and the sharing of their viewpoints and problems has added another dimension to the learning experience of the members of the Institute. I have heard Negro members say, for example, that they didn't know that there is another group in the United States that is, if anything, worse off than their own race. Indian speakers have reminded us that they view "segregation" in quite a different light from the way Negroes do. There are exceptions of course, but Indian Americans tend to think of their separateness from the majority society as a positive good. To be sure they chafe, like others do, against discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and sometimes in housing and schools. They suffer from stereotyping also and they stand to benefit from anti-discrimination laws and from the equal enforcement of law on the part of the police and the courts where too often Indians do not get a square deal.

May I note in passing that you can buy a brief and useful book in our book room with the title "American Indians", authored by William T. Hagan? It is 171 pages of reliable and interesting information that encompasses the whole period from Colonial America up to about 1959. Also worth reading is "Indians and Other Americans" by Fey and McNickle.

I will use throughout this statement the term "Indian Americans" because of a certain bias of mine in favor of an emphasis on the noun American. This is not motivated by whimsy or by chauvinism but is preferred because Indians, like Negroes, Japanese, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans who are residents and citizens are properly identified primarily as Americans and then as to their cultural or racial origin. Thus I prefer Negro American to American Negro just as we commonly speak of Japanese Americans or Mexican Americans rather than American Japanese or American Mexicans. At the same time I am aware of the fact that most Indians commonly speak of themselves as American Indians. I suggest that it would be advantageous to follow the nomenclature I am using.

As to other language usages, while "Indian brave", "squaw" and "papoose" are not offensive, these terms are not used outside of fiction and the movies. You may speak of "full bloods" and half-breeds" and 1/4 or 1/8 Indians without offending anyone. Of interest too is the fact that white persons who have some Indian ancestry, even though remote, are proud to admit it and even sometimes manufacture such ancestry. There has been a great deal of biological mixing and there are groups of so-called Indians, who find it advantageous to make

much of their small amount of Indian genes although they are obviously much more Negroid in features and have little or no authentic Indian cultural heritage.

Maybe, then, a question worth asking is: Who is an Indian? An Indian is one of several of the numerous groups of Asian peoples who migrated to the Western hemisphere across the land bridge between Siberia and Alaska sometime within the last 30,000 or so years. The term Indian is of course a misnomer inasmuch as Christopher Columbus who gave the inhabitants that name was expecting to touch the shores of East India by sailing around the globe. These ancient migrating people of Mongoloid race came doubtlessly in successive waves and they moved across the face of what we now call North America, into and through Central America and on to the very tip of South America. This is surely one of the most amazing sagas of pre-historic times. Their descendents vary widely in physical traits although all have straight black hair, brown eyes and some shade of brown skin - that is all except those who have mixed their genes with European or African types. I have seen a few Indians with blue eyes and white skins but these were biological "sports" called Albinos. We have to allow also for Indians who look like Caucasians. I saw one the other day at Ft. Berthold in North Dakota. He calls himself an Indian. His parents and his brothers and sisters look like Indians should but somewhere in his ancestry there is a white man or women whose genes apparently have become dominant in this young man. He "passes" as an Indian even though he doesn't look like one at all.

We also know that Indians north of the present day Mexican border spoke some three hundred different langauage or dialects and that Indians today still speak at least 150 different tongues. Ethnologists have classified these into six major language groups. Their "life ways" or cultures range over a vast spectrum. There may well be as many as 600 different cultures. Some, like the Papagoes, were peaceful and believed war is a kind of insanity while others, like the Comanches, regarded fighting as a normal and even glorious way of life. Some like the Pueblo Indians live in small city-states and have maintained a settled agrarian life for centuries. Others were nomadic hunters and trappers. The complex civilizations of the Mayas of Yucatan, of the Aztecs and Mixtecs of Central Mexico and of the Incas of South America have all left a record of organizing genius still only partially fathomed by students of the impressive remains of their temples, their public buildings and public works. Knowledge of astronomy on the part of the Mayas was far advanced beyond that of Europe at the same epoch. Yet none of these groups discovered the wheel, perhaps the most important of all mechanical inventions.

With considerable alacrity these Indian groups adopted many items of material culture from the Europeans who introduced iron and copper utensils and tools, firearms, sheep and horses. Horses in fact revolutionized the life of the Plains Indians. As in the case of the five civilized tribes, the Indians adopted a written language and a written constitution providing for three branches of government. The Comanches created a free public school system earlier than several states did. Indians also gave many gifts to the white man - the two continents first of all to which these people had prior claim by reason of occupation and which they surrendered after much bitter fighting and after the Europeans' diseases had decimated the native population disastrously. The Indians also introduced many things to the white invaders such as maize,

sweet potatoes, tomatoes, squash, beans, and scores of other foods and medicinal plants, as well as tobacco, to whose virtues a veritable cloud of smoke testifies every time we get together! The Six Nations Iroquois confederation suggested to Benjamin Franklin the model for our federal system of government.

But what of today's Indian in the United States? According to the Federal census definition in 1960, an Indian is one who identifies himself or herself as an Indian. On this basis there are approximately 510,000 Indian Americans exclusive of Alaska. About one-half of these live in Indian communities on reservations scattered across the whole country but particularly west of the Mississippi. At least 250,000 reside in towns and cities of the United States and probably thousands more no longer identify themselves as Indians even though they have some degree of Indian ancestry. A great many Indians living away from reservations visit their relatives "back home" from time to time. Some of these still own land and are on the tribal role and therefore eligible for tribal benefits such as money from leasing land or a portion of a claim's settlement. Some of these claim settlements run into ten of millions of dollars and frequently part of the money is distributed per capita to all on the tribal role. There is, in other words, a financial stake involved in continuing to identify as an Indian.

While speaking of who is an Indian and how many there are, let me point out that Indians are the fastest growing section of our American population. At the present rate of annual increase of 2 to 2½ per cent there will be as many Indians in the United States by 1975 as there were when Columbus discovered America - namely between 800,000 and 900,000. Far from being "vanishing Americans" as was the case forty years ago, Indians are becoming more numerous as public health measures and medical care increase as they have done markedly in the past seven years. The Navajos who make up the largest single tribe now number more than 80,000, a spectacular increase over ten years ago.

Non-Indian citizens need to understand the very special relationship of the Federal government to Indians. The term "ward of the government" used at the end of the 18th Century by Chief Justice Marshall is resented today and is inaccurate inasmuch as the Indian American is a free person. He can come and go like any other American citizens. However, by the choice of the Indians themselves, certain individual "allotments" of reservation land and certain tribal land holdings are still held in trust by the United States Government. These may not be sold without the consent of the Secretary of the Interior who is authorized to grant a "patent in fee" title which then removes this restriction and places the property on the tax roles. Such titles in fee are normally not difficult to obtain. Land, while in trust, is exempted from real estate taxes and so also are the products of such trust land including cattle. Freedom from land taxes was one of the benefits negotiated when treaties were entered into before 1851 and was considered by the Indians to run forever as one of the considerations for giving up their land. Indian reservations normally have their own police and tribal courts which do not, however, have jurisdiction over ten major crimes that are federal offenses. Again many of the services non-Indian citizens get through local and state governments are rendered to Indians by the Federal government. Free education through high school, grants and loans for post-high school education and health and welfare services are administered by federal agencies. This relationship is based on

the right that the Constitution gives to the U. S. Congress to regulate commerce with the Indians and on literally thousands of treaties and executive orders. Up to 1851 Indian tribes were treated as "domestic dependent nations" which held sovereignty over their members and possessed the power to negotiate with our government. Many tribes have funds in the Treasury of the United States and these may be drawn out only by proper action taken by the Tribe and with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior.

To benefit from most of these federal services a person is supposed to be of 1/4 or more Indian ancestry and to live on trust land in a reservation. However, some latitude is exercised, particularly in relation to health services. The Federal government has been adamant against furnishing free services to Indians who move off the reservations and live in non-Indian communities where, it is contended, they are eligible for the same benefits as other Americans through local and state government. An exception is made in relation to "re-location" under which program the Bureau of Indian Affairs assists with finances and counselling Indian men and women who wish to move off of their reservation and reside in off-reservation communities and identify with such communities in terms of jobs and other normal ways. In such cases the Bureau will assist with travel expenses, rent and furnishings of a house, employment placement and case work services up to six months.

In respect to education, the Federal government for a dozen years or so and generally with the moral support of most Indians has made it a policy to place as many Indian children in public schools as possible. Under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, the Bureau negotiates contracts with public school districts to enroll Indian children from reservations at an agreed rate per child per day in lieu of real estate taxes. In a score or more towns or cities, dormitories have been erected to house the Indian boys and girls from more remote reservations and these students then attend public elementary and high schools. Nevertheless about half of the Indian children still attend Federal day schools on reservations or off reservation-federal boarding schools such as the one in Albuquerque, Chillocco, Oklahoma, and Riverside, California.

Whereas Indian relations were up until 1824 under the War Department they are now under the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is in the Department of the Interior (since 1849). The Secretary of the Interior - who is Mr. Udall at present, one of the Assistant Secretaries - Mr. Carver now, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs - since September 1961, Dr. Philleo Nash - are the officials repsonsible under the President. The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains ten Area Offices and a Superintendent and staff of specialists on each of the major reservations and, of course, a sizeable staff at the Bureau in Washington. The annual budget for Indian health, education and other services is a sizeable sum running into the neighborhood of $ 180 million dollars. Many Indians are employed by the Bureau at all levels including Directors of the Area offices.

Indians are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside. Like other Americans they may vote, hold appointive offices and run for elective posts in government. A member of the Congress from South Dakota, the Hon. Ben Reifel, a half-breed Sioux and a Ph.D. from the Harvard School of Business Administration, is up for re-election to a second term this November.

I am going to be bold enough to venture a few generalizations about Indian Americans even though I understand that it is risky business. The range of variation in traditions, historical relations with non-Indians, economic resources, educational attainment levels as well as physical traits, is so wide that it is misleading to speak of an Indian problem or of Indian characteristics except in very broad terms. Not only is this true as between trival groups but also among individuals. When one looks with an unpractised eye at a people strange to it - Orientals or Negroes or Indians - he is likely to suppose they are all alike. This was somewhat my initial impression when I first went to Hawaii in 1922. I had difficulty for a while in distinguishing one from another until I came to know individual personalities. Indians, like other people, while they often share attitudes and personality traits to some extent are certainly as different from one another as you are from me.

I believe it was Mark Twain who said that no generalization is true, not even this one! Using the margin even he allowed, I venture the following interpretive statements which I believe are true in a general way and perhaps useful to greater understanding.

1) Indian Americans -- at least those who live on reservations and many of those who reside elsewhere-- are confused and frustrated. Some of them are resentful and suspicious towards all white people.

Their confusion and frustration arises from two sources at least:

a) The relative recency of the contact between their radically different life ways and those that were imported with the coming of the European and British invaders. To be sure, Indians east of the Mississippi who managed to survive the wars, the white man's diseases and the uprootings and displacements and also the Indians of the Southwest whose contacts were made quite early with the Spanish and Mexicans, have been interacting with non-Indians for three hundred years or more. But with other Indians it is useful to remind oursleves that 1962 is only the one hundredth anniversary of the uprising called "The Minnesota Massacre". It will be another 14 years before the centenary of the defeat of General Custer at the Little Big Horn (1876) and it was as late as 1890 that the massacre of Indian men, women and children took place at Wounded Knee in South Dakota. There are people now living who remember as children or youth Custer's defeat and the horrible cruelty of the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee.

It is difficult to imagine life ways more widely divergent from each other than the European-British culture and the various Indian cultures which came into conflict from the middle of the 17th century until 1890.

b) But the second explanation of the Indians' confusion and frustration and the inability of many Indian tribes to function effectively to achieve clear goals -- is the vacillation of policy on the part of the United States

government. As we know the record of governments of technically advanced nations in their dealings with peoples of different and more primitive life ways is not good. The same disadvantages have accrued to the Indians. American domestic colonialism has largely left Indian-Americans bewildered as to what is expected of them, what their rights and responsibilities are and how to react to the kaleidiscopic shifts as one federal administration reversed the policies of its predecessor. The American government has been on the whole fairly honest and well-intentioned. I do know that there have been some scandalous periods, particularly prior to and during the Grant administration. President Grant finally turned to the Society of Friends to furnish honest and trustworthy reservation superintendents and and other Indian Service officials.

But there is a third reason:

c) For the lack of morale and for confusion, namely, the paternalistic outlook of most Indian Service administrators and policy makers. As a result there has been a failure to train Indians in self-management and to discover, teach and encourage indigenous leadership. The Bureau has not been heartless so much as unskilled in human relations and thereby in evoking confidence and enthusiasm in behalf of goals that were meaningful to Indians because they had chosen them for themselves. The implicit and sometimes the explicit goal has generally been the cultural assimilation of Indian Americans to the pattern of middle-class white Americans and to accomplish this as rapidly as possible.

In 1953, the 82nd Congress proclaimed in H.C.R. 108 that "termination" of all federal relationships and services should be attempted as rapidly as possible. This was called by some "freeing the Indians" or "granting them the full privileges and exacting the same responsibilities as expected of other American citizens. "Termination" became a frightening word to most Indians who have much less confidence in their state and county officials than they do in the Federal government. Bitter experience has taught them to distrust state legislatures which have been notoriously more susceptible to the pressures of timber, mining, fishing and cattle interests.

Many other Americans joined with the Indians in urging that H.C.R. 108 be repealed and that there be substituted what was called "A Point 4 program" of economic and social development of Indian communities and resources similar to those carried on among underdeveloped populations elsewhere. Although the Termination esolution was not repealed and the "Point 4" proposal was not enacted by the Congress, by 1958 Secretary of the Interior Seaton, acceding to pressure, in effect declared that termination would not be put into effect until and unless the affected tribe thoroughly understood and accepted it. He did not repudiate it as a final goal and, given adequate prior preparation in

terms of education, health and understanding of the ways of the majority culture, there is little doubt that the Indians themselves will accept the transition including taxes on their real estate. For some tribes, however, such a transition may be decades in the future.

While the struggle was going on to turn back the tide of termination, an Act was passed which did terminate federal trusteeship and services for a number of named tribes. Included were the Klamath of Oregon and the Menominees of Wisconsin. Both of these groups possessed very large stands of timber that were being profitably harvested and marketed on a sustained yield basis. Some complicated arrangements had to be imporvised in a few years, during which amendments to the law postponed the effective dates several times. Involved were negotiations with officials of the state of Wisconsin who were caught with no advance preparation for the new order of relationships. Now there is a new county in Wisconsin called "Menominee" that conserves the valuable property of the tribe under a state charter. The Klamath forest and the wild fowl refuge have been saved. However the long term consequences of the too precipitate Congressional mandate will be studied with great interest by all who have the welfare of Indian people at heart.

Once again, in this Administration, we have a turning back to many of the constructive policies of the Franklin Roosevelt period. In 1928 the famous Merriam Report was published with its statesmanlike recommendations regarding Indian policy. Many of these ideas were implemented in the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act under which 135 tribes developed Constitutions, adopted a form of internal self-government with elective tribal councils and obtained federal charters. An effort was made that lasted only a few years to encourage self-management and to develop reservation resources and lift the standard of living.

Secretary Udall, Assistant Secretary Carver and Commissioner Nash, the latter a trained anthropologist, experienced government administrator and successful business man, have made the kind of commitments and have begun to institute the kind of changes that give promise of doing a responsible job in Indian affairs under the concept of partnership between the Indian tribes and the government. If this can be sustained over a dozen or more years, I believe that the confusion, bewilderment and lethargy of Indian Americans can be measureably overcome.

It is my conviction that the confusion and frustration I have been talking about are the root of the apathy all too typical of Indian Americans and which leads to so much stereotyping of Indians as lazy and irresponsible. I also hold the opinion that the excessive use of alcoholic beverages and widespread drunken-ness, with the resulting very high incidence of road accidents, are accounted for as an escape from a life that seems so largely meaningless and without promise of a better future. If this opinion be sound then the fundamental and only real cure for alcoholic excesses is not moralistic condemnation or even Alcoholics Anonymous but a new direction in Indian communities that will restore hope, enlist participation and create morale.

2) The next generalization is not difficult to document. However, I have not had access to statistical tables on income of Indians to support the broad statement that Indian Americans are poor. A very high percentage of them are unemployed or underemployed and a very great many are living on General Assistance grants or Aid to Dependent Children. Indians are very close to the bottom of the economic ladder. The reasons are not far to seek:

a) Lack of education and marketable skills;
b) Isolation from larger centers of industrial employment;
c) Fractionization of much of their land among many heirs so that relatively few Indians can put together large enough units for economic farming or ranching;
d) Lack of initial capital to get started in the kind of farming and ranching operations which can be made to be profitable today;
e) Lack of strong motivation as previously indicated.

It is hoped that the next Congress will pass legislation which will bring about a solution of the so-called heirship or fractionated land problem. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is giving this matter a high priority in its study and planning and will introduce a bill. The present Congress authorized an increase in the Revolving Loan Fund from 10 to 20 million dollars. Several months ago Commissioner Nash reported that applications from tribes are on hand for 19 million dollars in loans with which to purchase land alone in order to increase tribal holdings. Hence even 20 million dollars will not be nearly enough. Incidentally the repayments by Indian tribes on these loan funds has been extraordinarily good so that they are a good credit risk. Vocational education for adults will be increased by 57%, if Congress will appropriate the 5.5 million dollars requested by the Bureau. Since 1958 when this program began nearly 3,200 Indians have entered vocational courses and 81% of the graduates have become gainfully employed. The number of dropouts (1,026) compares favorably with the experience of the Veterans' Administration.

Approval of projects for housing for elderly Indians and another for low income families on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota represents a breakthrough in this field of federally-aided housing for Indian Americans. We may hope for similar projects on other reservations where housing is in deplorable condition.

Some efforts were made during the last Administration to attract private capital to develop manufacturing on or near the reservations where Indians would be employed. Tribes have put up their own money in some instances to build facilities for such industries. Even though there is a pool of relatively cheap labor that is not yet unionized, it is difficult to persuade companies to set up plants or move to Indian reservations because of their remoteness from large population centers and other disadvantages. Nevertheless there are several precedents as at Rollo, North Dakota, McLaughlin, South Dakota and near the Navajo Reservation that have been somewhat successful. More planning and greater staff resources are promised by the new Commissioner who is putting great emphasis on economic development.

3) Indians do not want to give up their homelands - or such remaining portions of their homelands as are left to them. Partly this is because they are worth millions of dollars in many cases. More importantly perhaps Indians have a strong emotional attachment to their ancestral lands. They are willing to accept privation if only there is the warmth of a friendly community. Indians see great beauty in the landscape of home whether it be the colorful desert of Arizona or the rolling praries of Montana or the Dakotas. They are proud of their heritage and do not want to see it lost in the anonimity of urban life. What the children who are growing up in the public schools away from home eight months of the year will want for themselves and their children is less certain. But for the present there is a strong bond between most Indians and their reservation communities. There they can find warm acceptance and the help of relatives in times of crisis and need.

4) Indians aspire to better health and better education, especially for their children, and they want an improved standard of living generally. They are, in short, seeking ways to better themselves. This accounts for the remarkable new level of interest in education, including higher education. This was particularly noticeable following World War II when many Indian youth left the reservations for a period in the armed forces while others worked in defense plants. In the outside world they saw that men and women with meager education cannot expect to get much of anywhere. They brought the message back to their people. Three thousand and six hundred Navajo young men served in the armed forces. Following their return home, a delegation of 26 Navajos visited Washington, D. C. at their own expense to demand that schools and teachers be provided for their children in accordance with the 1868 Treaty of Ft. Sumter. That treaty had pledged the U. S. Government to provide a schoolroom and a teacher for every 30 children between 6 and 16 years whom the Indians would compel to go to school. Hitherto there had been reluctance on the part of Indian parents to send their boys and girls to the white man's schools both because their children were needed to tend the thousands of sheep that had become so essential to their meager livelihood and also because they did not understand how such book-learning could be useful in their reservation life. Nearly 90% of the Navajos were illiterate. Commissioner Nash recently stated: "It is an unfortunate fact that we have never had enough classroom facilities so that all Indian children could go to school."

In the ten year period up to 1960 the number of young Indians pursuing post-high school education increased from 500 to 5,000. The scholarship grants program sponsored by the Board for Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches ever since 1954 and now funnelled through the United Scholarship Service Inc. of Denver, has demonstrated vividly how eager Indian young people are to go to college. There are still problems of

early drop-outs, especially when the pupils reach the legal school-leaving age and attendance in regularity still leaves much to be desired but there has been marked improvement within the past decade.

5) Among the Indian people the United States has a great pool of under-developed talent in every department of learning and creativity. I often think with regret of the wastage that has been going on for these many generations. There is no basis for doubting the innate capacities of the children. In the mid-1940s, testing was carried out among Hopi, Navajo, Sioux, Papago and Zuni children. The language factor was eliminated so far as possible so as to make comparative results possible. The tests showed that two groups of Hopi children had an average IQ of 112 and 111 respectively on one test and 111 and 117 on the other. None of the children averaged less than 100 and all compared more than favorably with a control group of Middle Western white children. (Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale; and Goodenough "Draw a Man" tests for children 6 - 11 inclusive.)

Many Indian children appear to have considerable talent for art, especially painting and drawing. One of the very interesting or newly revived programs of the current federal Indian Bureau is the establishment in Santa Fe, New Mexico at the old Indian boarding school of a national Institute of American Indian Arts. It is to be opened this coming September. A full high school course will be offered plus two additional years of instruction. Courses will be offered in the fine arts such as painting and sculpture and also in indigenous crafts - silversmithing, beadwork, leathercraft, ivory carving and basketry. Indian boys and girls from all over the United states will be eligible to apply and will be able to get this high grade training at government expense.

Right now at the University of Colorado a five-weeks Indian Youth Workshop is being conducted under the auspices of American Indian Development, Inc., a private organization. The puepose of this workshop, now in its seventh year, is to offer to college Indian youth the opportunity to understand and appreciate something about their own cultural background, the history of relations between Indians and the majority culture and people and between Indian tribes and the federal and state governments, and to grasp some of the fundamental ideas and insights growing out of the social sciences as these relate to the processes of acculturation which they are experiencing. Out of this experience 20 to 30 young men and women are enabled each year to obtain a new image of themselves and new insight into their relationship to the social forces that play upon them. We who have founded and fostered this project are satisfied that such an experience, guided by teachers who know the background and psychology of Indian people, does help Indian youth to make a much more constructive adjustment within our pluralistic society. Out of these youth will come - indeed are already coming in fact - some of the leaders of today and tomorrow.

Time permitting one could identify certain other valid generalizations no doubt. But I have already told you more perhaps than you want to know about Indian Americans so I will conclude and subject myself to your questions and perchance your cirticisms and corrections. I would be particularly glad if Professor Shaw, out of his background of anthropological training and experience would make his comments first.

Stat. - Race & Race Rel.

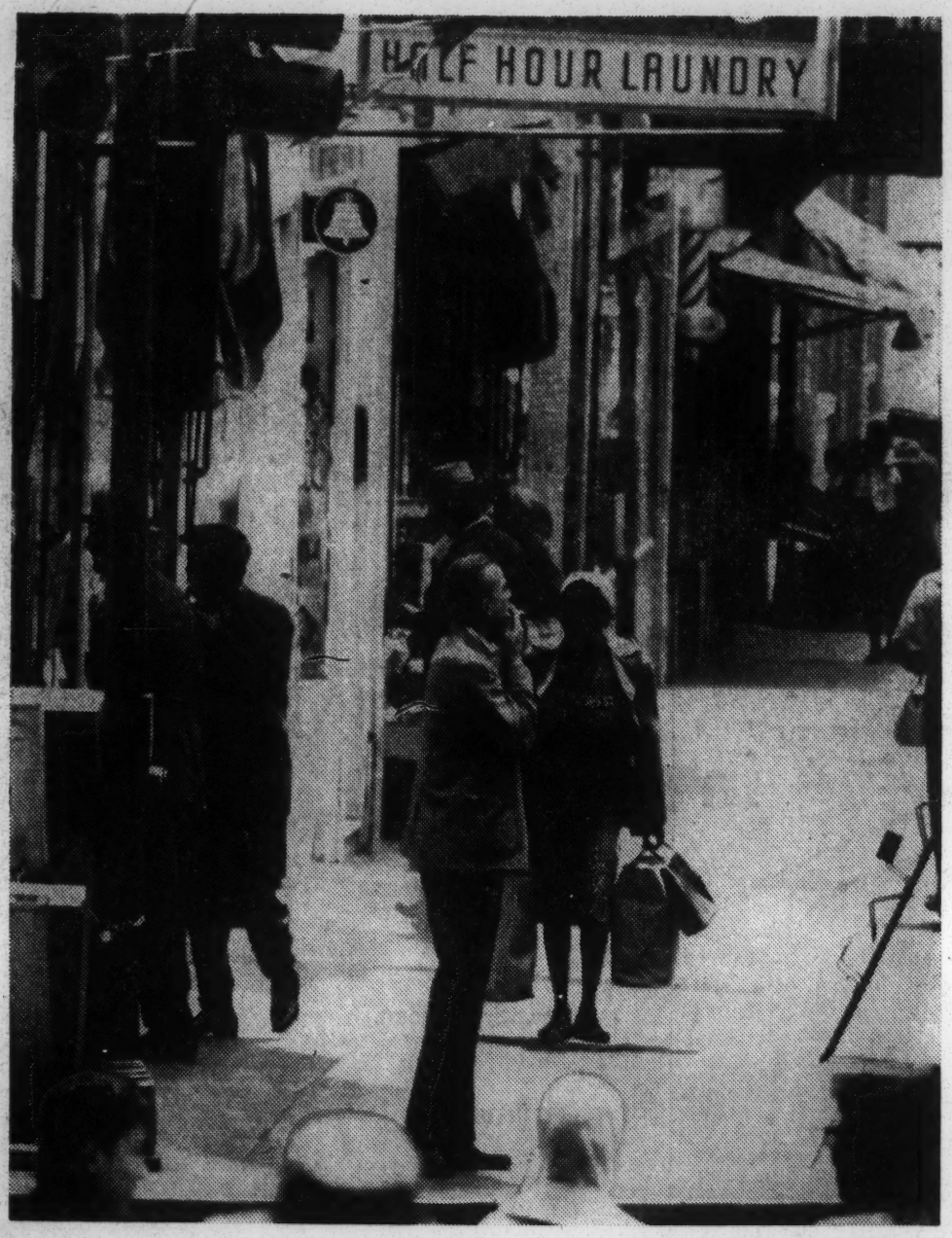
cel caps

Legal definition of a "colored person"

General definition of "colored" by the average American white man: Everybody having a known trace of Negro blood in his veins —no matter how far back it was acquired— is classified as a colored person. In some states one Negro grandparent defines a person as a Negro for legal purposes; in other states any Negro ancestor is sufficient. In California, for example, a person is "colored" if one eighth or more of his ancestry is not Caucasian.

Atlanta, Georgia's legal definition: Colored people are all Negroes, Mestizos, and their ~~decendents~~ descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descendants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins shall be known in this State as persons of color.

# Exclusive Report---
# S.F.'s Negro World




By Peter Breinig

The Chronicle's George Draper

## A Journey Into The Ghettos--- Bitterness, Hope

*By George Draper*

*Copyright, 1963, The Chronicle Publishing Company*

**Riptides of ragged emotion swirl day and night in the Negro ghettos of San Francisco.**

This I know after living continuously—around the clock—for two weeks in San Francisco's Negro world.

I have heard the blue note, the cry of anguish, the interminable curse against the intangibles of life from the Fillmore district to Hunters Point.

And I have heard the strong words of hope from the courageous Negro men and women fighting their daily uphill battle.

### The 80,000

The Negroes I lived with, ate with and listened to were working people, plain people most representative of the mass of this racially isolated group now 80,000 strong.

Deliberately, I avoided the so-called Negro leaders—the doctors, lawyers, well-to-do businessmen, politicians, celebrities and clergymen.

In two weeks I saw the city's workaday Negroes at their best and at their worst both in their homes and on the street.

I heard their complaints about the white man's world and their ceaseless question: "Why does the white man want to hold the Negro down?"

I also heard them express contempt for one another, address one another as "Nigger" and hurl unprintable insults in one another's faces.

### Current of Violence

It was virtually impossible not to experience the undercurrent of violence that seems to be a part of the present-day Negro world.

A Negro man on Fillmore street belligerently offered to light my cigarette with a pistol when I asked him for a match.

I have seen Negro men strip to the waist to show the ugly scars they carry as evidence of knife and razor fights.

And I spoke with an older man who said he came from Dallas with two beautiful women and a .45 automatic looking for money.

"I wasn't looking for no job. I was looking for money. I opened me a whorehouse and got well," he said.

I talked to a man from New Orleans who is

*See Page 12, Col. 1*

# San Francisco's Negro World

From Page 1

trying to stay honest, but is barely able to support his wife and nine children.

## The Loaded Dice

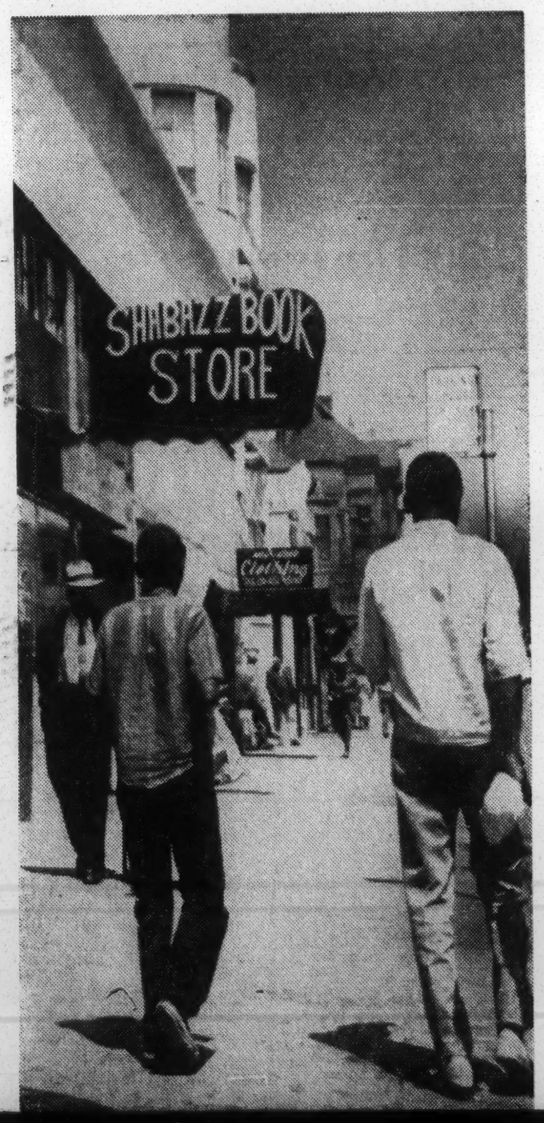
"It's the same old loaded dice being a Negro in San Francisco. Only they put a little sugar on 'em," he said.

I have seen the sweetness of the little children, many of whom are illegitimate, and the touching affection shown them by the adults.

But I have also seen how sour these same sweet children often turn when they grow up and bump head-on into the rough reality of a world that does not seem to want them.

These are the husky youths with the processed hair and red pompadours and the narrow-brimmed, flying-saucer hats and the sideburns and goatees and the ever-present razor or knife.

"My father is a Negro and a nobody," their defeatist thinking goes, "and so am I."




## Struggle for Dignity

But I also met some fine young men who somehow emerged from the rat-pack jungles and now talk seriously about the Negroes' struggle for "personal dignity."

I met Muni bus drivers, carpenters, hospital orderlies, janitors, special policemen and a couple of postmen, one of whom holds a master's degree in music.

During the two weeks that I lived in the Negro world of San Francisco certain apprehensions that I harbored initially tended to disappear.

I found myself becoming more relaxed in the exclusive presence of Negroes, both in the privacy of their homes and in public places.

I became progressively less conscious of them as Negroes and more aware of them as individual human beings.

## The Long Trip

So much for generalities. Come along with me now into the Negro world.

You click shut the door of your Telegraph Hill apartment, take a last look at the exquisite view of Treasure Island, the Bay Bridge and the Berkeley Hills and, in 20 minutes, you are on Potrero Hill surrounded by Moon-Shooters.

You are sitting on a fence across the street from a small market and you pretend not to be impressed by the straight-edged razor one Moon-Shooter whips from his pocket.

Bill, the man who brought you there, is a tough, intelligent, street-talking Negro.

But you can't help wondering whether he can protect you, because the Moon-Shooters are dancing around him, flashing their weapons and accusing him of having intercourse with his mother.

## Weapons and Frustrations

One bearded Moon-Shooter with a blue beret pulled down over his ears is carrying a pronged trident for a fishing spear in his hip pocket.

Another has a slim-bladed knife in his hand. With the other hand he dips quickly into Bill's pocket and takes his money. Bill's voice is suddenly serious.

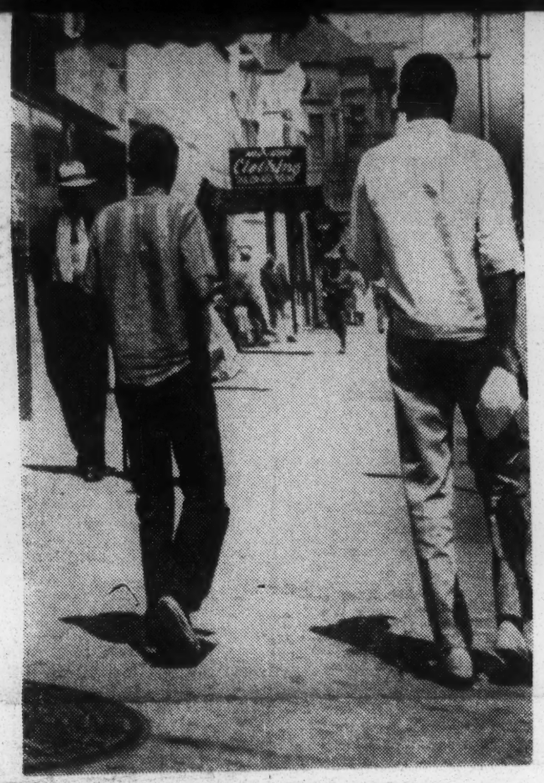
"Hand that back, you mother-lover, or I'll kick your mother-loving ass," he says.

The Moon-Shooters are tough and defiant.

"I have seen how sour these sweet children turn when they bump head-on into reality"

and given up, living only for today because "there's no tomorrow."

hip pockets, go out to meet him halfway. They are laughing at him.



Two strollers on the street

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"Hand that back, you mother-lover, or I'll kick your mother-loving ass," he says.

The Moon-Shooters are tough and defiant. They have little to look forward to except stealing.

Most of them are flat broke. They have no jobs. Many of them don't want to work. And there are no jobs in sight for those that do.

Most of them have dropped out of high school and given up, living only for today because "there's no tomorrow."

"I have seen how sour these sweet children turn when they bump head-on into reality"

## The Talk of Youth

You feel uncomfortable in their midst as they twist on the sidewalk to the music from an auto radio, their knives flashing in the bright sunlight.

Their language is loud, obscene, threatening. Several are sporting grotesque pompadours. One is talking about a girl who sent him to the VD clinic.

"The bitch has sent ten studs there already," he says.

"I'll whip her ass if she gives me the mother-loving clap," a husky Moon-Shooter replies, and they all laugh.

A beer truck pulls up across the street and parks outside the market. The truck driver, a middle-aged white man with thinning reddish hair and a hefty build, steps out of the cab.

He glances toward your group, and you feel slightly self-conscious. No doubt he is wondering what you are doing there.

## A Beer Job

The second he is out of sight a gangling Moon-Shooter sprints across the street and tries the handle on the rear door of the truck. It turns.

Everyone is silent, watching and braced to scatter as he opens the truck door, inserts his long arm and brings out a six-pack of beer.

The truck driver reappears just as the skinny Moon-Shooter is sprinting away with the loot. The driver strides defiantly toward the group.

Four Moon-Shooters, their hands resting in hip pockets, go out to meet him halfway. They are laughing at him.

"Why don't you try to act like normal human beings," the driver shouts at them.

His face is red and he's angry.

"If he takes one more step," Bill whispers to you, "they'll clean him out."

## The Next Stop

As soon as the beer truck leaves, the thief returns with the six-pack and everyone has some stolen beer.

While you are sipping it you can see the fog rolling in over the San Mateo hills and, directly to the south, you see the gray pattern of the nearly all-black Hunters Point housing project. This is your next stop.

As you are driving there, Bill tells you that the threat of jail means very little to the Moon-Shooters.

"They'll risk going there for a bag of potato chips," he says.

**(Tomorrow: A night with a family at Hunters Point.)**

"I met some fine young men who emerged from the rat-pack jungles"

# Exclusive: Life In S. F. 'Ghetto'

By Peter Breinig

**Summertime—nowhere to go, nothing to do in the city's Negro "ghettos"**

*Negro World*

## Frank Talk in Friendly Home

*By George Draper*

*Copyright, 1963, The Chronicle Publishing Company*

**It is apt to be difficult, at best, spending the night with a family you have never met before.**

But tonight you are going to stay with a man, his wife and their seven small children in an incredibly crowded apartment in the Hunters Point housing project.

Knowing these people are so crowded and so poor causes you not a little concern. But what really disturbs you, however, is that you are a white man barging in on a family of Negroes.

Before going to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Cunningham, you circle through the sprawling housing project slum.

Everywhere you look you see Negroes. The women hanging out the wash on the outdoor clothes lines are black women.

The children playing in the streets are little Negro kids. The men coming home from work are Negroes. So are the women you see dumping trash in the garbage cans chained outside every front door.

### Not a White Face

If some white people are living in the vast project they have a talent for making themselves scarce. You don't see a single white face.

There is a terrible bleakness about the place. Hardly any green grass, few lawns, few trees.

There is only the gray monotony of the barracks-like buildings stacked like a row of crates on the wind-whipped hillside.

Low-income families, such as the Cunninghams, live there for two reasons: the rent is cheap and Negroes are allowed to live there.

The streets are lined with automobiles and here and there you see a gang of hard-looking teen-agers killing time, slouched in a beaten-up car.

More—perhaps a dozen—of these young men are loitering on the steps of the project's community center on top of the hill.

### Nothing to Do

They wear goatees and flying saucer hats and they have knives in their pockets and nothing to do.

"I'm just fightin' and stealin' this summer," one youth tells you.

The Cunningham family is expecting you. They know you are a reporter trying to discover how the average Negro lives and what he thinks.

You walk up the outside stairs to their second

*See Page 14, Col. 1*

## Negro World

# Frank Talk In a Crowded 'Ghetto' in S. F.

From Page 1

floor apartment and they greet you in the warm, spotless kitchen.

Cunningham is a tall, quiet man with very dark skin and a small mustache and a twinkle in his eyes. He is a former Naval Shipyard pipefitter but now he is disabled and spends most of his time at home.

Mrs. Cunningham is a tall, graying woman with golden brown skin and a soft Southern drawl. Surrounding her, clinging to her dress, are five little boys and girls.

The children are quiet but their eyes are popped wide open as they peek at you from behind their mother's skirts.

### Friendly, Relaxed

The Cunninghams are friendly and relaxed. They take your coat and ask you to sit down at the small kitchen table. Minutes later you are eating the most tender fried chicken you ever tasted, and steaming corn bread, and black-eyed peas.

The kitchen is little more than an extension of the living room, which is just large enough to hold a sofa and two chairs.

The place is remarkably neat and quiet. The children are well behaved and co-operative. There is no radio or TV.

A five-year-old girl with her hair gathered in tufts by rubber bands sidles up to Cunningham and he puts his arm around her.

"Give me some sugar, honey," he says.

As he bends down towards her, the little girl reaches up on tiptoes and kisses his cheek. Two other girls, about 10 and 12, appear from one of the three small bedrooms and smile shyly when introduced.

### Heart-Breaking

The talk eventually swings around to the Negro problem. Mrs. Cunningham, who has nine children altogether, does most of the talking. She has a lot to say.

"My oldest girl, she's married now, used to bring white teen-agers home from high school and I made them feel welcome," she begins.

"And those white children apologized because I treated them so nicely and they knew their parents wouldn't invite my daughter back. It's kind of heart-breaking."

The small children snuggle around her and she envelops them with her arms. It is getting very warm in the kitchen.

"I think what the white people are really afraid of," she continues, "is that my daughter might fall in love with their son."

She goes on to say that she would prefer her daughter staying "in her own race" because interracial marriages are "very hard on the offspring."

### Color of My Money

"But I'd like to be able to live where I want," she says. "Nobody asks the color of my money when I buy a car but they do when I try to buy a home."

She expresses the hope that the barriers now preventing communication between the Negroes and the whites will be broken down.

"If you'd let me," she says quietly, "I could be just as nice a person as you."

How could the barriers between Negroes and whites be lowered?

"It will have to happen in the schools and churches," she says. "The average Negro really doesn't trust the white man and I don't think the white man trusts the Negro."

Some Negro mothers, she tells you, teach their children that they are "no good because you are a Negro."

"There are some Negro mothers," she tells you, "who say to their children in school, 'Why bother? You're a Negro and won't get any place.'"

But Mrs. Cunningham also tells you there are many Negro mothers who encourage their children to work twice as hard because they are Negro.

### Little Difference

"I have tried to teach each of my children that they are 'somebody,'" she says quietly.

She says she has observed little basic difference between Negroes and whites.

"I work as a part-time caterer," she says, "and I've served both white and Negro parties. The Negro is sometimes a little too loud. The white is apt to drink too much."

A long, frank, friendly discussion follows. The evening wears on. The Cunningham children have quietly crept away to their beds — boys in one room, girls in the other.

You are sleepy and Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham graciously insist you have their bed in the third bedroom.

"We'll sleep on the sofa tonight. We're glad to if it will help," they say as they wish you goodnight.

**(Tomorrow: You move to the Fillmore District)**

**The prospect at Hunters Point is grim—no trees, little grass, bleak barracks**

## Heart-Breaking

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Some Negro mothers, she tells you, teach

**Front yards at Hunters Point—chained garbage cans**

*Exclusive*

# A Night With Negroes in S. F. 'Ghetto'

*By George Draper*

*Copyright, 1963, The Chronicle Publishing Company*

**The billiard parlor in the Fillmore district ghetto is smoky and resounds with the nervous click of billiard balls and the obscene shouts of husky Negro pool sharks.**

You are sitting on a rough bench with your back against the wall and every few seconds you must lean to one side or the other to avoid spoiling a pool shooter's shot.

When you glance around through the cones of light splashing on the Kelly green pool tables you meet darting eyes that seem to ask: "What's your business here?"

On your left is Jerry, a 200-pound street fighter. He is your connection and your protection and you are not about to leave his side.

On your right is Slug, an aging pimp and a stranger with no mercy in his eyes.

Slug reaches across you to shake hands with Jerry and you feel his forearm pressing against your chest. He's checking to see whether you are carrying any equipment, a gun or knife.

"He's with me," Jerry tells him gruffly.

Slug hands you a bottle of Thunderbird wine concealed in a paper sack and you drink without hesitation.

"We kill rats around here," he says.

Most of the players are shooting nine-ball and

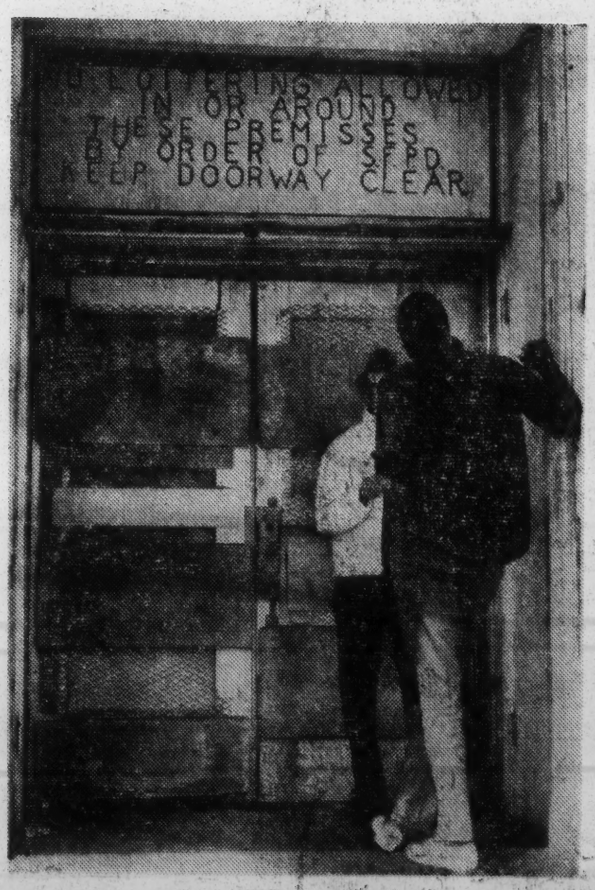
*See Page 14, Col. 1*

By Peter Breinig

Wine in a paper sack . . . pool sharks . . . a gun on the hip . . . "we live for today"

# The 'Ghetto' by Night

## *Life of Tension On the Streets*




From Page 1

money is riding on all the games—from two bits to $200—and there is electricity in the air.

You are the only white man here and you have the feeling you are not wanted. Even Jerry, sitting beside you in his flying-saucer hat and short black trench coat and tight-fitting black trousers and pointed black shoes, appears glum.

Again, Slug offers you the bottle, which he refers to as "The Bird," and you drink.

### *Two Beautiful Women*

"I come here from Dallas in '28 looking for money," Slug says.

He has high cheekbones and closely cropped hair and a stony note in his voice.

"I come here with two beautiful women and a .45 automatic to back 'em up. I opened me a whorehouse and got well.

"I wasn't looking for no job. Never had a job

He has high cheekbones and closely cropped hair and a stony note in his voice.

"I come here with two beautiful women and a .45 automatic to back 'em up. I opened me a whorehouse and got well.

"I wasn't looking for no job. Never had a job in my life."

A tall, muscular Negro with blondish hair and honey-colored skin, walks up to Jerry. He is wearing khaki slacks and a white T-shirt and he flexes his great biceps.

"Meet Carp," Jerry says.

Carp is a pool shark, a semi-wino and an admitted bum. He is also a street brawler and a seducer of white women.

"I had this white bitch last night and some monkey-faced nigger tried to move in on me," he tells Jerry.

Carp is friendly and seems to want to talk. He even anticipates your questions. He waves Slug aside and sits down beside you.

"We live for today," he says, gesturing toward the pool shooters. "We're not like most white people thinking way ahead.

"We're living for this moment. Right now. That's the difference. We're all scroungers and bullshitters."

Carp is a strong, handsome young man, full of vitality and life and you cannot help but like him.

"Why does it have to be that way?" you ask.

"Racial reasons, mostly," he answers without bitterness. "Where are you going to go? What's there to do?"

You leave the pool hall escorted by Jerry and Carp and walk down Fillmore street. It is night and only Negroes are on the street.

## Restless Eyes

The smoky fragrance of barbecued spareribs hits your nostrils as you pass the Old Virginia Hickory Pit restaurant. A pig's head, skinned and well scrubbed, smiles at you from a butcher shop window.

A slender young man with a scraggly beard and a small gold cross earring in his left ear lobe steps out of a darkened doorway.

His name is Chip and he has restless eyes and liquor on his breath.

"What you doing, man?" Jerry says.

He pulls his shirt collar back and shows Jerry the welt of an eight-inch scar on his neck. The scar ends just short of the jugular vein.

"I'm looking for the son-of-a-bitch that cut me and I'm carrying my stuff with me," Chip says, explaining that the fight was over a woman.

## Police Patrol Car

A police patrol car comes down the street and you sense that the two white officers are deliberately looking straight ahead, glancing neither to right nor left.

As soon as the police have passed, Chip

**"Where are you going to go? What's there to do?"**

reaches in his trousers pocket and produces a snub-nosed .22 revolver. It looks like a toy in the palm of his hand.

"And when you find your man?" Jerry asks.

"I'm going to shoot the shit out of him," Chip replies. "It's only a .22 but I figure it'll hurt him pretty good."

He pockets the gun and moves warily up the street, sweeping the street with nervous eyes, checking the faces, peering into the smoke-filled pool halls and barbecue joints, looking for his man.

**(Tomorrow: Breakfast in a Fillmore District home)**

## A Negro 'Ghetto'

# The Horror Of a Slum

*By George Draper*

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**It is not quite 10 o'clock in the morning and there is a slight stirring in a slum flat on Fell street at the south edge of the Fillmore District ghetto.**

You have spent the night there in a sleeping bag on the tired living room sofa.

Your head is propped up on one elbow and you are smoking a cigarette, listening, surveying the sparsely furnished room.

Behind you is a dusty window looking out on the gray street. The floor is bare. The walls are a sickly cream color.

Across the room is a small record player, a wooden chair and a table holding a lamp with a black panther china base.

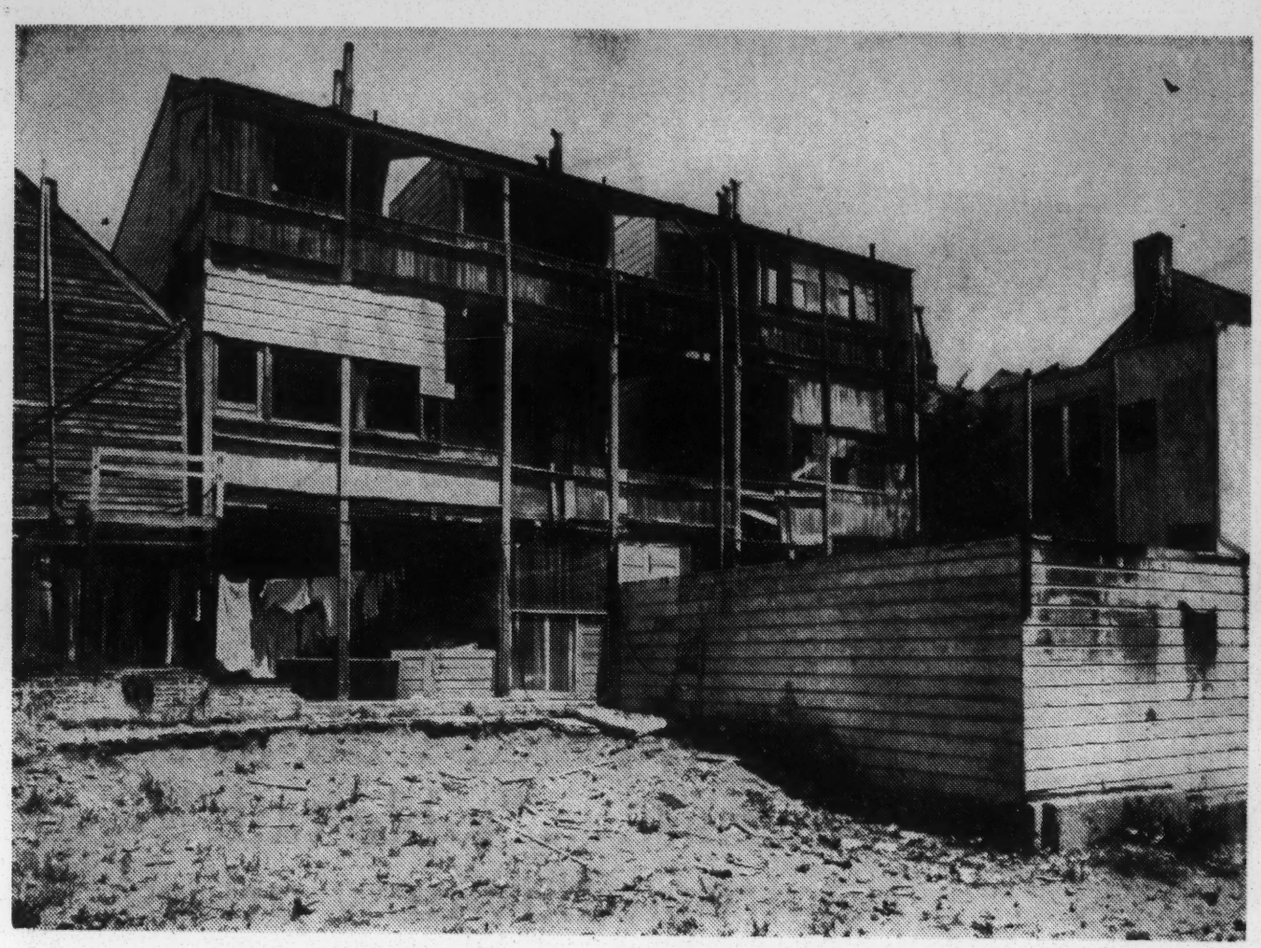
## Time to Wake Up

On the mantlepiece of the blocked-off fireplace there is a photograph of Gil, the master of the house, in Marine dress blues. Two marksmanship medals are pinned conspicuously on his chest.

Cuddled beside him and smiling is his wife, Mary, who bore him three of their four children before they were married.

Gil works as a Burns Detective Agency guard at Candlestick Park whenever the Giants are play-

*See Page 10, Col. 1*



By Peter Breing

**Gray streets . . . bleak yards . . . dimly lit halls—a "ghetto" in the Negro's world**

## *A Negro 'Ghetto'*

# The Horror of a Slum

From Page 1

ing. But when the Giants are not here, he has no job.

The door opens and Gil, dressed only in shorts, comes in. He is a massive, golden-brown Negro with huge, rounded shoulders and powerful buttocks. He's 24 years old.

"How'd you sleep?" he asks.

He goes to the record player and soon the room is rocking with wild sounds.

"You are, you are my pride and joy, pride and joy, crazy boy."

It's Marvin Gaye screaming rock 'n' roll. It's time to wake up.

### *Four in One Bed*

You walk down the dimly-lit hall. As you pass the open door to Gil's bedroom you catch a glimpse of Mary, half asleep, in a tangle of sheets and blankets.

The hallway leads to a room where an overhead light has burned through the night. Two of Gil's friends are asleep there on cots.

One is Ed, an ex-Marine and Muni bus driver without them. He's on the No. 5 McAllister street run today.

Mary, a very dark, lethargic, easy-going woman, says she heard on the radio that "they caught that man in Mississippi."

She is referring to the murderer of NAACP leader Medgar Evers. Neither Gil nor Tom pick up this conversational ball.

Instead, as you sit down at the kitchen table to eat, there is small talk about the Giants, batting averages, the cold at Candlestick Park and autos.

"Man, was it cold out there last night!" Gil says. "The wind was going boom, bam. I was wearing two pair of pants, a sweater and a sweat shirt under my uniform. That Candlestick wind will open doors, man."

Gil explains that he brought home from the stadium three discarded Louisville Slugger bats. He gets them and puts them on the table.

"Know what I'm going to do?" he says. "I'm going to make a collection of big league bats for my son."

The hours pass with horrible monotony. You

shorts, comes in. He is a massive, golden-brown Negro with huge, rounded shoulders and powerful buttocks. He's 24 years old.

"How'd you sleep?" he asks.

He goes to the record player and soon the room is rocking with wild sounds.

"You are, you are my pride and joy, pride and joy, crazy boy."

It's Marvin Gaye screaming rock 'n' roll. It's time to wake up.

## Four in One Bed

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The hallway leads to a room where an overhead light has burned through the night. Two of Gil's friends are asleep there on cots.

One is Ed, an ex-Marine and Muni bus driver. The other is Tom, a carpenter. Both are tall, lean, strong, good-looking Negro men.

Beyond this room is the kitchen. To the left of the kitchen is a tiny room where the four little children sleep together in one bed.

Outside the kitchen there is a porch and the toilet is located there behind a plywood partition. The facility has no door.

When you get there you find Gil's four kids waiting in line ahead of you.

## A Samurai Warrior

The music switches to rhythm and blues.

"I'm packing up. I can't take it no more," someone is singing.

Returning from the porch you find Gil stretched on the floor methodically raising and lowering a barbell. The veins in his neck swell and the muscles of his arms ripple as he strains under the weight.

Then he dresses, pulling on a pair of old slacks and donning a golden Japanese jacket, quilted and with a broad satin collar.

Gil strides into the kitchen looking like a Samurai warrior and casts a suspicious eye at Mary, who is listlessly stirring hot cake batter.

"Honey, I told you never to use fat for frying hot cakes," he says irritably.

He takes the skillet off the stove and pours out the grease.

You light a cigarette and wish you could think of something to say. Ed and Tom come into the kitchen and nod to you.

Ed is dressed in his Muni bus driver's uniform and he grips the change holder in his right hand.

## Small Talk

"Seen my shades?" he asks, meaning his dark glasses.

No one has seen them, and he leaves for work

She is referring to the murderer of NAACP leader Medgar Evers. Neither Gil nor Tom pick up this conversational ball.

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Gil explains that he brought home from the stadium three discarded Louisville Slugger bats. He gets them and puts them on the table.

"Know what I'm going to do?" he says. "I'm going to make a collection of big league bats for my son."

The hours pass with horrible monotony. You leave. But that evening you see Mary and Gil again under different circumstances.

Mary is sitting in the kitchen of her best friend's apartment, a few blocks away. She is laughing, drinking a little vodka. You are standing in an alcove just off the kitchen.

## A Burst of Violence

Suddenly, the front door crashes open and Gil springs through it, takes the distance of the hallway with three leaping strides and grabs his wife. He doesn't see you.

"Come on, bitch. I'm taking you out of here," he snarls.

Mary screams and breaks free. Her leather jacket is ripped at the shoulder.

Her two friends, Lila and Jane, also scream as they sink their fingernails into the back of Gil's sweater. The sweater tears as they try to pull him away.

"Come on, bitch," Gil says angrily.

He shoves Mary against the kitchen table, and the room is filled with screams and the sound of crashing chairs and shattering glass.

Then Mary escapes. She darts out the back door into the night. Tears come to Gil's eyes and, when he sees you standing in the alcove, his nerves seem to snap.

"I'm sorry. God but I'm sorry," he sobs.

**(Tomorrow: A New Orleans Negro looks for work here.)**

## A Negro 'Ghetto'

# For the Young And Old---Gloom

*By George Draper*

*Copyright 1963, The Chronicle Publishing Company*

**Mrs. Green is ageless and indestructible.**

She is a gray-haired Negro woman from St. Louis, from the banks of the Mississippi. And she smokes a pipe.

When you meet her in her $100-a-month apartment in the Fillmore District ghetto she is wearing a light, gray cotton dress and the pipe, with its stem patched with adhesive tape, is jutting from her mouth.

She is sitting by a little fireplace in her bed-

*See Page 10, Col. 1*

# 'Ghetto'---Gloom for Young and Old

From Page 1

room and her young granddaughter and grandson are curled up in the rumpled bed, asleep.

"I got me a fire going," she smiles.

Mrs. Green used to live in the Potrero Hill housing project but moved to this flat in the 900 Block of Hayes street two months ago.

Living with her is a 25-year-old daughter, Christine, who works as a waitress at a small cafe near Fillmore street.

Christine is a flighty, gaunt-faced, wiry woman and the two children asleep in Mrs. Green's bed are hers without benefit of marriage.

The flat is gloomy, sparsely furnished and depressing. Mrs. Green tells you the toilet has just broken and the Negro landlord is supposed to be coming around to fix it.

There is a back yard littered with old boards, trash and an overgrowth of weeds and plants. No one has bothered with it for years.

The little boy in the bed—he's about four—awakens and comes over and climbs up on Mrs. Green's lap. She picks up an aluminum cigar case from the floor and purses her lips.

## The Weird Sounds

Haunting sounds, weird and primitive, come from the cigar case as the old lady blows into it. Her left foot stamps a counter rhythm.

"Here, son, blow on it," she says, handing the cigar case to the little boy.

There are three such flats in this old building, with its high ceilings and cracked walls. Mrs. Green is on the first floor. An elderly Negro couple, also paying $100 a month, are on the second floor.

"Why don't you go up and see the Turners on top," Mrs. Green says. "They got nine kids and not much to eat."

Just then, Mrs. Turner, a surprisingly trim and attractive and young-looking woman comes to Mrs. Green's front door. She is carrying a baby.

She says it will be all right for you to come up to talk to her husband and you follow her up the two flights of dimly lit stairs.

You find Turner sprawled across a bed. He is dressed in blue jeans and a blue work shirt and he is smoking.

## A Tough Little Guy

There is something about him, the hard lines in his dark face or the steady look in his eyes or his lean figure, that tells you this is a tough little guy.

He doesn't get off the bed to greet you but he does extend a hand of greeting and motions you towards a chair.

Two of the Turners' nine kids are hovering near the end of the bed and, when one of them starts to cry, Turner calls to his wife to "take this boy away."

"The White Citizens Council," he begins in a pleasant drawl, "sent Ethel and the kids up here last September. They were called reverse freedom riders and they were given train fare from New Orleans and $50 for food.

"I followed about three weeks later and I've been trying ever since to get settled with a job.

"I've worked some odd jobs, sometimes walking all over the city to find them 'cause I had no money for bus fare.

"I'm a painter by trade and I've worked now and then for other guys that got small painting contracts. But I've got to work cheaper than the next guy because I'm not in the union.

"I tried for a laborer's job at $3.37 an hour in Tiburon but the Laborers' Union wouldn't give me no clearance. And I couldn't get into the Painters' Union.

"It's the same old loaded dice for a Negro in San Francisco. They just sugar 'em up a little."

Turner is 37 and a Navy veteran of World War II. But he tells you he was accorded the right to vote for the first time only three years ago.

He proudly shows you his voter's registration card from New Orleans and he says he finally got it after applying "five or six times a year" since 1946.

## Beans and Grits

Ethel Turner says life has not been easy since she and the kids took the big freedom ride to San Francisco.

"Sometimes I've pulled the family through on a $15-a-week food budget—mostly beans and grits," she says.

"But if the children are to have milk and enough food it costs about $45-a-week to feed all of us. The Welfare Department won't help because Charlie's living at home."

Turner sits up on the bed and offers you a cigarette. You feel that you shouldn't take it but you accept it, anyway.

"You know," he says, "when you got a bunch of kids hollering for bread you got to be a pretty stable fellow not to commit yourself (go out with a gun)."

That night the Turners moved to another flat at 2520 Sacramento street. It costs $125 a month, and that's where they presumably are now.

**(Tomorrow: You encounter an angry pimp.)**

## A Negro 'Ghetto'

Chron 20 July 1963

# Knives, Guns And Threats

*By George Draper*

*Copyright 1963, The Chronicle Publishing Company*

**It is night and you are looking down on the hard core of Fillmore street (known also as The River) from the window of a darkened room in a cheap rooming house.**

You are watching the restless procession of Negroes "swimming in The River."

A stocky gambler called Little Reno strolls by. And there goes Harry the Horse, the prize fighter who "boxed his way into a Cadillac."

Here comes Big Brown, the giant anchor man of the knife-packing motorcycle gang known as The Rattlers, and then you see the bearded gambler called Castro.

There's the "pusher" who pretends he is

*See Page 9, Col. 1*

# Negro 'Ghetto'---a D

From Page 1

drunk, staggering a little as always, and you see The Man coming up the street in a sleek red limousine. The Man has heroin and cocaine for sale in his socks.

## Edgy Young Man

Two other men are in the room with you—Bill, your alert, street-talking Negro friend, and Flint, who holds the improbable title of co-manager of this dismal establishment.

Flint is an edgy young man wearing light colored slacks and a black and white Mexican serape. He is holding a stabbing knife, the kind that locks open after the blade slides out of the handle.

You are waiting to meet a pimp and, while you are waiting in the glow of the street light feeding back into the room, a bottle of T-Bird wine is passed around.

"Man, that's a real head-knocker," Flint says.

A heavy-set Negro wearing overalls and carrying a broom thumps down the shadowy hallway. He is an older man and he is also a co-manager.

## A Metallic Click

"Flint," he bellows through the opened door, "I want you to clean up this hall."

Flint adds his own punctuation to the command with a metallic click as he snaps open the cool, thin knife blade.

"Clean it up yourself. It's not my job," he says.

The big man backs away, grumbling, and reluctantly starts sweeping in the mellow light.

"For everyone that's got a room in this filthy trap," he mutters, "there's 19 others living here, all messing the place up, throwing trash."

The pimp you are waiting to talk to operates out of the third floor of the building.

## Two Women

You have already caught a glimpse of the two women he keeps up there.

One is a skeletal creature with very dark skin and high cheekbones. You saw her in the hallway holding a bottle of T-Bird while a little boy tugged at the skirt of her black dress.

The other woman was sitting on the edge of an unmade bed with two small children, her nut-brown skin contrasting becomingly with the fiery green of her dress.

The pimp, a big fellow, shrewd and tough, acted warily when you asked to talk with him.

"Wait downstairs in Flint's room. I'll see," he said while frowning and scratching the back of his bullet-shaped head.

So you are waiting for him now while watching the people swimming in The River and shooting the breeze with Flint and Bill.

## Bottle or Needle

"Lots of Negroes would like to see a dump

Chron.

# Dirty Room Upstairs

like this cleaned out," Bill says. "I mean the doors ought to be kicked in and the place cleaned out but good."

Then the pimp storms in and he is a changed man. He is bristling with hostility and you have a feeling trouble is on the way.

"He's either killed a bottle of T-Bird or popped the needle," Bill whispers to you.

Bill is standing with his back to the wall, facing you. You are sitting on the arm of a red sofa a few feet away from him. Flint is at the other end of the sofa.

The pimp has his right hand in his hip pocket and he is standing now between you and Bill, addressing his angry words to everyone in the room.

## 'I'll Get Him'

Someone, he says, has stolen his clothes from his room and he is convinced Bill knows the man who took them.

As he rants on and on his words are aimed more and more directly at Bill. His voice is booming.

"When you see the mother-lover tell him I'm looking for him. Tell him I'll kick his tail off. Tell him I'll kick his tail wherever he is, up here, in The River, wherever.

"If you see him in The River tell him I'll be swimming alongside him."

The pimp whips something that glints in the street glow from his hip pocket. There is a sharp thud as he drives the knife-point into the plaster inches from Bill's throat.

You glance up at Bill and are surprised to see how cooly he is regarding the shouting, knife-striking man so close to him.

"Tell him," the pimp roars, "that I'll get him with this knife or the .38 in my room . . . either one . . . I don't care."

## Fresh Night Air

The pimp strikes the wall again with the knife. He is still shouting. He takes a long sweep with his arm and sinks the blade into the sofa cushion between you and Flint. Everyone is still.

"Tell him I'll get him with my .38," he shouts.

He mentions the .38 once more but, like a line squall blowing out, he seems to be quieting down. He turns towards the door.

"I'm going to get my stuff (gun) now," he says, striding out of the room.

Twenty seconds pass and no one speaks. You file out quietly, pretending you are not in a hurry. You do not even glance back over your shoulder as you move down the narrow hall, down the creaking stairs to the street.

Bill takes a deep breath of the fresh night air.

"If he'd come an inch closer," he says, "I'd have broken his neck."

Only then do you learn that Flint weathered the temper tantrum with his stabbing knife locked open and held closely by his left thigh where the pimp couldn't see it.

"I was counting on you," Bill says, giving Flint a slap on the back.

**(Tomorrow: And there are Muslims too.)**

Life in a 'Ghetto'

Chron 21 July 63

# The Negroes Ask: 'Why?'

By George Draper

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**In the rear of a refrigerator repair shop in the heart of the Fillmore District ghetto there is an old sofa and, seated on that sofa, you find Mrs. William X.**

She is a 22-year-old Black Muslim, handsome and haughty and ready to recite the line of Elijah Mohammed by rote.

She is sewing a button on a threadbare coat while telling you she is trained in judo and could throw a 250-pound man out of the shop.

"You never hear of a Muslim woman being raped," she says.

Mrs. William X pauses to give you time to jot down her words. Then she resumes her tireless dialogue.

## Nothing But Misery

"We only teach our people to stand on their own two feet, to have their own independent State and their own businesses," she says.

You thank her for the interview and prepare to leave.

"Just one other thing," she says. "We want peace. We don't want fighting and bloodshed. But under Christianity the so-called Negro has never got anything but misery, suffering and death."

You emerge from the shop and walk down the shadowy side street to the three-room apartment of Mrs. Clara Livingston. Your Negro friend, Bill, is walking at your side. Dusk is gathering.

Mrs. Livingston is sitting in a drab, overheated living room nursing a month-old baby. Lines of fatigue are etched on her ebony face. Her eyes are half closed.

The baby is snuggled contentedly against her breast and it occurs to you that before too many

See Page 14, Col. 1

## Negroes' World

# The Burning Question of The 'Ghetto'

From Page 1

years this baby will be an American citizen of voting age. You wonder what sort of a person he will turn out to be.

Mrs. Livingston has three other children and her husband, who is a postman, is sick.

"I work for a Greek family," she says in a low, calm voice. "They have been awfully nice to me and when they eat, they invite me to sit down at the table with them.

"When I serve a party for them it is almost as though I am one of the guests because everyone is so friendly.

"I often think about it. I don't know what it is about white people. They love us. We can cook for them and do housework for them better than they can. We give their children love and their children love us.

"So why is it that we can't be neighbors?"

### Hostile Stranger

You have no answer for her but you talk a little more and then you and Bill step outside into the darkness.

In a few minutes you are back on Fillmore street walking briskly past a gang of hoodlums drinking wine on the corner and playfully chasing one another with drawn knives.

You are out of matches and yearning for a smoke so you approach two Negro men standing on the corner of Fillmore and Hayes.

You hold up your hand with the unlighted cigarette and Bill politely asks the taller of the two men whether he has a match.

"Nope," the tall man answers abruptly, "but I got a pistol in my pocket and I'll fire it up for you with that if you like."

### A Hard Worker

cigarette and Bill politely asks the taller of the two men whether he has a match.

"Nope," the tall man answers abruptly, "but I got a pistol in my pocket and I'll fire it up for you with that if you like."

## A Hard Worker

You continue south on Fillmore and you have the feeling that while there are some dangerous people on the street, there are many others who are just plain running scared.

At Oak street, you turn west and walk a dozen blocks through the ghetto and finally reach the partially integrated Haight-Ashbury District near the Golden Gate Park panhandle. It is less tense there.

You knock on the door of a modest-looking three-story apartment building and a young Negro opens it and invites you inside.

He is John Gaylord and he is 27 years old and has completed one year at San Francisco City College. He is now attending a television and electronics school in his off-hours.

Gaylord, who is typical of many hard-working young Negro men, has close-cropped, black hair and a thoughtful expression on his narrow, almost handsome face.

He supports a wife and three children working from midnight to 8 a. m. as a $4600-a-year janitor at San Francisco International Airport.

His wife, Marlene, is a slim and vivacious young woman with a flare for clothes. She tells you she would like to go back to her home town in Mississippi and take part in civil rights demonstrations.

Gaylord has worked for the Post Office Department and as a janitor at the University of California Hospital before landing his present job at the airport.

Fifty of the 60 janitors at the airport, he tells you, are Negroes and ten of those Negroes have one or more years of college behind them.

"Most young Negroes," he tells you, "have one goal in mind: to prove to the Caucasians that they are just as good as they are. To do this a Negro has to be twice as sharp."

## Behind the Bitterness

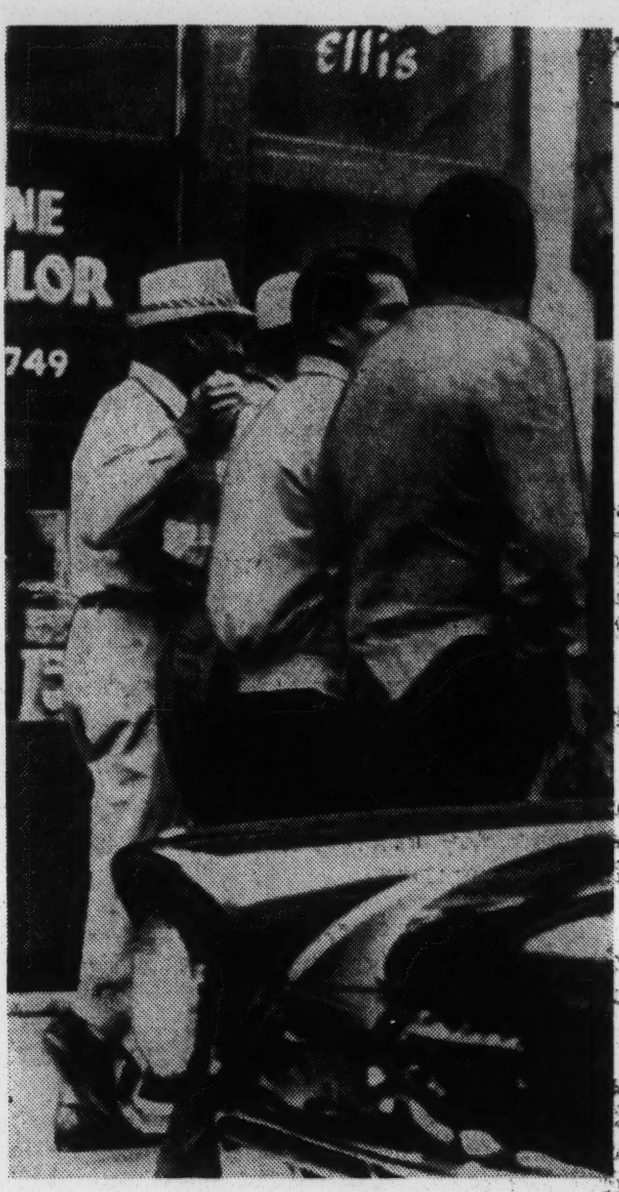
Gaylord says he hopes to start working in January in a TV repair shop and that eventually he hopes to have his own business.

This young man is serious and direct in his thoughts and there is something sound and solid about the appearance of his apartment and his family.

"I have a friend who hates the whites," he says, "because white men hung his father. A Negro who hates the whites bitterly has usually experienced something like that, where something has been done to his sister or his brother or his parents.

"But the majority of the Negroes don't hate the white man. All the Negro wants is the right to

See Page 15, Col. 7




**On the street . . . sometimes tension, sometimes danger**

# 'Ghetto': The Big Question

From Page 14

do as he does, go where he goes."

Gaylord fixes you with his serious eyes and asks:

"Why is it the white man wants to hold the Negro down? Why doesn't he want the Negro to move up?"

And then, in answer to his own question, he adds:

"Because the white man knows that if you give a Negro a chance he'll prove that he's as good or better than he is."

**The End**

# Team of 6 Reporters Prepared D. C. Series

*A team of six reporters of The Washington Post collaborated in preparing this seven-part series, "Summer of Discontent," a depth study of race relations in Washington. It was written by Staffer Robert E. Baker, The Washington Post's specialist in race relations reporting. Participating were Eve Edstrom on welfare and youth problems, Rasa Gustaitis on housing, Wallace Terry on Negro leadership attitudes, Alfred Lewis on police matters, and Jean White on employment.*

LWD, PA, SB WP 8/11/63
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**Summer of Discontent—I**

# Crime Statistics Only Symptoms Of Washington's Racial Problems

*First of a Series*

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

Almost since it was born, the city of Washington has been the subject of diagnosticians who take the patient's temperature, feel its pulse and announce gravely: "You're sick."

It was true in the 1850s when Congress looked aghast at the Washington crime rate and friends of the city felt compelled to reply that the citizens in other American cities were being beaten and robbed as often and as thoroughly as here.

It was true in the 1880s when Washington was dealing with "grave problems connected with the influx of illiterate and penniless victims of slavery" and a troublesome crime rate.

**Still "A Sick City"**

It was true in the 1930s, so much so that an author working in 1963 on a history of Washington reports difficulty in separating crime reports of then and now.

And it is true today. One of the latest diagnoses appeared in a recent issue of Look magazine under the title, "Washington—A Portrait of a Sick City."

The author wrote about the city's "change in a generation from a reasonably secure place to a city of fear." His story differed little from a 1950 Collier's article which was headlined: "Terror in Washington."

Such reports have helped spread the impression throughout the Nation and much of the world that Washington leads the Nation in crime. The facts are different. A comparison of FBI statistics on crime for fiscal 1962 shows that Washington ranked seventh among the Nation's 12 largest cities in the number of crimes committed for each 100,000 population.

*School desegregation in south brings a variety of personal experiences. Page A8.*

*Celler subcommittee tackles job of writing a civil rights bill. Page A2.*

Washington crime rate is neither the worst nor the best. Nevertheless, the city's crime rate is a factor in examining and understanding a new and grave aspect of Washington life—racial unrest.

**Racial Powder Keg**

Racial tension and violence has been a stranger to Washington in past years. But today City and Federal officials believe the Nation's Capital may be sitting on a powder keg with plenty of tinder lying around.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy not long ago expressed alarm at the situation. The New York Times recently headlined an article on Washington: "Obsessed by Race Problems, Capital Fears Violence." The Washington Afro-American newspaper expressed an extreme editorial view by predicting "a fantastic race riot . . . in the not too distant future."

Sparking these views was the melee with racial overtones that followed the annual high school football game

See RACIAL, A6, Col. 2

RACIAL—From Page A1

# Crime Statistics Only Symptoms Of Washington's Racial Problems

last Thanksgiving Day at D. C. Stadium. The aftermath of the melee has been marked by unprecedented attention to Washington's problems by Congress, the Kennedy Administration and by the corps of press correspondents assigned here.

There is no doubt that dissatisfaction, unrest and militancy among Washington Negro leaders has increased in recent months. Among whites, it is the crime situation that has brought racial unrest into focus. Many whites tend to accept the belief that Washington crime is racial in nature, that Washington crime is Negro crime. They tend to ignore the sociological and economic causes of crime or statistics that show Washington's crime rate is less than many cities with smaller Negro populations.

**Negro VA. Negro**

Many whites ignore the fact, with which Negro Washingtonians are painfully aware, that six of the seven crimes committed by Negroes are against other Negroes.

This tendency to see racial unrest in Washington solely in terms of the city's crime rate is a narrow viewpoint. The Washington racial problem is far broader than that. So are its implications. So are its solutions.

In decades past, Washington was viewed as a Southern city that nevertheless provided a rather comfortable home for Negroes. Since 1950, the city has made tremendous progress in removing racial barriers, far outstripping other Southern cities.

Yet today there is evidence of more bitterness and frustration among Negro leaders here than ever before, more so than among Negroes in Southern cities which still lag far behind Washington in the desegregation process.

**Turn to The North**

The purpose of this series of articles by reporters of The Washington Post is to examine why this is so.

One fundamental reason is that Washington has changed from a Southern-oriented city to a Northern-oriented city in race relations.

In Washington, the process of desegregation — the tumbling of concrete and overt elgal barriers — is virtually over. Today the Washington Negro faces the problems of integration, problems of subtlety and complexity, that still exclude him from full participation in the mainstream of American life.

Just as the Birmingham Negro feels progress today as traditional segregation barriers crack, the Washington Negro felt progress in 1953 with the opening of public accommodations and in 1954 with the desegregation of schools.

But today in his desegregated city, the Washington Negro finds himself excluded from the suburbs and parts of the city. If he is poor, he is jammed into dirt-ridden slums. If he is a little better off, he lives in a badly overcrowded home and pays a premium for it.

**Discrimination in Jobs**

His desegregated schools have been resegregated. He finds discrimination in jobs. He sees a problem generation ahead in the jobless, bitter Negro youths that roam the streets. He is irritated by the vestiges of old Southern Washington shown by the rudeness of some policemen, some bus drivers, some store clerks.

A feeling of frustration is heightened for the Negro Washingtonian because he lives under perhaps the worst form of government ever suffered by an American city. He can take his grievances to no elected local government, no mayor, no council.

And he feels with accuracy that a majority of white Washingtonians oppose home rule because Negroes certainly would be elected to office.

Tension and frustration often is more attributable to the way people feel and not to the way things are. Dissatisfaction is greater when higher expectations go unfulfilled. And it is axiomatic in race relations that a sip of freedom serves only to whet the appetite.

**Unfulfilled Aims**

The Washington Negro had high expectations in the Nation's Capital a few years ago but he feels these have been unfulfilled.

As the Nation's Capital and with a 57 per cent Negro population, Washington receives the fall-out from civil rights outbursts elsewhere. There is an emphatic response here to Negro efforts in Jackson, Philadelphia, Birmingham, Detroit, Danville, Chicago, Cambridge, Brooklyn, and Los Angeles.

The Washington Negro feels the vigor of the nationwide drive for full equality but feles a lack of momentum within his own city.

The Washington Negro community as an entity makes more money and lives a better life than do Negroes in almost any other American city. Negro leaders who call for more militancy often despair at the complacency of the large Negro middle class here.

Few Negroes predict widespread racial violence or riots in Washington. Many of them concede that the Negro revolt, taking place in other cities today where conditions are worse, has barely touched this city.

But they acknowledge that the elements of serious racial trouble are here and are becoming increasingly important, that anti-white feeling can spread much farther than it has so far and that the tinder lying around the racial powder keg can be lit.

The Washington Post will report on the attitude and grievances of Negroes in the Nation's Capital in succeeding articles.

*For the Negro in Washington, housing discrimination strikes closest to home and heads his list of grievances. Monday's article will report on the housing problems of Negroes, from the professional man excluded from the white-only suburbs to the part-time laborer paying a premium rent for a slum apartment in a segregated "ghetto" neighborhood.*

# Housing Restrictions Top Grievance List of Washington Negroes

*Second in a Series*

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The Washington Negro usually places inadequate housing at the top of his list of grievances.

He places it above the discrimination he may feel in employment because the housing problem strikes nearly every Negro every day, whether he holds a good job or not.

The Negro economist in the Budget Bureau feels just as bitter and frustrated when denied a new home in suburban Belair, Md., because of his race as does the Negro laborer who pays half of his $200-a-month wage for a dilapidated apartment in the city and knows that whites get much more for their money.

When whites remind the Washington Negro how far he has come in the past decade, the Negro points to slums and ghettos as evidence of how far he has to go.

The Negro's home is a daily reminder that here in the Nation's Capital, the Nation's most open city for Negroes, doors are still shut. There is a certain subtle symbolism when the Negro speaks of the white-only suburbs as the "White Noose."

Sometimes the Negro housing problem is told in statistics. In 1960, Washington Negroes, then 55 per cent of the population, lived in 44 per cent of the city's housing units.

Negro housing is five times more crowded than white housing. Slum operators and real estate speculators cost the Negro from $5 million to $15 million yearly in excessive rent and mortgages, according to an authoritative source. About a third of Washington's Negro families can afford to rent a large apartment at $100 a month or buy a house for $15,000 but these are available mostly in the suburbs where the Negro is barred by unwritten but effective barriers.

**View of Statistics**

Sometimes the Negro here hears that his housing compares favorable with other cities. Statistics show that Negroes in Washington are living in better housing than they did 10 years ago, and a Negro sociologist recently observed that Washington Negroes have better housing than do Negroes in any other major American city.

But statistics and comparisons don't mean much in explaining racial attitudes in Washington today.

It is the way people feel and what they see that counts, especially around 5 p. m. when the day's work is done and the integrated traffic jams unscramble into Negroes and whites heading for their separate neighborhoods.

**Dinner in Vernanda**

Leonard Donihan, white, and Willard Williams, Negro, both are GS-7s who work in the same Federal office. At 5 p. m., they say goodbye and Donihan, who once lived in Washington but moved out when his children began to reach school age, joins his car pool group aimed for Arlington.

While the car idles a moment in the traffic, Donihan looks around him at dilapidated Negro homes, with children outside, women leaning from windows for a breath of

See RACIAL, A8 Col. 3

RACIAL—From Page A1

# Housing Restrictions Top Grievance List of District Negroes

cooling evening air and men standing around corners.

Donihan decides he will have time to mow his lawn before having dinner on the veranda.

Williams, the Negro, rides a shared cab to the two-story house he bought on 14th st. nw. six years ago to escape the slums and provide better environment for his children.

He steps from the cab and sees a broken bottle on the sidewalk. He picks it up and, walking slowly to the trash can, holds in his hand the bitter reminder that the slums have caught up with him again and he can't outrun them by moving to the suburbs. As he enters his home, he can't help thinking about the white commuters and wondering if they give a damn.

**Only Rent Is the Same**

At 5 p. m., the hour of division, Michael Smith, a white laborer, heads toward his old Upper Marlboro house in his aging car. It is a long daily trip but he couldn't find any place as roomy or cheap in the city, with plenty of space for his children and a fine school nearby.

Hampton T. Jones, a Negro laborer, pays the same rent as Smith. At 5 p. m., Jones catches a bus for his apartment near 6th and M sts. nw. where his wife, five children and mother-in-law share three rooms with an alcove for cooking.

The man next door was arrested in a stabbing recently. Jones fears for the future of his children; the oldest already wants to drop out of his overcrowded school.

Jones notices the trash is overflowing from the cans again because the landlord has neglected to collect it. He has given up complaining to the Housing Division; his past complaints were useless.

Until recently, he had hopes of getting out of this slum; he was one of the 8000 on the waiting list for public housing. But he got a raise recently and, like thousands of others, makes just enough money to be ineligible for decent public housing and not enough for decent private housing.

He thinks about this bitter fact of life and feels that race is the blame.

**"Market Value" or Race?**

At 5 p. m., Henry J. Thomas, a Negro, headed for his one-bedroom apartment at 1737 T st. se. He pays $80 a month plus heat and utilities in the building primarily occupied by Negroes.

In an almost identical apartment building next door, occupied mostly by whites and managed by a different firm, one bedroom apartments rent for $62.50.

Thomas and his neighbors asked their rental agency, John R. Pinkett, Inc., about the difference. The president of the firm, Flaxie Pinkett, a leader in the Negro community, replied that the company felt the rents at 1737 reflected "fair market value."

But to the Negro tenants involved, it was a matter of race. Either the whites next door are paying less than they would if the neighborhood were solidly white or Thomas and his neighbors are paying more because they are Negroes.

"Fair market value" has come to mean something different for a Negro and a white in the city because of the vastly different demand and supply.

**'Negro Gold Coast'**

At 5 p. m., when whites jam 16th st. nw. on their way to Maryland suburbs or white Washington across Rock Creek Park, they pass fine Negro homes ranging in price from $20,000 to $50,000.

The commuters are likely to remark that this used to be an exclusive white section of Washington and the Negroes now living there cannot be considered underprivileged.

The Negro community calls this section the "Negro Gold Coast" and truly there is little tinder for Washington's racial powder keg there. The Negroes there are at the top.

At the bottom are the poorest Negroes who cluster in the central city in an area bounded by 14th st., West Virginia, Massachusetts and Michigan aves.

These are the cellar people. At 5 p. m., white commuters see brick facades that often look respectable. Behind these facades, the cellar people are constantly moving and hiding their squalor.

They lie to strangers about their addresses and the number of their children because they are illegally overcrowded. They fear eviction and make no complaints to landlords about high rents and disrepair, and the landlords in turn ask no questions.

Out of this housing comes disease, disorder and despair. Washington reaps the harvest by ranking first in the Nation in tuberculosis, venereal disease and infant mortality.

The Washington Negro feels that his poor housing is responsible in great part for overcrowded and resegregated schools and for crime.

In turn, he blames the whites for his poor housing. He has known about the racial restrictions of the suburbs and some sections of Washington, enforced by white attitudes with the support of real estate and loan practices. But today he feels it more than ever before and, more and more, he is inclined to do something about it.

White Washington may take pride in urban renewal and new freeways and luxury apartments and office buildings that are replacing lower priced dwellings in the city.

**"We Fight Our Own"**

But the Negro is apt to call urban renewal "Negro removal." He points out that Southwest Washington before urban renewal and redevelopment was two-third Negro and now is 9 per cent Negro.

"All the Southwest did was to move the slums over here," said one Negro homeowner in Northwest. "We have to fight our people now. It's choking the life out of us."

The Negro supports with reluctance, and after a bitter fight, the redevelopment plans for the Adams-Morgan area, now 44 per cent Negro.

These plans call for 1000 new luxury dwelling units, 425 moderate priced ones and 240 public housing units, and, if unchanged, will price half of the area's present 6000 Negroes out of the area.

The Negro supports the project only because the need for decent housing in Washington is so dire. Through the efforts of the Urban League, he is pressing the Redevelopment Land Agency to include more lower-priced units in the project and to provide a broader relocation program.

To the Negro, freeways simply demolish Negro homes so that whites can get to their all-white suburbs quicker.

**Fair Housing Promised**

The Negro concedes there is some hope that his housing problem will be relieved. In the city, the District Commissioners have promised to pass a fair housing ordinance by the end of the year. Real estate developer Morris Cafritz has endorsed the proposal and promised to open his apartments to all persons.

Neighbors, Inc., has been successful in stabilizing one Northwest area by convincing whites not to succumb to panic merchants when Negroes move into the area. Real estate values there have risen and not declined.

In the suburbs, some scattered Negro families have moved recently to Chevy Chase, Wheaton and other areas. More are bound to follow as the President's housing order shows results on new developments. And some whites have formed groups to prepare suburbanites for Negro residents.

The urgent question is whether these steps and other prospects toward easing the problem will develop at a fast enough pace to relieve the pressure the Negro feels.

The Washington Negro does not see his home as his castle. He sees it as his dungeon. He intends to break out.

*After adequate and fair housing, the Negro gives priority status in drawing up his bill of rights to equal job opportunity. Tuesday's article will take up recent gains in wiping out job discrimination and why Negroes still feel frustrated in this field.*

Summer of Discontent—III

8/13/63 W-Post

# Job Picture Still Far From Rosy to Negroes Here

*Third of a Series*

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

Next to discrimination in housing, the Washington Negro usually places the field of employment at the top of his list of grievances.

The Negro concedes the facts, often raised by whites, that measurable progress has been made in job opportunities for Negroes in the Nation's Capital, that the Negro's median income here exceeds six other large eastern cities and that unemployment here is less than in comparable cities.

But the Negro points to other facts and statistics that mean more to him in this surging civil rights era:

The median income of Washington Negroes is 70 per cent of the whites'—the same difference as 20 years ago. Negro youths are four times likely to be unemployed than white youths. Negro college graduates earn two thirds the money that white graduates do. Negro families, which therefore must have more breadwinners than white families, still earn only 56 cents for each dollar earned by white families, and that figure is the same as 20 years ago.

Said Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington Urban League:

"The Negro in Washington—and everywhere else—is expected to live as well, eat as well, dress as well, educate his children as well and have a nice home on less money than whites.

"And even Negroes aren't that smart."

The Washington Negro has made major gains in the last 15 years in the area of employment, particularly in Government. But today he feels the pace is not fast enough. He feels a lack of momentum that adds to his frustration.

A Negro sociologist explains this impatience in terms of revolutions. Historically, a revolution never gets under way in full force until after the oppressor gives a taste of freedom to the oppressed, he said.

In Washington, progress in eliminating job discrimination has only served to whet the appetite of Negroes in knocking down remaining barriers. They feel that a key to improving their status is more money and they can get more money only if people will hire them for more and better jobs.

Washington is not a typical employment city. Government is the number one employer. Both the Federal and District governments have a nondiscrimination hiring policy. Thus, if a Negro secretary, for example, cannot get a job in private business, she can try to enter Government employment with reasonable prospects.

But Negroes feel their chances of promotion are considerably less than white Government employes. And they point to statistics which show that Negroes are scarce in the higher echelons.

Talk of progress doesn't impress this Grade 4 employe of the District Government who recounted how during his 15 years' service he had trained whites who have become his bosses.

"When I go through the frustrations of these maneuvers to keep me down because I'm a Negro, I feel like exploding," he said.

Another Negro recently retired as a Grade 5 after nearly 30 years' service as Government clerk. He, too, trained whites who rose to Grades 14 and 15. He is a bitter man.

Partly responsible for this summer of discontent in Washington are Negro college students in recess who feel their

See RACIAL, A4, Col. 2

RACIAL—From Page A1

# Job Picture in District Still Far From Rosy to Negroes

Grade 3 or 5 parents would be Grade 9 or 11 if they were not Negroes. Proving discrimination in Government is a difficult task. Negroes point out that complaints in the Federal Government are often reviewed within the department by the supervisors who may be the source of the discrimination in the first place.

**Private Firms Reluctant**

Recognizing the validity of this argument, the District Government recently started a review procedure by investigators outside the departments involved.

But it is outside of Government employment that the real sore spots of job discrimination exist in Washington. The door of private employment is only slightly ajar; the Negro wants it open wide.

The traditional professions of Negroes—law, medicine and the clergy—still serve him well. Today, scientists, engineers and technicians are in demand and many Negroes are responding.

But major areas of discrimination remain in banks, savings institutions, real estate and insurance offices.

**Banker's View**

A Washington bank official talked sincerely about Negro employment to a member of the D. C. Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. He conceded his bank employed no Negro tellers.

"But we are very proud of our Negro employes," he said. "I couldn't even open our bank each morning without George."

George, of course, was the janitor.

A major breakthrough for Negro employment has taken place in major downtown Washington department stores in the past two or three years. Woodward & Lothrop, Hecht's, Kann's, Lansburgh's and Garfinckel's all have hired Negro sales clerks. Utilities also are moving. The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., for example, has a policy of hiring not only Negro operators but Negro women in positions of "exposure," such as receptionists.

**"Tokenism" Deplored**

But for the Negro, there is too much "tokenism" in Washington: One Negro is hired and the company boasts of being integrated.

Julius Hobson, the aggressive president of Washington CORE, told of his battles with a downtown shoe store to hire Negro salesmen.

"They have one Negro who, when a picket line is formed, is brought out of the stock room and put on the floor," Hobson told the D. C. Advisory Committee's special committee on equal employment. "When the picket line leaves, he goes back into the stock room."

Earlier this year, the spotlight of racial discrimination was thrown on the status trades of the construction unions — electricians, plumbers, steamfitters and rodmen — who for years have effectively banned Negroes from their crafts.

**Protests Bring Results**

Negro students at Howard University complained to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity that they could see no Negroes working on construction of the new gymnasium which was being built with Federal funds.

The outcome, after threatened action by the Justice Department, was that the unions promised to take on some Negroes from a list of 200 applicants tested by the United States Employment Service.

The number of jobs that will become available in these trades is not great. But it was a symbolic victory for Negroes and showed their determination to wipe out job discrimination wherever it is found.

The D. C. Advisory Committee found that only one of 22 business schools in Washington admitted Negroes. Some schools said they maintained racial bars because they would not be able to place Negroes in jobs and therefore did not want to raise their hopes by accepting them.

**Role of Job Agencies**

The United States Employment Service will not supply job applicants to prospective employers who insist on racial bars. But private job agencies do, the Committee reported. This is an irritant to Negroes.

In its report to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, the D. C. Advisory Committee reported on progress in job opportunities and the "widespread and substantial" discrimination remaining. It pinpointed the feeling of Negroes in this way:

"But for those who are being discriminated against, the question of how much discrimination exists is no longer central; the point that it exists at all is cause enough for anger."

**Different Standards**

More and more, Negroes are rejecting the familiar arguments by white employers that there is a lack of qualified Negro applicants for jobs. In too many cases, they feel, different standards exist for "qualified" whites and "qualified" Negroes. They feel that an employer who will have confidence only in a completely qualified Negro would be apt to take a chance with a less qualified white.

"If he is to help us, the white employer has got to gamble on the Negro as a job prospect," said Tucker of the Urban League.

There is logic to the argument that a qualified Negro labor force cannot be made suddenly available today after years of discrimination. It is this argument that has sparked the controversial proposal by Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, for a program of special treatment for Negroes to overcome the gap.

Washington school authorities told the D. C. Advisory Committee about the lack of motivation among Negro youths because of the feeling there are no job opportunities open to them. Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz reported, as an example, that nine of 14 Negro youngsters selected for an apprenticeship program failed to show up when instruction began.

"They just felt they didn't have a chance," Wirtz said.

The unemployment rate among 16- to 21-year-old Negroes is twice that of the population at large. School dropouts pose a problem. Perhaps they enter the service industries where there is no minimum wage and hours are long and Negroes are often paid less for the same job than whites. Or else they join the ranks of [illegible] which [illegible] volatile [illegible] ton's [illegible]

We [illegible] series [illegible] the idle Negro juvenile [illegible]

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**Summer of Discontent IV**

# Jobs Erase Hostility Of Idle Negro Youths

8/14/63 W-Post

*Fourth of a series.*

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The most volatile tinder lying around the Washington "powder keg" is the idle Negro juvenile.

The previously complacent Negro middle class is becoming involved in the movement against discrimination in jobs and housing. But Negro leaders see no racial violence or hatred coming from this class if the pace of progress and the feeling of momentum quickens.

Yet while the large Negro middle class is concerned with its absorption into society, the poverty class—and especially its idle youth—seems to be moving toward alienation from society.

The fact is that Washington's deprived young people are already at war.

In the eyes of teachers, police, court officials, Recreation Department roving leaders and others who work closely with the City's troubled youngsters, the war is not between the races.

It is a war against a society which has abused its youth.

To the resentment of Negroes, whites often interpret the increase in juvenile crime in Washington as a "Negro problem"—proof positive of the depravity of children with black skin.

These whites will use statistics to enforce their view. They point out, with accuracy, that

*Area restaurant case may provide test of Maryland's public accommodations law.* *Page A10.*

most juvenile crime in the Nation's Capital is committed by Negro boys. Of the 2366 offenders referred to Juvenile Court by Washington police in fiscal 1962, less than 12 per cent were girls and less than 14 per cent were white.

But this is a poverty problem, not a racial one. Researchers for Washington Action for Youth, local arm of

**See RACIAL, A5, Col. 1**

RACIAL—*From Page A1*

# Jobs Help Erase Hostility of Idle Negro Juveniles

the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, found that delinquency rates for white and Negro children in Washington were almost identical in neighborhoods where families lived in stark poverty.

It is not Negroes or whites but aimless, unwanted young people of both races who are the volatile tinder. Mixed with the proper ingredients, they could ignite the powder keg.

For example, a series of affrays was touched off in April when one white boy spat upon a group of Negroes during a baseball game at D. C. Stadium.

And in the case of the Thanksgiving Day Stadium riot which followed the victory of a white football team over a Negro one, it was a handful of rowdy Negro school dropouts who set off the fracas which pitted angry Negroes against whites.

**Hoodlum Outbreak**

In some quarters, the Stadium incidents have been looked upon as full-blown race riots. Yet investigators of the Thanksgiving Day melee, the special citizens committee headed by Shane McCarthy, stated that while the fracas loomed as a serious racial conflict, the hoodlums who went on the rampage "would have attacked supporters of any victorious team, including a predominantly Negro one."

If Washington's deprived young people are defiant, they have good reasons.

This has been vividly documented through a series of taped interviews with juveniles living within six blocks of the White House in Washington's infamous Second Precint. The interviews were conducted for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Listen to these neighbors of the President:

"He used to mess me up when I was 12," said Victor, toughest of the delinquents interviewed when recalling what life was like with a stepfather.

"Beat me up with no clothes on. Big wads of extension cord and all that . . .

"He hang me up by my wrists over a pipe . . ."

awaken them at 4 a. m. to fetch "a box of barbecue spareribs," of alcoholic parents who fight all night, of policemen knocking on their doors to determine if they saw "who bust who in the head" next door.

**Adults are Enemies**

In the eyes of these young people, adults soon are viewed as enemies. If these boys lack respect, it is because they never have been treated with respect.

Says 18-year-old Albert:

"Some people think that age makes a man, that a man won't start no fight, that the younger person more than they would have started the fight.

"But age do not make a man! If a teen-ager would go down the street and tell a policeman that a man robbed him, they would laugh at him. But let that man say a teen-ager robbed him, they'll tear the neighborhood apart to find that teen-ager."

Paul Fine, a Rutgers University sociologist who conducted the Second Precinct study, said the relationship of the Alberts to this city "resembles much more that of a combat infantry patrol in enemy territory than anything genuinely recognizable as that of children to their community."

**Many Avoid Trouble**

The fact that such children are delinquents is not surprising, Fine said: the surprising thing is that so many of them manage to keep out of serious trouble.

The crux of the matter was pinpointed by Jack R. Goldberg, project director for Washington Action for Youth.

"If adults of the Nation's Capital expect kids to join the system," he said, "the young people have to be given the opportunity to do so."

The real issue that must be faced, said Goldberg, is that too many families live in poverty amidst plenty and that "out of poverty, compounded by prejudice and racial discrimination, you destroy people and you destroy their potential."

**Summer Jobs Help**

There is a glimmer of hope. It was felt by a thousand of Washington's most deprived youngsters for the first time

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**Too Much Punishment**

Some whites, including Southern Congressmen, favor the return of corporal punishment to city schools as a solution to Washington's troublesome youth problems. Would that be a deterrent to Victor?

If anything, it has been too much punishment, not too little, that has caused Victor to roam the streets, robbing and assaulting those who got into the way.

Another cherished cure-all—the exclusion of difficult young people from schools while making no provision for them elsewhere — also would provide no answer for the Victors. They are already out of school. Listen to 17-year-old Victor:

"I don't work. I don't do nothing . . .

"I'm around the house all day long, get up about 1 p. m. clean up the house, play some records, listen to the radio, go out for a while."

**"Lost Count" of Arrests**

He has had "so many arrests I lost count."

It is such idle youth, living in poverty and ignorance, that make up the "social dynamite" in our midst.

While statistics show that the Washington Negro as an entity is better educated, better paid and lives in better housing than in any other major city in the country, other statistics show a shame of the Nation's Capital in the fact that this city falls below the national average in the percentage of 14 to 17-year-olds in school.

Exclusive of students looking for summer jobs, there are now 4100 out-of-school, out-of-work youngsters and the overwhelming majority are Negroes.

They have no steady employment because they have no skills. Most of them have been out of school two or three years.

**School Gripes**

Sometimes, these young people drop out of school because they view it as a prison. Elwood is 14 years old and was in school this year. Listen to his description of school and guess how long he will stay:

"If they don't like you they yell at you, and always want to get you in trouble. You don't do nothing and she (the teacher) say she know you did.

"Worst thing about school is it takes me so long before you go home— that's the worst thing. You stay too many hours at school, stay there and teachers don't let you go to the bathroom sometime, don't let you get a drink of water. Got to have a pass to go out."

Others lose interest in school work because they are just too tired to do the work.

They tell of mothers who

If adults of the National Capital expect kids to join the system," he said, "the young people have to be given the opportunity to do so."

The real issue that must be faced, said Goldberg, is that too many families live in poverty amidst plenty and that "out of poverty, compounded by prejudice and racial discrimination, you destroy people and you destroy their potential."

**Summer Jobs Help**

There is a glimmer of hope. It was felt by a thousand of Washington's most deprived youngsters for the first time this summer. It was provided by the Washington Action for Youth's summer job placement office.

First priority for the thousand jobs made available by Government and private industry went to teen-agers in families with incomes of less than $2785 annually.

Some of these youngsters came from homes where there are 10 or 12 children. They know what it means to go hungry, to sleep five to a bed, to be set out on the streets for not paying rent. For most of them, home is a hovel in a crime-ridden precinct. In their alleys, they constantly are exposed to violence—the winos fighting, cutting, killing.

At first, the wise youths on the street knew all about the program; it was going to be just another "do-gooders" project. They looked at it this way:

"Yeh, you would be put to work. But it would be a nothing job, paying nothing. Just a gimmick to try to get you off the streets."

**"Gee, $1.98 an Hour!"**

But then the word started to be filtered back. "This job program was different. You didn't mow lawns for some woman who gave you a lot of sass. You weren't standing in line all day for a job that lasted only a day. You weren't being told to do someone else's dirty work.

"Instead, you went to work in one of those big Government buildings or in private stores like Woodward & Lothrop. You got real pay—at least $1.25 an hour; as much as $1.98 an hour.

"Gee, $1.98 is more than your own father makes.

"And everyone was interested in seeing that you made good. Even the Attorney General—Robert F. Kennedy himself—talked to you and wrote you a letter.

"Man, how important can you get?"

The teen-age products of Washington's worst environment are doing exceptional work on these summer jobs. Except for a few isolated incidents, reports from both Government and private employers are extravagant in praising these boys and girls for both their eagerness to work and their capabilities for doing a responsible job.

The end of summer will mean the end of these jobs. Will it also mean the end of the hope and confidence and respect these youngsters have found? Time will tell. Sponsors are making every effort to interest these young people in school and training during the winter.

*Washington Negroes frequently express resentment against their treatment at the hands of the police. Thursday's article will examine this problem.*

Summer of Discontent—V

# Negro-Police Hostility Is Less but Remnants Of Old Habits Remain

W-Post 8/15/63

*Fifth of a Series*

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

In discussing Washington's racial patterns and problems, the Negro leader sooner or later talks about the Metropolitan Police Department.

He tells about the resentment that many Negroes feel toward the police. He cites complaints of rudeness, overbearing attitudes, brutality and the use of dogs.

He feels that the Police Department discriminates against the Negro policeman in its hiring and promotion practices. He has the impression that Police Chief Robert V. Murray" plays fottsie" with Southern Congressmen on Capitol Hill to get what he wants and thus the Southern Congressmen really command the police force and forge its policies.

All of these things, the Negro leader says, have contributed to a lack of respect for the Police Department among many Negroes, and lack of respect can cause trouble.

No one knows this better than District officials and the Police Department itself. Recently, Murray has taken administrative steps that show a promise of vast improvement in relations between the police and the Negro community.

Several years ago, police relations with Negroes in Washington were marked by cases of brutality, dragnet arrests and illegal detentions. Hardly an established Negro leader in Washington today has not had some unpleasant encounter with the police of yesteryear. Some of the hostility of those days has been carried over to today.

Some of the cases of police rudeness as published in current issues of the Washington Afro American newspaper would have seemed ridiculous in by-gone years. But they are not ridiculous now.

As part of the surging civil rights movement everywhere, the Washington Negro is demanding an end to remnants of the old police way of doing things. He insists on impartial police treatment and serv-

See RACIAL, A17, Col. 1

Law Enforcement

RACIAL—From Page A1

# Negro-Police Hostility Is Less But Many Old Habits Remain

ice. And some of the police officers are having a hard time keeping pace.

On a recent Friday night, a police official visited a restaurant packed with Negroes who were relaxing, eating and drinking beer. He was the only white person there.

The officer was proud that he knew the names of nearly every person there and he walked from table to table and smiled and engaged in chit-chat. After a few minutes, he moved to the door, waved and left.

A Negro who was at the restaurant said later that the people there hated the officer's guts, they were cowed by his presence and he did not earn their respect with his condescending manner.

"He simply was a symbol of the white man in blue, the cop who doesn't respect Negroes and whom Negroes don't respect," the Negro said.

**Feels Resentment**

"If that man had been jumped on by some hoodlum outside that place, I think the people there might have just stood by and watched him get beaten. They've seen policemen beat Negroes."

The police official, a perceptive man, felt the Negro resentment in the restaurant. He in turn resented the rejection of his effort to improve relations.

In several precincts, the police captains have done a splendid job in human relations. Negroes acknowledge it. The Department is proud of it.

For example, the 14th Precinct in Northeast Washington across the Anacostia River has had a succession of commanding officers who have practiced good human relations themselves and have enforced policies down through the ranks.

Captain Vernon H. Culpeper of the 14th is carrying on the successful pattern established before him by Howard F. Mowry and George E. Causey, now Inspectors. Negroes feel they get a fair shake in the 14th; few complaints come from there.

Inspector Causey, who now specializes in community relations for the Police Department, continues to hold the respect of Negroes. So does Deputy Chief George R. Wallrodt, who handles civil disturbances.

There is an all too typical

### *Team of 6 Reporters Prepared D. C. Series*

*A team of six reporters of The Washington Post collaborated in preparing this seven-part series, "Summer of Distontent," a depth study of race relations in Washington. It was written by Staffer Robert E. Baker, The Washington Post's specialist in race relations reporting. Participating were Eve Edstrom on welfare and youth problems, Rasa Gustaitis on housing, Wallace Terry on Negro leadership attitudes, Alfred Lewis on police matters, and Jean White on employment.*

at the white man in the blue uniform and declares:

"I haven't done anything. I'm not bothering anybody. I'm not going home."

The officer has been taught that proper police procedure forbids an initial showing of softness toward a balky subject; he must first show firm authority, then softness if applicable.

"Go home, boy, I said," responds the policeman and grabs Jackson's arm. But construction workers are strong and Jackson grabs the policemen and gets him down on the sidewalk.

The call goes out. Policeman in trouble.

Everything on wheels that the Police Department can muster responds, sirens wailing, careening through the streets. As the reinforcements arrive, a crowd gathers. The police try to pry Jackson loose from the officer but by now Jackson is scared. He won't let go. The police use their clubs and blackjacks on Jackson as other policemen push back the crowd.

The Negroes did not see the beginning of the incident. They carry away from the scene the picture of white policemen beating a prostrate Negro, a picture of police brutality. They see a bleeding Jackson being led to a police car.

"All right, break it up, break it up. It's all over," they are told.

But it isn't all over. This incident, so very common, is seared in the minds of the Negroes.

**Police Contention**

The police contend there is nothing racial there. If a white man gets a policeman

police jobs and the failure of the Department to enforce desegregation at all levels.

**430 Negro Policemen**

Negroes comprise 57 per cent of Washington's population today but only 15 per cent of the personnel in the Metropolitan Police Department—some 430 out of nearly 3000 policemen. Ten years ago, when the force was nearly 1000 men smaller, there were 224 Negro policemen or 10 per cent.

Of the 147 top police jobs today—from the Chief down through the deputy chiefs, inspectors, captains and lieutenants—only three are held by Negroes and they are lieutenants. Ten years ago, there was one Negro lieutenant in the top echelon.

Negroes complain that some captains can, and do, hinder promotions for Negro policemen by giving them detrimental efficiency ratings which weigh heavily in the promotion procedure. The Police Department contends, however, that the system is absolutely fair and free of racial discrimination.

The Department also denies there is any discrimination in recruitment although it takes no initiative to find Negro applicants. There simply are not enough qualified Negro aplicants the Department contends.

Nor are there enough white applicants from the area, the Department says, and recruiting must be carried on outside of the city. Negroes often complain that Washington's police force has a "Southern accent" and that white policemen are recruited from the Deep South. The Department denies this and points out that only four policemen on the force are from Alabama, for example.

Negroes have pressed for integrated scout cars. They feel that police encounters with Negroes would have fewer racial overtones if Negro-white teams of officers were doing the arresting and investigating.

**Whites Veto Partners**

In the past, Chief Murray has refused to require such integration. He allowed white scout car men to veto the assignment of Negroes to their cars. The Chief contended that each member of a scout car team must have complete confidence in the other because their lives may depend on it, tht involuntary integration would cause friction and loss of confidence.

from there.

Inspector Causey, who now specializes in community relations for the Police Department, continues to hold the respect of Negroes. So does Deputy Chief George R. Wallrodt, who handles civil disturbances.

There is an all too typical incident which helps spark hostility between Negroes and police. It happens every Friday and Saturday night in any of a half dozen or so precincts. It happens like this:

A Negro construction worker, whom we shall assign the name Bill Jackson, finishes up his hard work week and buys a bottle of wine to relax. He is walking up the street, staggering a bit, with the wine bottle sticking out of his pocket, when he meets a white policeman.

**Addressed as 'Boy'**

"Hey, boy," said the policeman in a firm voice, "you'd better get yourself home. You're drunk."

The policeman's use of the word "boy" ten years ago would not have gotten the response it gets now. Negroes have generally regarded such terms as degrading, insulting, but today they openly make clear their resentment of its use.

Jackson bristles. He looks

break it up. It's all over, they are told.

But it isn't all over. This incident, so very common, is seared in the minds of the Negroes.

**Police Contention**

The police contend there is nothing racial there. If a white man gets a policeman down and does not let go, he too will feel the club and blackjack.

Whisky drinking by juveniles deeply concerns many Negro leaders who are mindful that half-pints were in evidence among young Negroes as well as adults at the Thanksgiving Day melee at D. C. Stadium. These leaders tend to criticize police for not stopping illicit after-hour sales of half-pints which find their way into the hands of juveniles.

Negroes have the impression that police respond to calls for assistance or investigation faster in white neighborhoods than in Negro. One Negro leader recalls he was incensed when he called police to report that kids were sledding down Roosevelt High School hill into heavy traffic and the dispatcher asked him: "Are they white or colored?"

Particularly irritating to Negroes are the relatively few numbers of Negroes holding

integration. He allowed white scout car men to veto the assignment of Negroes to their cars. The Chief contended that each member of a scout car team must have complete confidence in the other because their lives may depend on it, tht involuntary integration would cause friction and loss of confidence.

Last month, Chief Murray issued a new order to encourage his commanding officers to make assignments without regard to race. By issuing the order, Murray took a step on neutral ground.

Previously, a white policeman could avoid being assigned with a Negro by simply indicating his unwillingness or displeasure in advance. Now, the issignment is made and the white policeman, if he still objects, must file his complaint against an accomplished fact.

In Washington, young policemen are trained and taught by old policemen on the precinct level, a practice which, critics contend, means that old timers teach outdated race relations.

Changes in the integration and human relations in the Metropolitan Police Department must come from the top and Chief Murray in the past has shown a reluctance to move any faster than he must.

**D. C. Heads Reluctant**

The District Commissioners are reluctant to order Murray to launch a sweeping program of integration because they respect the Chief's skill as a professional policeman and they dislike interfering with a pro. And Chief Murray seems to have more influence with Congress, especially with the Southern Congressmen than do the Commissioners.

For 10 years, the Police Department has been plagued by a massive turnover of personnel which has now dropped off and the Department has gained considerable stability. A human relations course has been launched for new policemen.

The Crime Council system is now getting under way. Each precinct has such a council, comprised of church and civic leaders, businessmen and school principals, which meets once a month with the precinct captains and thrashes out problems and complaints.

**Problem of Dogs**

The Department is making efforts to reduce the racial symbolism of police dogs. The animals, first introduced as a deterrent, have become the symbol of everything the Negro feels is wrong with the Police Department

Few observers will deny that the Metropolitan Police Department is changing for the better in the human relations field and that the change will continue. The question is the pace. The Department must keep pace of the civil rights movement in the Nation's Capital if it is to overcome the resentment felt by too many of the city's citizens.

*Friday's article will deal with the confusion and friction caused by the competition among Washington Negro leaders for influence, support and dollars.*

**Summer of Discontent—VII**

# Covert Segregation Galls D. C. Negroes

*Last of Series*

By Robert E. Baker

Staff Reporter

The Negro in Washington has come a long way in a short time without explosive racial turmoil.

It was only a decade ago that he lived in a traditionally and legally segregated city. Almost overnight, this changed.

Washington desegregated public accommodations in 1953 and, the following year, its schools. The city therefore escaped the massive sit-ins and demonstrations and violence which erupted elsewhere when Negroes pressed for desegregation of these facilities.

During the past decade, Washington Negroes have made considerable progress in District and Federal employment and significant inroads in the selling trades, public utilities and other areas of employment previously barred to them.

In comparative terms, Negroes in Washington are generally better educated, better paid and live in better housing than in any other major city in the Nation.

*Aug. 28 rights rally at Lincoln Memorial to include entertainment, skit and brief speeches.*

*Page A5.*

Yet the Washington Negro tends to feel more segregated today than yesteryear even when he could exercise fewer civil rights. There are rising

**See RACIAL, A30, Col. 1**

RACIAL—From Page A1

# Covert Segregation Irks Negro

unrest and militancy in the Negro community.

This feeling is nurtured by the frustrations that Negroes face in the sophisticated discrimination which remains after legal and overt barriers fall. It matures in the fall-out that is received in the Nation's Capital from the growing civil rights bursts around the country.

The Negro demands an end to housing shortages, limited job opportunities, the problems of slums. He sees symbols of discrimination everywhere—the all-white suburbs, his hand-me-down churches that whites have fled, the overcrowded and over-aged schools that are now resegregated.

The Negro concedes the door to full equality is ajar. He demands that it open wide.

Into this restive scene have come the voices of extremists. Malcolm X came down from his Black temple in Harlem and brought his anti-white racist doctrine.

In May, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) told 3000 Washington Negroes that the city faced "one of the worst race riots in the history of the United States" if conditions did not improve quickly. The Washington Afro American newspaper, under the now-departed editor C. Sumner Stone, also predicted a race riot here.

Most Washington Negro leaders do not believe there will be a race riot here nor do they approve of such predictions.

Yet, despite the fact that many of them had been criticized in print by Stone for "lethargic" and "inept" leadership, nearly all of Washington's Negro leaders attended a dinner rally for Stone's benefit. Some attended because it was a place and time to be seen in evidence.

Their attendance also showed a prevalent Negro attitude: They might not make inflammatory statements themselves, but they nevertheless felt it was well that someone made them, thereby airing the growing discontent.

**Anti-White Sentiment**

Emerging for the first time among Washington Negroes is a tinge of anti-white and anti-Semitic feeling. It is not deep nor is it widespread. It represents the Negro rebellion against his status. As President James M. Nabrit, Jr., of Howard University says:

"In the Negro's gyrations at the moment, he is just attacking everybody. But if we're going to embrace racial discrimination against anybody, we're lost."

The whites of Washington took an initial pride in the gentle and honorable way that the city desegregated public accommodations and schools a decade ago.

Today, in a reaction to increased militancy and demands among Negroes, there is a feeling that things have not worked out so well.

ad 4 RACIAL—Sun .....

Many whites tend to reject the notion that crime has social and economic roots, and look upon Washington crime as "Negro" crime. Prevalent white attitudes support good housing for Negroes, but not next door; good jobs for Negroes but not at the expense of whites.

Whites are telling the Negro how far he has come; Negroes are telling whites how far they have to go.

Baker Mrs. Edstrom Terry

Miss Gustaitis Miss White Lewis

**This is the team of six reporters for The Washington Post who collaborated in preparing the 7-part series, "Summer of Discontent," a depth study of race relations in Washington. It was written by staff member Robert E. Baker, The Washington Post's specialist in race relations, at left in top panel. Participating were Eve Edstrom on welfare and youth problems; Wallace Terry on Negro leadership attitudes; Rasa Gustaitis on housing; Jean White on employment, and Alfred Lewis on police matters.**

Many whites have reacted with a hardening attitude to this increased Negro militancy. There seems to be some alienation between the white and Negro community.

The white man—who has also come a long way in the past decade—often tosses a challenge to Washington Negro leader: Why don't you urge responsibilities as well as demands, why don't you exhort your followers to help themselves as well as ask for help?

Negro leaders are conscious of this and have moved in this direction. Ministers report increased interest in the Urban League's "Future for Jimmy" program and educational television. Hospitality House operated by Nadine Winter is helping newcomers help themselves and adjust to urban living.

Howard University is offering, through its Youth Center planning, teaching, research and demonstration projects aimed at helping unwed mothers, families without husbands, delinquents, school drop-outs and Negroes needing housing relocation.

Often the white man will ask: Just what is it the Washington Negro wants?

Perhaps never before in the Nation's history has this question received the attention that it is getting now, in all sections, in all walks of life, through all communications media.

In a recent intensive analysis of national Negro attitudes, Newsweek magazine answered the question by stating most Negroes want what they now lack.

In this series of articles the Washington Post has attempted to report the Washington Negro's attitudes and demands and irritations.

His grievances come big and little.

His feeling of housing and job discrimination top the list of big grievances. He worries about the school drop-outs and idle Negro youth who fall into crime and may form the basis of a future generation of trouble.

Resegregation of the schools is a symbolic irritant to him, the result of housing and employment restrictions which confine him to the city. He is more concerned with overage schools and textbooks and the large number of temporary teachers who seem to remain on for years.

He objects to the vestiges of yesteryear—some abusive policemen, some bus drivers, some store clerks.

Perhaps Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Urban League, puts his finger on the point when, as a Negro, he tells what the Washington Negro wants:

"We want the stigma of race removed. We're tired of carrying every other Negro on our backs. And every Negro in America carries every other Negro on his back.

"The reason that Ralph Bunche couldn't get into a white tennis club or Carl Rowan into the Cosmos Club is because, for the moment his application came up, he was looked on like every other Negro—whether he be a criminal or poor Mississippi sharecropper.

"His qualifications meant nothing. It adds up to this: Ralph Bunche can't be free until the lowliest Negro sharecropper in Mississippi is free."

In the present situation, the Washington Negro can be expected to be oversensitive. He will see racial discrimination in instances where none exists, much as some American Jews of a generation ago, fighting anti-Semitism, saw it everywhere.

An example in point is the case of Frank D. Reeves, the respected NAACP attorney who was nominated by President Kennedy to be Washington's first Negro Commissioner. The nomination was withdrawn when it was found that Reeves had not filed his Federal income taxes on time. Most Washington Negroes felt that the tax liens would have been no barrier if Reeves had been white.

Yet the White House recently dropped consideration of James M. Landis, former dean of the Harvard Law School, for appointment to a high Federal office, perhaps the Cabinet, because he had failed to file income taxes.

This is a critical time for race relations in the Nation's Capital. The Washington metropolitan area has perhaps the best opportunity of all the big cities to meet it successfully for this community has the biggest concentration of well-educated people with the highest median income in the Nation, white and black.

**Challenge to Washington**

This community must decide now whether it intends to meet the challenge with the good sense and good will that has been shown, for example, in Greensboro, N. C., or whether it will become, like Danville, Va., a place of bitterness and defeat.

Last week, Chairman David L. Lawrence of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing urged a group of Washington area builders to adopt open housing policies.

He said that what is happening in Washington and stirring in other parts of the country cannot be wished away or put aside for future attention. The drive will intensify and the barriers will come down, he said.

How effectively and easily this is done depends upon attitudes and decisions both of individuals and leaders, he said, adding that the eyes of the Nation are focused on Washington.

Lawrence was speaking of housing but his words apply to the civil rights drive in general.

As it enters this period, Washington already has a failure and a success on the record.

The failure was the melee that followed the annual Thanksgiving Day high school football game at D. C. Stadium last year, that, racial or not, awakened Washington and the Nation to the problem at hand.

The success was the ease and good will, shown by both whites and Negroes, that accompanied the civil rights demonstration by 3000 persons at the District Building on June 14. White and Negro leaders, the Stadium riot seared in their minds, had feared that turmoil and violence might break out. They share the same concern as Aug. 28 approaches, the date of the national civil rights march in Washington, the next big test for the city.

Vital questions are posed for Washington as it enters the challenge of the months ahead:

Will Washington Negroes accept the leadership that has brought them this far or will they turn to the extremists?

Will whites accept the challenge with good-will accommodation or will they engage in a bitter fight for the status quo?

In other words, will future historians record that Washington made a successful transition with peace and pride, or will they record a failure that was marked by turmoil or violence?

# Military Chiefs Ask New A-Tests in Sky

SEE MARGUERITE HIGGINS' STORY ON PAGE 3

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TEN-CENTS

*ELIJAH MUHAMMAD SPEAKS—above his gilt-decorated hat the invariable motto, "There Is No God But Allah, Muhammad Is His Apostle." Not just the admirers before him but 20 million Negroes in America listen. But in white society he is practically unknown. Now, Robert S. Bird, National Correspondent of the Herald Tribune and the first white reporter ever to interview "The Divinely Inspired Messenger of Allah," has written a portrait of the man, his message and his influence. Directly or subtly, for the 150,000 who devoutly believe and for the others who do not, he is making the most persuasive statement of what is wrong in America—White America. He is making the mass of Negroes prouder of their race, their color. His Black Muslim propoganda, without question, is forcing all civil rights organizations and even Negro politicans to take another step toward harder, more extreme positions. His preachings are loosening Negro ties to Christianity—not through conversion to Allah but through impatience with Christian slowness on segregation. This man's power is felt the breadth of the land and by every person treated in the series "Ten Negroes" which Mr. Bird begins today.*

# TEN NEGROES

By Robert S. Bird
*Herald Tribune National Correspondent*

After our interview Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, took me out from the living room through the kitchen into the high-walled courtyard of his winter home in Phoenix, and we stood under the Arizona sun while he said a gracious goodbye to me.

Brother Antonne X had gone to the garage to back the Cadillac out and drive me back to my hotel. I thanked Mr. Muhammad for giving me this unprecedented interview, and I mentioned that I felt he had spoken very forcefully.

This was an understatement, really, for never in my life had I heard the white race—my race—so unmercifully flayed, so thoroughly accused, so vividly denounced, so damned in judgment as from him during the

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This was an understatement, really, for never in my life had I heard the white race—my race—so unmercifully flayed, so thoroughly accused, so vividly denounced, so damned in judgment, as from him during the preceding hour and a half.

Still, he had displayed an exquisite courtesy throughout the long declamation, glancing at me in a kindly way every now and then as I sat beside him on the couch, or giving me a questioning look as if to see how I was taking it. But most of his excoriation seemed addressed to the middle of the living room, as if that were where white America might be listening.

## THE CHARGES

He is small and fragile of figure, this man who is regarded by many law enforcement officers as the most dangerous Negro leader in the country. And standing there in the courtyard in well cut dark gray suit, gray and white bow tie of smooth design and dark, stylishly narrow-brimmed hat, he looked like an unobtrusive man of importance.

Brother Antonne X, in snow-white suit or uniform (I couldn't tell which), maneuvered the sleek car up beside us and Mr. Muhammad gave a warm, almost shy, smile and said he had enjoyed my visit. Then, speaking in a voice so low I had to lean over to catch his words, he volunteered an interesting explanation of himself.

"You see, I am between life and death," he said, "and I have to say these things in the way I say them. There was a time when I had no knowledge of them. But they have been revealed to me, and now Allah would punish me if I did not say them."

I had sought this interview with the 65-year-old Mr. Muhammad because his preaching is touching, influencing or exciting the whole Negro world in this country, including those who are his severest critics.

Nobody can laugh him off. For even though his devoted formal following is hardly more than a small fraction of the 20 million American Negroes, his harsh message is helping to change the inner feeling and the scene of Negro America.

## THE DENIALS

In my visit with him we talked for a good four hours in two sessions spread over two days. The first session of about an hour and a half was given over to my questions and his answers. In the second one I asked him a few more questions and he answered at length. Then, at my suggestion that he describe in his own way, without interruption from me, his view of the race situation in the United States and the place of the Black Muslim movement in it, he embarked on his declamatory monologue of about an hour.

The total interview dealt, first of all, with the charges made that he preaches hatred and violence against the white people—

The charges that he has organized within his movement a highly disciplined household guard or militia—

The charges that he teaches "black supremacy" and "segregation" of the whites—

The charges that he teaches that the white people are inferior and that all are inherently "devils"—

The charges that he is advocating insurrection in the

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 10*

# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

future, and destruction of the white race, and domination by the Negro population in this country by 1970.

To most of these accusations he gave denials, with explanations of why the charges were being made against him. But to that relating to the devilish nature of the white people he offered a regretful theological explanation as to why it was true, and he detailed supporting grievances to prove it, in chilling language.

He discussed the future possibility—but only a possibility, he insisted—of involving the Black Muslim movement in political voting, perhaps even in the next Presidential election.

He made it clear that there is absolutely no possibility in his view for any integration of the white and black races, or even a living together side by side in the long range future. Total physical separation in different territory and total independence for the Negroes are a "must," he said, and he described how this might be brought about at an unspecified time ahead.

He spoke pityingly about the various "foolish" Negro leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King jr., who are active on the scene today, and he described the Black Muslim elementary schools and "university" and its stores and other businesses in Chicago, Detroit and other places.

He dealt with what he calls the failures of Christianity in the Negro world, and he went deeply into his religion of Islam and the sacred nature and uniqueness of the black race, which he teaches was the "original" race from which the inferior white race was developed.

His Black Muslim preaching is spread through the Negro world largely by his own tabloid newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, published in Chicago, and by a column of his writings in certain Negro weekly newspapers, and his rare public appearances at Black Muslim meetings and rallies which have drawn audiences on special occasions of up to 10,000 persons.

But his message is being effectively relayed to even bigger audiences, perhaps, by his young "traveling minister," Malcolm X, an exceedingly articulate and forceful speaker who has gained a great deal of television "exposure" during the past year.

## THE TAPING

Mr. Muhammad himself (his followers generally call him "mister") has shunned the spotlight and avoided interviews with white news men, and has stayed pretty much within the inner circles of his ministers and followers. He makes his headquarters in Chicago, but passes more and more time now in Arizona because of his severe asthma.

In this series of articles aimed at developing some new and perhaps deeper insights into the thoughts and feelings of Negroes, I had wanted to get a first-hand impression of this influential figure who is the earthly fount of the Black Muslim philosophy.

Through certain Negro intermediaries I arranged to speak with him in Phoenix by long distance telephone from New York, and he agreed to a two-hour interview in his home there.

I asked him if I might bring a tape recorder with me, and he instantly replied:

"That will be all right—because I will have one, too."

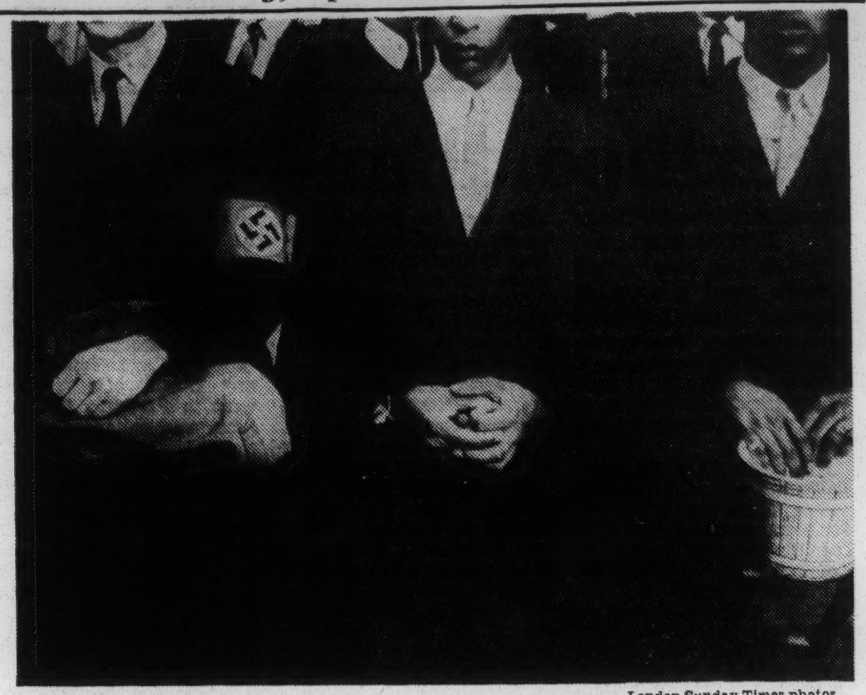
A few days later a Phoenix taxicab driver dropped me off at a little single-level, suburban-type brick house with red tile roof and a pretty, clipped lawn with newly planted flower border. The place was about 15 minutes' drive from downtown Phoenix in a very spruce, middle class Negro residential section.

I pressed the door bell, which had a white crescent insignia of Islam on the button, and a tall, stern Negro man in white opened the door. He turned out later to be Brother Antonne X, who is altogether friendly when you get to know him. He was expecting me, and passed me straight into the living room.

Mr. Muhammad was standing there waiting, and he came forward with a little smile and a handshake. He was gentle but a trifle stiff at first. Brother Antonne took a chair beside him and watched everything with an eagle eye.

We immediately went to work setting up our tape re-

WHITE SYMPATHIZERS—George Lincoln Rockwell, center, leader of the American Nazi Party, and a pair of his lieutenants sit up front as special guests at a giant rally of Black Muslims in Washington. Minority groups tend to lean toward one another in order to gain greater public attention, so in spite of the Muslims' desire to cut themselves off from white America, Muhammad's movement attracts "hate" affiliates like these home-grown Nazis, and his message is changing posture of Negroes.



London Sunday Times photos

IN THEIR HANDS—A white American Nazi, guest of the Muslims at a fund-raising meeting in Washington, sits alongside two Negro followers of Elijah Muhammad. One with strong, judo-trained fingers tightly clutched and the other holding a paper bucket into which the believers will toss their dollar bills for the ever-growing war chest. The Muslims wait, calmly and quietly, apparently within the law—for Allah's announcement of Armageddon. Hard core membership is about 5,000 to 6,000.

repeatedly that this was not done in the movement, that it was severely prohibited and would be punished. Speaking of a demonstration with strongly worded "police state" picket signs which I had witnessed on Fifth Avenue in front of Rockefeller Plaza, which was carried out with astonishing suddenness, efficiency and discipline, he commented:

"Well, I didn't see the signs but I heard that there were some protests made against the arrest of the innocent Brothers, and that's no more than natural; because the charge made against them they could not have been guilty of, because there were no such arms among the Brothers while they were in their meeting. That is absolutely prohibited, and they are not supposed to allow any one to come in with arms on them at the meetings.

"If that happens the guards or searchers will be also punished for allowing arms to enter the meeting, especially when it is at a stationary place."

Mr. Muhammad talks in a somewhat high voice and tends to falter at times, but when he gets emotional the words flow from him rather dramatically and far more easily. He got a little emotional over the police interference with the Black Muslim temple meetings in Los Angeles.

The leader's disclaimer of teaching black supremacy and segregation seemed to be more semantic than actual. In any case, when I asked him about this—and whether his teachings were not in one sense rather similar to the white supremacy and segregationist teachings of the white Citizens Councils of the South, he replied:

"Allah has revealed that the black man is the Original Man, and that's what I teach. Now where this supremacy teaching comes in, that is charged by the disbelievers—that I teach it in order to suit their particular purpose of charging us with being an aggressive movement, or intending to become such, because of the teachings of one being superior over the other."

## THE 'BLAME'

He elaborated on this at length, adding:

"We say that the black man is the first man in the sun, and then they take this and just change it around—that he is teaching supremacy. And that, we are not doing. We already know that we are inferior to you here in Amer-

Meredith and his success in getting into the University of Mississippi with the help of the United States Army.

"Poor fellow," Mr. Muhammad said, "trying to force himself in a school where it is 100 per cent white, and they're telling him they don't want him. And then the Army is standing around trying to force him in there—that's their crazy idea. I wouldn't want the Army to think about coming to help me against a white man, to allow me to come into his house or in the school or his restaurant, or anything else that he owns.

"If you tell me, I don't want you here, that's sufficient. I'm gone."

He said that "our people" would make room for the Muslims "but not for people like Mr. King and Meredith and other leaders who are yet ignorant of the knowledge of themselves."

"They will not accept them," he said, "because they don't have the knowledge of self, and therefore they hate self. They don't have as much love for self as they think they have; they don't have love for themselves if they want to let a strong people swallow them up."

Knowledge of self is a big aim in the Black Muslim teaching, and among other things it means to Mr. Muhammad a "cleaning up" of his people. He puts it this way:

## THE MORALITY

"I am not so foolish a teacher to teach my followers to go and force the white man to allow us to become equal members of his society without cleaning up my people and making them self-respecting first. They must be qualified to demand even a black independent society.

"Therefore I start at the root of the matter. Go clean yourself up and show the world that you have self-respect, and seek education wherever you can get it, and make yourself equal with the civilized society of the earth, and they will accept you.

"Otherwise you are a dog in the society, or you are a rejected human being or beings in the society of the world, and I don't blame them. If you are not qualified and not their equal, stay out of it."

Cleaning up also means a rigorous morality characterized by modesty in women's dress and also by learning to

asking. We can't get along with you in peace, you don't want us in peace.

"If we sit over there in that house across the street, peaceful all day and all night, after a while that worries you. You will send someone around to see what is going on over there in that house. 'I don't ever see them, looks like they're doing nothing over there. Go on over there and see. I never hear what they're planning. Maybe they're planning something over there.'

"It's the white man's way of starting trouble. Breaking the peace of people by interfering with their peace. We're not sitting over there in that house planning anything, but are trying to plan peace for the house."

The Black Muslims, though forbidden by Mr. Muhammad to use weapons, are taught self-defense and to fight back if molested.

"In a case where the person will not accept this and he wants to fight, and he pounces upon us, sometimes without even warning us, we want our own men and women and our girls to learn to try to protect themselves the best they can in case of attack.

"But in the case of the so-called American Negro we have nothing to fight back with. If you come to the door shooting, we have no guns here to shoot back, so therefore the right is with God, as it is written in the Book. He will defend us if we believe in Him and trust Him, and we're not going to start fighting with any one to have Him to defend us. But if we are attacked we depend on Him to defend us because He has stripped us."

Mr. Muhammad's teaching about a separate territory for the American Negroes is open to negotiation, he indicated. He said, "They use this teaching of separation as something that we plan to make war, or cause insurrection in the country for even talking about it, and that it's out of place because we can't solve the problem by separation."

Here's what he says on that subject:

"The American white man is not going to move out of his estate to give to the so-called Negroes. We are not asking you to do any such thing. No, only unless you prevent our going to our own. If you are going to prevent us from going to our own, or back where we came from, where you found us, okay, then give us a place here to ourselves.

## THE TERRITORY

speak with him in Phoenix by long distance telephone from New York, and he agreed to a two-hour interview in his home there.

I asked him if I might bring a tape recorder with me, and he instantly replied:

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Mr. Muhammad was standing there waiting, and he came forward with a little smile and a handshake. He was gentle but a trifle stiff at first. Brother Antonne took a chair beside him and watched everything with an eagle eye.

We immediately went to work setting up our tape recorders, and I quickly discovered that the leader of the Black Muslims was a most considerate host, for he fretted a little to make sure that I was in a comfortable place and that all was well for going ahead.

Actually we ended up sitting side by side on a big, soft, curved green couch, with my recorder on a glass coffee table and his on a side table.

He watched politely to see that we synchronized the start of our tapes, and then we were off.

## THE VIOLENCE

The thing that is most worrisome about the Black Muslims to most white people who follow their activities is the hatred and violence that seems to emanate from the movement. Mr. Muhammad denies preaching either, but there appears to be a distinction between his tough talk against white treatment of the Negroes and anything suggesting the possibility of overt violence by the Black Muslims. As to this last, here is what he told me—and rather impassionedly, too:

"We are not going to take part in any violence whatsoever. We're not going to do anything other than what we are doing. That is trying to deliver the truth to our people and teach them that they are supposed to be Muslims, and that means they are supposed to be righteous people and that we have shed off all things that pertain to wickedness.

"We have stripped ourselves of harm to let you know that we are not people of violence. We don't intend to attack you. We have no idea or knowledge of anything like that coming in the future. Because if we attacked you we would have to have superior weapons to attack you with, and we don't have factories, nor earth to dig metals to manufacture tools or weapons such as you have.

"All this is your own creation, and therefore if we would get some of this you would have to let us have it—and you would not give me a gun to shoot you with. Therefore, God forbid us even to accept weapons, and even to carry anything like weapons to fight with. Because to fight is with Him, and you are not with us."

I asked Mr. Muhammad why, in view of this, a part of his movement was organized as a military unit. I referred to the so-called "Fruit of Islam," a contingent of husky finely trained young Negroes who are, in the opinion of some law enforcement officers, seemingly the cadre for a potential Black Muslim militia.

"The Fruit of Islam means the first converts to Islam here in America, and the first people to be cleaned and made fit to be called Muslims," he answered.

"And their training is on this basis, as being Muslims, to keep in practice; not just say it is their faith or belief. You must put into practice the principles of Islam that you believe in, and serve as an example for others who would accept Islam.

"They take physical training and exercises in many ways to keep physically fit and healthy and to try to get away from many of the physical ailments that they have suffered long before coming into the knowledge of Islam.

"And trained into the knowledge of what the aims and purposes of Islam is for. It is to clean up a people who are not clean, morally as well as spiritually, in America; and to make them fit to become good members of the society."

A little later in connection with this discussion he added:

"I notice that the white people are very keen and alert about who teaches us and what is being taught us. Well, I don't say that I would not do the same if I had brought up a people subjected to slavery under myself. I would like to know what my slave learned or is being taught other than that which I have not taught him."

## THE WEAPONS

As to the disciplined demonstrations in the streets by the Black Muslims, such as were held in New York during the early spring in protest against the arrest of certain members of the movement in Rochester, N. Y., he said, "I can't tell you whether we will have any future demonstrations or not."

"We're not people who actually like to get out in the public for any show," he explained. "We don't like that. If we have to go out in the public we want this going-out to be in a good way, and for a good cause, and to know that it is for justice."

As for carrying weapons, the Black Muslim leader said

with the Black Muslim temple meetings in Los Angeles.

The leader's disclaimer of teaching black supremacy and segregation seemed to be more semantic than actual. In any case, when I asked him about this—and whether his teachings were not in one sense rather similar to the white supremacy and segregationist teachings of the white Citizens Councils of the South, he replied:

"Allah has revealed that the black man is the Original Man, and that's what I teach. Now where this supremacy teaching comes in, that is charged by the disbelievers—that I teach it in order to suit their particular purpose of charging us with being an aggressive movement, or intending to become such, because of the teachings of one being superior over the other."

## THE 'BLAME'

He elaborated on this at length, adding:

"We say that the black man is the first man in the sun, and then they take this and just change it around—that he is teaching supremacy. And that, we are not doing. We already know that we are inferior to you here in America. We cannot say physically or even mentally that we are equal. We can't do it because we're not. We have undergone such treatment that it has absolutely made us inferior to you, and therefore we can't be your equal; not, say, your superior, when it comes to actual physical or educational ability."

To my question whether this black supremacy charge was, then, a distortion of his teaching, he said, "Yes, in order to add to the charge of aggression."

He does, however, believe along with the Southern segregationists that integration is wrong and that intermarriage is evil and that segregated education is all right so long as the Negroes get the same textbooks.

"What are we going to integrate for?" he asked. "What do we want to marry a white woman for, when we are black men? That is going to ruin our family. We will spotty up our family. What does she want a black man for? Or what does the black man want the white one for? This is ignorant on both parts even to want to intermarry with each other. The very desire there is ignorant and evil. It's against divine law for either side to integrate in such a way.

"God made all of us as we are. We have black nations, brown nations, red ones, yellow and white. We have all these five major colors in races or nations. Why should they not remain like that? Why should they be thrown in like bones or birds into a pot to make soup out of?

"I don't blame the white man in the South for not wanting my people to marry with them. But I blame the South for mistreating him. Why don't the South let him go free? Why don't they teach him that, look here, Negro, I freed you a hundred years ago. Now come on, I'm going to put you on the road to freedom because I don't want you in my house as a member of my family. I don't want you sitting down at my table. Go make a table for yourself. Come on, I'll show you how to do this."

But "educational integration," that is good, Mr. Muhammad said.

"We should try to get the same education that is available to all other living people, and if the white man has it in his school, if we prove ourselves intelligent enough or decent enough to get in that particular class—we expect him to allow us to study the same courses he studies," he asserted.

"It doesn't have to be right in his own school if he doesn't want us in his own classes. Just give us the textbooks, that's all. Let us learn what is in the book where he is learning. We don't have to stand together in the class."

## THE SCORN

The black nationalist Mr. Muhammad had only scorn for Negro leaders who sought the help of the United States Constitution to gain Negro rights because, he pointed out, "the Constitution was written up while the white man owned slaves, and he didn't have the slave in mind when he was writing the Constitution."

There always will be bloodshed over any Negro effort to gain equality with the white man, he said, as witness "the example in Mississippi and Alabama today while we are talking." Then he heaped scorn on Dr. Martin Luther King jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of Atlanta, Ga.

"The head of this movement, Mr. King, is trying to force the white man in the South to do that which is against his will and nature, because some of the Northern parties of the white people, maybe in Washington, have said to him that it should be done, and you should have this in the Constitution and therefore you should enforce it, and therefore have it enforced by the government.

"But Mr. King has not learned as yet that the white man in the South is brethren to the white man in Washington, and the Washington white man is the brother to the Southern white man, that they are not going to go to war over the Negro and kill each other for the sake of the unlearned Negro—of the knowledge of self and others—to integrate into that which they don't desire him to be in. They are not going to kill themselves for the sake of a Negro.

"Therefore Mr. King is making a fool out of himself in the South, and acting like a dog around the house, where the master stands at the door and the dog wants something to eat and he just waddles all around the door, around the master's feet, whipping his tail on the ground and grinning and leaning his ears back on his neck to show that he is a good, peaceful dog; and that, master, give me a piece of your meat that you have there in your house. And this while there is plenty of meat for the dog in the bushes out there, if he would go out there and hunt for it."

It was only pity that Mr. Muhammad felt for James

Knowledge of self is a big aim in the Black Muslim teaching, and among other things it means to Mr. Muhammad a "cleaning up" of his people. He puts it this way:

## THE MORALITY

"I am not so foolish a teacher to teach my followers to go and force the white man to allow us to become equal members of his society without cleaning up my people and making them self-respecting first. They must be qualified to demand even a black independent society.

"Therefore I start at the root of the matter. Go clean yourself up and show the world that you have self-respect, and seek education wherever you can get it, and make yourself equal with the civilized society of the earth, and they will accept you.

"Otherwise you are a dog in the society, or you are a rejected human being or beings in the society of the world, and I don't blame them. If you are not qualified and not their equal, stay out of it."

Cleaning up also means a rigorous morality characterized by modesty in women's dress and also by learning to eat the right foods, he said. He scathingly opposes the eating of pork.

I asked Mr. Muhammad how he felt about other Negro people who, though perhaps not leaders in the civil rights cause, were persons whom he knows or has dealings with in business and professional ways, even though they did not believe in his movement.

"We have respect for them and their professions and we try to treat them as we treat ourselves, for that matter," he answered. "We know they are not believers as we are, we know that.

"But as long as they tolerate with our faith we tolerate with them, and we treat them as brothers."

But what about the persons who are sometimes referred to by Black Muslims as the "Uncle Toms," I asked.

"That doesn't mean that we are in any way aggressive toward them and seek an aggressive act," he said. "We only just criticize them for being like that.

"I love all my people," he continued, "and I believe one day they all will be going to believe as I believe. If they don't, why then the prophets have lied, and we just can't make liars out of them."

I asked him what he meant exactly in referring to members of the white race as "devils," and he said that this is the white man's essential nature because he was made that way. He made it clear that he was not speaking rhetorically but in a theological sense—this was what God had revealed.

"It's what He revealed, and what He revealed is what I am teaching and believe in, and this term 'devil,' or name 'devil,' is applied to wicked people, people who are by nature wicked.

## THE INDEPENDENCE

"They were made white, or different color," he said, "because they had been grafted out of the darker people, and therefore they have that color."

This conforms to the version given in Elijah Muhammad's Volume II of "The Supreme Wisdom," in which it is said that the history of the black man goes back to the beginning of creation, but that the history of the white race goes back only 6,000 years.

However, he explained to me that the only point about this that he is teaching is "that the person is the same by nature but he can be better than another one of the same family or race." I took this to mean that all whites have the devil-nature, according to his teaching, but that some can be better than others and that those who do a good deed "will be rewarded for their goodness and their time will be extended."

For his view of the white man in relation to the American Negro, he had this to say:

"This is the real trouble, the whites oppose us, the black people of America who were their slaves once upon a time, from ever becoming anything like self-independent. They want to keep them subject to themselves in a more educational and scientific way, other than their fathers'.

"Their fathers only used the common knowledge of enslaving our people. But today their children can use one of the smartest scientific ways against our people to keep them subject to them that ever was invented by a race of people since time was."

Without saying what this particular kind of knowledge is, he went on to assert:

"We want what you want today, and that is independence. We want peace, and whether you want peace or not, we want peace and security from you. You are our worst enemy. We have no other people who is an enemy to us but you, because we don't live in the country of other people. We live only with you, and we have been here for 400 years, and you say now that we are free, but yet you are doing everything to keep us from exercising the rights of or equals of a free people."

## THE MONOLOGUE

Mr. Muhammad at this point was deep in his long monologue. His talk came flowing out as if from a self-replenishing wellspring. He declaimed his points in a tone of boundless grievance. Several times he was interrupted by his asthmatic cough; he begged pardon for the interruption and continued.

"This I want you to understand," he said. "We are tired of suffering, brutality, beatings, killings, just because you don't like us, and just hate us, and absolutely knowing that we are powerless to resist because you have every odd against us. You are absolutely the boss, and we have nothing. And we are asking to leave you, that's all we're

"But in the case of the so-called American Negro we have nothing to fight back with. If you come to the door shooting, we have no guns here to shoot back, so therefore the right is with God, as it is written in the Book. He will defend us if we believe in Him and trust Him, and we're not going to start fighting with any one to have Him to defend us. But if we are attacked we depend on Him to defend us because He has stripped us."

Mr. Muhammad's teaching about a separate territory for the American Negroes is open to negotiation, he indicated. He said, "They use this teaching of separation as something that we plan to make war, or cause insurrection in the country for even talking about it, and that it's out of place because we can't solve the problem by separation."

Here's what he says on that subject:

"The American white man is not going to move out of his estate to give to the so-called Negroes. We are not asking you to do any such thing. No, only unless you prevent our going to our own. If you are going to prevent us from going to our own, or back where we came from, where you found us, okay, then give us a place here to ourselves.

## THE TERRITORY

"This has gone to too much talk about separation, and about our acting or demanding a territory here. We're not demanding territory in America. No, sir, we're asking America only if they don't allow us, or will not allow us to go back to our own people and to the country from which we came.

"Then give us a place to ourselves, as you know and we have learned through experience for 400 years we can't get along in peace together. You're not going to accept us as your equals and we know you're not going to do so. We disregard your promises because you are not going to live up to them because 100 per cent of your people will not agree with such. And we have proof today in the South."

In answer to a series of questions on this subject of a territory for settlement he told me that " I have in mind the place where I think it would be."

"But I will not say that until my people want to be separated, and until the government itself wants to separate them and give them such a place."

He indicated that the place for settlement, whether in this country or abroad, has not been decided on because it is altogether premature at this point.

He did suggest, though, that the Muslims would be glad to have the government make available to them right now land suitable for growing food.

"I don't think we should, many of us, work without a focus," he said. "If the government will give us the land to farm on, and it should give us some farm land to go and raise our own food. They can do it to us. But we will buy it if we have the money to buy it. If we don't have the money to buy it, we can't buy it, but the government should do so because the government has plenty of land according to statistics."

He said that if the land were made available the Muslims would begin work "tomorrow morning."

"You won't have to drive us to it, we would do that religiously, because we want our people to have something for themselves and to grow food for them and clothes."

In answering my questions about Black Muslim finances he said that no member is forced to give money but that if they want to buy a piece of property they agree among themselves how much each will give of his earnings toward the purchase price.

"It may demand $50 of each of us, and we buy it and we sacrifice ourselves to give that $50 out of our wages for so long a time, a month, two months, three months, four months, something like that."

I mentioned that I had heard that active members were required to contribute a total as high as $90 a month to the movement.

"Those who are able might give that much," he replied, "but he's not forced. But as I said, after we learn that you have an income of $100 a week we ask you how much of this do you have to pay out for the house rent, food, clothing, and other overhead expenses, and you tell us. And how much the government has to take out for taxes and whatnot. Then whatever is left, then you will tell me and you will tell me what you can give out of that. It's not for me to tell you. That's forcing you."

## THE TARGET DATE

On the subject of using the power of the vote, Mr. Muhammad said this was all "future talk" at this point, but he indicated that there was a possibility that this might be used in the 1964 election. In order for a candidate to gain an indorsement, he said, "he would have to be in sympathy with us and he would have to have some knowledge of the aims and purposes of Islam in America."

"The aims and purposes of Islam here among my people," he added, "is to give them a knowledge of self and a knowledge of God, knowledge of their religion Islam and to separate them in time, that these 17 million or 20 million American dark people should go for themselves. This is the basis of the whole, it is to separate our people and put them by themselves."

Although he kept emphasizing that the voting idea was in a very indecisive stage now, I asked, if it should materialize as a Black Muslim policy, would that change the movement's position with respect to military service? At the present time it opposes military service and its members refuse to serve.

"If it became materialized, naturally military participation might take place, but I don't know yet, not as yet myself," he said.

Replying to the reports that he had set the date 1970 as the time when the Negroes would take over in the United

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# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page 10.)

States, Mr. Muhammad said this was misrepresented, and that what he actually had said was that "by 1970 all of my people, or most of them, at least 90 per cent of them will be believing in Islam—that's all that was said."

Asked about whether Fidel Castro was included by him in the group of "original men," he said:

"I am so concerned where the so-called Negro stands and what he should be and who he should try to join onto that I have no time to study the history of Castro and the Spanish people in the South."

The Black Muslim movement was started in the early 1930s by Wallace Fard of Detroit, who later disappeared. Mr. Muhammad, who was born Elijah Poole in Georgia 65 years ago, took over the leadership after the founder's disappearance.

I asked Mr. Muhammad about this. Is there, I asked, a mystery about what happened to him?

"No sir, there is no mystery of what happened to him," he answered.

Could Mr. Muhammad say what happened?

"He is just waiting for his proper time to deliver speeches."

Did Mr. Muhammad consider Mr. Fard (whose name he pronounces Farad) to be not only a holy man but actually a divine person?

"He is God Himself. He is the One that we have been looking for for the last 2,000 years to come. He is the One and His word bears witness to the fact that He is the One."

And you knew him, I asked?

"I do know him."

Is Mr. Muhammad in touch with him now?

"Yes, spiritually."

I asked him about a successor. Did he have in mind the identity of his own successor, since he himself is known as the inspired Messenger of Allah?

# TEN NEGROES:

***"It never occurred to me until I was deep in the interviewing of Negroes for the series that a preconception was hampering my understanding, for there is in truth only one kind of American."***

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

Negroes say that it has always been hard for them to communicate their thoughts and feelings to white Americans, and that the fault has been mostly on the white side.

Not only has the white population been generally inattentive to Negro efforts to be heard and understood, they say, but even when the whites have tried to listen they have been impeded by an unreal image of the Negro.

The Negroes say it has been this image which the white people have heard speaking rather than the real Negro. And they contend that this artificial, ideological notion of the Negro, whatever its variations, has been deeply embedded in white American culture since slavery days. And that essentially it is a slavery image of the Negro.

All of this was impressed on me by Negroes during my earliest interviews for the series of articles on Negro thinking and feeling which I wrote under the title, "Ten Negroes," for publication in the Herald Tribune in ten installments between April 30 and May 10.

In the deep and enlightening experience I underwent during months of interviewing dozens of Negroes in many fields and in different parts of the country I became fully convinced of the truth of this Negro viewpoint, though not necessarily of all their other viewpoints, which are very diverse indeed.

*A THREAT of boycott and segregationist retaliation yesterday took some of the gloss from the shaky peace engineered in Birmingham between business men and Negro leaders. There may be trouble ahead. For a report from the scene, read Charles Portis' story, on page 14.*

Though I had spent much time in the last eight years on assignments involving desegregation conflicts, and had watched with sympathy the Negro struggle for civil rights and equality in riot-torn places in the Deep South and here in New York City, I learned that my own "hearing" of the Negro was being obstructed.

Take one seemingly simple but subtle point—their status as American citizens.

I had never doubted that the Negroes were in theory full American citizens in every respect and legally entitled to all their civil rights. I knew full well that they were being systematically impeded by white groups and institutions in attaining these rights, and privately I deplored that.

But I felt more or less unthinkingly that they were a separate group of Americans, one which was in a slow, sure process of winning full acceptance and participation.

It never occurred to me until I was deep in the interviewing of Negroes for the series that a preconception was hampering my understanding, for there is in truth only one kind of American. That is a *full American*, entitled to all rights, privileges and equal enjoyment of opportunities, and all the rest, without having to *earn* these and without having to *prove* himself.

Unless, perhaps, he is a convicted criminal.

Then the sense of outrage which the Negroes feel today dawned on me. The outrage of being required, seemingly

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 14*

# TEN NEGROES

*(Continued from page one)*

forever, to *earn* their way to full enjoyment of their rights as Americans.

Now this becomes a hard point to develop clearly in words here. It's like talking about one's humility. The humility vanishes when you explain it and the words end up seeming merely pompous. Still, in this case the effort seems worth the risk.

I came to look on Negroes for the first time as just plain Americans like myself and like everybody else whose forebears came to these shores from some foreign land. They now seemed to be no different except as we all are different as individuals. The illumination which had dawned on me neutralized in my mind in a radical way the preconceptions and loaded overtones which looking on the Negro color had formerly cued off in my mind.

Like a young schoolboy who half believes an overheard cliche that all blondes are dizzy and unreliable but grows up to find that is pure nonsense, I came to see that Negroes are all kinds of Americans. Poor Americans and rich ones. Boring and fascinating Americans. Sloppy and fastidious Americans. Mean and courteous Americans—just like the rest of "us."

Further insights came to me when the articles began to appear in the newspaper and an avalanche of mail descended on me. Much of it was praise from Negroes and whites, but that is irrelevent here. More to the point is the fact that much criticism of the series came from Negroes.

Some told me with great annoyance that they knew all about the things "my" Negroes had revealed but the articles had said nothing whatever about what they, the letter writers felt.

Black nationalists condemned my choosing certain moderate viewpoints to be aired, and some moderates said I had overloaded the series with the extremist Black Muslim philosophy. A couple of important Negroes objected personally to having been left out.

I began to see—indeed, feel—what numbers of Negroes had tried to tell me during the interviewing, that there are many Negro viewpoints and a great deal of conflict among the Negroes themselves over their diverse viewpoints.

## *An Angry Woman*

All this criticism proved one thing to me, that the series had communicated something at least—for these Negro critics were certainly communicating to this white man in their angry letters.

One of the bitterest, angriest and most contemptuous letters—and one of the most literate—came from a woman. I telephoned her and asked her permission to use it with her name. In the nicest way, she agreed.

I believe her letter makes a good point, and one missing from the series, and that it is a fine example of a Negro person communicating fully to the white side. So I reproduce it in full here:

Herald Tribune photo by TERENCE McCARTEN

Miss Melba Tolliver, who wrote the letter.

"Dear Mr. Bird:

"What happened? Did you find the lake of Negro opinion too chilly for the nice long swim you intended? You certainly dived in with all your might with the lead-off article on the Black Muslims. Then, as your series on the 'Ten Negroes' progressed, it seemed as if you decided to get out of that cold river of controversy as rapidly as you had dived in.

### *"We wouldn't THINK of using dogs against Negroes up North!"*

brief about herself that I could use with her letter. She said that she is 25, was born in the South but lived later in Ohio, became a nurse and worked as one in New York, and now is employed by a pharmaceutical company.

For the sake of the interest—and criticism—shown in the mail response over how I put the series together starting from cold, here is the rundown:

The assignment was to do ten articles on the race decided that I ought to try to make my interviews really deep, extending over, say, three hours or so. And to record them on tape.

I fell far short of the 100 interviews but most of those I did do went pretty close into three hours and some much longer.

My choice of those selected for the individual articles was wholly arbitrary. Many Negroes who are important on the American scene I never approached, and never intended to—and for reasons having nothing whatever to do with my estimate of their worth, influence or anything reflecting on them.

They have their job to do and I have mine and I didn't think they fitted into the ten-article format as well as certain others, including a couple of altogether unknown persons.

I decided that the leaders of the two opposite extreme movements most spectacularly active on the American scene ought to be represented. But I didn't think the series needed other highly influential organization leaders. I mean people like Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, Whitney Young jr., head of the Urban League, Jim Farmer, of CORE; A. Philip Randolph, the Negro labor statesman, and many others equally active in Negro affairs. Or even Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

In this retrospective examination of the series I think reference ought to be made, however, to the fact that the popular reception among the Negro masses of the Black Muslim denunciation of white oppression on the one side and the successes of the non-violence demonstrations in the South on the other side have tended to make an old-line civil-rights organization such as the NAACP "harder" and more extreme in its public statements.

## *A Hardening*

The NAACP some months ago got in a hassle with white "liberals" in the labor movement, accusing the white liberals of job discrimination. On top of this, Rep. Powell, who has gone extremist in the anti-white direction with a vengeance, jumped on the Negro NAACP leadership, calling for ouster of the whites in leadership positions.

None of that seemed of interest to the series, especially since these persons have well aired their views in the news reports, and there is every indication they will be continuing to do so in the future.

In the case of the NAACP, this is not meant to diminish in any way the lustrous achievements of that organization over the years, achievements which are continuing at an accelerated pace into the present, in advancing Negro rights.

Federal Judge James B. Parsons, of the United District Court of Northern Illinois, told me in Chicago that the massive accumulation of NAACP briefs over the years had helped to build up much of the civil-rights laws of this nation.

Judge Parsons is one example of many Negroes whom I did approach for interviews, and who patiently gave me of their valuable time and who were not, in the end, profiled in the series. This was not for any lack whatever in the thoughts and feelings they communicated to me, but because of reasons of "fit" in the series, factors which lay altogether outside the content of their interviews.

Judge Parsons is one of those Negroes who believes matory" but that they have no understanding whatever that these are news articles about problems which are daily occurrences with Negroes.

"We must portray what the Negroes feel, and in so doing we may be accused of exciting or inflaming the people, our readers," he said.

"I don't think the average white person has had the contact with Negroes that we must have in this country sooner or later," he added. "The question is one of communication, if we are really going to solve the problem. White people know nothing about it, and they really can't feel it. It's difficult to try to explain to them what we feel and what the Negro would like for them to understand.

"I know a number of executives who rarely come in contact with any Negro except their chauffeur or maid, and they more or less put all Negroes in the same category.

"I can go to some affair," he continued, "as John Sengstacke, the publisher of The Defender, and that's one thing. But walking in as a Negro, that's something else again. I'm treated differently, then. And this is the thing we're trying to correct.

"Wherever we go we want to go on the basis that we are qualified to meet the standards rather than on the basis of being a Negro or white. This is the difference we are trying to get over to the white people. That plus the fact that there are differences in people, and you can't put everybody in one classification just because they are colored."

At the very outset of my researches I went to Clarence B. Jones, general counsel of the Gandhi Society, a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King jr., for orientation. He was immensely communicative in the best sense of the word, and it was he who discussed the white man's image of the Negro with me for the first time.

"It comes as a surprise, the intensity of James Baldwin's writings," he said, "because the white population has not known the Negro—has not known him in any way except in the way he has wanted to know the Negro.

"I would assume that if you have created an entire structure of how another individual is supposed to react and supposed to be, and you operate within the framework of that, it comes as a great shock to find that the image you have created is only an illusion, and does not correspond in any way with the actual factors."

"Whites have wanted to understand the Negro as someone who was content, so long as you treated him occasionally in a nice way and so long as you set aside a place for him so he would be a good and faithful person, and a good friend," he continued.

"The white man has simply heard himself for many years—his own self talking. He has not let the Negro speak."

There was Dr. William Stuart Nelson, vice-president of Howard University, who traced for me, among many other aspects of race, the development in American culture from the slavery days of the image of inferiority which permeates white thought about the Negro this very day.

And there were many other Negro figures in different walks of life who patiently explained their inner thoughts to me on many aspects of the racial subject.

The conclusions I drew from all these interviews were clear enough to me at the end.

First and foremost, the Negroes want their rights without any further stalling. They are in no position yet to force a quick resolution of the struggle for their rights, but they no longer will accept the "rightness" of the gradualist approach.

## *An Attitude*

And they want more than their rights, they want equality and freedom. These goals are not easy to spell out in precise definitions, but the people who have bespoken in

Herald Tribune photo by TERENCE McCARTEN

Miss Melba Tolliver, who wrote the letter.

"Dear Mr. Bird:

"What happened? Did you find the lake of Negro opinion too chilly for the nice long swim you intended? You certainly dived in with all your might with the lead-off article on the Black Muslims. Then, as your series on the 'Ten Negroes' progressed, it seemed as if you decided to get out of that cold river of controversy as rapidly as you had dived in.

"What happened? Weren't you able to find any interviewees who could or would give you the real reasons for the bitterness, disenchantment, and despair of the Negro in America? Were you unable, in all your travel and investigation, to find just one Negro who could or would tell you what it's like to be an American Negro?

"I cannot believe that you could not find one Negro who could tell you what it's like to walk down the street in a predominately white community with all of the stares and whispering. I cannot believe that you could not find one Negro who could tell you of all the little things that happen to him every day of his life on his way to work or school. All of the small things that are a prelude to his work or school day. The things that he accepts, but not quite. The multitude of his 'small' things that sink into his unconscious self, but display themselves in his early morning scowl and his pre-coffee grumpiness. The 'minor' things that cause his white co-workers to wonder why Miss or Mr. Negro is so 'darned evil.'

"Mr. Bird, I would rather believe in the things stated in the United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 than believe that you could not find just *one* American Negro who could shed some real light on what it's like to be a Negro in the United States.

"For the past week I, and others like me, have been waiting patiently to see one white person, through a series of profiles on ten Negroes, enlighten other members of his race on the reasons why the Negro feels and acts the way he does. I, and others like me, have been sorely disappointed. Negroes have not been disappointed in the same way as whites have been. We have not been expecting you to tell us things that we did not know, for we are intimately knowledgeable about the things you wrote and did not write, as well as the most minute goings-on in the lives of most white people. Not, in the case of the latter, because we want to but because we have had no other choice.

## An Accusation

"Yet, in all this time no one has wanted or tried to know anything about us. No one cares when they run those beautiful shampoo commercials that we have kinky hair, most of it black with no hopes of finding out 'whether blondes have more fun.' No one cares if our hands never become 'soft and white' no matter how many jars and bottles of 'Brand X' we use.

"I won't waste the time, Mr. Bird, to go on with this little story because the things I have just written about are only 1/100,000,000,000 of the many things that go into the making of a bitter, disenchanted, and despairing Negro.

"The invisible man that no one knows or cares about. The invisible man that the white world wishes would completely disappear and solve the 'American Dilemma."

"But we're not going anywhere, you know. We're here to stay. That's why I, and so many others, are disappointed, Mr. Bird. Because you had the opportunity to shed some light on America's 'dark problem' and you failed, you failed miserably.

"As we say 'uptown,' Mr. Bird, why didn't you 'come on down front and tell it like it really is?'

"Cordially,
(Signed) MELBA TOLLIVER."

"P. S. Miss Calloway wasn't too much help either when she said 'she forgot she was a Negro.' The majority of us are not seeking to forget, but rather a little remembrance on the part of white Americans!"

I asked Miss Tolliver if she would tell me something

None of that seemed of interest to the series, especially since these persons have well aired their views in the news reports, and there is every indication they will be continuing to do so in the future.

In the case of the NAACP, this is not meant to diminish in any way the lustrous achievements of that organization over the years, achievements which are continuing at an accelerated pace into the present, in advancing Negro rights.

Federal Judge James B. Parsons, of the United District Court of Northern Illinois, told me in Chicago that the massive accumulation of NAACP briefs over the years had helped to build up much of the civil-rights laws of this nation.

Judge Parsons is one example of many Negroes whom I did approach for interviews, and who patiently gave me of their valuable time and who were not, in the end, profiled in the series. This was not for any lack whatever in the thoughts and feelings they communicated to me, but because of reasons of "fit" in the series, factors which lay altogether outside the content of their interviews.

Judge Parsons is one of those Negroes who believes that much progress is being made in race relations.

"There is no question," he told me, "that the Mississippi of this year is ten years in advance, so to speak, of the Mississippi of a year ago."

At another point he said: "I think that Negro novelist James Baldwin's point of view is very good. I think his view is that it's exceedingly difficult for you to become acquainted with what's really going on in this Negro-America relationship. One of the reasons it's difficult for you—thinking of you in terms of the 'White Man,' if there is a 'White Man'—is that it is a matter of tradition for the whites to think in terms of 'The Negro.' And there is no 'The Negro.' There are many 'Negroes.'

"You can't learn to communicate with Negroes academically. You can't sit around a desk and read books and learn how to do it. You have to get out and do it. And Negroes can't learn to communicate with white people across racial barriers. They have to get across the barriers and start living and working and thinking together and their communication becomes common.

Another man who leveled with me in a genuine effort to communicate was John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Daily Defender and affiliated Negro newspapers, and one of the more active Negro figures in Chicago.

Answering accusations which are often made against situation, each focalized around a particular Negro person who would speak his views in his own words. I decided that for each of the ten persons profiled in the series I ought to talk to ten others—a hundred altogether. I also the Negro press for being overly sensational, he said that white people "see headlines that they think are inflam-

## The Writer

Contrary to the popular impression of a professional journalist, Robert S. Bird is a slow man coming to grips with the typewriter. After spending 35 of his 57 years in this business, he has almost as many awards as grey hairs and he likes to worry out all the aspects of every problem before he sits down to write.

He's the kind of man in unrimmed glasses and neatly pressed suit who sometimes seems to melt into the scenery and not be there at all, but he can take his middling height and weight and Amesbury, Mass., accent and plant himself in front of a situation and not budge for all the officials in a bureaucracy.

Because he often carries a tape-recorder with him, he has been mistaken for an FBI official. He is not.

He is a reporter who started as a boy and kept going through crime reports, fire stories, political crises and international incidents to become one of the top men in his profession today. When he

ROBERT S. BIRD
*Our National Correspondent*

is at home—and he has been travelling constantly for the past five months to work on "Ten Negroes"—he lives in Greenwich Village with his wife, the former Hester Faison. His son, Robert jr., is a reporter for another newspaper. This week, Mr. Bird will be taking some time off to see them both.

There was Dr. William Stuart Nelson, vice-president of Howard University, who traced for me, among many other aspects of race, the development in American culture from the slavery days of the image of inferiority which permeates white thought about the Negro this very day.

And there were many other Negro figures in different walks of life who patiently explained their inner thoughts to me on many aspects of the racial subject.

The conclusions I drew from all these interviews were clear enough to me at the end.

First and foremost, the Negroes want their rights without any further stalling. They are in no position yet to force a quick resolution of the struggle for their rights, but they no longer will accept the "rightness" of the gradualist approach.

## An Attitude

And they want more than their rights, they want equality and freedom. These goals are not easy to spell out in precise definitions, but the people who have bespoken in their thoughts have tried to explain in their various ways what they mean.

If they, or Negroes in general, have failed to communicate what they mean by freedom and equality in America today this does not matter. They still want these enjoyments. Perhaps one way for a white to understand what they mean is to match in his own mind every freedom and opportunity for equality which he enjoys with the same for any Negro who is similarly endowed with intelligence, ability and other traits.

All this leads me to another conviction, that the push by the Negroes of America for these objectives is harder than it ever was, it will get even harder in the future, and the more the Negro gains in this intensifying struggle the more he will demand. And there will be no end to it until "equality" is achieved. Then skin color will carry no ideological meaning whatever.

The drive for advancement will become increasingly spectacular, for the conviction is abroad in the Negro world that white America needs to be shocked and shamed before the world into giving the Negro his rights.

There is, moreover, a buoyant new spirit rippling through much of the Negro world—pride of the black man. This comes in part from the spectacular emergence of the African people into nationhood and the presence in the world councils of the United Nations of their leaders and diplomats. Proud, highly educated, and black as black can be. Black men of kingly self-confidence, standing up straight, tall and level-eyed to the white man.

And partly this pride in race comes also from the yeasty ferment of the Black Muslim philosophy which pervades the entire Negro world. Though it is not converting Negroes in mass numbers yet, it is making them feel mighty proud of their Negro-hood, so to speak.

Along with this, pride of race goes out from the Black Muslim preachers who are holding the attention of masses of Negroes, a denunciation of the white man which is balm to Negro self-esteem.

## An Escape Valve

The bulk of Negroes in the great cities of the country are especially happy to see the white man kicked around rhetorically. It is for these Negro people a wonderful escape valve for their long-smouldering resentments. It accounts for the popularity of Malcolm X, the Black Muslim spellbinder who is afraid of nobody and loves to engage in a chilling kind of brinksmanship in his speeches. And for the new extremist fling of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

Most of the Negroes I interviewed believe that there is a possibility—though by no means a probability—of outbreaks of violence among the urban masses in the future. They seem to feel that this will depend upon economic conditions and the degree of frustration which Negroes will be allowed to encounter through discrimination affecting the fundamentals of their life. Fundamentals such as food and shelter, education for their children, hope for the future.

Unemployment is the great danger, and tokenism in employment the big evil of today, most of them say.

Among the Negro leaders and men of affairs, and among large numbers of the non-despairing people, there is a feeling also of an approaching fullness of time for them, a sense of destiny, a feeling that the oppressive restraints are somehow about to give. Hopefully, a feeling that this will come about through a new awareness and show of good will by white America. But otherwise through a breaking of the restraints themselves.

# NEGRO EDUCATOR'S SEARCHING LOOK AT OUR SOCIETY

By Robert S. Bird
*Herald Tribune National Correspondent*

In his cloistered office on a campus in Washington, D. C., a Negro university president distinguished with degrees and honors answered a bitter question that rattles in the minds of most white people in the nation's Capital.

Why don't the Negroes themselves do more to clean up crime among their own people?

Negro crime in Washington is becoming a global scandal as foreign diplomats in the Capital watch and wonder at the American failure in handling the peril of violence there.

But what about the Negroes themselves? Why don't they do something about policing their own people?

I asked the question of a number of Negroes in Washington and other crime-afflicted cities. But the answer of Dr. James M. Nabrit jr., president of Howard University, the nation's biggest predominantly Negro university, seemed to embrace most searchingly and vividly a viewpoint shared by all.

It was a little surprising to hear a noted educator from the academic world—even though a Negro one—speak almost as devastatingly about white America's failures in race relations as the Black Muslims themselves, while disagreeing utterly with their philosophy and what he called their hate declarations and talk of violence.

*This is the second article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird on the Negroes' views of white America.*

Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO
Howard University's Dr. James M. Nabrit jr.

But Dr. Nabrit insisted that the question needed to be put in perspective, and he gave it bluntly.

"Many of my white friends come to me from time to time to sympathize with me because of something the Negro has done or something some Black Muslim has said," he began. "They tell me they are very sorry about it. But I reply, don't come feeling sorry for me. You ought to sympathize with society. It is society which has all the aberrant personalities—the white ones as well as the Negro ones.

"I tell them that we Negroes don't indict the white race because of the John Birch Society or the Klu-Klux Klan or George Rockwell, the American Nazi leader, or any other persons who deviate from the accepted standards. We simply hold that these are persons who have broken off in some abnormal way within society. We think of them as belonging within the confines of the group."

Dr. Nabrit knows the Negro crime subject from first hand experience. He holds a law degree with honors from Northwestern University and an honorary doctorate in law from Morehouse College in Atlanta, where he got his bachelor of arts degree with honors in 1923. Sixty-two years old now, he was a practicing lawyer in both the South and the North before becoming a national authority on civil rights and constitutional law.

*More on TEN NEGROES P 10*

# TEN NEGROES

*(Continued from page one)*

As an educator he taught law for twenty years at Howard prior to his appointment as president of the university in 1960. He comes, moreover, from an Atlanta family of scholars who have made important careers for themselves.

Taking all these things together, he can afford a disarming affectation when he settles in his chair to talk. Dr. Nabrit discourses in the leisurely, round-about fashion of a crack-voiced country preacher—making, however, impressive good sense in every sentence. He smokes a cigar and waves it around as he drives home a point, and a half dozen spare cigars are stacked in a breast pocket.

"I say to my white friends," he continued, "you ought to understand that we Negroes aren't going to be better than American society itself. We're part of it. You're talking to me as if the Negro ought not to have any of these aberrations. But I say the Negro should mirror everything in American society—because he's part of it. That's why I don't get upset over the Black Muslim and over all these other things.

"I'm not pleased with them, but I am not made hopeless or led to feel that everything is going to collapse. Rockwell doesn't represent America, he just represents some people who have peculiar ideas."

Taking his time in circling around to the target question—Washington crime—Dr. Nabrit warned that if his blunt views and those of other equally frank speaking Negroes were printed here they would disturb many well-meaning whites who have come to feel a little self-righteous about the "progress" of the Negroes.

"But they ought not to be disturbed," he growled from his tilted back chair, "because this country was conceived and developed and built under a revolutionary set of principles—principles that agitated and stirred up all Europe and England and the Americas from the 1700s straight through to the adoption of our Constitution and since.

"The point is, some of the fire and enthusiasm and adventurousness and keen perception of all that has become blunted by an affluent society, and by the fact that we are in a leadership role in the free world. But if people in other countries don't think that the United States is big enough to embrace differences in people they're not going to accept the leadership of this country."

Howard University's campus is vibrant with the hum and life of students of many foreign nationalities, of varied skin colors, and diverse languages. Of the approximately 7,000 students, more than 1,000—more than any other university in the country—are from other countries all over the world.

## *Friend of Statesmen*

Dr. Nabrit himself has sat, moreover, on international conferences in other countries and has a wide acquaintance with both the statesmen and the capitals of foreign nations.

He argued that if the race issue is "unsettling" to many white Americans it was the facing-up to such unsettling issues in the past which made this country great. He voiced a thought heard everywhere in Negro America, that time is running short in this country for redeeming for the Negro minority the vaunted promises of democracy. America does not have the time left that the Roman Empire, or ancient Greece, or even England, had to build and maintain world leadership, he warned.

"It seems to me that we ought to be grasping for the kinds of things that would make our leadership survive," he said. "And I think one such thing is tolerance and understanding and respect for people who differ from us.

"We Negroes will work out our solution in this country in any case, because we have more time than the country has. I don't mean we want the time—but psychologically and chronologically we have more time to work out our solutions than the United States.

"As for the country, we ought to set up as a pillar of our society the idea of aligning our nation with the philosophy that men differ in their backgrounds and thoughts and languages and colors—but they are all men."

Meantime, he emphasized, Negro resentment at the disadvantageous position in which they remain a full cen-

Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO

**Dr. James M. Nabrit jr. On a Recent Visit to New York**

*". . . I have lived in the South. There the Sheriff is the man. I don't care what people write in books, it's the Sheriff who has contact with the jury list, with the taxes and assessments, and all the legal and illegal activities going on in the county. He can make a person's life miserable by harassment—I mean white or black."*

Negro in these counties in the South the image of America is the image of the Sheriff. This is what people don't understand. Many of the Sheriffs are good people, however, else the Negroes would not have survived.

"But the importance that this Southern Negro sees in the elections in the United States is not who is elected President, all he wants to know is who's going to be Sheriff. That's the person who's going to be on his back. I'm not talking about Negroes in the universities, I'm talking about the ordinary Negro whose life is just one risk after another."

Dr. Nabrit, who spent much time in the South working as a lawyer in behalf of these rural Negroes, spoke with pain and compassion in his voice.

"For people to talk about the trend in the United States being a trend toward equal opportunities, that's true enough—but this Southern Negro can't see it," he said. "He can't see any trend. The white people are not even talking to him.

"So if you asked him what the trend is he would say people are getting meaner and meaner, and he has taken all he can take. And he just has to do something about it. And this surprises the white people in the South."

Dr. Nabrit circled back on the crime-in-Washington question, offering a profound insight into this problem.

A basic difficulty is, he said, that the Negro masses are being asked by the whites to assume citizenship responsibility before they are allowed citizenship freedoms.

"My first answer to this crime problem is," he said, "that all of us need to work on the deficiencies of our society which prevent people who want to work from working. And which don't let people get the kind of education for life in society that they want. Now if we are willing to do that, I am willing to address myself not to what the Negro is doing in Washington about the crime matter but what the citizens are doing about it.

"I was called into a meeting with very good white

terested in studying. They may have high I. Q.'s but they get talking to some fellow on the corner and he says I am studying electricity and you're foolish to try it because I can't get a job.

"Meanwhile, here we are trying to tell them, if you don't get an education you'll be lost, because you can't live in America unless you have the education that will fit you to deal with the machines and the techniques of today."

Dr. Nabrit said that to prevent hatred and violence in America three things are especially needed in society—"and for conformity to the basic principles of this country call for conformity to the basic principles of this country and a little moral leadership in places where it ought to be shown."

The three basics, he said, were:

"One, to do something about more evenly distributing education of citizens in all groups.

"Two, to enable people to live where they are able to live and where they have a desire to live.

"Three, to enable people to work and hold a job and get promoted on the basis of their ability."

The Howard educator, constitutional lawyer, and international figure spoke scornfully about the "depressing" statement made by a Southern Congressman a few weeks ago proposing that the Marines be called in to help clean up the Washington crime situation.

"The trouble is we are not dealing with the things that produce this situation," he said in summation. "But if we don't do something about it then in ten years we will have to have troops in all the big cities—because we'll have hundreds of thousands of people who will have no way to make a living and will be either on welfare or out with a gun trying to take something from society to live on."

**TOMORROW: Another revealing conversation. Mr. Martin Luther King tells what Ameri**

kinds of things that would make our leadership survive," he said. "And I think one such thing is tolerance and understanding and respect for people who differ from us.

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"As for the country, we ought to set up as a pillar of our society the idea of aligning our nation with the philosophy that men differ in their backgrounds and thoughts and languages and colors—but they are all men."

Meantime, he emphasized, Negro resentment at the disadvantageous position in which they remain a full century after slavery is running higher than ever.

"And one of the ways it is manifesting itself," he said, "is through those 300,000 people whom Elijah Muhammad has got in the Black Muslim movement. We ought to understand, though, that it is a marvel that more of this resentment has not been stored up within the Negro, that he has been able to take all he has taken without becoming absolutely anti-American, anti-white, anti-everything.

"It shows qualities which the Negro and America both ought to be proud about because, given the same circumstances, I don't know of another race that would have reacted this way over that period of time."

Coming around to the subject of Negro violence, Dr. Nabrit continued:

"Some of the Negroes do feel violent, of course. But we don't have anybody in the Negro group preaching that sort of thing in organized fashion except in the Black Muslims. And I would hope we would have fewer of those, because it's futile and destructive of everything that would make life worth having.

"We are trying to narrow the circumference around them, and to show the weaknesses of their arguments about separation and that sort of thing. But these people are shrewd. They can do some things that not even the churches can do. They can control their people.

## *A Consuming Hatred*

"These Black Muslims don't drink, they don't smoke, they don't run around with other women. They stick with their families and pay their debts. Their people do a lot of things we would like to see everybody practice. So you have to watch them because of those things, to see that they don't capture people. Because the other thing is worse. It's a consuming hatred they have, and they may erupt in violence as they have already done in some places. All these things call for America to do something about these things that are wrong in our society."

The university president frequently referred to the good intentions of many white citizens, contrasting them with the harsh realities as seen through Negro eyes.

"I think this country would like to see us get an even break," he philosophized, "but the image which so many Negroes get from this country is not that at all. If you have been down in Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia—where I have been—you know that's not the image there.

"Their image is of fear, and bodily harm, and economic boycotts, and intimidation of all kinds. These are with the Negro every day. His fear is of getting less justice in the courts even if he shows the nerve and ability to get somebody to represent him.

"I have lived in the South. There the Sheriff is the man. I don't care what people write in books, it's the Sheriff who has contact with the jury list, with the taxes, and assessments, and all the legal and illegal activities going on in the county. He can make a person's life miserable by harassment—I mean white or black.

"Only a few white people in the county can do anything with him, and they work hand in glove with him. So to the question, offering a profound insight into this problem.

A basic difficulty is, he said, that the Negro masses are being asked by the whites to assume citizenship responsibility before they are allowed citizenship freedoms.

"My first answer to this crime problem is," he said, "that all of us need to work on the deficiencies of our society which prevent people who want to work from working. And which don't let people get the kind of education for life in society that they want. Now if we are willing to do that, I am willing to address myself not to what the Negro is doing in Washington about the crime matter but what the citizens are doing about it.

"I was called into a meeting with very good white friends of mine recently when a white woman who was there, and who is a friend of mine, asked me what we were doing about this crime situation. She said she couldn't walk in the park at night.

"I said, this thing affects us all. You're not the only one who can't walk in the park at night. I told her we have had fear of walking in parks at night all our lives—but not for the same reason she had. After we got that straightened out we were able to make some headway in that meeting."

Dr. Nabrit moved to the heart of the Washington problem, saying:

"The Negro cannot assume the responsibilities of a citizen unless he understands what they are.

"I say in all my speeches that the Negro must assume the responsibilities before we get the rights. But that's all right for me to preach it—and I do try to convince as many Negroes as I can—but too many of these people I am talking about don't have this fine line of understanding.

"They can't see that. All they think is that they are not being treated like others in our society. So when we begin talking about what their responsibilities are it doesn't make any impression on them at all.

"Now I think this is one of the responsibilities of Negro leadership, to try to get this across, and I think Negro leadership is trying. I notice that Dr. Martin Luther King jr. advocates it in all his speeches, and the N. A. A. C. P. is advocating it. They all realize that there are citizenship responsibilities which free people have to assume, and if you're reaching for freedom you had better assume them. But that's not easy to get across to the Negro people as it is to sit here and discuss it."

Though Dr. Nabrit insists that the prevention of Negro crime is a task for all society and not for the Negroes alone, still he personally ordered the university months ago to initiate several different kinds of programs to improve Negro family life and living conditions in slum or run-down areas in the vicinity of the Howard campus. He keeps in close touch with these programs, and he was thinking of them when he said:

"If you went out and talked to families near the university where a white policeman beat up a Negro father of a family last week—a family that lacked food and heat—and if you spoke to them about what you and I are discussing right now, they would not know what you were talking about.

## *One Step at a Time*

"I have to tell these people things one step at a time. I say, if you will do this first, then the policeman will not beat you up, then you will get heat. All the philosophy about citizenship responsibilities and freedom doesn't reach this man and his family at all. The family doesn't have anything you can hook into. It's like trying to hang up a suit of clothes in a closet without hooks. The clothes just fall right down on the floor.

"The lives of these people are a scramble for existence, and the rules we live by don't mean anything to them. It's as if the rules don't exist. Certainly, they would listen if you could hold them that long—then they'd go out and mug somebody. Or mug you."

Dr. Nabrit detailed the difficulties qualified Negroes have in getting anything but menial jobs in the big private firms and offices in Washington, and he spoke with deep feeling about discrimination in the important building industry in Washington against allowing Negroes into the various construction unions.

He himself was under attack by student groups at Howard this Spring because no Negroes were allowed to be employed in the construction of a new $4 million gymnasium on the Howard University campus. He told about the frustration he had encountered when he protested to contractors, unions and Federal agencies the (gym is being Federally financed). But still no Negroes were employed on the project.

Such discrimination has devastating effect on the motivation of youngsters who are studying, or would like to study, vocational skills such as electricity, he warned. Speaking of such youngsters from the Negro masses in Washington, he continued:

"They don't have any books in the home and they don't have enough food or clothing. They may have a radio or a television—that would be their only contact with our culture. The parents themselves are short of motivation and ambition, the whole family sees nothing behind them, nothing in the present, nothing in the future.

So the youngsters drop out of school. They're not in-

# Crime Box Score:

Dr. James M. Nabrit's comments about Negro problems in Robert S. Bird's article were made against the background of a city where the population is dominated by Negroes and where crime problems are staggering.

Negro slums in the nation's capital rank with the worst. Muggings, robbery and other violence have taken place within sight of the White House. Racial violence reached a peak last Thanksgiving in a riot at a high-school football game that shocked the city. Some of the facts and figures in the situation follow:

¶Population (1960 census), 763,956; Negro, 411,737; white, 345,263; other, 6,956. Percentage Negro, 54.

¶Gain in Negroes, 1940-1960, 224,000. Decline in whites, 1940-1960, 130,000.

¶Percentage of adult Negroes among all adults arrested, 1962:

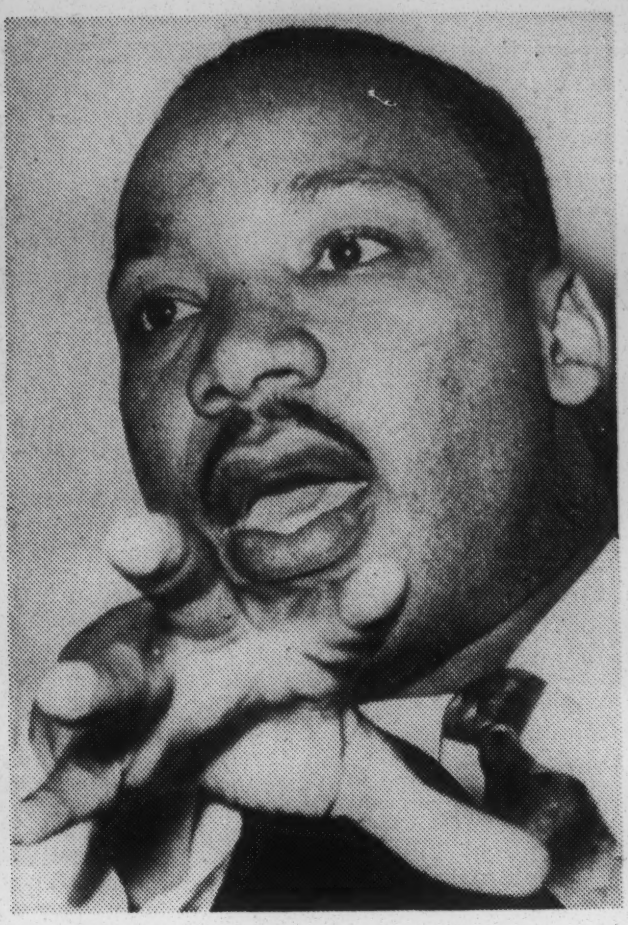
| | |
|---|---|
| Murder and non-negligent manslaughter | 85% |
| Forcible rape | 91% |
| Robbery | 88% |
| Aggravated assault (use of force in robbery) | 89% |
| Burglary, and breaking and entering | 87% |
| Larceny, involving sums of $50 or higher | 81% |
| Auto thefts | 74% |
| Crimes of all sorts | about 80% |

statement made by a Southern Congressman a few weeks ago proposing that the Marines be called in to help clean up the Washington crime situation.

"The trouble is we are not dealing with the things that produce this situation," he said in summation. "But if we don't do something about it then in ten years we will have to have troops in all the big cities—because we'll have hundreds of thousands of people who will have no way to make a living and will be either on welfare or out with a gun trying to take something from society to live on."

**TOMORROW: Another revealing conversation. Mr. Martin Luther King tells what American Negroes seek in the civil rights field. The key word is NOW.**

# TEN NEGROES



## *Martin Luther King Describes the Hurry*

*This is the third article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird outlining the Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*Herald Tribune National Correspondent*

Dr. Martin Luther King jr.'s office in Atlanta is not much larger actually than some of the jail cells in which he has served time with what many people think has been honor and distinction.

When he is not in jail or out on the road protesting, preaching or lecturing, the 34-year-old Dr. King can usually be found in this cubicle-like office in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Headquarters on Auburn Ave. in Atlanta.

This is where I interviewed him one day recently—before he went down to Birmingham to end up in jail again. For the thirteenth time.

## *THE PROBLEM*

Dr. King had made an interesting calculation on the progress of school integration in the South, and he offered it to me as an explanation of why there seemed to be so much "hurry" by the Negroes for advancement of their civil rights.

"We face the frustrating problem," he said, "of having a Supreme Court decision that was handed down some eight years ago. Yet only 7.8 per cent of the Negro students of the South are attending integrated schools this year, a hundred years after our emancipation from slavery.

"This means we are barely making 1 per cent progress a year, and that if it continues at this pace it will take 92 more years to integrate the public schools of the South."

I made a fast calculation of my own. Adding 92 to 1963, I got the year 2055 A. D. as the one when—at that rate—school integration in the South would be completed.

"The shape of the world today just doesn't afford us the luxury of such slow movement," Dr. King said dryly.

## *THE URGENCY*

As a Baptist minister in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955 he launched during the Negro bus boycott there the first history-making experiment in non-violence techniques and philosophy of creative protest against segregation. Since then the non-violence movement for Negro rights has spread around the country, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which he heads as president, has become the principal co-ordinating agency for a number of affiliated non-violence groups.

Dr. King's own stature as a Negro rights leader is perhaps unsurpassed in the nation now, and he moves through a broader band of the spectrum than probably any other figure in the country. His name and his presence are powerful symbols among the 20 million Negroes of America.

In an interview which lasted almost two hours he was especially interested in explaining the sense of urgency that pervades the Negro world today.

"There is abysmal ignorance on the part of many,

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many white people, even those of good will, about progress being made in civil rights," he said. "There is a feeling that much more progress is being made than actually is being made."

Then he went directly into the essence of this sense of urgency, reinforcing in his own calm way the same thoughts I had heard from other Negroes with flashes of anger in their words. What he said furnished the answer to the question often asked by white people—what is it the Negroes want?

"Three simple words can describe the nature of the social revolution that is taking place and what Negroes really want," he continued. "They are the words 'all,' 'now,' and 'here.'

"That is, we do not want some of our rights, we do not want token handouts here and there—because that is one of the great problems we must deal with now, tokenism.

"We are saying that we want ALL of our rights, not some, and we are also saying we want all of our rights HERE.

## THE MOOD

We want ALL of them.

"Now when I say 'here I am speaking of here in the United States and here in the South. The mood of the Negro now is very interesting in connection with this idea. My experience is that Negroes who live in the South are now saying we are not going to run from this thing but we are going to stay right here and struggle for our rights HERE.

"The mood of Negroes now is that we are Americans, and America is our home—we don't need any back-to-Africa movement. I still contend that the black nationalist movement will never appeal to the great majority of Negroes. It will appeal to some as long as the problem is with us, and it is symptomatic of the discontent and frustration and bitterness of many Negroes.

"The third word is 'NOW.' Here again I find that many people feel we have a long time, and that it will take time to solve the problem, and all that. Of course we realize that the problem can't be solved overnight. But all too often those who live with the myth of time have the idea that time is going to solve the problem.

"They fail to realize that time is neutral—and it can be used constructively or destructively, and the people of ill will have used time more effectively than the people of good will.

"And this is why I say that we may have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic actions and words of the bad people, but also for the appalling silence and apathy of the good people."

## THE BRAVERY

Whether addressing a couple of thousand people in an auditorium or talking privately in this little office at his somewhat cluttered desk, Dr. King carries immense conviction.

This comes partly from his background, for his father was a clergyman before him; and partly from the nature of his dedication and special mission. I had watched him risking his life around the clock in Montgomery eight years ago when that city was torn with strife and when dynamite bombs were being set off, and he's still exposing himself to danger in trouble spots in the South. This kind of bravery helps to convey conviction when he speaks.

Actually his office is a kind of communications center with the world. For he is in touch constantly not only with protest groups around the South but also with national and world figures all around this country and as far away as India, where he is a friend and, in a sense, a student of Prime Minister Nehru.

"So, I can sense in the Negro community all over this country," he went on, "a feeling of 'now.' That is, a feeling of wanting freedom not a hundred years or fifty years from now, but tomorrow morning.

"There is also a feeling that some progress is being made. In the South you can see real signs of progress, because here there is an overt, glaring system that has legal sanction. So you can easily see progress when you know that last year Negroes could not go to theaters in Atlanta and they can go today.

"You know that two years ago the Negroes could not eat at a lunch counter in downtown Atlanta but today they can. This is a breaking down of the system of segregation in a gradual way, but at least it's moving."

## THE DANGER

But in one area, Dr. King emphasized, there is retrogression and danger. That is in the area of Negro employment. And here he calls on President Kennedy for executive action.

"We are retrogressing in this area rather than progressing, and I am sure that a lot of this is the result of automation," he said. "So the Negro has been limited to unskilled and semi-skilled labor, and because of discrimination in the South he has been refused apprenticeship training.

"Now these jobs are going away, the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, and this makes a great problem in unemployment. The danger is that if something isn't done about employment discrimination and housing discrimination—then social problems will continue to mount, and juvenile delinquency will grow."

Associated Press

TOWARD HONOR AND DISTINCTION—Dr. Martin Luther King in a 1958 arrest for loitering in Montgomery, Ala. Shortly after Bird interviewed Dr. King for this article, the minister was arrested for the 13th time—a record probably unmatched by any holder of a doctor's degree in systematic theology. He has been shot at, stabbed, and bombed since he sprang to national prominence by successfully leading the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956, is now appealing contempt term.

Associated Press

FIGHTING FAMILY—Dr. King's family has played an important part in his fight for civil rights. His wife, the former Coretta Scott, received a sympathetic phone call from President Kennedy when Dr. King was jailed during the 1960 campaign. Some said the call tipped the nation's Negro vote Kennedy's way. His son, Martin 3d, 5, is pictured at left after being refused admission to a private school in Atlanta. Last August, Martin 3d, Yolande Denise, 7, and Dexter Scott, 2, visited Dr. King in jail.

Dr. King predicted what a number of other Negroes in various fields have told me.

"If something isn't done in a hurry and in a vigorous way, explosive situations will develop, particularly in the large industrial areas of the North, where you have great numbers of Negroes with these frustrations emerging."

As far back as a year ago in May he himself had urged President Kennedy to sign a sweeping executive order to end discrimination in the whole broad Federal areas where Federal funds are being used. Dr. King's idea was that this would end segregation in many places where it exists now, and would create an atmosphere for integration on all levels.

His view of the President is rather sharply pointed. It may be recalled that in the heat of the 1960 Presidential campaign Presidential candidate Kennedy made a telephone call to Dr. King's wife in Atlanta sympathizing with her over her husband's particular jail confinement at that time. This gesture was credited with securing for Mr. Kennedy the Negro vote of the country.

But the Negro leader made it eloquently clear to me that he feels the President could do a great deal more than is being done by him to advance the cause of integration. Still, he did not want to be represented as suggesting that the President lacks good will.

"I know he has problems and I don't want to overlook them," he said, "and I certainly don't want to give the impression that the President isn't a man of good will. I think if one compares what he has already done in civil rights with that of his predecessors, he has done more.

"But still I feel this problem is so grave now that it takes more than applying a little vaseline to a cancer—it's going to take a vigorous approach that really goes to the roots."

## THE DECISION

In essence Dr. King proposed that the President make a great moral decision, an historic decision.

"Now certainly he would get a great deal of opposition from members of his own party," Dr. King said. "I mean the Southern members of his party. It would mean they would take a stand against other phases of his legislative program. But as I have said to the President in discussing this very matter, these men are going to vote against many phases of his legislative program anyway. They were against medical care for the aged, against his farm bill, and they are going to fight the tax cut.

"So I don't see the consistency here of saying that I need these men for my total legislative program, for my foreign aid bill, and this and that, and so we can't arouse their ire too much on civil rights because they are going to vote against most of it anyway.

"I think it is better for a man to go down taking a strong moral position than to go down anyway, and you compromise in the process. I believe it would be—I am sure it would be—the right moral decision. And every great decision that has been made by a great President in this area has brought opposition. But when we look back over it we see that it put the nation in the right direction from the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abe Lincoln right on through."

The Negro leader summed it up in these words:

"I feel that ever and again in history you find those moments when that which is morally right is also politically expedient. And I think it would be politically expedient, for it would not hurt the President in terms of getting re-elected because it has been demonstrated that it is going to be in the large industrial areas of the North—New York, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and some others—that one must think of winning an election.

"And in these communities you have enough liberal forces in the white community and enough Negro folks to turn an election. So I don't think it would be political suicide for the President. I think it would be a wise political action as well as one of great moral value. And it is very seldom that one has the opportunity to do that which is morally right and also that which is politically expedient."

## THE UNTOUCHABLES

Dr. King had a couple of other points to make on the general worry to him of Negro employment. One is that the Federal government ought affirmatively to move out to help the depressed Negro classes in the same way the government of India has financially assisted the caste of Untouchables after discrimination against them had been outlawed by the new constitution of the newly independent nation.

"I remember when in India hearing Prime Minister Nehru make speeches condemning Untouchability on at least three occasions in six weeks," he said. "I think, rather frankly, that not even yet since 1954 has a President of the United States made a major speech or major statement really saying that integration was right and segregation wrong.

"It's always a 'we must do this because the law says do it' sort of thing. It never comes out that the purpose of the law is to establish justice, and that which is right, and that Mr. Meredith must go to the University of Mississippi not merely because the Supreme Court rendered a decision but because he is your brother and this is right, and that Mississippi will never come into its right relattouships until this can be done in a natural and normal and moral manner. "But I saw this in India, where the Prime Minister constantly brought this out.

"But again another thing is, from the beginning of the date when the nation gained its independence it started out giving millions of rupees a year for the improvement and development of the Untouchables who had been discriminated against for thousands of years.

"When I talked with Nehru about that he said, we couldn't think of talking about refusing to discriminate against Untouchables without thinking somehow of doing something ourselves and taking some responsibility to lift the standards of the people whom we have exploited all these years.

"He said that might be a little discrimination in reverse, giving them something we don't give others—but this, he said, was our way of atoning for what we have done to these people for thousands of years. Well, the Negro has not had that help in America, and it's only natural that some of these problems of lagging standards will produce problems in the transition period."

The other approach Dr. King is undertaking toward helping Negro employment is through the "selective buying" campaign that is being pushed around various cities in the country against firms that discriminate against Negroes in employment. This, he said, will be a major program for this year.

Dr. King stands at the opposite pole from the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, who scathingly criticized Dr. King in an interview with me. Dr. King, on the other hand, was critical of the Black Muslims.

"I think this Black Muslim movement is very sensational," he said, "and consequently it will excite and get a good deal of coverage. But the thing that amazes me is not how many Negroes have been willing to join this movement but that more Negroes have not joined it. When you think of the number who have given overt allegiance by joining, and those who somehow share the views of this group, it's amazing.

"Their membership really is almost less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the Negro population. The FBI estimates its membership at perhaps 75,000 for the whole nation, but I would think many more would share its philosophy. I would think a great number of Negroes are at least in agreement with them on their statement of the race situation.

"But it seems to me that this other movement that is all around the country now, engaging in non-violent direct action, has appealed to many more people because they see a way out through this. You can channelize legitimate, healthy discontent through creative channels in the non-violence movement.

"The Black Muslim movement channelizes it through negative and bitter channels. The non-violent movement says that the anger I have is an anger that is almost inevitable in a situation I am in, but this discontent which is necessary for a change in the social situation can be channelized in a creative channel.

## THE DISCONTENT

"You don't need to hate in the process, and when we talk about love at this point we are not talking about emotional bosh or sentimental affection. It's nonsense to tell an oppressed people to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. But we're talking about something much deeper. Now this is why the Muslims can't get off the ground in cities where you have powerful non-violent movements.

"They've been in Atlanta three years and it was interesting that the Atlanta Constitution had a series of five articles on the Muslim movement, and at the end of the series they said that the Muslims had sixty-five members in the temple in Atlanta.

"In the non-violent movement we've had as many as 4,000 students participating at one time. But we've never had a series of articles on that."

Dr. King warned that grave elements of danger reside in the Black Muslim movement. This is because it appeals to people on the periphery of life, he said, and he added:

"I think that this is a danger. There is no doubt about it. If this movement grows and continues to grow it can create an atmosphere for a great deal of bitterness and hatred, and can bring about a nightmarish situation in any big city in the country. It has dangerous overtones, and no doubt about it."

**TOMORROW: Reporter Bird is introduced into the "Snick way of life" in an interview with Carver Neblett at the headquarters of the Students Non-violence Co-ordinating Committee, or "snick" for short.**

# TEN NEGROES

*This is the fourth article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird giving Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird

*Herald Tribune National Correspondent*

I met Carver Neblett in about the same way you reach in and pull a number out of the hat. I dropped into what is called "Snick" headquarters in Atlanta and buttonholed for an interview the first typical, Negro Snick kid I found who was fresh off the firing line, so to speak.

Snick is the way they pronounce the initials of the Students Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee—SNCC.

These are the non-violent, Negro and white student commandos who are risking their lives in the Negro voter registration drives in rural Georgia and Mississippi with courage not easy to understand.

And these drives to get for Negroes in the Deep South the tool of voting power to improve their lot is becoming this year the most important breakthrough of any in the struggle for Negro rights. SNCC is one of several organizations, including the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE),

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that are active in this turbulent and dangerous field.

"But we go into more hell than any of the others," Carver said.

Their headquarters is in a very small building off Hunter Ave. in the Negro section out beyond Morehouse College. When you enter the door you find yourself in a cramped little warren of small, connecting offices, all busy with the comings and goings of students in all kinds of dress—boys and girls, white and Negro.

At a desk near the door I saw a white girl with scuffy sneakers on her feet and owlish spectacles over a nice-looking face, and an air of supreme calm amid all the hurly-burly. She absorbed the explanation of my mission faster than I could say it.

"Follow me," she said cheerfully, and led me into the labyrinth of offices to a corner where two Negro youths were chatting. She pointed to one of them and said:

"He's Charles Neblett. He's been working in Greenwood, Miss., but he's leaving today to go on tour with the Freedom Singers. The other one's his brother, Carver. He's working on voter registration in Terrell County and he's just in from the field. Maybe he's the one you want."

So I ended up the following morning with an interview with Carver, trying to pry out of him something he couldn't quite put into words.

It was typical of this action-minded boy that as this is being written he has taken time out to make the walk from Chattanooga to Mississippi with the band of ten Negro and white youths commemorating the killing of Baltimore postman William Moore. Moore was shot on a lonely road in Alabama while on a lone demonstration march on this same journey.

The Snick youth is a tall, rangy lad with a somewhat loungey, off-hand manner and a low but quick way of speaking. He has very alert eyes. He was wearing a bright red sports shirt and black slacks of collegiate-slim styling, and he was feeling mighty good in them.

"Can't wear these things on the job in Terrell County," he said, fingering his red shirt and grinning. "You gotta wear work clothes there."

## Whence Comes Courage?

What I was searching for from him and others was, what is the nature of the dedication and strength these students have got that enables them to stand up to prolonged strain of white hatred, threat, beatings, arrest, jail, and even shooting?

Carver Neblett is nineteen, and a sophomore at Southern Illinois University, who has been on leave for more than a year. He was born into a share cropper's family in rural Tennessee. The family moved North six years ago, to Carbondale, Ill., but he was not able to rid himself of the resentments he had felt in growing up as a segregated Negro boy in the South.

When he was in his last year of high school in Pulaski, Ill., in 1960, his brother Charles, now 21, wrote him from Southern Illinois University that he was joining in a SNCC desegregation "action" in Cairo, Ill., and why not come along?

Carver went to Cairo, promptly got arrested, and went on a hunger strike in jail. That was the beginning of his conversion to the non-violence philosophy of "creative protest," and to what he calls the "Snick way of life."

He learned the non-violent techniques in endless SNCC workshop sessions, and found himself greatly moved by the power of the non-violence philosophy and by the examples of SNCC leaders who had been through the fire.

Although he had become well embarked on his studies at the university, he decided to quit school temporarily and go South to throw himself into the most perilous "action" of all.

Telling how the first student workers to enter a new rural area go in with nothing but the clothes on their back, placing themselves deliberately on the charity of the frightened Negro community, Carver said:

"Usually they don't know who we are, except they think that we're dangerous to them. Most of them never heard of SNCC, but they have all heard the term 'Freedom Riders,' and they tend to think that's what we are. They have been told by the whites that if any Freedom Riders come into the town, stay away from them, they're troublemakers, and it would be very dangerous to talk to them.

"But in any of these rural areas you are going to find a few dynamic Negro persons who will take you in and understand the situation. That's how we get the first toehold. These few members of the community give us food and a place to stay, and they know that we are doing nothing wrong but are working for the betterment of the Negroes.

## What's to Lose?

"So what do we have to lose? The ordinary people at first think we are crazy in a funny way, that we are absolutely fearless, sort of inhumanly brave. We have to get that idea out of their head fast and make them understand that we are completely human, though not fearful in the way they are.

"How do we do this? In different ways. One is to persuade a frightened Negro family to let one of us sit in the living room with them and watch the television some evening. You don't say much but by the end of the evening they've got the feel of you and they begin to look on you as human beings like themselves."

Herald Tribune

ONE OF THE AROUSED COMMUNITIES—This is a recent scene outside City Hall in Macon, Ga., as Negroes line up to register to vote. Members of Snick—Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee—have worked actively in this town to promote the rights of Negroes to vote in elections.

In all these areas, Carver said, the Negro community in general has a pervasive feeling that they cannot go down any lower, that the only place they can go is up. He continued:

"Gradually you start dealing with the Negro people on several different levels. You go to the night clubs. You go to the churches. You go everywhere that people gather and talk. And very slowly they begin to respect you and to look on you as symbols of the respect which they themselves want and should have."

The slowest to respond in many cases are the Negro ministers of the local community, and it is they who have always been "set up on a pedestal," Carver explained.

"In the beginning they shy away from us. I guess they are afraid of their position in the community and afraid that their churches will be bombed. But SNCC knows how to use a little psychology on them. We get things going, and pretty soon the idea of freedom is in the air, and we're having mass meetings and people are getting involved, and the doctor and the lawyer and the field hand and the servant girl are all going to jail together.

"Then it is that we have become part of the community ourselves, and everybody is knit together and the whole Negro group is ready to do anything—anything—to get their goal."

Carver was not able to express very well the quality of the peril that envelops such a Snick-invaded rural Negro community like a chill miasma. But older and more mature Negro workers who help to guide these missionary students on the scene did provide me with moving accounts.

## His Car Shot Up

One was Randolph T. Blackwell, the Negro field director of the Voter Education Project, a law graduate and specialist in government and economic studies, who was in a car with SNCC workers that was shot up outside of Greenwood on Feb. 28.

"I don't know how these kids are able to stand up to the strain and danger," he said. "As for myself, it seems like being in combat, where you move through the town expecting anything to happen and looking ahead of you and behind you both at the same time.

"But I have learned that it is helpful if you have in mind an absolutely clear understanding of the nature of your opposition. One of the experts taught me that it's not too difficult to stay in such a community if you start with the following assumptions:

"No. 1, that there are a lot of white people in the community who will want to kill you and who will try. No. 2, that the police are hostile to you and not your friends. No. 3, that the courts are not going to be fair with you. No. 4, that a sizable portion of the Negro community will not understand what you're trying to do at first.

"And No. 5, that it will require great persistence and continuation of effort before the nation will wake up to the point where it will call on the Administration to live up to its national responsibilities."

Here is how the strain of peril falls on both Negro and white workers in such a danger area. It summarizes the account given to me by Mr. Blackwell:

On Feb. 28 Mr. Blackwell drove in a rented car to the SNCC office in Greenwood, arriving at 1 p. m. He noticed a white car with no license plates parked in front of a Negro cafe near the SNCC office which later was burned down. Three white men were in it. Just sitting. They were still in the car, still sitting, at 2 o'clock, at 3 o'clock, at 4 o'clock, at 5 o'clock, at 6 o'clock.

At 6 o'clock they switched on their lights and stayed there, just sitting. They were still sitting in the car at 7 o'clock, at 8 o'clock, at 9 o'clock. At 9:15 p. m. Mr. Blackwell, fully aware that trouble was in the offing, got into his car and prepared to leave.

The white car instantly pulled away and drove around the block, coming in behind Mr. Blackwell's car as he was leaving his parking place. It followed him, and so he drove around the block, returned to the office and warned the eight or nine student workers in the headquarters to close up for the night and be careful in leaving because he was being followed.

He got back into his car with two other workers, Robert Moses and James Travis.

They drove to a near-by gas station, where they refueled the car and ate sandwiches. The white car with the three white men followed them and circled while they ate. Then, with Mr. Travis at the wheel, he headed his car out on the main highway toward Greenville, Miss., with the white car following them.

## Attack Coming, but When?

All three were in the front seat. They knew they would be attacked. The only question was when. For a while there was too much traffic on the highway for the other car to come up beside Blackwell's. But they knew that when the white car began to pull up they could expect bullets.

Very soon that time came. The white car moved forward. Mr. Travis, at the driver's window, was in the most exposed position. Mr. Moses was in the middle and Mr. Blackwell at the right window. The car pulled up beside them. The gun appeared in the white car. One of the white men opened fire.

Seven shots were fired. Mr. Blackwell shouted to Mr. Travis to pull over to the right and stop. But Mr. Travis cried that he had been shot—in the neck, as it turned out. Mr. Moses grabbed the controls and pulled their car to a safe stop while the white car sped away.

The bullets had smashed both side windows in front and the left side window in back. They found succor at a near-by Negro vocational school and Mr. Travis was removed to a hospital, where the bullet was taken from his neck and the wound closed. He recovered. The others were not hit.

Carver Neblett assured me he is prepared to take any risk whatever, fortified as he is by his non-violence philosophy and spiritual feeling, though up to now he has not been shot.

"No matter what happens to me I am going to participate in the movement for as long as possible, even when I go back to school," he said, simply. "I was not always non-violent"—he laughed at the thought—"but we won't go into that.

"I was brought up—all Negroes in the South are—with a fear of jail. But I don't care about jail now. Sometimes I get lonely there, or frustrated, but I think of our freedom song, 'Paul and Silas were bound in jail, had no money to go on bail, keep your eyes on the prize, hold on—' Or I think of what that poet said, about bars do not a prison make if a fellow's soul is free, and that gives me content. And I pray."

Some of the things that Carver was not able to explain about the spirit of people in these aroused communities—unable to express them because he is so totally immersed in "action" itself—were explained to me by a young minister of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is the Rev. Andrew Young, who is active in the program for teaching citizenship to the largely illiterate rural Negroes.

"The predominant mood of the masses of Negroes in Mississippi is religious," he said. "It's impossible not to see the religious parallels that have always been made since slavery days—'Let my people go.'

"The whole struggle of the Old Testament Hebrew people in the midst of adversity is continually quoted and is the foundation of their thought. Mixed now, however, with the new freedom songs.

## In Spite of Fears

"You have the feeling that while these people do not get completely free of fear when we come in with outside help, they will go along in spite of their fear. And the lower classes are not nearly as controlled by their fears as the middle classes of Negroes. They are the ones who have been most successfully brain-washed by the segregationist whites.

"Then there are the ones who had got away for a while and had a taste of freedom in the Army. They are helping greatly to produce a kind of mood for freedom in these Deep South areas. Freedom is not a word that is ever quite defined by them, but it is their mood.

"Another thing, since these are a very religious people they have a deeply religious idea of the fullness of time, a period when time does have meaning, when everything clicks. We almost have the feeling that this is the time in Mississippi."

It was this same Rev. Young, a co-worker in the movement with Dr. Martin Luther King jr., who made this interesting observation:

"The only place that the students are afraid to work is at Sen. Eastland's plantation. You can shoot at them in Greenwood or harass them anywhere else, but they're afraid to set foot on Eastland's plantation. They're almost sure they'd be murdered. I don't know—Sen. Eastland doesn't actually run it. And that's the problem with the plantation—they're run usually by lower classes of whites, low-mentality whites who are effective disciplinarians.

"But the thing about the students which makes them sure they'd get killed is that they wouldn't back down if they were confronted. They wouldn't run. If asked a question, they would answer it directly.

"You can be nearly beaten to death in Mississippi for not saying, 'Sir,' and this has become one of the students' silent forms of protest—to get away from this whole subservient attitude of the Negro. They sing all the time, 'Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave.'"

Carver Neblett talks a little awkwardly about his feelings of spirituality, and I felt it was because he hesitated to commit to words things he feels as deeply as the spirituality of the non-violence philosophy.

## 'Amounts to Conversion'

Still he tried to explain it, and this is what he said:

"I don't believe in approaching a person and asking him to accept non-violence as a way of life. It's something you have to come to yourself. But if you are on the demonstration line, the opposition will start engaging in things that are so unpleasant that you really have to use non-violence in order to survive.

"You see, we believe we can overcome hate with love, overcome violence with non-violence. And this is a tremendous force. It amounts to a conversion to a new attitude toward life."

Many Carver Nebletts are working today in the brooding rural countryside of the Deep South, where the War Between the States and the days of Negro slavery seem very close.

Some of the rural Negroes they are trying to rouse to a reaching and grasping for citizenship rights are almost childlike in their view of themselves and their world. These student workers are bringing them among other things the rudiments of citizenship education.

In the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's "Citizenship Workbook," below sections on "New Words to Study" and "Be Polite," is a section on "Our America." It tells what all this voter registration business is about. It says in part:

"The Supreme Court building, where the Justices decide legal disagreements, is the symbol of law. The Capitol, where our Senators and Representatives make the laws, is the symbol of free, representative government.

"The White House, where the President lives and his Cabinet meets, is the symbol of our country in world affairs. We accept the results of elections and abide by the rulings of the courts.

"We in America know that voting is important for good citizenship, but we know that educating our children so they will vote wisely is a part of good citizenship, too. They have to know how to stand up for their rights.

"In America we want law and justice.

"We love our land—America!"

SUNDAY: Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology at City College, director of the Northside Clinic for Children and head of a new Harlem youth project called Haryou, takes a grave view of a new trend in Negro thought, affecting both the intellectuals and the masses.

# TEN NEGROES

*THIS is the fifth article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird on the Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

Photographs showing police setting dogs on Negro citizens in Mississippi and Alabama produced in the Negro world a kind of feedback reaction which white people can scarcely realize.

White America looked at the pictures and undoubtedly deplored the action as savage and wrong. But Negroes felt within themselves that the hour has long passed for looking and deploring, and that the white world's good will has been smothered by the hypocrisy prevailing in the nation.

The feedback reaction was against sacred American institutions—the American system of justice, for example, for those men with dogs wore the uniforms of an arm of the law; and the Church, which many Negroes believe has failed in moral leadership.

A confrontation of race crisis now challenges the country, and danger looms.

This is the calm but worried appraisal of an eminent Negro social psychologist and educator who is one of the country's most perceptive observers of racial tensions.

He is Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of

Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN
Professor Kenneth B. Clark

# TEN NEGROES

*(Continued from page one)*

psychology at City College, co-director with his psychologist wife of the Northside Center for Child Development, director of the newly started "Haryou" youth program in Harlem, and author of the classic study of race "Prejudice and Your Child."

His research for the book was cited by the United States Supreme Court itself in it epoch-making, 1954 school desegregation decision.

"America is confronted with a stark crisis in race relation and it is no longer verbal and no longer academic," Dr. Clark told me. "From Greenwood, Mass., we saw pictures of police dogs attacking not criminals but human beings who were asking only for elementary rights as American citizens. Asking not for complex things such as social relations but only for the right to register to vote.

"It recalls to my mind those indelible pictures I saw just before the war of men in Nazi uniforms in Germany forcing old Jewish men to scrub sidewalks.

"Seeing people in uniforms who, in this case, were not Nazis but American police with dogs, unleashing them not on persons who were violating the law but on those who were seeking to have the law upheld—that is one example of the present crisis.

"Then there are the jailings of scores and even hundreds of Negroes in Birmingham merely because these people are insisting upon their unqualified rights as American citizens, that is another example of the nature of the present crisis.

"The crisis has now reached a point of confrontation, and I borrow a phrase in saying that it is an eyeball-to-eyeball one, this present situation in race relations in America."

Dr. Clark, a friendly, professional man not given to undigested thoughts and statements of alarm, has been searching deeply into what he believes may be a very basic shift in Negro attitudes in this country, and one with foreboding possibilities.

He discussed this with me at considerable depth, starting in his office in the "Haryou" project at the Harlem YMCA, and later during a drive up to Kent School, the boys' preparatory school in Connecticut, where I was invited to sit in with a group of students on a race-relations seminar conducted by Dr. Clark. His son, Hilton, is a recent graduate of the school.

"The perspective that dominates my thinking now is the problem of increasing alienation of a substantial part of the American Negro population from the American—well, I was going to say the American 'mystique,' but let's say the American habit, or the American perspective, or way of looking at things.

"Two years ago I felt, and said, that the American race problem would have to be resolved within the context of the fact that the American Negro is American.

## Despair

"I said that his insistence upon his rights as an American citizen is his attempt to establish beyond doubt that he is an American, and he will settle for nothing less than the rights that the American Constitution and the American creed and American ideology grant or guarantee for other American citizens. This was the basic rationale of his push.

"I have not shifted this position totally yet. I have not reversed it. But it is certainly being modified.

"I say this because, as I read the things which Negro intellectuals are writing—James Baldwin and others—and as I watch the relationship between that and the black nationalist movements, I sense a stronger undercurrent of alienation and despair among the Negro people.

"This is not too clearly articulated yet except in the black nationalist and Black Muslim movements, where we find a total rejection of the American pattern as being incorrigibly hypocritical and corrupt and therefore unworkable in terms of a meaningful change in the status of the Negro. They seem to be coming into a terrifying and frightening thing."

I was talking with Dr. Clark at this point in his office at the YMCA, and I asked him to develop his view a little more deeply.

"If one dares to look for the common denominator of such seemingly different forms of Negro protest one gets into many areas of the American scene, including into politics.

Associated Press

GREENWOOD, MISS—". . . police dogs attacking not criminals but human beings who were asking only for the elementary rights of American citizens . . . only for the right to register to vote. . ."

Nor did he except Negroes from this affliction. He described New York's Negro Congressman, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, as an exponent of "political slicksterism."

"He could become a symbol of a cynical disregard of any meaningful value system in the larger society by his exploitation of the prevailing hypocrisy, by his deliberate use of it," Dr. Clark said. "This seems to me to be the major contemporary danger in the country, and all the more dangerous because it is reflecting certain fundamental realities.

"Chief among them is the reality that the susceptible people in America have settled for racial hypocrisy and have been, in fact, for centuries parties to the perpetuation of these things."

Speaking about Congressman Powell, Dr. Clark said, "His greatest strength is that he can always make himself stronger simply by shouting, 'The whites are picking on me because I'm a Negro!' "

The psychologist pin-pointed a trend which other Negro men of affairs also had emphasized to me in these interviews—that Negro leadership today is in a crisis position along with race relations in general. He said:

"The confrontation now is clear, and what is required of the Negro leadership now is clear—namely, thrust and the push for full citizenship rights now. Responsible Negro leadership must dare to take the risks which they must take in order to achieve significant breakthroughs—not tokenism any longer, because tokenism is a part of what is precipitating the present alienation.

"If responsible Negro leadership is battle-weary and not able to mobilize itself and make the war significant—the movement in this direction of breakthroughs—then the result will be chaos as I see it.

"Chaos either in terms of overt social confusion, or what to me would be even worse—quiet dry rot. From the point of view of the national image, I think the latter would be worse."

The same points which Dr. Clark made on the need for a harder push and the greater insistence by Negroes that they be accepted as "human beings" also was emphasized to me by another Negro professional man. Dr. Clarence B. Jones, lawyer and general counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc., a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King jr., had said to me during an extended interview:

## Frustration

"Negro demands are greater now, and the Negro wants . . to be accepted now as a man, completely, in our American . . society. He wants to be able, really to be able, to walk down . . the street as if a big burden had been relieved from him—to be able to walk into a restaurant here in New York and know that the only consideration is whether the menu is good, and he has the money to pay. Not to feel that he is walking in and suddenly there is a concern that this is a of racial controversies or crises. The bigots, the flagrant segregationists, alone could not be held responsible for a system of flagrant injustice and cruelty which seems to permeate our society. They, in order to have their way, would have to have the silent consent of our Christian churches. They need the alliance and the conspiracy of our labor unions and our labor leaders.

"They need and generally get the polysyllabic rationalizations of educators. They need the cynical connivance and conspiracy of our elected officials, North and South."

## Cynicism

Analyzing the ways in which the Negroes have undertaken to meet the growing mood of despair and hopelessness, Dr. Clark said they have stepped up their traditional techniques of protest within the democratic processes, they are still lobbying, and their organizations are still trying to improve the plight of the Negro in America.

"But I think we ought to face the fact that our courts have been subverted and their edicts cynically evaded, ironically, even by those who have been sworn to uphold our laws. Negotiations have not worked in any effective way except in a few individual cases."

Saying that the traditional techniques have, however, been pushed aside lately for "more direct action techniques," dramatizing the injustices and bringing them to world attention, Dr. Clark discussed the Rev. Martin Luther King jr. in some detail.

Though praising Dr. King's efforts generally, the psychologist called Mr. King's "philosophy of love of the oppressor" as "psychologically unrealistic" and "guilt-producing" and "too close to the stereotype of the Negro for comfort, really."

His appraisal of the Black Muslims was that their philosophy is pure "racism."

"This is the mirrored image of the racism of the White Citizens Councils. It's a dangerous doctrine because the basic premises are true. I think this is the essence of the danger of the Black Muslim movement, the fact that they are not inventing nor for that matter are they even exaggerating or distorting the basic fact.

"White America has permitted a system of cruelty and barbarity to be perpetrated and perpetuated on citizens of dark skin color and the Muslims are very effective in saying this over and over again. They have the effectiveness of the simple target—statement of an undesirable fact. And they are dangerous also because hatred is an emotion that can be manipulated in the masses.

"Not just the Negro masses but one needs look at only recent history of the world to see how effectively hatred can be used to build powerful movements. There is no reason to believe that American Negroes are any more immune to the seductive lure of racial hatred than are other human beings."

Justice and equality for the American Negro must

"I say this because, as I read the things which Negro intellectuals are writing—James Baldwin and others—and as I watch the relationship between that and the black nationalist movements, I sense a stronger undercurrent of alienation and despair among the Negro people.

"This is not too clearly articulated yet except in the black nationalist and Black Muslim movements, where we find a total rejection of the American pattern as being incorrigibly hypocritical and corrupt and therefore unworkable in terms of a meaningful change in the status of the Negro. They seem to be coming into a terrifying and frightening thing."

I was talking with Dr. Clark at this point in his office at the YMCA, and I asked him to develop his view a little more deeply.

"If one dares to look for the common denominator of such seemingly different forms of Negro protest one gets dangerously close to identifying this as the rejection by the Negroes of the American promise."

"The Black Muslims state it categorically that way. In fact, they re-state it with such vehemence that it is easy to disregard the significance of it.

"But when you re-read what Baldwin was saying as he reacted to the Lumumba affair—on what was the meaning of the prompt attack on Ralph Bunche when Bunche attempted to apologize for the Negroes who disrupted the United Nations session—you found a 'Oh, the hell with you polite Negroes now' sentiment.

"You found a 'You had your chance to negotiate, to use the democratic processes, to use the courts, to use lobbying, legislation, and where has it gotten you? It's gotten tokenism, it's gotten moderation, it's gotten a new form of the same hypocritical adjustments that were standard before the Supreme Court decision. But it's gotten you no substantive change.' The conclusion is suggested that no substantive change is possible within the present power structure."

As to where identification with this kind of thinking is leading Negroes, the psychologist said:

"It could lead to lots of things. I am looking very hard at the possibility that it might be leading to increased forms of quiet, personal deterioration, despair and apathy."

Having noted evidences of this alienation of the Negro from the American "habit" among the intellectuals, and again among the masses at the bottom, who are giving most attentive ear to the Black Muslin preaching, I asked Dr. Clark about the Negro middle class which is growing in size.

"It is paradoxical," he said, "that although the Negro middle class is an expanding group, reflecting expanding prosperity and some advances in housing, still this trend of thinking in that group is not only not excluded but it's more profound there.

## *Primitivism*

"It is true that on the surface the expanding middle class seems to be much closer to the middle-class American norm. But the irony is that this sense of alienation and despair seems to me as profound in this group, if not more so, as they approach closer to the so-called white norm.

"But its manner of expression is different. For example, you don't find this group with the Muslims. You find them, to the extent they take a stand at all, against the extremism, emotionality, fanaticism, primitivism, of the stark black-white approach of the Muslims.

"What you do find in your better-educated, middle-class Negro group is a confused, complicated despair of a different form. In a sense, the bigot is right when he says that to give the Negro anything merely makes him more impatient and insatiable for everything.

"As your middle-class Negro group approaches more equality, what remains to be done is more difficult to get done, because these include the areas of strongest defenses on the part of the more privileged status quo people. This includes housing and such things as total acceptance of the Negro as a human being in terms of his humanity rather than in terms of his skin color.

"If a man says to you, 'All right, you can come to this school,' that's not the whole battle, you know. When am I a man, just as another man, to this person? Or when is he constantly seeing me as a Negro with all the past inferences that go with this view of me?"

Dr. Clark turned to the failure of the Church, explaining that he was brought up as an Episcopalian and had served on the altar as a boy, but that when he got to college he began to sense a "hypocrisy" in the Church in its attitude toward Negroes and the race question.

In recent years, he said, "the hierarchy of the Church has been trying to get me back into policy discussions on this matter of race, and I've been working with the Department of Christian and Social Relations, analyzing the Church's position on it.

"I have reviewed and summarized a report, which I submitted to the Presiding Bishop, on the hypocrisy of the Church and the fact that the Church had been accessory to the Black Muslims by cutting the ground from under more responsible Negro leadership. This was done by its helping to perpetuate the hypocrisies which the Black Muslims exploit so effectively."

Later, in talking to the students at Kent, Dr. Clark said:

"Certainly the Christian Church has defaulted in its role as custodian of moral and ethical values and is now no longer relevant or significant as a factor in the amelioration of American racial tensions."

He spoke to me vigorously about American hypocrisy, saying that a kind of "slicksterism" is spreading insidiously sized to me by another Negro professional man. Dr. Clarence B. Jones, lawyer and general counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc., a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King jr., had said to me during an extended interview:

## *Frustration*

"Negro demands are greater now, and the Negro wants.. ..to be accepted now as a man, completely, in our American.. ..society. He wants to be able, really to be able, to walk down.. ..the street as if a big burden had been relieved from him—to be able to walk into a restaurant here in New York and know that the only consideration is whether the menu is good, and he has the money to pay. Not to feel that he is walking in and suddenly there is a concern that this is a Negro, a black man, who is walking in. To be accepted as a man, that's it."

As to the urgency of the Negro demands, Mr. Jones had said:

"There is nothing inconsistent in my saying that the Negro wants his freedom now more than he wanted it yesterday, because there has been a passage of time between yesterday and today. And so he will want it even more urgently tomorrow than today because he didn't get it today."

In the seminar at Kent School, Dr. Clark summed up his picture of the present race crisis in there words:

"The crisis, I think, is a reflection of the profound frustration, despair, and the growing sense of hopelessness among Negroes that they can ever obtain justice, equality and democracy within the American system.

"There is a deep bitterness and disillusionment over recognition of the fact that white Americans can settle for the hypocrisy of tokenism as the price of social and racial peace. And awareness that the alleged gains in race relations within the past three or four decades are more illusory than real.

"Negroes are still segregated in schools, both in the North and the South. Job discrimination is still rampant and normative in the American economy. Indeed, the discrepancy in the economic status of the average white and the average Negro family is greater today than it was during the depths of the depression.

"Not that the Negro has not gained economically, but in terms of relative position with the whites the latest census material shows that there are much larger gaps.

"By all meaningful indices, the Negro is still and unquestionably of the downtrodden, disadvantaged group and he is systematically being robbed of his dignity as a human being, not only in the South but in many regions of America. And the major indictment here is that all of this is being done with the knowledge, and at times with the connivance, of respectable, moderate people who are not overtly bigots or segregationists.

"They are people who really want peace and don't want to be disturbed by direct involvement or knowledge danger of the Black Muslim movement, the fact that they are not inventing nor for that matter are they even exaggerating or distorting the basic fact.

"White America has permitted a system of cruelty and barbarity to be perpetrated and perpetuated on citizens of dark skin color and the Muslims are very effective in saying this over and over again. They have the effectiveness of the simple target—statement of an undesirable fact. And they are dangerous also because hatred is an emotion that can be manipulated in the masses.

"Not just the Negro masses but one needs look at only recent history of the world to see how effectively hatred can be used to build powerful movements. There is no reason to believe that American Negroes are any more immune to the seductive lure of racial hatred than are other human beings."

Justice and equality for the American Negro must either come now "or we must gird ourselves for a kind of disaster which I think is too horrible to contemplate," Dr. Clark said.

## *And Fanaticism*

"By horror I mean not that there would be civil war in America, but I think it could be worse. I think we could have in America an American version of what happened in Nazi Germany."

Later, Dr. Clark told me that it was his belief that the Black Muslims would not win mass converts to the movement, "but almost for irrelevant reasons."

"It would be extremely disturbing to me if the Black Muslims were flexible enough to modify an aspect of their program which, so long as they keep it the way it is, tends to block a mass following.

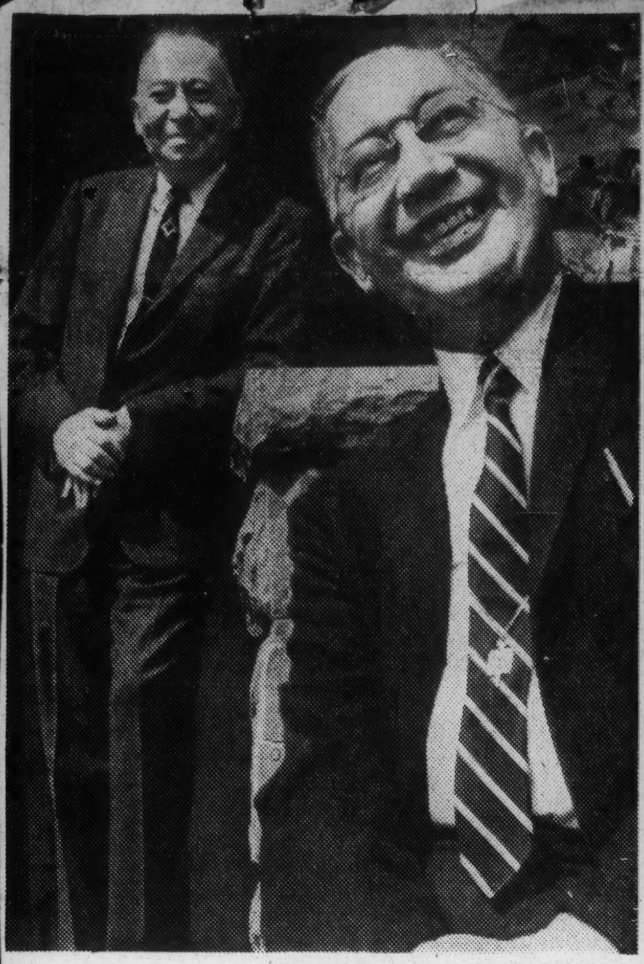
"These people are austere, humorless, rigid, fanatic in their basic style, in their approach. The Negro masses are not fanatic in this literal, rigorous sense.

"The Negro masses are flexible. They've had to be in order to survive, for one thing. They are people whose love of life has been deep enough for them to be able to survive in the face of overwhelming oppression and cruelty and barbarity, and almost a death-wish apparent among whites has been countered by a life-wish among the Negroes."

Negroes are not puritanical, but want to smoke, eat well, and drink, the psychologist said, and this is the opposite of the qualities which the Black Muslims try to mold in their converts. The Black Muslims say, "No, you must be more virtuous than Caesar's wife," he added.

"As long as they keep saying this, I don't think I would worry about their mass attraction," Dr. Clark said. "I'll start worrying when they modify their demands on the Negro members and make these demands more consistent with what the Negro is able to respond to. Then I'll really worry about the Black Muslims."

**TOMORROW: A Negro professor and poet looks back over thirty years of effort to advance Negro rights.**



Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, left and Sterling B. Brown.

# TEN NEGROES

*This is the sixth article of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes", by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on the attitudes of Negroes toward white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

An Angry Young Man of the 1920s, a Williams College man who took his master's at Harvard, was arguing with another Angry Young Man of the 1920s, also a Williams man who had taken his doctorate at Harvard—both Phi Beta Kappa—that things really haven't changed much in 40 years despite all the dramatics on the current scene.

It was a wonderful conversation to listen in on because it was so rich in wit, irony, insight, contradictions, affection and nostalgia.

And because it dealt with a most serious subject, one usually filled with rancor—race relations in America. The two men were Negroes.

Sterling B. Brown, author, essayist and poet, and one of the giants in literary scholarship on the Negro, was the Angry Young Man of the 1920s who was trying to convince his friend—who needed no convincing whatever—that the supposed young "New Negro" of today is no different from the one of four decades ago. Nor are many other aspects of the race situation.

The two men were talking on two or three levels at the same time, having fun with each other and fun with me, the interviewer, but all the while getting across to me some serious and deeply-felt points.

Mr. Brown is professor of English at Howard University in Washington, D. C., the biggest predominantly Negro university in the country. Among his serious points were:

¶That the Negro youngsters of 40 years ago were

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 10*

**1,000 NEGROES MARCH ON BIRMINGHAM**
*Story of the Intense Fight for Civil Rights* [illegible]

# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

animated by the same high spirit of revolt and demands for Negro rights as those of today.

¶That it is "the times" rather than the young people which have changed.

¶That even though race conditions are being improved steadily in the country, certain basic problems remain exactly the same.

¶Above all, that the Negro youngsters of today tend to be too impatient for speed in race advancement, and they need perspective as to what the Negro has done during the last four decades and more.

"Nobody does his homework any more on the literature and history of the Negro in the past, and on what we were doing in those days," Prof. Brown said.

## *Angry Old Men*

His friend, who couldn't agree more, is also a titan in the world of scholarship—Dr. Rayford W. Logan, professor of history, author of many books, articles and scholarly papers dealing with historical aspects of the Negro in America.

Prof. Brown explained that he and his friend are really Angry Young Men who have become Angry Old Men. People call them "conservatives," he said, because they believe in a slower but more realistic approach than the "all," "here" and "now" demands for speed which Dr. Martin Luther King jr. is advocating in the civil rights field.

I got the impression that the professors don't mind being called conservatives because they stand for a more gradual approach, but they don't want to be called "moderates."

"My position in the 1920s was that I knew that segregation couldn't be changed swiftly," Prof. Brown said. "I knew the South. I didn't need any talk about 'all deliberate speed'—although I think it has been too deliberate. But I couldn't conceive of anybody believing that it could be ended just like that—." He snapped his fingers.

"I knew enough sociology for that. So I didn't see why there should be a radical-to-moderate viewpoint in this matter. My point about the 'moderate' view was—and is—that, if the door is open, either you go in or you stay out. I don't see anybody standing in the middle of the door, just standing.

"The Meredith case at the University of Mississippi is an example of what I mean. There you had extremists on both sides at work. One group wanted Meredith out of the university, another group of extremists wanted him in.

"I didn't see any moderate position there. What do you do as a moderate, leave Meredith standing in the hallway? I can't conceive of the moderate position. The mob says, stay out, Mr. Meredith, and President Kennedy and the NAACP says, get him in. If the 'moderate' says he knows it won't happen over night, I don't know of any Negro with any sense at all who believes it will hapen over night."

"That's my criticism of some of these Angry Young Men of today," interjected Prof. Brown's friend, Dr. Logan. "When they say, we want it now, that's nonsense for they're not going to get it now."

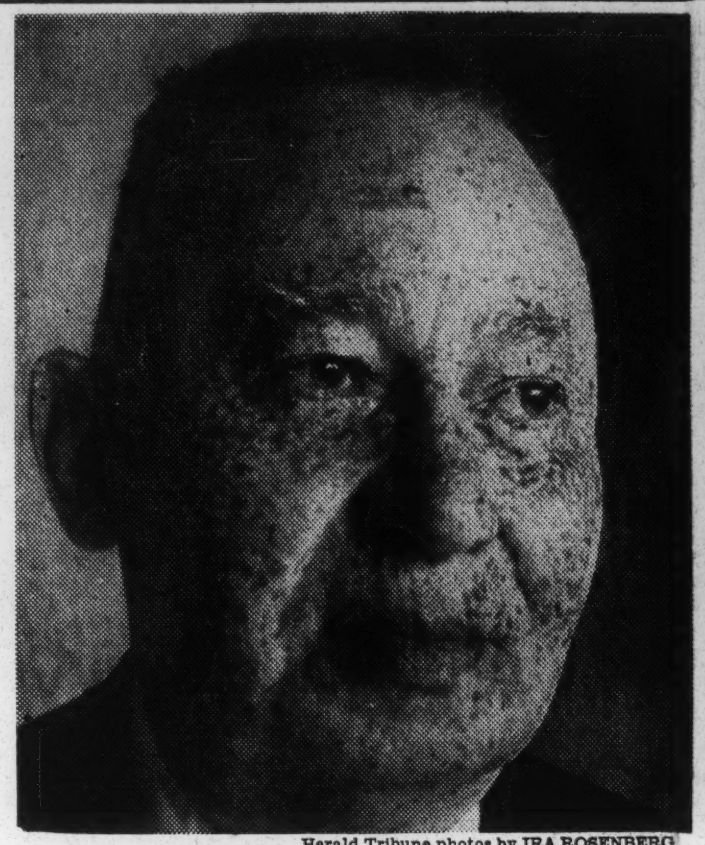
Going on to Dr. King's strategy in the demonstrations in the South, Prof. Brown continued:

"Dr. King can't say to the public that these things will come later. You see, he's engaged in demagoguery in a good cause—he's not a social scientist. And to get all those people stirred up, he can't go telling them that 'time will take care of these things.' He's got to keep them feeling this sense of urgency, and that is the way these youngsters here at the university feel, too."

"Will you pin that point down, Sterling?" asked Dr. Logan. He is a short, round-faced man in contrast to Prof. Brown, who is tall, erect and large-framed. "This is the role, I think, that we Angry Old Men should play."

## *Firm Stand*

"Yes, this is the role we've got to play in the presence of men who are saying things which privately I don't think they believe themselves," the English professor answered. "One of us has got to take the position, and state it publicly, that you cannot do it now."



Herald Tribune photos by IRA ROSENBERG

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor of History

*". . . they are not going to get it now . . ."*

Sterling B. Brown, Professor of English

*"I'm not belligerent . . . but I have had a gun pulled on me."*

accounts for the widely held belief that what individual organizations are asking for 1963 is being asked for for the first time.

"To be specific, I don't believe that anyone has stated any better than Dr. W. T. B. DuBois at Harper's Ferry in 1906 what the Negro wants. He said at a commemorative gathering there:

" 'We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social, and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.' "

## *Something New*

Prof. Brown listened with absorption as Dr. Logan enunciated, almost with declamatory effect, those words.

"I am impressed, Rayford, you have actually memorized that," he said. "I will have to second the things you have said. The times are new and people can get more now than did the youngsters I taught back 30 years ago. But those other youngsters had the same drive, even if not the organization. Nor was the world ready to take them, nor was the Herald Tribune as ready to publish our interviews. This is all something new."

Turning to a consideration of the agonized writings of James Baldwin today, Prof. Brown said:

"Baldwin is writing with passion, and Baldwin has a big following, but even he is saying nothing that Prof. E. Franklin Fraser has not said, that Dr. Rayford Logan has not said, that I have not said—except that Baldwin says it in his style, and it is an excellent style.

"The point is, Baldwin is THE Negro writer of the moment. The New Yorker magazine wouldn't take an article by us. The magazines wouldn't trust a college professor, he's too stuffy. Baldwin will admit this. Nevertheless, Baldwin knows from whom he has learned. I think he's a very skillful propagandist.

"My resentment is that some of the critics talk as if they came upon this Negro problem last night. They know nothing of the whole literature of the '30s and '40s."

Dr. Logan took over at this point to pay a compliment to Prof. Brown.

"A lot of the so-called original literary criticism in 1963 has been all too frequently taken without credit to Prof. Sterling Brown, who wrote it in his books years ago."

One book to which both these professors had contributed they particularly wanted me to have. That was because of the theme and title, "What the Negro Wants," [illegible]

thanked the participants "for expressing their real opinions and making this book possible."

I asked about students' attitudes today, apart from their "hurry" to advance. Dr. Logan made an interesting point in contrasting the students of his day and those of today.

"We came from a community which was not rich but which had standards of respectability that did not result in the kind of problems which are all too common in Washington today," he said, referring to high crime rates and racial tensions. "We came from the best Negro high school in the United States, the old M. Street High School in Washington. Most of us went to New England colleges; Sterling and I to Williams, others to Amherst, Harvard, Bates, Wesleyan, Colby, and so on.

"But many of the students of Howard today are graduates of inferior schools in Washington, and you know the reasons why they are inferior. The Congressional people are just not giving the schools the money to construct the necessary facilities, to provide the teachers, and all the rest.

"But many of the students in the inferior schools are inferior students, comparatively speaking, because there have been three separate migrations of Negroes from the South into Washington. Many of the students today come from families which have suffered greatly in previous generations from the inequalities and inequities in the South.

"What amazes me is the fact that, despite these handicaps, many of our students perform very well. Some go off and get their doctorates at the best universities in the country."

I looked out the big bay windows of the study where we were sitting, and into the gathering dusk, and saw Dr. Logan and Prof. Brown, old warriors both, on a distant scene—one described in a paragraph in Prof. Brown's reminiscence in the volume, "The New Negro 30 Years Afterwards":

"Gay with youth, heady from attention, caught up along with much of America in ballyhoo, flattered by influential creators, critics, and publishers who had suddenly discovered the dark world at their doorstep, many Negroes helped to make a cult of Harlem. They set up their own Bohemia, sharing in the nation-wide rebellion from family, church, small town, and business civilization, but revolt from racial restrictions was sporadic. Rash in the spurt for sophistication, they typified one phase of American literary life in the '20s. A few magazines such as Fire and Harlem flared like rockets; good experiments jostled against much that was falsely atavistic and willfully

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## *Firm Stand*

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"If these people who are being told they should have it now don't get it tomorrow, then they become desperate and run to the Black Muslims."

Dr. Logan nodded affirmation, saying, "This is very important, because we have it in Washington right now—the kind of disillusionment which makes for converts to the Muslims and to Communism."

We were gathered in the old 19th Century former residence of Howard University presidents, and a heavy rain was beating down on the campus outside our pleasant study. It helped to pull a curtain down around us and made it easier to go back 40 years in reminisence.

"I started out as a young fellow teaching at Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg in the 20s," Prof. Brown recalled. "Many of my students were young ministers who played on the football team, and they made trips on which they came to resent segregation more than ever.

"They would steal the signs, 'Whites' and 'Colored' for waiting rooms and bring them back to the dormitory rooms. They would try being surly to conductors on the trains. But they didn't have any discipline or organization such as CORE and SNCC give the students of today.

"There is a new behavior now, I must say, but the spirit is not new. You fought in those days and you fought alone. I'm not a belligerent person but I have had a gun pulled on me."

Rambling back through the years, Prof. Brown, who is 62, and Dr. Logan, 65, lingered with a mixture of bitterness and relish over their recollections of sleeping and eating in Pullman dining cars in the old days. There they were, distinguished scholars with degrees from leading colleges, gingerly kept out of sight in the railroad cars as if even the glimpse of them would be offensive to members of the "superior" white race.

"There was a compartment at one end of the train and the railroad company would give a Negro the whole compartment for the price of one ticket and one berth," Dr. Logan recalled. "But to keep up the fiction of inferiority, we were not permitted to close the door. The berth would be made up with the curtain hanging down just as if it had been in the open car. This was always called 'Lower 13.

"Then we could go back and eat in the dining room after the third call, not at the first call or the second call. But, you see, those white folks who lingered over their coffee at the end of the second call, who would have been, presumably, outraged at a Negro passenger coming in to eat, had to suffer our presence at a table when we came in after the third call.

## *Injustices*

"But World War II did away with the third call for Negroes—only because there was too long a line, sometimes stretching out to another car. That's when the railroads decided to put up with us.

"They reserved two tables for us and we could go in any time. But the two tables were at the pantry end of the diner, and a green curtain was suspended from the ceiling to the floor around these tables so that the white passengers in the dining car couldn't see us eating."

"Do you remember, Rayford, the waiting room in the railroad station in Louisville?" asked Prof. Brown. "There were two doors side by side leading into the waiting room, one marked "White" and one marked 'Colored.' We had to go in the 'colored' door. But both doors led into the one waiting room and when you got inside you bought your tickets at the same window and mingled and rubbed shoulders with the white people.

"I was entering the waiting room with a white friend and he had to go in his door and I had to go in mine and just inside we joined up and continued our conversation. Oh, it was fantastic."

Both professors agreed that the full story of past injustices needed to be retold to the present generation which is so angry at even lingering traces of the commonplace mistreatments of yesteryear.

The idea of the "New Negro" was coming into first flowering in the 20s, they emphasized, and they gave me a 1955 booklet to which each of them had contributed an article commemorating the late Alain Locke's "The New Negro: An Interpretation," published in 1922. Howard's division of social sciences got out the paperback volume entitled "The New Negro 30 Years Afterward," in which distinguished Negro contributors re-created the yeasty ferment of the Negro Angry Young Men of those days, including the bursting new bohemia in New York's Harlem.

"There is practically nothing being asked for, or urged, or demanded by Negroes today that was not asked for, urged and demanded many years ago," Dr. Logan said. "The failure to realize this is a result of ignorance of the history of the Negro in a very large measure, and this

Herald Tribune as ready to publish our interviews. This is all something new."

Turning to a consideration of the agonized writings of James Baldwin today, Prof. Brown said:

"Baldwin is writing with passion, and Baldwin has a big following, but even he is saying nothing that Prof. E. Franklin Fraser has not said, that Dr. Rayford Logan has not said, that I have not said—except that Baldwin says it in his style, and it is an excellent style.

"The point is, Baldwin is THE Negro writer of the moment. The New Yorker magazine wouldn't take an article by us. The magazines wouldn't trust a college professor, he's too stuffy. Baldwin will admit this. Nevertheless, Baldwin knows from whom he has learned. I think he's a very skillful propagandist.

"My resentment is that some of the critics talk as if they came upon this Negro problem last night. They know nothing of the whole literature of the '30s and '40s."

Dr. Logan took over at this point to pay a compliment to Prof. Brown.

"A lot of the so-called original literary criticism in 1963 has been all too frequently taken without credit to Prof. Sterling Brown, who wrote it in his books years ago."

One book to which both these professors had contributed they particularly wanted me to have. That was because of the theme and title, "What the Negro Wants," and because of the fact that the publisher, W. T. Couch of the University of North Carolina, "disavowed" it in his introduction.

The volume was published in 1944 and Mr. Couch apparently thought that the editor, who was Dr. Logan, and most of the contributors, including Prof. Brown, were reaching too far.

"While I disagree with the editor and most of the contributors on basic problems," the publisher had written, he

South into Washington. Many of the students today come from families which have suffered greatly in previous generations from the inequalities and inequities in the South.

"What amazes me is the fact that, despite these handicaps, many of our students perform very well. Some go off and get their doctorates at the best universities in the country."

I looked out the big bay windows of the study where we were sitting, and into the gathering dusk, and saw Dr. Logan and Prof. Brown, old warriors both, on a distant scene—one described in a paragraph in Prof. Brown's reminiscence in the volume, "The New Negro 30 Years Afterwards":

"Gay with youth, heady from attention, caught up along with much of America in ballyhoo, flattered by influential creators, critics, and publishers who had suddenly discovered the dark world at their doorstep, many Negroes helped to make a cult of Harlem. They set up their own Bohemia, sharing in the nation-wide rebellion from family, church, small town, and business civilization, but revolt from racial restrictions was sporadic. Rash in the spurt for sophistication, they typified one phase of American literary life in the '20s. A few magazines such as Fire and Harlem flared like rockets; good experiments jostled against much that was falsely atavistic and willfully shocking . . ."

Two scholarly, urbane and charming men who are pleased to call themselves Angry Old Men, and ought to be allowed that right.

**TOMORROW—An "average" Negro girl of taste and refinement tells of the discriminatory restraints she feels living in New York, and compares them with the freedom she felt when she lived abroad.**

# TEN NEGROES

*This is the seventh article of a 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of White America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

Who wouldn't wish for Eloise Calloway happy days and blessings true, golden joys and fortunes bright, and a heart that's ever light?

In most ways she already has nearly everything the average girl would want except a million dollars.

She's conspicuously attractive, has impeccable taste and a flair for dress. Her figure is superb with health and grace. Her voice is warm and her almond eyes lovely and upsetting. Her smile is radiant, and she hasn't a mean thought in her styled-hairdo head. She's 27, regularly dates several interesting men, and has a good secretarial job in lower mid-Manhattan.

She is also a Negro. And she is deeply discontented.

This you would never know unless she confided in you, for her mouth is framed in a gay greeting to the world. Miss Calloway believes that this deep-down-inside feeling of dissatisfaction comes from her profound urge to travel and live abroad. Not to live abroad permanently but, say, for a couple of years at a time. Then a spell back here at home, then more time abroad.

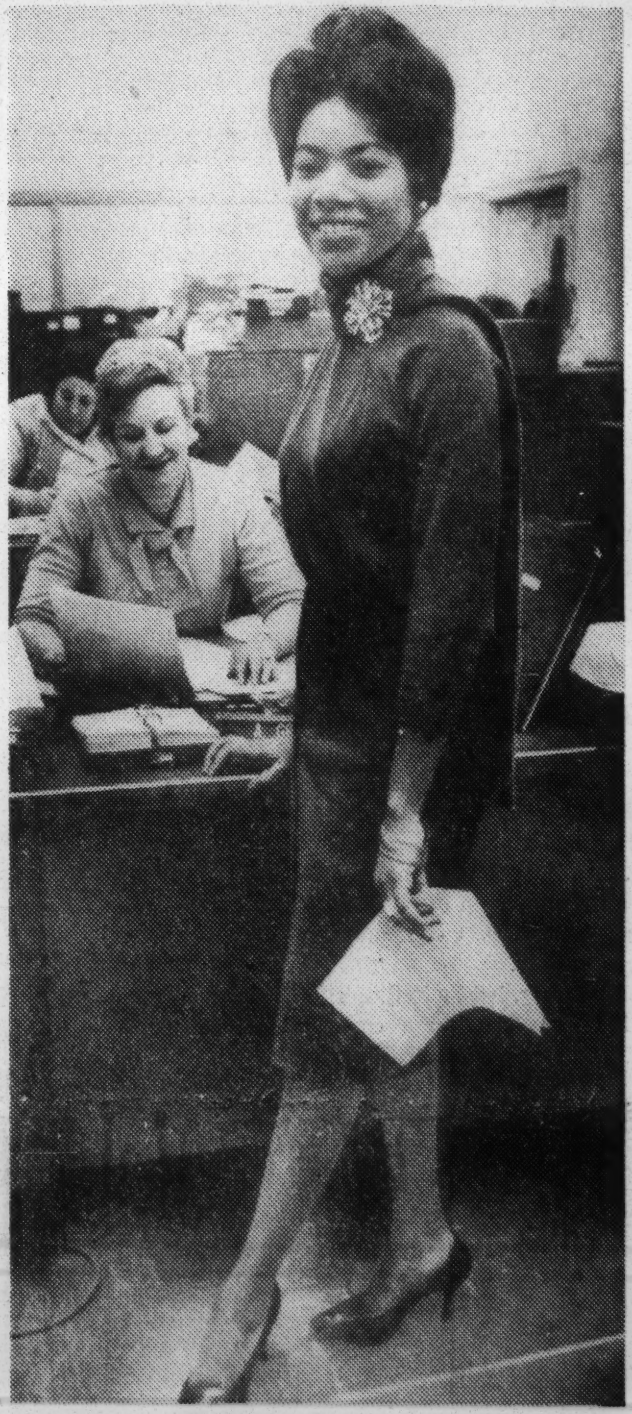
She is not just day-dreaming about this. Several years ago that deep restlessness impelled her to get a job with the foreign service, and she lived in Israel for two years as a secretary with a Point Four mission in the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv.

During those two years, her discontent vanished completely. She felt she was living in paradise. Then, after two years, the mission was phased out of Israel, its job accomplished, and she had to return to New York. The old feeling descended on her again when she got off the plane at Idlewild Airport a year and a half ago. And now, beneath the surface of her life, it bothers her more than ever.

I interviewed Miss Calloway at great length for this series on insights into Negro thinking and feeling, because I had known, when living in Israel myself, something of her popularity and happy times even though I was not acquainted with her personally.

My thought was that she would be able to draw an

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 12*



Herald Tribune photo by MORRIS WARMAN

Eloise Calloway in her office on E. 16th St.

*". . . my color made no difference to them. . ."*

# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

interesting contrast between the experience of an "average" nice, American Negro girl living in another country and living here in New York. Though it turned out that she was not able to appraise the difference, she was able to discribe it vividly to me.

We were sitting in a restaurant in Greenwich Village one evening recently when she recounted to me her unforgettable experience of arriving in Israel—she's a sensitive and refined girl brought up in Harlem, educated in an integrated high school, with a year of study at City College.

She had high expectations from the start but it was a long trip, that 7,000 miles from New York to Tel Aviv, and it was 2 o'clock in the morning Israeli time when she arrived at the airport in Lydda, near Tel Aviv.

"It was in January and it was lightly raining but quite warm, and a group of people from the mission had come to the airport to meet me," she said. "I was introduced around to everybody and made to feel I was one of them right from the start. But I was terribly tired as well as happy, and it was a long drive from the airport to my apartment. I had never had an apartment of my own before.

"But I hardly had time to think about that then, I was so tired. All I wanted was to lay down my poor, tired, body and go to sleep—and that I did. I was told that I would have breakfast the following morning with one of the girls who worked at the mission.

"And then I woke up in the morning. At first I didn't know where I was—then it hit me, I was in Israel. I jumped out of bed and saw there was a balcony right outside my bedroom.

"I slipped into a negligee and went out on the balcony into a bright, sunny day, a gorgeous day. There were flowers everywhere. Everything was so green. It was a Sunday. I thought, 'My God, what a beautiful place.' I remembered about how far away I was from home, and it was a joyful feeling. I suppose that was because the sun was shining so brightly and everything was so green and beautiful and it was just, you know . . ."

Her voice trailed off in ecstatic silence just thinking about it. It was much later in our conversations that Miss Calloway mentioned to me that all thoughts of race and race problems had on that morning dropped away from her for the first time and were gone from her mind for the next two years.

I asked her how fast or slowly her social acquaintance began in Israel, and she indicated that it had started with a rush.

"As a matter of fact, it started the next day, on Monday, when I became very friendly with a white girl employed in the mission. She invited me to her apartment for dinner, and then one of the men in the mission invited me out. And they introduced me to Israelis, and Israelis invited me out.

"Very quickly I was going out on dates, going here and going there, to parties, to dinners—I didn't have a free night."

Miss Calloway's life in Israel was completely interracial, and largely international in the sense that her friends were both white Americans and Israelis.

I asked Miss Calloway to tell me what she enjoyed most in this life abroad, and she made it clear that it was this free social life and the joy of travel—for her diplomatic passport made it possible for her to move freely with her other American friends from the embassy staff across the borders into the nearby Arab countries. And these were unforgettable experiences, too.

But the key thought this Harlem girl offered in contrasting life in a foreign country with life in America was this:

"I guess mainly the thing when I was away was that I didn't come in contact with the racial problem. As a matter of fact, I'm not really in contact with that sort of thing now. I mean, I just read about it.

"But while I was away I didn't experience any of this racial—" she didn't complete the sentence. "I just sort of forgot about the whole thing, sort of left it behind. And I was treated on an equal basis along with the whites in Israel, and there was no such thing as discrimination. You were accepted as a human being.

"Then after I got back home, then I realized—I guess it just hit me much harder than it did before I went away."

She looked at me solemnly and thoughtfully for a moment or two, and then she brightened up as if determined not to spoil my enjoyment of my chicken pie by [illegible] I had heard often in my weeks

So when she returned to New York and to her old inner discontent she took up her former, familiar life in Harlem, but in the new job with the Air Force.

The girls do not double date. As a matter of fact, her roommates tell her she is too choosy about her men friends.

"I think I AM choosy," she said complacently, "I know what I want when I date a man. I like the ambitious type, well-educated, interested in lots of things, a man who knows where he is going."

From the complete inter-racial social life of Israel, she now dates only with Negro men. I asked her if it bothered her that she doesn't have more of an inter-racial social life now.

"Oh, no, no, no," she said. "It doesn't bother me at all that I am dating only Negro boys. It isn't that I want to date white boys in particular—as a matter of fact it doesn't make any difference what color they are. Color does not make the difference. If I feel like dating a white boy I will date one. It's not that I want to date one as badly as all that."

## 'Forgot I Was,' 'Negro'

"I have never been discriminated against, I don't think, except once or twice when I was looking for a particular job. I did experience discrimination in that field—but working on the job, I have never been discriminated against. It's not a feeling of discrimination that I have in New York. I don't know how to explain it but when I went away I completely forgot that I was a Negro, more or less.

"In Israel I was treated as something special, I guess, and when I came home I became an ordinary individual."

Why, I asked her, is she not married? She smiled brightly on that one.

"I don't know, i'ts just that I don't think I am prepared to get myself bogged down in married life yet. I certainly want to travel some more. My social life was far more interesting abroad than it is here. I had a much better apartment, I could entertain, I imagine I could get a nice apartment here, too, but it would be much more expensive."

She is currently dating three men regularly but is not involved in heavy romance with any of them. Nor do they konw each other. She did not want to discuss them except to say that she enjoys going out with all of them, and all of them treat her very nicely. One is a dentist, one a real estate broker, and one a police officer.

It is very evident that when Miss Calloway goes out for the evening she goes with a certain amount of style. She dresses exquisitely, and she has innate dignity.

On her dates she often goes to prestige restaurants downtown, she said, but even more often drops into one of the Harlem places—Carl's Corner, Small's Paradise, the Red Rooster, and places of that kind. She and her "date" have cocktails and dinner and talk mostly about the theater, entertainment subjects and such chit-chat, with occasional conversations on racial matters which are in the news. But not much of that.

"I like nice people around me, a nice decor, an intimate atmosphere and some entertainment or dancing, because I love to dance," she said.

On my own workaday date with Miss Calloway at the restaurant in the Village she was wearing a soft gray suit of genuine distinction and a black, armless blouse. She had a turquoise necklace and a turquoise ring on her finger and a gold bracelet. She can carry all this without seeming to be a bit overdressed.

I asked her about the origin of her jewelry. She said she had bought the ring in Cairo, the bracelet (made of small, thin gold coins) in Turkey, and the necklace came from Iran.

She does her shopping in Fifth Avenue stores, she said, and her intellectual reading fare consists of a national news magazine, the morning paper and the Atlantic Monthly magazine.

She has no intellectual pretensions but she visits a museum exhibit occasionally, likes good movies, and goes frequently to the theater and ballet with her "dates." As to marriage, that's a subject she always shrugs off as something for the future—after more travel.

I had in the back of my mind as I talked with Miss Calloway a thing which Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, City College profesor of psychology, had said to me. He is an outstanding Negro psychologist himself.

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"Then after I got back home, then I realized—I guess it just hit me much harder than it did before I went away."

She looked at me solemnly and thoughtfully for a moment or two, and then she brightened up as if determined not to spoil my enjoyment of my chicken pie by talking killjoy talk. But I had heard often, in my weeks of interviewing, other Negroes also say they wanted to be treated as human beings.

## *The Explanation*

"Exactly what does that phrase, being treated as a human being, mean to you," I asked Miss Calloway.

"The feeling that I got was," she explained, "that the fact I was a Negro—my color—made no difference to them over there. I felt freer. It didn't matter to them that I was a Negro."

As a matter of fact, Israeli friends told me that Miss Calloway was one of the most popular American girls among the younger set of any in Israel.

But in her reminiscence, it seemed to me that what Miss Calloway felt most of all was an atmosphere, an enchanting atmosphere which was certainly real but which may also have been in the nature of an escape.

"I used to love to sit at the cafes on Dizongoff Circle and watch the people pass back and forth," she said. "It was just wonderful."

But what, I asked, was so wonderful about it (although I knew it was wonderful)?

"I don't know," she answered with a faraway look in her fresh-as-morn eyes, "just watching, I guess. Watching the people walking up and down. Sometimes you'd see the same faces three or four times, passing back and forth. Oh, that carefree air about the Israelis, laughing and talking and meeting with their friends, and then sitting at the cafe themselves.

"They would sit there for hours and hours and sip their coffee or their soft drinks as if they didn't have a care in the world. Such a relaxed feeling! It made me feel good, it really did."

From time to time, members of the mission would plan excursions for week ends to Beirut in Lebanon, to Damascus in Syria, to the fabulous Old City of Jerusalem through the Mandelbaum Gate into Jordan, and once she went on a tour lasting for more than a week into Egypt, visiting Cairo and Luxor and the other fabulous places.

Everywhere she went she felt free and happy and very much alive.

But there was a nagging thought away in the back of her mind. She was attached to a dying mission. It was under directive to phase out of Israel by degrees, and even from the time she first went there the mission was in process of slow liquidation.

"I often did not have enough work to do and I felt useless. I often thought why don't I just request a move to another mission. But I liked Israel too much, and I never made the request. I just thought as each day came along, maybe it will get better. But it got worse and in December, 1961, I found I was leaving Israel."

It was far more difficult for Miss Calloway to explain how the matter of race has affected her now that she is back in New York—because she does not feel any specific, personal discrimination against herself.

What she feels is more the atmosphere of race distinctions, race troubles, and race outrages on the general scene. This atmosphere is all around her again. And it seems as if she has become, after her return, a kind of unwilling, indirect participant in a problem which is very unpleasant—for even her younger, student brother at Clark University in Atlanta is joining in race demonstrations.

It is evident that her life is much more circumscribed here, and that she is more of a "loner" than in earlier years before she went away.

In fairness to her, she did not say these things directly but this was the interpretation that I got from what she did say.

Although Harlem-born, her mother was careful to see that she got as much education as possible in integrated schools—first the Joan of Arc Junior High School on 93d Street, then the Washington Irving High School at 16th St. and Irving Place. She made many white friends in these schools and they did a lot of socializing while they were in school, but over the years they have lost contact with each other.

And her parents moved out to Long Island about eight years ago, leaving her faced with a choice to make about her own life and career.

She decided to stay in Harlem because she was "used to it," and she joined with two Negro girl friends in setting up an apartment together in lower Harlem. It is a big place with a bedroom for each girl, a living room large enough for all, and a working-size kitchen with a well-stocked larder. The girls have got along together fine for eight years—with time out while she sojourned in Israel. from Iran.

She does her shopping in Fifth Avenue stores, she said, and her intellectual reading fare consists of a national news magazine, the morning paper and the Atlantic Monthly magazine.

She has no intellectual pretensions but she visits a museum exhibit occasionally, likes good movies, and goes frequently to the theater and ballet with her "dates." As to marriage, that's a subject she always shrugs off as something for the future—after more travel.

I had in the back of my mind as I talked with Miss Calloway a thing which Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, City College profesor of psychology, had said to me. He is an outstanding Negro psychologist himself.

Dr. Clark had said:

"Among the complexities of the American racial problem is the fact that problems of personal adjustment and personal difficulties which would be true for individuals without regard to race, we Negroes have complicated even more in this overriding racial problem of ours.

"It becomes extremely difficult at times to tell where one begins and the other ends in trying to understand the role of a particular person."

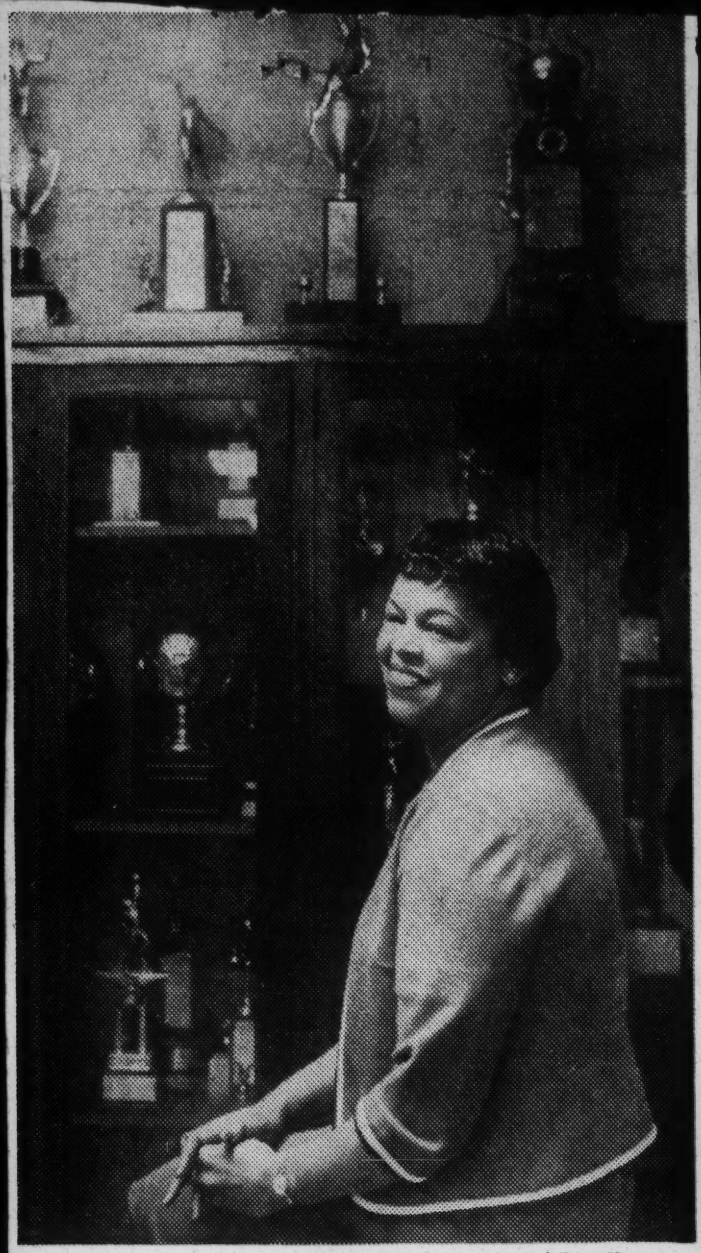
I repeated this view of Dr. Clark to Miss Calloway and asked her if she thought she was seeking an escape from the fact that she was a Negro girl.

She smiled and said in her gentle and lovely voice:

"I don't think so. I want to travel for very real reasons. I love travel. Take my trip to Egypt. I had read as a child about the pyramids and the Sphynx and riding on camels and all those wonderful things. And then I went to Egypt and I saw them, and I rode on a camel. And it was all much, much more wonderful, even, than imagining them when reading about it. Isn't that good enough reason for wanting to travel?"

I answered truthfully that I couldn't agree with her more. This much is certain: She will make some husband a wonderful traveling companion, and she will enhance the scenery wherever she goes.

**TOMORROW: The Negro principal of a high school in the District of Columbia's racially troubled 2nd Precinct describes forward-looking programs being tried out.**



Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

**Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, educator**

*One-third of her 9th graders are below 5th grade level*

# TEN NEGROES

*THIS is the eighth of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

The growing horde of semi-literate and largely unemployable Negro youngsters who are being released from city school systems as "drop-outs" is being cited on all sides as a tragedy and peril for this country.

The problem is especially aggravated in the District of Columbia—in the heart of the nation's capital—where an unending debate centers on the situation.

One day recently I visited a high school in the slum-ridden and racially troubled part of Washington that lies just to the west of Howard University, scarcely 20 minutes' drive from the White House.

My idea was to talk with the Negro principal, Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, about the human side of her 1,700 pupils—avoiding altogether the morass of arguments in the vast, endless abstract debate that is going on.

Cardozo High School is a huge, four-story structure

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# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

that looks like any of a hundred big city high schools built between the two World Wars.

It stands with a dominating look of importance in the neighborhood, which is itself not at all a noisome tenement area but a place of shabby single, double and multiple-family houses, many with their own tiny porches, lawns and yards. Rows of trees along the sidewalks attest to its former better-class status.

Dr. Washington is a warm, slightly plump woman whose high reputation as an outstanding school principal was described to me by several Negro educators and professional men who are worried about the general situation.

She is one of those extraordinarily busy women who are somehow able to make time for a visitor. She made me comfortable in her office near the front door of the school, ordered coffee for us both, and plunged right into the problem.

## 'Pathetic Despair'

"We have about 163 of the 450 ninth-graders who are below the fifth-grade level," she said. "They are products of the overcrowded educational situation. They have such despair it's just pathetic. And when we look into the community we find a great lack of jobs, broken homes, and parents who just don't think that education is the answer to their plight.

"The consequence is there is a lack of aspiration among the children, and we find a kind of acting out in the behavior of some of them—hostility toward other children and teachers—and among others a quiet acceptance, a withdrawal and a passive resistance.

"This is a real challenge in the field of education, the ability to understand and perceive the problem of these youngsters. And it is hard to expect this from a great many of the Negro teachers who come from middle class backgrounds.

"Some of these teachers who have come out here simply cannot relate to it because it's too close to them. Some Negro people can't handle it. It's too agonizing. Such teachers often feel that what they see in the school is just too symptomatic of the larger problem.

"Why is the pupil acting the way he is acting? Why doesn't he have respect for school? What are the things against which the child is being defensive? Such teachers understand all right, I think, but they identify with it personally and find themselves unable to face up and work through the problem."

Dr. Washington's high school is what is called a comprehensive mid-city school devoted to the development of students from a cross section of the city's population. She herself is an authority on problem youngsters. Author of "Background Factors and Adjustment," she earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Howard University and her doctor of philosophy from the Catholic University of America. She is the wife of Walter E. Washington, and is the mother of a teen-age daughter herself.

The great part of the pupils at this school are in the two middle "tracks" or courses of study—the general track which can prepare pupils for college if they measure up, and one which brings them to a terminal point in their education and gives them skills for business jobs.

A lower track gives "basic" education to children who, though not necessarily below normal in ability or aptitude, are nevertheless functioning on the basic level.

But the study courses which seem to excite Dr. Washington the most, and are intensely "human" to hear about, are the Honors course for exceptionally talented youngsters from the Negro slums, and a course aimed at enticing potential male drop-outs to stay in school a little longer so as to become, at least, employable in the outside world.

## 'A Work-Study Course'

This last course in effect prepares boys to become maintenance men—janitors—but not ordinary ones. Rather knowledgable ones who are able to say how a particular floor covering ought to be cleaned and how one kind of paint differs from another.

Actually, this is an experimental work-study course for boys who are retarded in reading and mathematics. handicapped in many ways by their background environment. They carry an extra load of subjects and are supported all the way through by the teachers in maintaining the highest morale. There are currently about 25 students in the Honors program, Dr. Washington said:

"The same teachers work with them right through their course—and these are teachers who like kids, who don't look down their noses at them, who expect the children to learn, and who are able to stimulate a response in the youngsters. For despite his despair, every child has an urge to learn.

"Also, underneath all a parent's problems and excuses, every parent is concerned about his child's education. He just doesn't want to be blamed for the obvious problems. And this is why we try to work with the parents, too.

"In the Honors program we provide a complete orientation job. We give support to scholarship talent. We work with the American Association of University Women in special programs to acquaint the youngsters with the theater, the art galleries, museums, and to learn about the colleges.

"Beyond the regular school counseling, many of these women holds teas in their homes to establish a rapport with the youngsters and to introduce them to the college idea.

I asked Dr. Washington to tell me more about the background aspects of these children.

"In some ways their background is distinctive," she said. With these exceptional pupils, there has not been the same kind of distorted childhood as with many of the other children. These are children who have experienced some success. Somewhere along the way they experienced a positive constructive relationship with some adult who was close to them. Everything wasn't hatred in the household.

"It was not necessarily a parent, but some one within the family, even if it was a broken family. Some adult—perhaps an adored grandmother—held the child to a high level of expectation, and this helped to produce the high motivation which the child has today."

## A White Teacher Talks

The principal had telephoned to an Honors course teacher, inviting her to tell me a little about these bright pupils, and soon there appeared in the office Mrs. Joan Wofford, a young white teacher. It didn't require much more than a look at Mrs. Wofford to see that she must be practically perfect as a teacher for a bunch of brainy young kids from underprivileged backgrounds.

Mrs. Wofford has a built-in, upbeat grin; eyes that are so alert it seems surprising that they are also filled with warmth and enthusiasm, and as quick a mind as any one I ever talked with. She is married to a young Rhodes Scholar lawyer, and she was teaching in an upper-class white suburban high school in the Boston area when Dr. Washington persuaded her to come to Cardozo.

"Many of these youngsters are not caught up yet to the point where my pupils were in the white school," Mrs. Wofford said, "but they are every bit as bright and three times as excited. It's a thrill to work with them.

"They're not in the slightest bit blasé, as they were in my white school, and they are not hampered by the same preconceptions. In my other school they started out with a bias against Shakespeare, certain that he was boring. But these youngsters never heard about Shakespeare until they got into this program.

"Really, it's a thrill to see them react. I suggested to some of them that they try reading Plato, and a few days later I came into the classroom and found them all arguing heatedly, passionately, over Plato's ideas. Remember, they're only ninth-graders.

"These are unusual kids in another sense, considering the backgrounds of most of them. Somewhere they got the idea early in their school life that books could be interesting. Maybe there was a book or two at home, or perhaps somebody in the home was a reader, or a parent was terribly strict and made the child read.

"Even at this age level it is not too late to pull these children up to college level. But we don't have half enough money for books. They have a hunger for books. They're reading like mad. I buy paperback books for them, but we really need lots more books.

though not necessarily below normal [illegible] are nevertheless functioning on the basic level.

But the study courses which seem to excite Dr. Washington the most, and are intensely "human" to hear about, are the Honors course for exceptionally talented youngsters from the Negro slums, and a course aimed at enticing potential male drop-outs to stay in school a little longer so as to become, at least, employable in the outside world.

## 'A Work-Study Course'

This last course in effect prepares boys to become maintenance men—janitors—but not ordinary ones. Rather knowledgable ones who are able to say how a particular floor covering ought to be cleaned and how one kind of paint differs from another.

Actually, this is an experimental work-study course for boys who are retarded in reading and mathematics. These are indicators which help to measure the youngsters who have a high degree of absenteeism from school and are heading for the swelling multitude of drop-outs starting out in adult life unable to find jobs for themselves.

"The idea of this course," explained Dr. Washington, "is to give these boys a good training in building maintenance and along with that to give them a positive concept of themselves. It is to lure back into classes for this kind of special training boys who were coming to school only sporadically or not all.

"We are already able to see a great change in many of these boys who have come back to learn the job of maintenance—the composition of different materials, how to clean windows, and practical things like that.

"As they learn from this course a new respect for the vocation of maintenance work, we see in them a new neatness in the way they dress. Most of them are doing part-time work. We are teaching them how to operate on a budget, and we have a school bank. It's amazing to see the change in them."

Actually, Dr. Washington's enthusiasm is based on the measure of what, potentially, can be done with these youngsters rather than on any mass program to help solve the larger problem. This is only experimental, and at present not more than 20 boys are taking the course. But it points in a hopeful new direction.

"We have two goals for potential drop-outs," Dr. Washington said. "Either to return them back into the main school life and try to get them to finish high school, or to enable them to make the transition from school to an actual job.

"In support of this employment effort we are writing to prospective employers in a beginning effort at job placement, we are teaching the pupils how to talk to people, and we are giving them needed help in reading. A few boys have responded enough to go back to taking four subjects in the regular school."

In the middle track groups, special encouragement is needed for pupils, too, according to this understanding principal.

"The average student in the college course track does not have high enough motivation and is not well book-oriented. Nor do they recognize the scholarship opportunities. So they need to be constantly stimulated and taught that college is achievable for them, that it is not beyond their grasp.

"Those who want to go from high school into business also have to be stimulated, and we really work hard to ease the transition for them from school into business jobs. Our aim is to make them acceptable for Grade 4 clerk-typist jobs in government, and to equip them for the Civil Service examination they would have to take."

But there is still another course of study in this school —and this is the one that is yielding the most spectacular results of all. More than that, it emphasizes in the most human terms possible the tragedy in neglect of these young Negro children from broken and impoverished homes.

The course is the top one in the school—the Honors course, now in its second year. For this, Dr. Washington has found it most important that the pupils have an integrated staff, and her teachers in this course are exceptionally well trained. This is for exceptional children, pupils who, though they may come from an environment of poverty, have an unusually high I.Q. and unusually high motivation .

These youngsters are top-notch college material, though

"Really, it's a thrill to see them react. I suggested to some of them that they try reading Plato, and a few days later I came into the classroom and found them all arguing heatedly, passionately, over Plato's ideas. Remember, they're only ninth-graders.

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"Even at this age level it is not too late to pull these children up to college level. But we don't have half enough money for books. They have a hunger for books. They're reading like mad. I buy paperback books for them, but we really need lots more books.

"They are so interested and so unsophisticated that they will read anything—from Chaucer's Middle English and Shakespeare's poetry to 'To Kill a Mockingbird.' All of it is exciting to them."

The principal and Mrs. Wofford emphasized that these young people in the Honors course were simply picked right out of the general body of pupils.

"I can't believe that we couldn't up the number of kids of college caliber by one-third," Mrs. Wofford said. "But we would need money, books and counseling."

## The Teacher Problem

Dr. Washington discussed the teacher problem in a school such as hers, where many of the pupils have fear and hostility. Washington public schools are reported to be plagued with physical violence by the pupils. But this principal says much of the trouble occurs when teachers fail to understand that the children have no way of curbing their anger, and the teacher responds with "power" instead of understanding. Instead of understanding the child, she said, these teachers speak back and exacerbate the situation.

"Everything depends on how the teacher handles her power," she explained. "Some teachers act as if the kids were a captive audience, held there by force. The teacher parades her power. The child recognizes this power and in turn tris to exhibit his own power, and the two get into a power struggle.

"A better way for a teacher to act would be to take the attitude, 'I accept you as a person, I value your worth, but I don't accept your behavior.'"

Having in mind the slum environment of these children in Cardozo High School, I asked, altogether separately, a professor of sociology in Washington, Dr. J. Franklin Edwards, about the effect of environment on the pupil.

"Many of these youngsters live under the most adverse conditions emotionally," he said. "Broken families, tense situations, poverty. Also, many of them are not getting enough to eat. A study was made on this here in Washington and they found that in the kindergarten and first grades, pupils who were not doing well had low hemoglobins.

"They just didn't have enough hemoglobin, and so they didn't feel well. But more than that, they had all kinds of emotional problems. They drooled and they cried easily. They were hypersensitive, they slept in their chairs. These were youngsters who should have been in the third grade, but were still in first grade."

In one aspect of home environment, Prof. Edwards agreed completely with Dr. Washington and Mrs. Wofford —that cultural poverty was handicapping these youngsters, and one sign of it was that they just didn't get to read early, and they went on through the grades increasingly handicapped.

"The 1,700 youngsters in this school," Dr. Washington told me, "do and must represent every facet of the general population. We have some superior pupils, and it is up to us to devise a program to try to identify these and give them as stimulating a course of study as possible.

"We must try to enrich academically their backgrounds and raise their sights. And this means working with the wamilies. Until the community can give this support to the school, until it can do this kind of thing, the problem will remain."

**TOMORROW: The leading Negro magazine publisher of the country views the race situation from a self-made successful business man's viewpoint.**

Herald Tribune

Ebony's publisher John H. Johnson

# TEN NEGROES

*THIS is the ninth article of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

Besides wanting their full civil rights and equality with white Americans, most Negroes would like to have —just as most white Americans would—mink coats for their women, beautiful automobiles, lushly decorated homes, talented careers, fascinating friends, trips around the world, castles in Spain, and all the rest.

Negroes are by no means excluded from this life of grandeur but, as in the case of the white population, only a small fraction of them manage to scale the heights.

The rest read about it and enjoy it in articles and pictures in Ebony, a slick-paper, prestige magazine for Negro readers modeled after the format of Life magazine.

The world depicted in Ebony is primarily a Negro world, but also an interracial world of glamour and achievement. Basically it is a real world for those who have reached it, although somewhat prettied up for presentation to the readers.

One Negro who has made the climb into this

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 14*

# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

prestigious world is John H. Johnson, president of the Johnson Publishing Co. of Chicago. He and his wife created Ebony, and they, together with his mother, own and publish it alnog with three other magazines for Negroes and a new but expanding list of book titles.

It seemed to me, in seeking peepholes into Negro thinking and feeling, that the man who published Ebony might nave some interesting viewpoints, and I arranged to talk with him in his quietly sumptuous office in Chicago.

He is an impressive man of 45, brimming with physical and mental vigor, good cheer and friendliness. And he displays a frank simplicity of manner which invests him with special dignity and distinction.

He obviously enjoys his success. At the same time he seems to have forgotten nothing of his impoverished boyhood in rural Arkansas, and nothing of the early years in Chicago when he and his mother, a domestic who never got beyond the third grade, were on the relief rolls there. That was for a short time in the 1930s.

This gives him a real sense of identification with Negro youngsters who are at the threshold of their own careers, and he talked to me at length about it.

But before I touch on that, Mr. Johnson's view of the Negro world of glamor as depicted in his magazine Ebony, in articles and pictures about successful and interesting Negro people, ought to be given first.

"I think that all of us ought to devote all our effort toward improving the community and the world we live in," he said, "but I think at some point the Negro ought to have a right to be a human being in the fullest sense of the word. He ought to have the right to give a party, go to a country club if he likes, buy a mink coat for his wife if he has the money, take a skiing trip somewhere, visit the Riviera.

"Now I don't think the Negroes who are able to do some of these things are made alien to other Negroes, nor does it put them apart from the others. This is just another way of expressing his interest in being a human being.

"And I want to say this, I don't picture this world as a separate world. What we depict are Negroes who, through their own efforts, or by birth or accident or some other means, are able to acquire what all other people want. And it is exactly the same in the white world, where the majority enjoy reading about the people at the top.

"What I think I am doing is showing the readers that we have all strata in our society as in the general society. We're showing Negroes that some of us are able to make it. One of our most widely read sections is called 'Speaking of People,' and it deals with employment, really—new jobs that people have found for themselves."

Mr. Johnson's office is in the superbly decorated Madison Avenue executive style, with quiet-toned carpet and fabrics, richly upholstered furniture, inviting book shelves, a spate of foliage plants, and plenty of space for pacing up and down, which he likes to do as he talks.
per cent now.

## The World of Achievement

"If you examine my magazine you'll find not so much a world of glamor any more as a world of achievement," he world of glamor but we have gradually become more in-
continued. "What happened was, we started out with the
terested in people's achievements."

I asked him what proportion of the Negro population was represented in the glamor-achievement world of Ebony, and he answered:

"Oh, I would think it's perhaps 10 per cent. I know years ago Dr. W. T. DuBois used to talk about the 'talented tenth,' and I think that even if he said that many years ago it still holds true. I mean by that, about 10 per cent of the Negro people are those who are able to enjoy many of these advantages we're speaking about. I think the proportion is increasing as time goes by, but I would hold it to about 10 per cent now."

"That glamor world is not my world," he said, in answer to my question. "I think my world is a more realistic one. But it's true, we try to find the glamor side in our magazine even though not all the people we glamorize believe that this is all their world either.

"We are like the movies—just as they tend to embellish and adorn the normal, I think we do the same. This is not to misstate the truth but simply expresses the search for something that will capture the imagination. And this is not the whole world of the people who like to read about it, either."

Mr. Johnson's magazine reflects dramatically a change

ber of a highly respected Negro family in Selma, Ala., where her father was a physician. She became his beautiful and talented wife and co-worker and he left the company to launch Ebony.

In 1945, on a cash capital of $500 borrowed on his mother's furniture, Ebony made its appearance with 25,000 copies. Today its circulation is over 800,000.

After the magazine was well toward success, several years after it was started, Mrs. Johnson quit active work to devote herself to the home. The couple adopted two children, John jr. and Linda, and the family live in an integrated residential section of Chicago in a large and richly furnished apartment. Mr. Johnson owns the apartment house. He refuses to live in the country because, he says, he does not want to be reminded by too much landscape of anything from his rural Arkansas past.

## 'We Need All These Voices'

Getting down to a discussion of race problems, Mr. Johnson answered a question of mine about whether he feels personally integrated in the civic and business world of Chicago.

"No, I don't think so," he said. "I think integration encompasses the total activities of an individual, if you think of them in the broad sense. I get into these groups in the white world pretty much as a representative of the Negro community, even though I might not be identified as such. I don't think I am in there because I am a successful publisher. I think it's because I am a successful Negro publisher."

Speaking of the diversity of Negro organizations and personalities driving for diverse Negro goals, Mr. Johnson said:

"I think we need all these voices. We are living in an age of diversification. Even business is not able to make out with only a one-product development. The same way about the race relations problem. I feel there is no one way to do it. I don't think we can identify any one kind of leadership as the only one. Nobody quite understands why this is so, and nobody understands why a certain cola company that used to put its drink out in one size bottle now has to market in several sizes.

"There is something in the air that requires diversification of effort toward any accomplishment, and in the Negro field we need all of these people, even at the risk of appearing—well, whatever you want to call it. I think the Black Muslims are making a contribution to racial equality by simply challenging in a different kind of way. Obviously no thinking person who truly believes in democracy—and I believe in it—would follow a policy of hate, although the Muslims deny this policy. But the point I am making is, as James Baldwin points out, we have got to get white people to listen before we can convince them.

"I believe that the Muslims in their approach, despite the fact I don't approve of them are helping to get people to listen. If they get people to listen to us, then they make some kind of contribution.

"And if we must be critical of the Muslims then we must also realize that we, meaning the white population, are responsible for the conditions which created the Muslims in the first place. And the best way to get rid of them is not to criticize them but to improve the conditions of the black man, and make a mockery out of what they say by bringing about a real conversion to democratic practices.

"They are not going anywhere. They are going to keep preaching their philosophy as long as what they say is true, and as long as what they say is true it's going to grow."

## The First Step—Confidence

Mr. Johnson is the pleasantest kind of man to interview. He is not only responsive to every question, but he grabs every idea and runs with it. He talks in a rather loud voice, as if he thinks better that way, pacing back and forth and looking always as eager as an interested boy.

"I think the first step toward overcoming a feeling of inferiority and low status is," he said, "to instill confidence in yourself through finding something in your background in which you can feel pride. I am publishing a Negro history series because I learned that Negro history is not taught in most schools and Negroes are not aware of the

world of glamor any more as a world of achievement," he continued. "What happened was, we started out with the world of glamor but we have gradually become more interested in people's achievements."

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Mr. Johnson's magazine reflects dramatically a change in the Negro people's image of color. And this was a development that Mr. Johnson talked about vividly—the disappearance of prestige distinctions in the lighter skin colors of Negroes.

"The color problem is no longer with us any more," he said. "I think what happened was, first, that black-skinned Negroes began gaining better opportunities for education and to gain achievement on their own, and then the rise of the newly developing nations in Africa, where black has come to mean something important, also helped to erase these skin-color distinctions.

"All those color distinctions began generations ago during slavery days when the slave owner kept certain slaves for his personal pleasure, and from these were born children of lighter skin who got more privileges than the field hands."

He picked up an issue of Ebony and leafed through for me, to show how in the color advertisements there were more of the darker-skinned models, both male and female, depicted in the ads than lighter-skinned.

"Negro people are no longer ashamed of their naturalness," Mr. Johnson said. "You will see many Negro girls who are no longer straightening their hair, and I think in general black skin has acquired a new meaning. It's not necessary any longer for Negroes of lighter skin to stay together on that basis. We used to have thousands of Negroes 'pass' over from Negro to white, but we no longer have that happening now."

## 100 Negro Millionaires

Back in a January issue of this year Mr. Johnson ran a feature with photographs and sketches of 100 Negro millionaires in the country. They included persons in a great variety of fields and it was a presentation which had tremendous impact on the Negro people, for even these 100 are by no means all the American Negro millionaires.

The publisher did not include himself, although he might well have done so on the basis of a financial rating.

"Dr. Martin Luther King jr. can talk abstractly about goals for Negroes," Mr. Johnson said, only half seriously, "but here they could see it.

"I have been blessed to have been able to achieve some of the benefits of capitalism, and I am in favor of capitalism. People often say to me, yes, you're in favor of it because in a minor way you are a capitalist.

"Then I say, no, I felt the same way when I was on relief here in Chicago, because I felt that if other people had it, there was always a chance that I might have it.

"One of my editors told me a story going around in one of the Negro colleges in Atlanta. He said that a student went to the dean and said, you know there are a lot of cliques around this college, and they won't let some of us in and I am very unhappy about it.

"The dean said, okay, I'll tell you how to stop this—but the boy interrupted him. He said, no, dean, I want you to tell me how I can get into one.

"Well, in effect that's the way people feel. I don't think they begrudge the world they see, they simply want it themselves. And this desire just spurs them on."

Going back to his own days of poverty, Mr. Johnson told me that his mother brought him to Chicago during the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933, ostensibly to see the exposition but actually, as he came to suspect later, to see if she could gain a toe-hold in Chicago and help him get some further education. He had finished the eighth grade in the country school in Arkansas, he said, and to keep him out of trouble his mother made him go through the eighth grade a second time. But she had ambitions for getting him to college.

His stepfather, a sawmill helper, remained in Arkansas while his mother got established in a servant's job in Chicago. She lost that job and they went on relief for a time.

Today his mother, Mrs. Gertrude Williams, rides around in a big chauffeur-driven limousine of her own, engaging in certain civic works in which she is interested and seeing to it that Mr. Johnson gets to church on Sunday.

While he was in high school in Chicago he got himself a clerical job in one of the biggest Negro-operated businesses in the North, the Supreme Life Insurance Company of America. He came to the notice of the president, the late Harry H. Pace, who urged young Mr. Johnson to go to college and work part-time.

He got into employee relations in the company, editing its house organ, and attended the University of Chicago and later Northwestern University. Meantime he rose rapidly in the company, and he met his wife, Eunice, mem-

must also realize that we, meaning the white population, are responsible for the conditions which created the Muslims in the first place. And the best way to get rid of them is not to criticize them but to improve the conditions of the black man, and make a mockery out of what they say by bringing about a real conversion to democratic practices.

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"Our people have done many things of which they can be proud, and I think that we Negroes must first believe that we deserve equality before we can sell the idea to any one else."

He pointed to his big, important looking desk chair sitting behind his executive type desk, saying:

"I recall the first time we got this office. I came down the night before and sat in my chair so as to get used to it. I wanted to have a relaxed feeling"—he laughed uproariously at the thought—"when people came to see me on that first day. I just wasn't used to it, and I wanted to get used to it ahead of time.

"I think Negro people have to get used to equality themselves, personally, first, then once we're used to it and believe we really and truly deserve it, then we'll get it."

## Mr. Johnson's Advice

He is deeply concerned about the lack of opportunity for bright Negro youths to acquire the necessary training in business that would enable them to gain promotions promptly. He said that if he had not happened to be put into a job in the insurance company he worked for, where he had an opportunity to learn the evaluation and decision-making processes from top executives, he never would have succeeded in business himself.

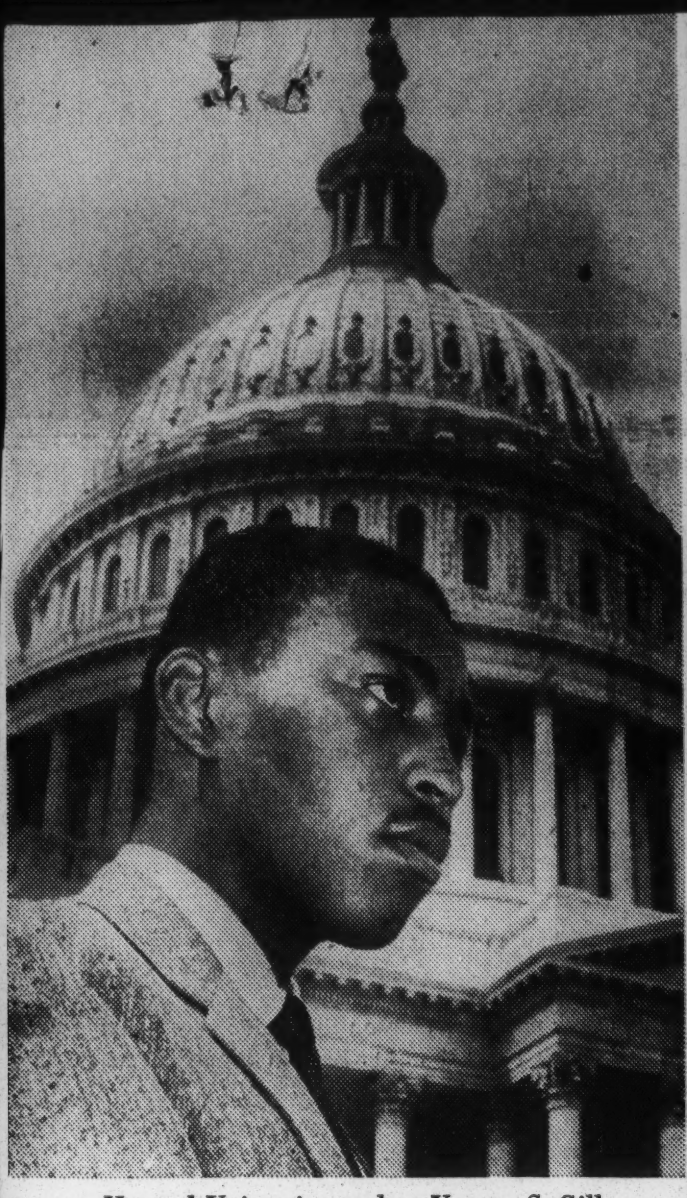
"This is the great void in Negro business life. What Negroes lack is an insight into how business operates, and experience and knowledge in how to deal with day to day problems. If I had not been able to sit in watching decisions being made and ask the men why they were doing things the way they did, I would never have learned how to do it. This must become a responsibility of leadership, to offer this kind of training opportunity to young Negro men."

This is his advice to young people:

"The United States Information Service did a movie on our company and they asked me the secret of my success. I said that if I have a secret it is that you set small goals and try to achieve them. Then after you achieve the first goal, you set another one within range of attainment and you try for that. You can't possibly see to the end all at once. The important thing is that you are making progress.

"I think the way people feel about my magazine is that perhaps they never will achieve as much as some of the people we depict, but this inspires them to do a little bit better than they are doing. And this is all I think any of us can hope for. As I go around the world, I find nobody has things quite the way he wants them."

**TOMORROW: Three bright Negro college students discuss race problems in an uninhibited interview. One has a surprising ambition. The final article of the series.**



**Howard University student Vernon S. Gill**

*Bold ideas, even the Presidency*

# TEN NEGROES

May 10, 1963

*THIS IS THE LAST ARTICLE of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.*

By Robert S. Bird
*National Correspondent*

A Negro President of the United States within, say, a quarter of a century?

You are not likely to hear this arresting idea dropped casually into a conversation unless you are talking with a person who is young enough to feel unshackled by the past and bold enough to see a different vision of the future.

In short, a bold Negro youth. One well enough organized in mind and personality to have thought the notion through. A lad such as Vernon S. Gill.

In my dozens of interviews with Negroes in several parts of the country, not one of them ever broached to me the idea of a Negro President of the United States. But when I mentioned to several Negro men of affairs that young Mr. Gill has proposed the possiblity to me they did a double take, as if the thought had never occurred to them.

Then a couple of them were willing to consider the idea seriously, and to analyze it a bit.

Mr. Gill is a senior at Howard University, the country's biggest predominantly Negro university, in Washington, D. C., and is president of the student council in the college of liberal arts.

He is not only an exceptional scholar but a thoroughly healthy youngster, able to talk seriously or laugh uproariously to suit the occasion. And when you mention romance he whoops in most unscholarly fashion, for he says that's for him—and he's unemcumbered at the moment.

I had arranged to talk at length with several bright

*More on TEN NEGROES—P 8*

**A PERSONAL APPRAISAL BY ROBERT S. BIRD**
*His Own Views on "10 Negroes" in Sunday's Herald Tribune*

# TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

students on the Howard campus on this particular day, and Mr. Gill showed up ahead of time. So we began the interview, which I had warned him would be somewhat searching of his thoughts.

He started off on a high, didactic plane, not so much answering my questions as delivering a classroom lecture on The Negro Problem with big, glossy words and everything but chalk, blackboard and pointer.

I heard him out for a while, deadpan, and soon he realized he was talking to a dead receiver. Then he apologized for "spouting off words," and we got down to what Vernon S. Gill really thinks.

We had covered quite a lot of ground when I got around to asking him what he saw for the future, and what inspired him to go ahead. He had already told me he wanted to study law and become a constitutional lawyer, and to engage in politics. All this was of interest because many, many Negro youths in Washington, ones who have come from deplorably poor homes and have been unable to take hold in school, are ending up as school drop-outs in a state of dangerous despair. This lad had none of that whatever—quite the opposite.

"I intend to go to law school in September, and then to go into the Army for a number of years—into military law, I hope—and after coming out of the Army to engage in politics and law," he explained.

"Now I think what inspires me at present is this—I believe that a person who does a job well, who seems at ease and cool while doing it, is an inspiring person. For example, the Kennedy brothers inspire me. And I believe in the utlimate worth of the individual and his abilities to use his whole potential—which I don't feel I have been doing."

## A Secret Thought?

Mr. Gill was getting down now to, well, perhaps a secret thought.

"I don't expect that everything I envision will work out well, but I think there is a possibility from my own circumstances, and from my own abilities, to succeed even in national politics, for example," he said.

He looked at me with a level gaze and continued:

"Anyone who wants to be President, or wants to be in Congress, regardless of race, creed or color, is looked on with some suspicion as being sort of way up the clouds somewhere. But I do think this is a possibility."

He stopped to let the purport of this sink in. I was flabbergasted but I didn't blink an eye. You don't rule out, I inquired, the possibility of being President of the United States?

"President or Vice-President, no, I wouldln't exclude that. Seriously, I wouldn't. As ridiculous as it sounds, everybody wants their son to be President. I wouldn't discount that as a possibility for me. And I have said that to people. Some of them have thought I was sensible about it, and some have thought I was just being the son of a father whose ambition was to have his son become President."

So here was a young, bright, forward-looking, healthy Negro lad dreaming what used to be the American dream for any boy who thought himself lucky to be born in the United States of America. And not just dreaming it but thinking it out rationally. You don't hear white boys talking like this very often in these times.

I asked him what worries or fears might be lurking in the back of his mind about the future?

"The only fears I have are those of happenstance," he said, using one of those chromium-plated words on me. "Things might not go exactly as I envision them. Nothing will go exactly as you envision it, that's certain. But I want to get into a comfortable, rising groove in life and to be able to meet the situations as they come, and then move on to the next situation.

"I think any young person has a certain amount of fear about the instability of the future. But any particular fears, such as being run over by a car or that I might get defeated in a great election, or might have financial problems—those things don't disturb me."

## Caucasian and Negroid

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY—Students Guy Draper, Jean Wheeler and Vernon Gill cross the lawn at Howard University in Washington. Gill, president of the student council of the college of liberal arts there, wants to enter national politics, and does not exclude the possibility that he could become President of the United States.

sent a cross-section of Negro youth, but a rather special group who undoubtedly will be heard from in the future.

For the next couple of hours all of us together canvassed a variety of questions dealing with the race situation. Such aspects as James Baldwin's anguished writings, President Kennedy's handling of race problems, the Black Muslims, intermarriage, the mood of Howard University students, and the like.

The others who participated were Miss Jean C. Wheeler, of Detroit, a liberal arts junior, majoring in chemistry with a full A average; Irvin Reid, of Charleston, S. C., a senior majoring in psychology, and A. Guy Draper, of Beverly Hills, Calif., a pre-law junior.

To hear these youngsters tell about the campus mood, this big university, with the bulk of its 7,000 students Negroes and with about 1,000 foreign students, is not especially caught up in the same turbulence of Negro student activity that is going on in the Negro colleges in the Deep South. Most of the Howard students were not—these four agreed—in a frame of mind to go out demonstrating. The majority are immersed in the university life but not in overt racial activity.

## On President Kennedy

But these students follow developments in the news closely, and they had opinions on all subjects. Concerning President Kennedy, Mr. Reid gave the view that "over all, I don't see so much of a handling of the race problems by him as we were led to believe there would be during the campaign."

"I will have to agree with that," Mr. Draper said. "I think his recent actions have been nothing but political moves.

"It seems to me that what he said during the campaign, and many of the planks in the Democratic platform implied, that this race thing would be something that the Administration would get in and deal with. He has just backed away completely."

Mr. Gill disagreed. He said that while the President has backed away on occasion, he thought some of his stands were "more forthright than many Presidents." Miss Wheeler's opinion was that the President had come up against the hard realities and "he may yet demonstrate forcefulness."

After considerable argument on the matter, Mr. Reid summed it up with this observation:

"What we do agree on is this—considering that conditions are propitious and taking into account the effects of

militant nature of the movement comes about. They look on the white man as the enemy. Here they have a group of susceptible Negroes who now find themselves together. They have someone to lean on now, and the white man is the enemy."

"I often wonder," interjected Miss Wheeler, "whether this is a destructive force or even whether it is a self-destructive force. I don't have enough information about it to make a decision, but it seems to me that there's a growinng dichotomy between Negro people—and the movement is not dying down.

"The dichotomy is between the Muslims and the Negroes who consider themselves intellectuals. They don't want to be bothered with this because they think it sounds so irrational. But these people, the intellectuals who reject the Muslims, will not say that any motion is good, any activity which makes a difference is better than sitting around praying or waiting for legal action to be effected.

"I don't know whether Elijah and Malcolm X have so much power over the people that they can get them to do things which would be to the disadvantage of the whole group. But they do get gleams in the eye, and a lot of these people have been in prison. And they are the kind of people who feel that if you hurt me, I'll hurt you."

Mr. Draper likened them to the Communists in many ways.

"They are strong people," Miss Wheeler said. "They don't play, they don't play. And they hate white people."

## Intermarriage

I asked about the feeling on the campus about intermarriage with white persons. Mr. Draper took the ball on this.

"There's a feeling on the part of some people in the lower income group to want to succeed in life with a Cadillac and a white wife or white husband," he said. "But I think the great majority of the Negroes, especially the middle class ones and the highest class, feel in the back of their minds, first, on what grounds would you pick a person to marry—is it financial? Is it just because the person is white? What lies behind it?

"But I think once the cause that leads to the decision is determined as being all right, the intermarriage is accepted. Even if the reason for the marriage is only symbolic, it's accepted.

Negro lad dreaming what used to be the American dream for any boy who thought himself lucky to be born in the United States of America. And not just dreaming it but thinking it out rationally. You don't hear white boys talking like this very often in these times.

I asked him what worries or fears might be lurking in the back of his mind about the future?

"The only fears I have are those of happenstance," he said, using one of those chromium-plated words on me. "Things might not go exactly as I envision them. Nothing will go exactly as you envision it, that's certain. But I want to get into a comfortable, rising groove in life and to be able to meet the situations as they come, and then move on to the next situation.

"I think any young person has a certain amount of fear about the instability of the future. But any particular fears, such as being run over by a car or that I might get defeated in a great election, or might have financial problems—those things don't disturb me."

## Caucasian and Negroid

I asked him if he bumps up against discriminatory situations in daily life which upset him or throw him off balance.

"There are occasions," he said. "It makes me think of what James Baldwin once said, that among the white population the suicide rate is high, and that once the Negro becomes free of discrimination and things caused by people around him—once he knows that he's not succeeding because of his own personal inadequacies rather than because of other people or discrimination—then the Negro suicide rate will go up, too.

"So when I find myself in one of these situations—and they don't happen often, particularly to me—my first reaction is to try to assay first if it was because of circumstances that the predicament occurred or whether my own inadequacy caused it or contributed to it.

"I think the Negro has a special problem in trying to assay how much of his own inabilities are involved in a situation. There is less of a problem of fault-finding with the Caucasian than with the Negro. Maybe we are cheating ourselves in this."

I asked him if he usually refers to whites as Caucasians.

"Sometimes, yes," he explained. "I think most people regardless of color use 'white' most of the time but personally I sometimes refer to the Caucasian race, and I refer to myself as Negroid. Often when I fill out a form I put down Negroid because that's the true racial designation. I wasn't saying Caucasian just because I'm talking with you. It's normal with me. It's the proper thing to do."

Now the other students were turning up to join us around our interviewing table in a small building on the Howard campus. None of them was exactly typical of the Howard student body. These were all on the exceptional side, intellectually and culturally, and they do not represent closely, and they had opinions on all subjects. Concerning President Kennedy, Mr. Reid gave the view that "over all, I don't see so much of a handling of the race problems by him as we were led to believe there would be during the campaign."

"I will have to agree with that," Mr. Draper said. "I think his recent actions have been nothing but political moves.

"It seems to me that what he said during the campaign, and many of the planks in the Democratic platform implied, that this race thing would be something that the Administration would get in and deal with. He has just backed away completely."

Mr. Gill disagreed. He said that while the President has backed away on occasion, he thought some of his stands were "more forthright than many Presidents." Miss Wheeler's opinion was that the President had come up against the hard realities and "he may yet demonstrate forcefulness."

After considerable argument on the matter, Mr. Reid summed it up with this observation:

"What we do agree on is this—considering that conditions are propitious and taking into account the efforts of the civil rights movement, he has not kept up with what could have been expected of him, knowing his dynamic personality."

## The Black Muslims

It was Miss Wheeler, an extremely bright talker, who began the discussion on the Black Muslims. She said:

"A good friend of mine who is a philosophy major has taken me to the mosque with him and I found their Black Muslim arguments to be very forceful. They really hit me. They use information that you can't deny.

"One of the things they say is that the white man has systematically destroyed the Negro, and they give examples, and good examples, too. For me, it's a matter you have of reconciling the uncomfortable feeling you have about the Black Muslims. It's my belief that they're worthwhile because they have given a great number of Negroes something to do with their time, something that makes them feel substantial and important.

"There's a fellow selling newspapers on the corner near me, and he says at regular intervals it makes him feel good to go to the mosque and see the ladies with their white robes and all so clean and proud of themselves, and the men saluting one another.

"I imagine the most impressive thing about it is that it has given substantiality to a group of people who formerly were shiftless and unimpressive."

"She's hit on the key thing," Mr. Draper said. "They take a group of people who have no meaning in their lives, who have had very hard lives, who come from the depths of dejection, and the Black Muslims give them something to live for. The Muslims give new meaning to these people and their lives.

"And then the next thing they do is they project their image of the white man. He is the enemy. So this is how the

"They are strong people," Miss Wheeler said. "They don't play, they don't play. And they hate white people."

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"But I think once the cause that leads to the decision is determined as being all right, the intermarriage is accepted. Even if the reason for the marriage is only symbolic, it's accepted.

"I think that for the Negro college person, he or she is looking for a particular type of person to marry. And we've reached the point where we have strong convictions on that, and race doesn't matter. What matters is their general personality, and interests. The average American college student is looking for an individual, strong-willed and strong-minded, and when he finds that individual he makes the decision. If the person is a member of another race, he may think twice, and then go ahead."

Some time after my discussions with these students, and Mr. Gill's surprising confession of an ambition to try for the very summit in American politics, I was in Chicago. And I harked back to this occasion.

While interviewing John H. Johnson, publisher of Ebony, a leading magazine for Negroes, I told him about Mr. Gill's plan to enter politics and perhaps become President of the United States. The publisher listened attentively. After all, he had risen from relief status to millionaire before he was 45. He did a quick mental computation.

"That would be 25 years from now," he said. "I think he will not be President, but I think he could be Vice-President of the United States. Yet I would want him to think he could be President. By shooting for the goal of President he may become one day Vice-President. We always have to set our goals a little higher than we are likely to achieve.

"I would not want to discourage this young man. I think being specific, confining it to to a period of 20 to 25 years, we could quite confidently assume that a Negro could be Vice-President of the United States."

## A Judge's Thoughts

In the same city I asked Judge James B. Parsons, of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, what he thought of Mr. Gill's views. He is a man who studied law and went into politics and rolled up a vote of 1,127,000 in Cook County when he ran for Judge of Superior Court and won a few years ago.

"His thinking reflects a projection which is a responsible one," Judge Parsons said thoughtfully, "in that it recognizes change as it is going on. This is exceedingly difficult for persons who are not part of the change or those who are resistant to it.

"It's difficult to realize today that infants who are being born now may have the opportunity to live for upward of 150 years, or that children born to our children 25 years from now may live to 200 years of age.

"Change is a factor which we resist, and yet it is the most potent, most volatile factor in the entire American scene. Everything must be seen in the light of change and in the speed with which change is taking place."

This sense of change, mounting in speed and power, is felt all through the Negro world today. Its volatile potency may be working for a fine Negro boy who wants to be President of the United States, as it is for all his people.

# HERE'S PROOF of the RED PRO-NEGRO PLOT AGAINST SOUTH & USA

## The Platform of the Class Struggle

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***National Platform***
*of the*
***Workers (Communist) Party***
**1928**

Published for the
NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
By
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
35 East 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

# NEGRO PROGRAM of

## XII OPPRESSION OF THE NEGROES

American white imperialism oppresses in the most terrific way the ten million Negroes who constitute not less than one-tenth of the total population. White capitalist prejudice considers the Negroes a "lower race," the born servants of the lofty white masters. The *racial caste system* is a fundamental feature of the social, industrial and political organization of this country. The Communist Party declares that it considers itself not only the party of the working class generally but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race, and especially the organizer of the Negro working-class elements. *The Communist Party is the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.*

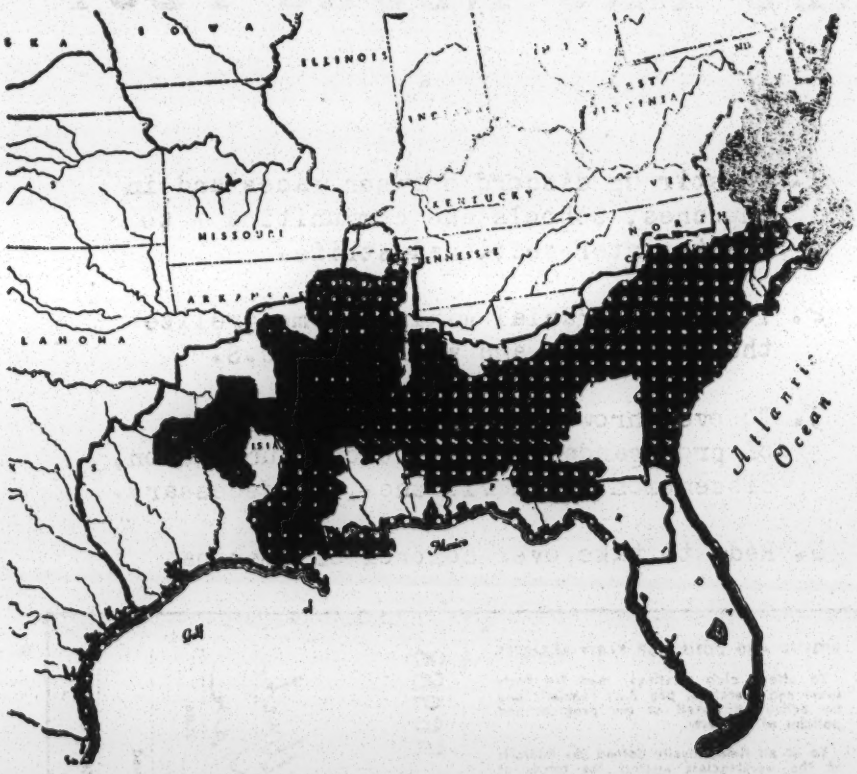
There is a "new Negro" in process of development. The social composition of the Negro race is changing. Formerly the Negro was the cotton farmer in the South and domestic help in the North. The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the East and North, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale have changed the whole social composition of the Negro race. *The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the whole Negro race,* furnishes a new working-class leadership to all Negro race movements, and strengthens immensely the fighting possibilities for the emancipation of the race.

### DEMANDS

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political, and social equality for the Negro race.
2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.
3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes.
4. Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.
5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.
6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.

(Actual photo-reproduction of original Co
cover and excerpts fro

# AM of COMMUNIST PARTY




**An exact copy of a map taken out of the secret files of the Communist Party. The blacked-in area represents what the Communists hope some day (if they can promote a bloody revolution) will be the Negro Communist Soviet. It represents approximately 120,000 square miles. About 10 million white people will have to be driven out of their homes. Among the leading cities that will be turned over completely to the Negroes will be Charleston, Atlanta, Shreveport, New Orleans, Savannah, as well as many others. The land which now belongs to the whites will be confiscated and turned over to the Red bureaucrats for control. Shortly before the war this plan was discussed in detail by Josef Stalin in an address before Lenin University where 2,000 American Communists are being trained now to run the United States. As late as February 10, 1947, a copy of a textbook, now being used in the Russian Army, was exhibited before the Congressional Committee for the Investigation of the Un-American Activities. The title of the military textbook is "How to Bomb and Sabotage the U.S.A." Under the Communist plan the dark line marks the territory to be integrated on the border of the Black Soviet. All this, along with the blacked-in area is to be governed by Paul Robeson or another loyal follower like him.**

original Communist Party Platform including
excerpts from text.)

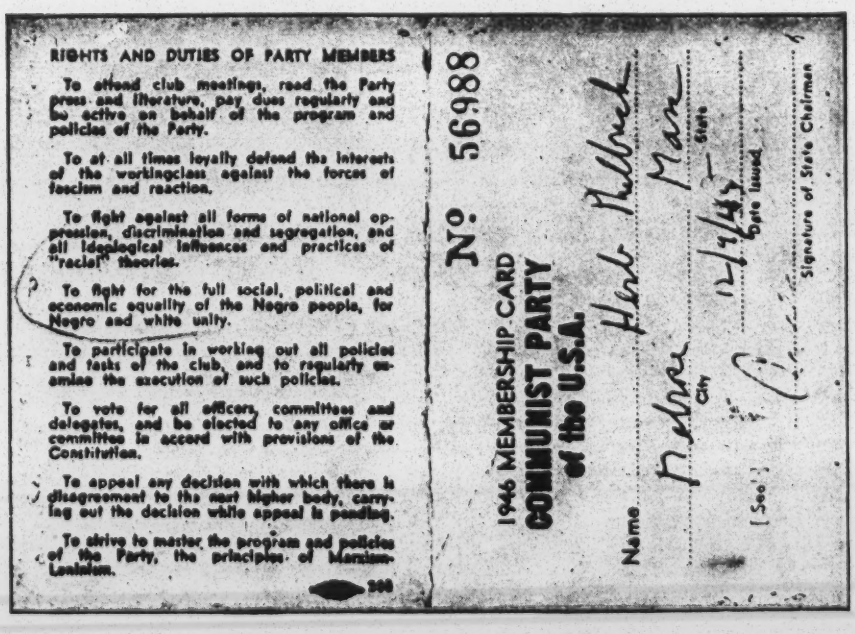
# AIMS OF
# RED PRO-NEGRO PLOT

1. To stir up discord between races and in churches, schools and communities - to create inter-sectional strife.

2. To promote racial mixing to mongrelize the white race and weaken the U.S.

3. To overthrow the U.S. Republic by use of propaganda, infiltration, subversion, dissention - and violence, if necessary.

4. Reds to take over control of America.



RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

To attend club meetings, read the Party press and literature, pay dues regularly and be active on behalf of the program and policies of the Party.

To at all times loyally defend the interests of the workingclass against the forces of fascism and reaction.

To fight against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, and all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories.

To fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people, for Negro and white unity.

To participate in working out all policies and tasks of the club, and to regularly examine the execution of such policies.

To vote for all officers, committees and delegates, and be elected to any office or committee in accord with provisions of the Constitution.

To appeal any decision with which there is disagreement to the next higher body, carrying out the decision while appeal is pending.

To strive to master the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

No. 56988

1946 MEMBERSHIP CARD
COMMUNIST PARTY
of the U.S.A.

Name Hank Hallack Mar

City Indpa State

(Sec.) 12/4/45 Date Issued

Signature of State Chairman

United Klans of America, Inc.
Suite 401, Alston Building
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Resist. Grp. KKK

**(Photo taken at Candler Park, Atlanta, Ga.)**

# Are these your children?

**FACTS:** Known identified members of the Communist party are connected with Martin Luther King and his organization (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.)

Hosea Williams, the Negro trouble-maker of Savannah, Ga., has been meeting with identified members of the Communist party.

Dr. W. G. Anderson, Negro leader of Albany, Ga., signed the petition to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. This petition according to officials was instigated for the Communists' benefit. King was also a signer.

These three Negro outlaws are operating within the state of Georgia. Yet our Governor and his official staff refuse to investigate their actions. WHY???

Due to the continued threat of violence by the Negro leaders, be advised, every white community, to organize for their own defense.

**Fish Fry.** Saturday, July 13th., for state Building Fund, Oakland City swimming pool, Campbellton Rd. & Oakland Dr., S. W., Atlanta. 11 a.m. until dark. Donation $1.00. Everyone Invited.

**Cross Burning Public Speaking** Saturday, July 13th. Go 3 miles east of Cleveland, Ga., on Hwy. 115 to Kart Race Track. 8 p.m.

**Cross Burning Public Speaking,** Saturday, July 13th., at 8 p. m. Hwy. 85 off of the Expressway (old Campbell No. 29). Welcome.

**Property and buildings needed for public speaking.**

**Over 5,000 attended this organization's meeting at Savannah, Georgia, June 29, 1963.**


UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC.
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN
P. O. Box 10753, Atlanta 10, Ga.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROPOSAL HELD CRIME AGAINST FREEDOM PHILOSOPHY
Florida Times Union, Friday, July 5, 1963

JASPER, GEORGIA, July 4, Senator Russell, (D-Ga.), said today that President Kennedy's proposed civil rights bill, "is a crime against the whole philosophy of liberty for which our Government stands."

In fact, the veteran senator said, the proposal is not a civil rights program at all. If enacted, he said, the bill "would destroy innumerable rights that we enjoy only because heroes of the past were willing toshed their blood to secure them."

Russell said in an Independence Day address in this North Georgia town: "All of us understand how even those in high position feel called upon to play politics at times. But I assert that the Administration in this case has gone beyond any reasonable bounds.

"When White citizens protest against the Supreme Court decision in the school cases, they are immediately told that those decisions are 'the law of the land' and that, if they protest too vigorously or violently, the armed might of the United States will be summoned to subdue them," he said.

"Our Negro citizens, who are conducting daily demonstrations against the 'law of the land' as established by the Supreme Court in the civil rights cases in 1883, are encouraged to increase the velocity of their demonstrations by the belief that the attorney general, the FBI, the hundreds of U.S. Marshalls and the armed forces of the United States will protect them in their demonstrations."

Russell said the President "cites these demonstrations as reasons for a legislative stampede to change this 'law of the land.'"

Russell, who is expected to lead a Senate fight against the President's civil rights proposals, said one section of the bill "levels an all but mortal blow at the right of a man who owns property to decide how that property shall be used."

He said that under Kennedy's definition, any business man would "LIVE IN CONSTANT FEAR OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, THE FBI, THE HUNDREDS OF U.S. MARSHALLS UNDER HIS COMMAND AND, INDEED, THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, IF NECESSARY, WHO MIGHT COMPEL THE BUSINESS MAN TO RECEIVE UNWANTED CUSTOMERS."

Russell added:

" The genocide clause of the bill which would permit the President or any of his appointees, if they decided that there was any discrimination in one case, to withhold the payment of veterans' benefits, Social Security payments, aid to dependant children, to the blind, to the old and the helpless is the most inhuman suggestion that has been made in legislation in the history of this Republic.

# YOU THE PEOPLE . . . BE JUDGE ! ! !

## UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

P. O. BOX 10753
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 17th, 1963

Honorable Malcolm McLain, Mayor
City Hall,
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I extend to you my personal invitation for you to attend the Klan Day Convention meeting at Forsyth Park, 7 P.M. this coming Saturday, July 20th, in your City of Savannah.

The great mass of people that will attend this Rally will enjoy hearing you speak.

I request that you use your influence in voiding all agreements, pacts, contracts—either oral or written, etc., between parties who have recently been meeting for the solution of the racial problem that is confronting your City. My reason for this request is that there are four parties that should be represented at the Conference Table in this vital issue:

1st—The Demanding Group—This Group represents the different Negro Organizations who represents the majority of the Negroes.

2nd—The Political Group.

3rd—The Surrendering Group.

4th—The Resistant Group—This Group represents the largest portion of the White People who have had no voice in the negotiations in your City.

The Negro demands equal rights, then he must also honor his own demand at the Conference Table with the opposition having equal representation at such meetings.

I recommend that all Contracts be voided because, I charge that the Negro has discriminated against the White People for not demanding that they have equal representation at these meetings.

## UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

P. O. BOX 10753
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Page 2

Myself and other Representatives of this Organization will be on hand, open for invitation to sit at the Conference Table of any and all racial issues arising in your City or any other place.

Saturday night there will be thousands of people who will visit in your City, buying gasoline, food and lodging and many, many other types of commodities too numerous to mention in this letter. I will ask the thousands of people who would ordinarily spend at least a quarter of a million dollars in Savannah and Chatham County, not to send one cent if our request is not granted. This will launch a tremendous economic boycott against every business in Chatham County.

We represent people from all walks of life, regardless of their Religious affiliations, who believe in Constitutional Government. Upon your refusal to cooperate with this Group of White People in Savannah, you and your Council are committing political suicide and you may rest assured that we will leave no effort undone to accomplish this purpose.

We come into your City peacefully, to represent the White People all over America, who have lost their voice, both in local and National affairs.

Yours sincerely,

C F Craig

Calvin F. Craig,
Grand Dragon.

CFC/ig

## City of Savannah, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MALCOLM MACLEAN
MAYOR

P. O. BOX 1038
ADAMS 2-8147

C. HAROLD CARTER
MAYOR PRO TEM
JACK J. RAUERS
CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL

July 18, 1963

Mr. Calvin F. Craig
Grand Dragon, Realm of Georgia
United Klans of America, Inc.
Knights of the Klu Klux Klan
P. O. Box 10753
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Craig:

I will not be able to be with you Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

M Maclean

Malcolm Maclean,
Mayor

MM/o

The two letters above are self-explainitory — we made an appeal to the Mayor of Savannah for an equal voice in racial affairs. You can read his answer for yourself.

If you believe in equal civil rights for all races, then support our requests and work for that goal.

**YOU— THE PEOPLE**

**BE THE JUDGE! ! !**

Resistance Groups - KKK
(distributed at KKK rally, Savannah 7/63)

RULES FOR CONDUCT IN SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS – (As directed by the NAACP, on suggestions by Brother Shuttleworth and on the advice of Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, and sanctioned by the Communist Party.)

1. TAKE A BATH – Don't be afraid! Five New York doctors have proved that a bath will not hurt you and it will be an experience for you.

2. HAVE MONEY AND IDENTIFICATION – Cash your relief check or Social Security check and have your CORE, INC., membership card or your Eleanor Roosevelt Social Club.

3. EMPTY YOUR POCKETS – Leave zip guns, razors, congo beads, mau-mau literature, statues of Hugo Black, guns, knives, brass knucks, and parole card at home.

4. DRESS NEATLY, CONVENTIONALLY – Wear yellow or green sharp pointed shoes, pegged pants, purple or black hat with large white or black and white coat. Girls should use extra amounts of perfume and at least two pounds of Royal Crown Hair Dressing.

5. SING LOUDLY – Suggested songs are "Glory to the Kennedy Brothers," "My Country Tis of Thee, Soon You'll Belong to Me," "The Communists Love Me-This I Know, for Martin Luther King Tells Me So," "The Mau-Mau March," "Onward Christian Negroes," and our National Anthem.

6. AT THE COUNTER – Don't use napkins for blowing your nose. They are not for that purpose! Try not to act as if you were at home. Don't order hog snouts or chitterlings.

7. IF REFUSED SERVICE OR ASKED TO MOVE ON – Go into your act of social pity immediately. Show your Eleanor Roosevelt Social Club Card, flash your Earl Warren button, and squeeze out a tear or two. We must arouse the pity of the whites for mistreating (refrain from snickering) Negro citizens.

8. IN THE EVENT OF VIOLENCE – Here we is really king. Remind the White Folks that you is the sweet adopted chillen of the Supreme Court, the U. S. Army is your army, and you have a direct line to President Kennedy.

9. DON'T BE AFRAID – With the Government, the Northern press, the Army, and the Communist Party on our side, and the Welfare Department paying our way, we is running the country.

10. TAKE THE FOLLOWING SIT-DOWN OATH: "I will sit down because we has sat while the world has fed us. We has sat while the country was at war. We has sat down while the house and housing projects was built for us. We has sat while schools was built . . . . . We sits to get medical care. In fact, we is natural sitters. We get all we want sitting, and is going to keep on sitting until we gets the whole world. We will sit because the past has proved we gets all we want sitting down."

Newsweek
8/28/63

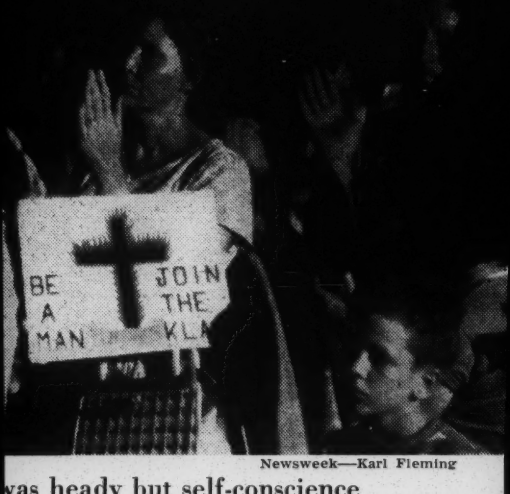
KU KLUX KLAN, Regist. Grp. KKK

# Button-Down Bed Sheets

"Let's be nonviolent," urged the man in the pulpit, and there was a spatter of applause from the 350 faithful gathered in the clapboard chapel in an oak grove outside Athens, Ga. In this summer of the Negro revolt, the way to win was peaceful protest—marches, sit-ins, boycotts, voter-registration campaigns, and, above all, a good public image.

"Let's be nonviolent," said Calvin Craig, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Inc., Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. "We've got to start fighting just like the niggers."

That was the twist the Klan was turning across the South this summer—and selling hard enough to stir a small ren-




Newsweek—Karl Fleming

was heady but self-conscience

aissance. The KKK had fallen far from its glory days of the '20s, when its roster numbered 4 million and—so the legend went—there was hardly a bed sheet south of the Mason-Dixon line without eyeholes. Now, according to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's Atlanta regional office, the Klan has 40,000 to 55,000 subjects in an increasingly visible empire. But this summer, ADL said, it has enlisted 5,000 new members.

Its reputation tarnished by the flogging and lynching bees of bygone years, its racist thunder stolen by the white-collar white supremacists of the Citizens Councils, the Klan has become acutely conscious of what people might think. It hungers for respectability. It courts the press. "The purpose of this meeting is open to the public," Imperial Wizard

Newsweek

Robert Shelton proclaimed at the Empire's biggest recent pageant, a rally of 3,000 at Savannah, Ga. Later, Shelton—a former rubber worker from Tuscaloosa, Ala., who now travels about "Kluxing full time"—explained to NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming: "You have got to have public relations. Our program is going to be on more of an informational basis."

**Tactician:** The new Klan flatters the unlikely likes of Martin Luther King Jr. by imitation. Sit-ins? Singling out the Athens branch of a cafeteria chain that had desegregated in Atlanta, Craig exhorted: "... You good white folks ... just go in there and get you a glass of water and just sit." Mass marches? "If the mayor doesn't stop these niggers from marching and demonstrating in Athens, then we're going to march and demonstrate too." Biracial negotiating committees? "We want the Klan to represent the white folks ... You don't ever have anyone but those left-wing liberals and niggers. The white people have been left out."

Some members find the new look too tepid. At a recent rally at an Augusta, Ga., auto race track, one parboiled Klansman simmered through a long, droning Shelton philippic about the Kennedys and Communist "infilteration" of the civil-rights movement and egalitarian clergymen: "It behooves me to see such large masses of these ministerial associations as they sit back and draft their resolutions . . ." Halfway through, the Klansman boiled over, slipped under the wooden grandstand, and got into a fist fight with a Shelton fan. "I didn't come out here to hear him talk about all this Communist stuff," he bellyached as a Shelton aide intervened. "Why doesn't he talk about the niggers?"

**Eulogy:** Klan old-timers, indeed, prefer a headier oratorical brew. At the Savannah rally, red-robed Georgia Kleagle Fonnie Miles eulogized the slain NAACP leader, Medgar Evers: "A certain jig down in Mississippi got himself killed—"

"Yeah!" whooped the crowd.

"—for sticking his nose in other people's business ... Why that's just another dead nigger, and that's the only good ones there ever is—the dead ones."

Yet even Miles was a mite image-conscious. "I know some of these press people are gonna say about me being illiterate because I say nigger," he said. "I guess they think I'm self-conscience about it. But I ain't."

The top leaders *are* self-conscience. Shelton and Craig have been circuit-riding the South in mufti, enlisting new members for a $10 Klektoken (initiation fee) and $1-a-month dues. Most of all, they have tried to wash the Klan image as bright as a freshly laundered bed sheet. "The Klan," Shelton says, "is not as derogative as you might think."

NOV 24 1963

# Attempt At Klan Rebirth Quickly Draws Opposition

The Ku Klux Klan, long a dead issue in Mississippi, is making an effort at revival in some sections of the state.

So far, indications are that the hooded order has met with little enthusiasm and scant success, but the Federal Bureau of Investigation and, in some cases, local law enforcement agencies, are keeping a close watch just the same.

In Yazoo County (Yazoo City), many residents found Klan-published material on their lawns on the morning of Nov. 5, day of the general election.

The self-proclaimed first edition of the "People's Voice" didn't mention the election, but put in plugs for the "rebirth" of the Knights of the KKK, which the author said had been "disbanned" in 1930 by "our forefathers."

Trying Comeback

While promising in one place that "all our undertakings and work shall be honorable and to the benefit of all the people," the four-page pamphlet leaves no doubt that despite any claimed rebirth it's the same old Klan. For example:

"For a short period of time, we shall refrain from calling names of people we know to be Communist sympathizers in order to give them time to get right or to move out. . . . If they refuse to do so, then you, the people, will be given their names, backgrounds, dealings and actions.

"Should you after this information has been presented refuse to stop associating and dealing with these people, then we shall, without fear or failure, ride them out of this county and state, tarred and feathered, on a rail."

And:

"Our number is large even though we are young. If you know one of us it is because we want you to know him. So that the ones of us that you can never know can work in secret."

The pamphlet urges the reader to check on schools and Sunday School, movies, and television, literature and his local merchant, just in case he "sympathizes" with the Negro or hires Negroes in preference to white men.

If you find "anything of communist inspiration" in your local library, tell the librarian and get word to the Klan, the reader is admonished. "You will be placed on the list as one to be protected," is the promise.

The Klan is looking to big things in the political field in 1967, according to the author, with a membership goal of 50,000 in the state by that time.

Organizing efforts by the KKK in Washington County (Greenville) are not quite so bold. Word has it that circulars were printed to be shown to carefully screened persons considered possibilities for Klan membership. After the circulars were read, they were taken up again.

Officials are taking a dim view of the Klan reactivation effort in the state. It is meeting with disapproval from the Citizens Councils, also, and main encouragement apparently is coming from Klansmen in Alabama and Louisiana.

Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, the state's chief legal officer and a member of the Citizens Council, declared emphatically that there is no place in the state for a revival of the Klan. He said he recalled watching Klan activities as a youth in Calhoun County during the 1920s.

"I think the people of Mississippi are fully capable of taking care of themselves, their institutions and their government without resorting to the known tactics of the Ku Klux Klan," he said.

Resist. Grps. KKK

# Secret Organizations Are Reported Formed

SEP 18 1963

YAZOO CITY, Miss. (Special) — Formation of secret organizations, particularly the Ku Klux Klan, in Yazoo County was reported this week by the steering committee of the Yazoo City Citizens' Council.

The steering committee sent a report to all of its members this week stating "the Citizens' Council is opposed to the Ku Klux Klan and to any other organization whose membership and activities are secret. Your Citizens' Council was formed to preserve separation of the races, and believes that it can best serve the county where it is the only organization operating in this field."

The report went on to say that the steering committee is alarmed that the organization of the Ku Klux Klan may provoke racial incidents and demontrations, bring in outside agitators, and attract unfavorable attention to this community.

Successful operation of the Citizens' Council here is evidenced by the lack of racial incidents and by the spirit of cooperation and harmony existing between the races, the report said.

The steering committee voted at its last meeting to publicly announce its opposition to the formation of the Ku Klux Klan in Yazoo County.

# Barnett Angered By KKK Story

## Says T-V Comment 'Wholly Untrue'

By United Press International

JACKSON, Miss.—Gov. Ross Barnett says he has not and will not endorse organization of a Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi.

SEP 20 1963

Barnett issued a statement in response to a t-v broadcast by Wilson Minor of the New Orleans Times-Picayune. Minor, appearing on a discussion program, said persons attempting to organize a Klan in Yazoo County claim to have a letter of support from Barnett.

"I have written no letter to any group or individual encouraging the organization of the Klan, either openly or undercover, and would not think of so doing," Barnett said. "Any statement to the contrary is positively, unmistakably and wholly untrue and was willfully and intentionally made to mislead people."

The Governor said he does not know whether there is a Klan in the state "and I know absolutely nothing of any plans to organize one."

He charged the broadcast was a "deliberate attempt" to create a false impression.

# Council Opposes Yazoo KKK

SEP 20 1963

YAZOO CITY — Citizens here are being advised that secret organizations, and particularly the Ku Klux Klan, are now being organized in Yazoo County.

A report from the Yazoo City Citizens' Committee this week advised that group's members, "the Citizens' Council is opposed to the Ku Klux Klan and to any other organization whose membership and activities are secret. Your Citizens Council was formed to preserve separation of the races, and believes that it can best serve the county where it is the only organization operating in this field."

The report went on to say that the steering committee is alarmed that the organization of the Ku Klux Klan may provoke racial incidents and demonstrations, bring in outside agitators, and attract unfavorable attention to this community.

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The steering committee voted at its last meeting to publicly announce its opposition to the formation of the Ku Klux Klan in Yazoo County.

Reint Boyer
rec'd 63

APPLICATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

IN THE

INVISIBLE EMPIRE

# Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

FEDERATED KU KLUX KLANS, INC.

I, the undersigned, a native born, true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind and a believer in the tenets of the Christian religion, the maintenance of White Supremacy and the principles of a "pure Americanism," do most respectfully apply for membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan through Klan No. ....., Realm of .....

I guarantee on my honor to conform strictly to all rules and requirements regulating my "naturalization" and the continuance of my membership, and at all times a strict and loyal obedience to your constitutional authority and the constitution and laws of the fraternity, not in conflict with the constitution and constitutional laws of the United States of America and the states thereof. If I prove untrue as a Klansman I will willingly accept as my portion whatever penalty your authority may impose.

The required "klectokon" accompanies this application.

Signed..... Applicant

Endorsed by

Kl.....

Kl.....

Residence Address .....

Business Address .....

Date ....., 19

The person securing this application must sign on top line above. NOTICE—Check the address to which mail may be sent.

NOTICE

The sum of this donation MUST accompany application, if possible. Upon payment of same by applicant this certificate is made out and signed by person securing application, then detached and given to applicant, who will keep same and bring it with him when he is called, and then turn it in on demand in lieu of the cash.

DO NOT detach if donation is not paid in advance.

OFFICIAL CERTIFICATE OF DONATION

*This certifies that*.....

has donated the sum of TEN DOLLARS to the propagating fund of the

## Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

and same is accepted as such and as full sum of "KLECTOKON" entitling him to be received, on the acceptance of his application, under the laws, regulations and requirements of the Order, duly naturalized and to have and to hold all the rights, titles, honors and protection as a citizen of the Invisible Empire. He enters through the portal of

Klan No. ....., Realm of .....

Date....., 19

Received in trust for the

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

By Kl.....

References:.....

Address.....

.....

Address.....

.....

Address.....

.....

Person securing application must get this information.

Applicant's occupation is

.....

Employed by.....

His age is.....years.

His weight is.....lbs.

His height is.....ft.,.....in.

---

This applicant was elected to membership in this Order by

Klan No....., Realm of.....

....., 19.....

This applicant was duly naturalized by same,

....., 19.....

I certify the above to be correct.

Signed—

.....Kligrapp.

Klan No....., Realm of.....

A VITAL MESSAGE REGARDING KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

Word has come from the Chairman of the Commerce Committee, Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, (D-Wash.) the Committee which is holding hearings on the PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS BILL that, if there were MORE LETTERS SENT TO OUR CONGRESSMEN AGAINST THE BILL THEN THE BILL WOULD BE VOTED DOWN IN THIS COMMITTEE. VOTES WILL GO ACCORDING TO THE EXPRESSIONS RECEIVED FROM THE HOME FRONT. COMMUNISTS AND NEGROES WILL GET IN THOUSANDS OF LETTERS FOR THE BILL TO PASS, SO LET'S GET IN MORE LETTERS THAN THE ENEMY CAN FOR IT NOT TO PASS.

Letters from other Congressmen are urging the HOME FRONT TO ACT with letters against this vicious, enemy legislation.

LIBERTY LOBBY HAS SAID, " Should the fraud known as the "Civil Rights" bill pass, it would mean the political suicide of White, Constitutional government. Republicans must JOIN WITH SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS. THEY MUST PREVENT THE LEFTISTS FROM CHOKING OFF DEBATE in the Senate, and fight for freedom by every possible parliamentary maneuver. The issue is beyond race, it means AMERICAN SURVIVAL FOR FREEDOM."

Senator Russell of Georgia has said, "President Kennedy's Civil Rights bill is " A CRIME AGAINST THE WHOLE PHILOSOPHY OF FREEDOM for which our Government stands, that if, enacted, the bill, "would destroy innumerable rights that we enjoy because heroes of the past were willing to shed their blood to secure them."

Any business man would"live in constant fear of the Attorney Gen., the FBI, the hundreds of U.S. Marshalls, the Armed forces of the United States." "The genocide clause of the bill would permit the President or any of his appointees, if they decided that there was any discrimination in a case, to withhold the payments of Veterans' benefits, Social Security payments, aid to dependent children, to the blind, to the old and the helpless, is the most inhuman suggestion that has been made in legislation in the history of this Republic."

PATRIOTS, IF YOU HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN, WRITE AGAIN AND GET OTHERS TO WRITE, PROTESTING THIS EVIL, ENEMY, CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

Write to:

Hon. Spessard Holland (D-Fla.)
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Hon. George A. Smathers (D-Fla)
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Hon. Charley E. Bennett (D-Fla.)
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.)
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

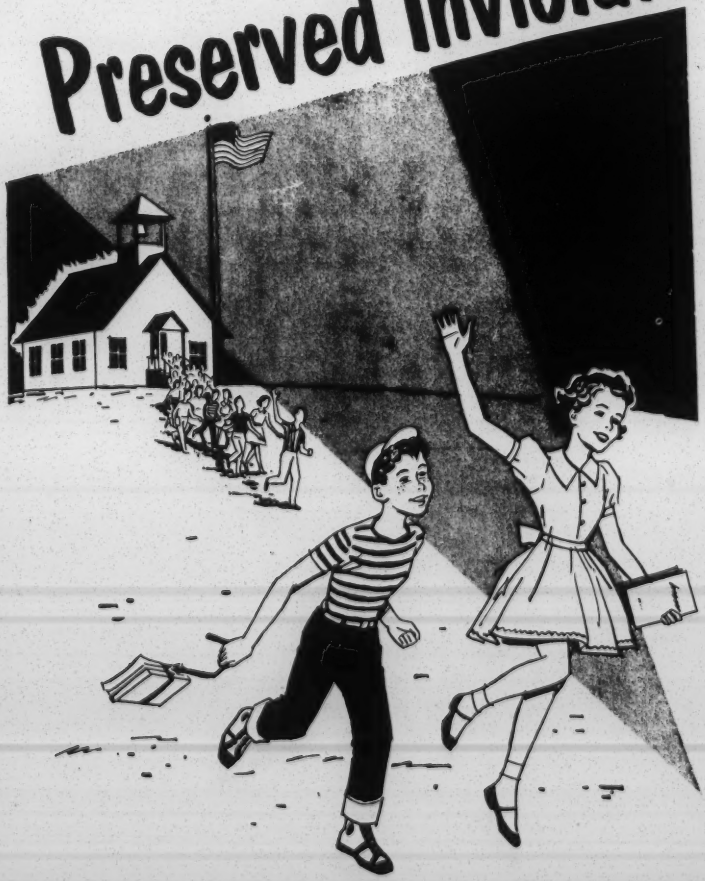
Hon. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.)
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

THESE PEOPLE AND OTHERS OF THE OTHER 49 STATES HOLD THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION IN THEIR HANDS.

Martha L. McKinney, Secy.
FLORIDA VOTERS CLUB.

P. O. Box 4134
Jacksonville 1, Florida

# This Must Be Preserved Inviolate



## WAKE UP—

## White People of America!

Depended on to fight for your God given rights which are being taken away from you. Are you willing to sit by the wayside and let others fight your battle for you? Did your forefathers stand idly by or were they willing to give their lives for the principles in which they believed? That is a **Free White America.** Are you willing to see your country, the greatest country on the face of the earth, become like other oppressed countries under Communist Rule? Are you willing to be buried alive by this **Black Blight** that is trying to engulf us? **Wake Up White People** — What can you do? The answer is simple. Join hands with each **White Red-Blooded American** that believes in **White Supremacy.** Our forefathers wanted to be free—so what did they do? They came to America. Sure they had to fight. Fight for security freedom, then fought to preserve that freedom. Can we do less? Are we going to sit idly by and give up without a fight and let them die in vain? It may seem like the majority rule has the lead now, but if we continue to sit back and do nothing then we can be sure that it will be too late to fight for what is ours. Did you know that the Baptist Convention commended Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy and others who are in the forefront of non-violent struggle for justice and peace and assures them of thier support.

Do you know that in the Negro race, Veneral Diseases range extremely high —do you want your sons and daughters

## Can You Be Depended On?

exposed to this communicable disease by allowing them to swim together in our pools, use the same rest rooms in schools, stores and other public places? Do you know that all of this is a Communist plan to weaken America? So they can get us to surrender without a struggle. We all know that the Negro race is an inferior race, so why do we want to ruin our race as well as the Negro race by mixing the races.

If God the Segregator and Creator of all things had wanted every one alike, He would have made us all one color. Instead he made four races—isn't that proof enough to show us that God did not intend for us to mix? This is the Communists at work—to lull us into a false security. To brainwash us with their filth. Moving pictures, books, etc. Let the Negroes have their schools, churches, homes, but let them keep them within their own boundaries and not encroach upon the rights of others. The white man has always been the true friend and safest counsellor of all races whenever they have come in contact. Doesn't the Negro know that he is being used and given wild promises and false prophets that can never be fulfilled?

**So wake up white people of America and fight for that which is yours.**

For further information concerning the Ladies Ku Klux Klan write, P. O. Box 455, Mableton, Georgia.

# WHY

## YOU SHOULD BECOME A KLANSWOMAN

If interested, write

**LADIES OF THE KU KLUX KLAN**
**Box 455**
**Mableton, Georgia**

# *Why*

## YOU SHOULD BECOME A KLANSWOMAN

## BECAUSE

### IF YOU ARE A WHITE WOMAN

—Your place is with an organized White *Ladies* movement dedicated to the task of preserving the integrity, the blood-purity, the traditions, the ideals, and the heritages of the White Races in America. This is the Racial Mission of the Klan.

### *If You Are a Native-Born American*

—Your place is with an organized White, Native-born American movement dedicated to all the high and holy ideals and principles of real American patriotism. In its influences and its teachings, and its principles, the *Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan* seeks to generate and impart a spirit of loyalty to America, of consecration to her ideals, of fealty to her institutions, of support to her government, of obedience to her laws, and of unselfish devotion to her interests.

### *If You Are a Protestant*

—Your place is with an organized White, Native-born American Protestant movement dedicated to the re-animation of genuine Protestantism in America. As it grows, the *Ladies* of the Ku Klux Klan is quietly but effectively aiding in the upbuilding of Protestant Christianity.

### *If You Believe in Practical Christianity*

—Your place is with an organized movement that believes, not only in an open Bible, in the fullest religious liberty, in the personality and power of Jesus Christ, but also in the full Christ program of unselfish, sacrificing helpfulness carried on, not with blare of trumpet or the noise of clanging cymbals, but "in secret" as commanded by the one Master of men, Jesus Christ.

### *If You Believe in Law and Order*

—Your place is with an organized movemen that is effectively creating respect for Law, emphasizing obedience to Law, and insisting upon the full and impartial enforcement of Law, in every place where it is fully operative. The *Ladies* of the Ku Klux Klan is dedicated to this principle.

### *If You Believe in Good Citizenship*

—Your place is with an organized movemen dedicated to the task of developing a high order of citizenship. The *Ladies* of the Ku Klux Klan is seeking to create appreciation of the responsibilities, privileges and duties of American citizenship.

### *If You Believe in the American Public School System*

—Your place is with an organized movement that is dedicated to the principle that the American Public School System must and shall be preserved, supported, and developed for the highest possible functioning in our American life.

### *If You Believe in the American Home*

—as fundamental to all that is best in life, in society, in Church, and in the nation, your place is with an organized movement dedicated to the preservation of the American Home.

### *If You Believe in Real Fraternity*

—You will find it in an organized movement that is seeking to engender a real, vital, and enduring fellowship among men who enoy a kindship of race, belief, spirit, character, and purpose.

### *If You Believe That White, Native-Born Protestant Americans*

—should have the same rights in their own country that are granted to alien and other groups, then your place is with the movement that is organized to cherish, establish, and maintain these rights for Americans. Other groups are actively operative in furthering their own peculiar group interests. The Jews are organized to protect Jewish interests; the Roman Catholics are organized to further papal interests, the Negroes are organized to advance the interests of that race; and in various parts of America, various racial and alien-national groups are organized for the furtherance of their particular interests and the spread of their peculiar ideals among our own American people. These racial and religious groups exercise the rights of freedom of assembly, free speech, and free press. The *Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan* believes that White, Native-born, Protestant Americans should be protected in their own exercise of these fundamental American rights, and especially in their right to insist that America shall be made American through the promulgation of American principles, the dissemination of American ideals, the creation of wholesome American sentiment, the preservation of American institutions, and through all of those means that will make for a nobler, purer, and more prosperous America.

### *Organization Is Necessary for the Accomplishment of Great Tasks*

—Individual efforts count for very little when family, human, and national rights and interests are at stake. The need is for organization, well-planned, well-organized, well-directed, and effectively operative. Such an organization is the *Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan*

### *If You Can Qualify for Membership*

—The interests of your home, your fellows, your community, your state, your church, and your nation, should impel you at once to seek admission to the ranks of men of kindred race, thoughts, purposes and ideals, so that you may have your part in the great crusade for God, Home, and Country, in which they are engaged.

 July 1, '63 Resist. Grp. Negro

# "BLACK AND WHITE REALITY" —A BRITISH OBSERVER'S VIEW

**Integration goal in the U. S. now is complete Negro-white equality—one united, multiracial society in business, education, politics, culture, everything.**

**Can it be attained?**

**Never, says this prominent British editor and author. He cites the black-white record not only in America but in Africa to make his case. In both areas, he says, there are basic, fundamental inequalities between the races that cannot be made to yield through integration. His contention:**

**White and black races separate themselves, no matter which is in the majority.**

**The writer is an editor of the "Sunday Telegraph" in London. He has traveled extensively in the U. S. and Africa and has observed racial trends in both for many years.**

## by Peregrine Worsthorne

***In the London "Sunday Telegraph"***

The latest evidence in Alabama of how deep, cruel and passionate racial feelings remain, coupled with the recent tragic collapse of Britain's multiracial experiment in Central Africa, surely raises a grim question which must be burked no longer.

Is it reasonable or realistic for men of good will to go on assuming that blacks and whites, at least in the crucial continents of Africa and North America, are ever going to live amicably side by side in genuinely multiracial societies?

My answer is emphatically "No." White men in predominantly black societies are almost certainly going to *become* underprivileged and black men in white countries are going to *remain* so.

This is a hateful conclusion, but I cannot see how the evidence allows any other. Take the United States first:

Even assuming that the Federal Government imposes integration at the point of the bayonet—and nothing short of this will suffice in the Deep South—can anyone really believe that the result will be genuine multiracialism? In fact, such actions will vastly increase white hostility, particularly among the younger generation who will be given a sufficiently fresh and vivid source of new grievance to keep the flames of racial passion burning for decades to come.

But the greatest grounds for gloom do not come from the South at all, but from the great Northern cities where the Negro's future is even more hopeless precisely because his own noncommercial character—rather than his oppressor's sins—can be seen to be a major cause. The really disturbing fact about the Negro in the North is that, unlike other once-underprivileged minority groups—the Irish or even the Puerto Ricans—the Negro seems sadly ill-equipped by his past to forge ahead in the competitive, individualistic, commercial American world.

The new desperation among American Negro leaders, reflected in the ominous growth of the extremist Black Muslim movement, is born quite as much of a despairing suspicion

**In the United States,** a Black Muslim meeting. "The ominous growth of the extremist Black Muslim movement," says Mr. Worsthorne, "is born of a despairing suspicion that the black man has just not got what it takes to come to the top in America."

—Wide World Photo

# . . . "Integration is ever more obviously impracticable"

that the black man just has not got what it takes to come to the top in America as from old resentments against white discrimination.

To be brutally frank, the most serious and ineradicable obstacle to a genuine multiracial society in the United States may be less the Southern white man's privileges than the Northern black man's inadequacies.

In Africa the multiracial prospects are just as bad, quite apart from South Africa. It is surely quite unrealistic to imagine that existing white minorities in Kenya or the Rhodesias, or any whites who in future may be tempted, either for reasons of gain or idealism, to go and live in the black states, will receive equal treatment.

First and foremost the oncoming generation of African politicians is far more antiwhite than those who experienced colonialism at first hand. At least the latter knew the good side as well as the bad about the white master. Many young Africans, however, who never experienced white rule personally, have swallowed the antiwhite myth whole, and feel much more vicariously resentful than ever their fathers did.

But even if they wanted to give the white man a square deal, it would be politically impossible for them to do so. For the truth is that, in the foreseeable future, if the whites were genuinely to be given equal opportunities with the blacks, they would inevitably monopolize most of the plum jobs and the best land simply on the basis of their qualifications.

The only way to prevent this in Kenya, for example, will quite simply be to discriminate against the white man on the basis of color. No black leader who failed to do this would stay in power for a month.

The white man in Africa, in short, will enjoy the same kind of status as the Jew did in nineteenth-century Europe —used, but at the same time hated; tolerated, but only for his money-making skills.

Such a baldly pessimistic outline of the multiracial prospects in America and Africa doubtless sounds disgustingly in line with the racist outpourings of such fanatics as Dr. Verwoerd [Prime Minister of South Africa] or Elijah Muhammad, the American Black Muslim leader who preaches that the Negro is God and the white man is the Devil. Most men of good will will probably have already stopped reading, precisely for this reason.

But this is what is so dangerously wrong with almost all current thinking about the race problem. Because men of good will refuse to face the facts squarely, realism has become the monopoly of fanatics who use their insight, not to improve matters, but to make them worse. The sad fact is that Dr. Verwoerd has a much truer insight into racial reality in Africa than virtually all his liberal critics, and Elijah Muhammad speaks more sense about the American racial reality than does President Kennedy. But because their motives are rightly suspect, and their language fanatical, nobody pays any attention to their arguments.

Yet in sober truth their arguments do deserve to be taken seriously. What is needed urgently is that some of the intelligence, imagination, energy and compassion which men of good will have hitherto wasted in seeking to demonstrate how the races can live together should be concentrated instead on studying how they can be helped to live apart. It is nothing less than tragic that this aspect of the problem, which increasingly looks as if it may be the only way out, should be left to the fanatics, while integration, which is ever more obviously impracticable, should monopolize all the available idealism.

Take apartheid [the South African policy of separation of races]: Theoretically it makes a lot of sense. If it were implemented generously and imaginatively, instead of hypocritically and avariciously, it could be made to work. If the West as a whole were to back the experiment economically, with half the enthusiasm that it backs an Indian five-year plan, the whites in South Africa might be encouraged into actually doing what they claim to be doing.

Or take the Black Muslim demand for two distinct Negro American States. It sounds crazy, and a terrible admission of defeat of the multiracial dream. But can it really be doubted that, until the American Negroes get a chance of building something on their own, until, that is, they have a firm base —an Israel, if you like—they will never earn either their own or anyone else's self-respect?

My point, however, is not to advocate gimmick solutions. But rather to suggest that a whole host of new ideas might emerge, enormously beneficial to both races, if men of good will henceforth took reality as their point of departure, and worked forward from there, rather than setting their eyes blindly but firmly on a multiracial goal that each year recedes ever faster into the realm of tragic illusion.

*The foregoing article, entitled "Black and White Reality," is reprinted, by permission, from the London "Sunday Telegraph" of May 19, 1963.*

**In South Africa,** apartheid. As the author sees the policy of racial separation: "Theoretically it makes a lot of sense. If it were implemented generously and imaginatively, instead of hypocritically and avariciously, it could be made to work."

—Charles W. Wiley Photo

*In New York "temple," Muslims learn Arabic from Akbar, one of sect leader Elijah Muhammad's six sons.*

Sat Eve Post 1/26/63

Racial Bgrs - Negro

LWD file

# Black Merchants of Hate

*Fanatic and well disciplined, Negro "Muslims" threaten to turn resentment against racial discrimination into open rebellion.*

by ALFRED BALK and ALEX HALEY

One pleasant spring evening a few years ago in New York's swarming Negro ghetto, Harlem, a policeman broke up an argument in an old, time-honored way: He clubbed one of the participants over the head and hauled him to the station. There the man was cursed, insulted and beaten until his face and body were bloody.

Up to this point the incident was not unique; police brutality, especially to Negroes, is an old story. But what happened next had never happened before, and it not only shocked the police of New York City but left a deep and lasting impression on law-enforcement officers throughout the country.

The victim of the clubbing belonged to a tightly knit Negro extremist sect known as the Black Muslims. As he was being dragged to the station, a fellow member was racing to alert his "brothers." Within minutes, over 100 sect members were lined up outside the doors of the police station. They were young and muscular, dressed uniformly in dark clothing, only a star-and-crescent ring or lapel pin breaking the black pattern. Their hair was close-cropped. They were intense, silent.

When the injured man was taken to a hospital, they followed. Soon the crowd had grown into a mob of 800, some of them teen-agers with zip guns. There were low, angry mutterings. Police were hesitant to try to disperse the mob, fearing an outbreak. "We'd better talk to Malcolm X," a policeman said.

A meeting was hastily arranged in the office of Negro newspaper editor James Hicks; present were three police officials and a tall, light-skinned Negro, Malcolm X, the sect's local leader. "That crowd's ready to explode," one police official told him. "Will you use your influence against violence?"

"Guarantee that our brother will get medical treatment," Malcolm said tersely. "Pledge that the men who beat him will be punished."

The police gave him their promise. Then, assured by Hicks that their word could be trusted, Malcolm did something which witnesses still recall with disbelief. He strode to the head of the angry, impatient mob, stood silently, and then flicked his hands. Within seconds the street was empty.

"No man," a policeman said after seeing this, "should have that much power."

This is only one of many incidents that dramatize the awesome discipline and power of this militant, semisecret, anti-white, anti-Christian sect. Led by Georgia-born Elijah Poole, a 65-year-old self-styled "Messenger of Allah" who calls himself "Elijah Muhammad," The Muslims (pronounced Moose-lums) have become the most explosive force in the American civil-rights struggle.

Most Negro extremists can muster only handfuls of people who convene on street corners or in storefront halls. Elijah Muhammad has spoken to as many as 10,000 cheering Negroes at hate-inciting rallies in New York, Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and other cities. Their next rally, this one their lavish annual convention, will be held February 26 in Chicago's 6,300-seat Coliseum.

Who are the Black Muslims? Are they, as one columnist described them, "the Mau Mau of the American Negro world," and therefore a dangerous threat to our society? Or has the menace of this group been exaggerated?

We were assigned by *The Saturday Evening Post* as a biracial team to find out. For this report we interviewed dozens of civic, governmental and law-enforcement officials, both white and Negro. We talked to leaders of the Negro community. We questioned Black Muslims and their high officials. We gained admission to Muslin temple services and mass rallies. What we learned revealed several widely held misconceptions about the group—some heartening, some deeply disturbing.

To begin with, the Muslims sneer at the main objective of most Negroes: peaceful integration. "There will never be anything more than *token* integration," says Elijah Muhammad. "It's a white man's trick to keep the black man enslaved."

Muslims demand racial separation in exclusively Negro states—large areas of our country from which white men would be driven and Negroes would take control. They openly criticize the men who are leading the fight for Negro rights. Among their most hated targets are Nobel Prize-winning diplomat Ralph Bunche, the Rev. Martin Luther King and U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Thurgood Marshall. Muslims sneeringly call Marshall "The Ugly American."

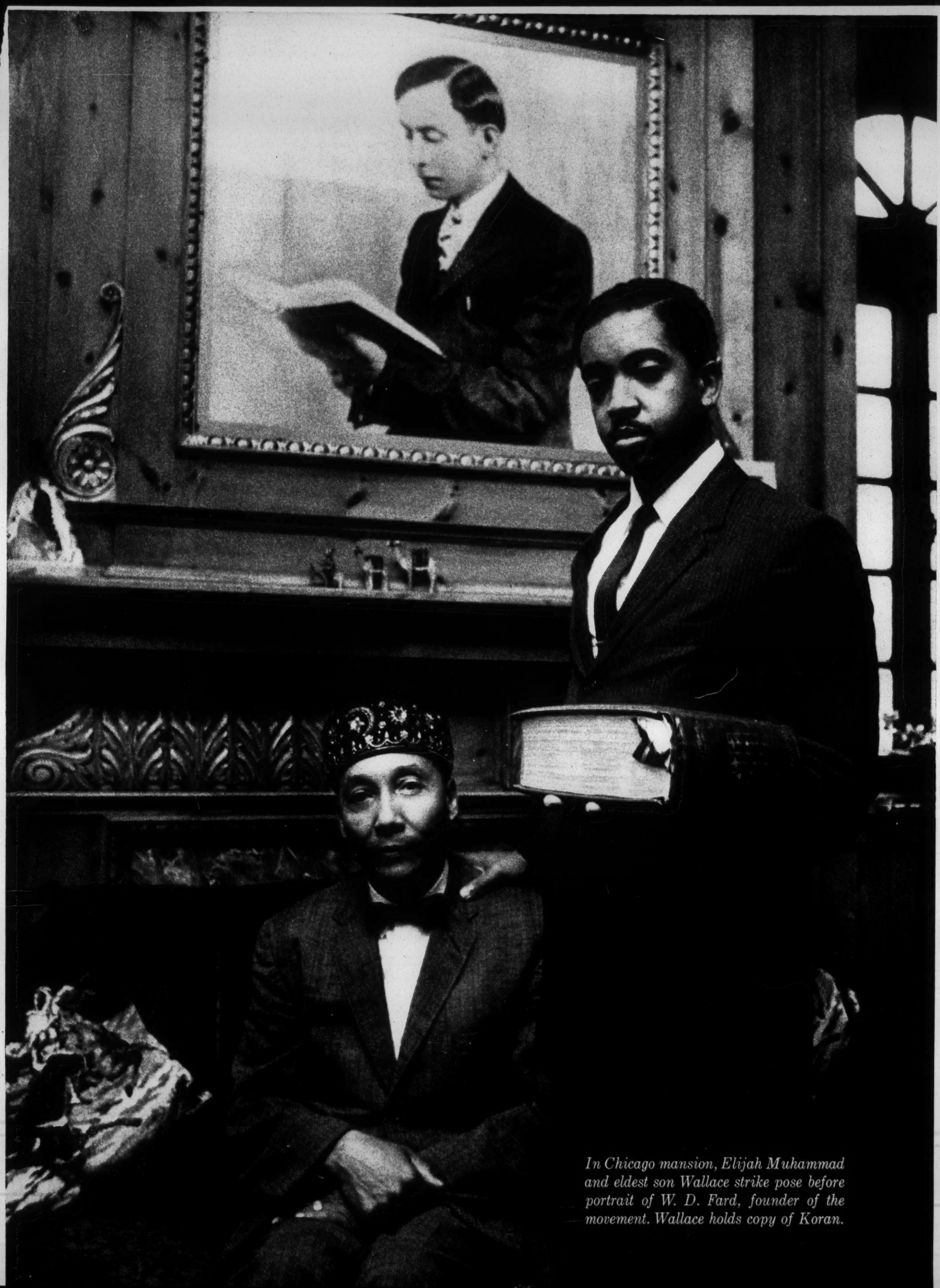
Moreover the Muslims openly demonstrate their contempt for Negro groups like the N.A.A.C.P., the sit-in demonstrators and the Freedom Riders. They deride students like James Meredith, who attempt to integrate Southern schools. "Why should any black man lower himself to try and get into a second-rate university?" one Muslim asked us.

Another major Muslim goal is to turn Negroes away from Christianity, which they call "a white man's religion used to enslave the black man." In at least two cases, in Arizona and New Jersey, Muslims have recruited entire congregations of Christian sects by converting the minister. Says Elijah Muhammad: "I'm doing all I can to make the so-called Negroes see that the white race and its religion, Christianity, are their open enemies."

"One thing everyone should understand," a member of a Chicago police undercover unit told us, "is that Elijah 'Muhammad' Poole is not just a run-of-the-mill rabble rouser, nor is his organization just an innocuous regional sect. This man is creating a mass movement on a national scale."

This became immediately clear. Though the Muslims refuse to release membership figures, it is known that Muhammad has an organized following in 80 cities and avid supporters among Negro inmates of at least two dozen state and Federal prisons. The sect owns stores, restaurants and other property in such cities as Chicago, Detroit, New York and Washington, D.C.

In two cities it operates its own accredited schools—in Detroit, a nine-grade "University of Islam" for 140 students, and in Chicago a 12-grade "University" for 430. Muslims further



*In Chicago mansion, Elijah Muhammad and eldest son Wallace strike pose before portrait of W. D. Fard, founder of the movement. Wallace holds copy of Koran.*

*Muslim women, in official uniforms, applaud Elijah Muhammad's dire prophecies at Philadelphia rally.*

"educate" their following through a tabloid newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, and hate-filled magazines and pamphlets; 50 small radio stations across the country carry broadcasts by Muhammad.

As part of their goal of separating themselves entirely from "the white man's society," the Muslims call themselves "The Nation of Islam" and have their own flag, an Islamic star and crescent. They also have their own police force, powerful, judo-trained guards known as "The Fruit of Islam."

Muslims refuse to vote, and most refuse to report for military service. At this writing the oldest of Muhammad's six sons, Wallace, age 28, is in prison on a charge of draft evasion.

The Muslim law also requires that members abandon use of their legal last name. It is, Muhammad maintains, a repugnantly symbolic "slave name," inherited from "slavemasters" who exploited earlier generations of Negroes. Instead, Muslims use an "X", which stands for "true identity unknown." If there is more than one member in a temple with the same first name, the second to join is known as "2X." In Harlem, we talked to a member of the Muslim temple named Frank 7X.

The Muslims' mass rallies are perhaps the most spectacular and frightening

# "We are the victorious people! We will rule!"

events they stage, reminiscent in some ways of the huge meetings at which Hitler screamed his doctrines of Aryan supremacy. We attended their latest rally in Philadelphia last October. Three hours before meeting time at the Philadelphia Arena a vanguard of 40 charter buses and caravans of cars began arriving from as far away as Boston and Atlanta. Most passengers wore the Muslim "uniform"—for men, dark suits and dark shoes; for women, Arabic-type white robes and kerchiefs.

Fruit of Islam guards patrolled the doors outside. Before being admitted, everyone—including a dozen reporters and photographers—was lined up against a wall and searched.

"What is the reason for this," we asked a guard. He looked at us warily. "We have many enemies," he said.

Inside the Arena approximately 5,000 men and women were seated—segregated by sex as Elijah had ordered. In front of them blared a banner: THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH, MUHAMMAD IS HIS APOSTLE. Guards were everywhere.

The crowd was strangely silent. Suddenly applause erupted from one corner of the vast hall.

Elijah Muhammad had arrived. He was a short, rather unimpressive-looking man, slight and light-skinned. He wore a dark suit, bow tie and black-embroidered fez. His face showing no expression, he moved quickly to the speaker's platform.

As soon as he was seated the introduction began. "A man who has *seen* God," he was called, "a man who has *heard* God, the *boldest* black man in America, the *smartest* black man in America, the most *powerful* black man in America!"

During the introduction the tiny Muhammad sat impassively. Then, as he rose to speak, he seemed transformed. His movements became abrupt, jerky. He stared piercingly at his audience, spitting out his words in harsh, thin tones.

The Black race, he began, was "Original Man," created 66,000,000,000,000 years ago. Adam was grafted from a black man 6,000 years ago by a black scientist. Thus whites were weaker. They were, in fact, devils. They had kidnapped Negroes from a high civilization in Mecca, enslaved them, brainwashed them into a false sense of inferiority, and made them worship a white Jesus. But the Nation of Islam, he said, would rise again. Whites were corrupt; their civilization was doomed.

"Get away from them!" he shouted. "They wasn't *taught* to do good! They was taught to do *evil!* They was taught to *hate* you and me! Stand up and fight the white man!

"*We* are the victorious people! *We will rule!*"

"Prophet!" cried a voice. "Messenger!" screamed another. "Teach us!" The crowd began applauding wildly. Some shook their fists in the air. It was an unforgettable performance.

But it is not only in such mass rallies that Muslims demonstrate their remarkable dedication, discipline and solidarity. They also subscribe to a puritanical personal code—they eat only one meal a day, abstain from alcohol and tobacco, and the women use no cosmetics. Gambling, narcotics and sexual promiscuity are prohibited. Muslims are urged to marry, always within their race, preferably within their faith. They dress neatly, practice a ritualistic politeness, refrain from raucous laughter or loud talk.

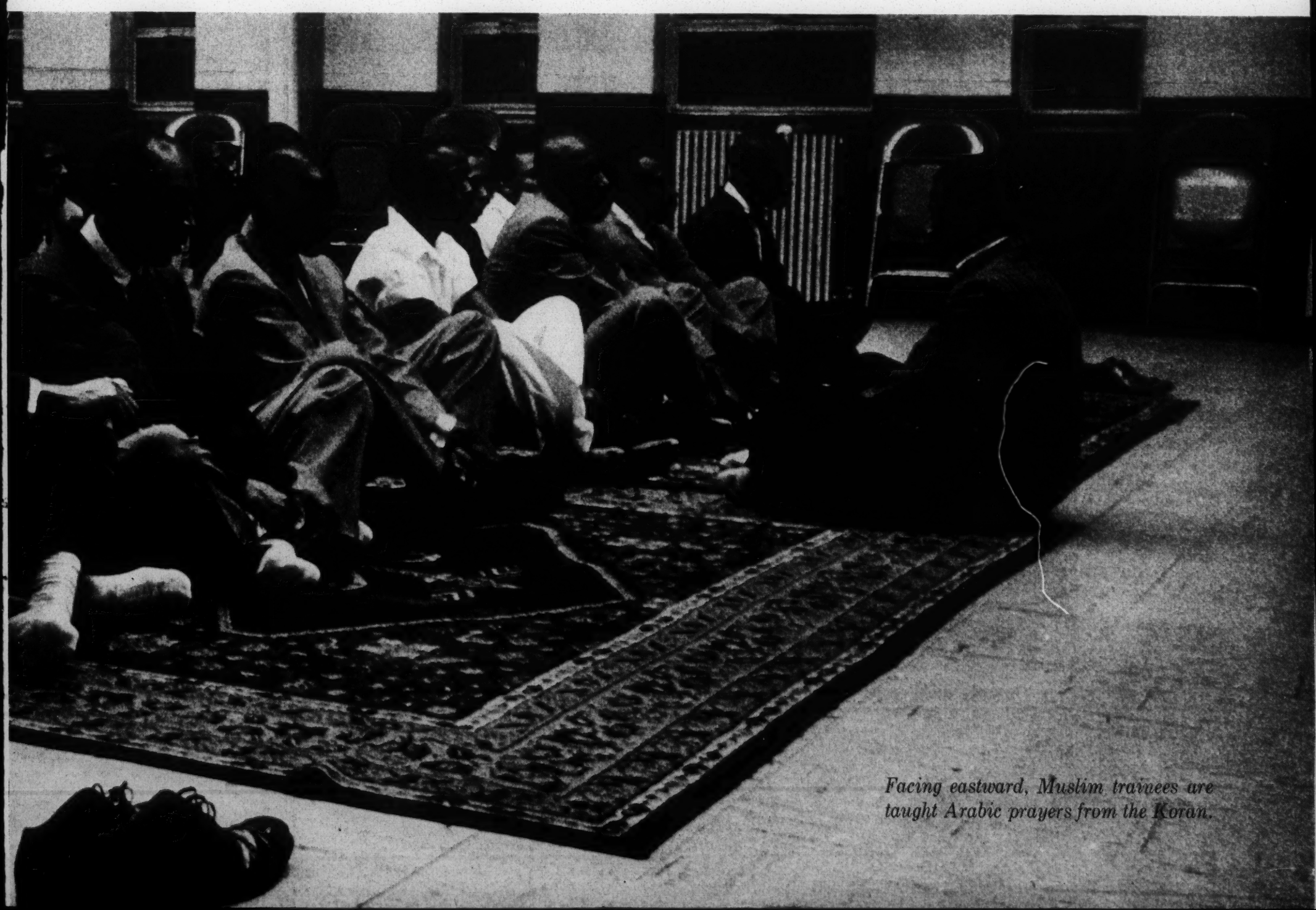
## Muslims stick together

Muslims pledge one tenth to one third of their income to the movement. They patronize its businesses or those owned by Muslims. They face east and pray to Mecca three times daily and refrain from eating pork or anything cooked with pork. They are required to attend services regularly at a Muslim "temple" or "mosque." In most temples, decorations include a painting of a Negro hung from a tree limb, a replica of an American flag captioned, SLAVERY SUFFERING AND DEATH, and an Islamic star and crescent proclaiming, FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. Large letters demand, WHICH WILL SURVIVE THE WAR OF ARMAGEDDON?

"Shocking as this sounds to many people," says Negro scholar Dr. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College in Atlanta, "to Negro masses who live in big-city ghettoes it has undeniable appeal.

"They are uneducated, unskilled, isolated by poverty and discrimination from the common values of society. They are strangers in their own country, shunned by successful whites and Negroes alike. They see no hope of improvement. Then they hear the voice of Elijah 'Muhammad,' challenging them to recover their self-respect, urging them to repudiate the white man's religion and culture, daring them to believe in race pride and black supremacy. And they not only listen, they act."

Perhaps typical of the Muslim leadership in terms of his background and bitterness is a lanky, energetic, good-looking man named Malcolm Little, once known in Harlem as "Big Red." One of 11 children of an uneducated Baptist preacher, Little was born in Omaha 37 years ago. He lived in crowded, crime-



*Facing eastward, Muslim trainees are taught Arabic prayers from the Koran.*

*"Whenever a community has strong Negro leaders and good race relations, the sect has flopped."*

*Malcolm X, Muslim strong man, shows his power over an audience with a demand for money to finance transportation to rallies.*

ridden racial ghettos in Omaha, Lansing, Michigan, Boston and New York. He has bitter memories of each.

When Malcolm was six his father, whom a group of whites considered "too aggressive in racial matters," was found under a Lansing streetcar, "his head bashed in and his body mangled. After that we almost starved."

Little left home and school after the eighth grade to become a waiter on a railroad dining car. Bored and frustrated, he soon gravitated to Harlem as a numbers runner, then a hustler of bootleg whiskey and dope. Prominent whites paid "Big Red" large fees to be squired to vice in Harlem. White police demanded bribes which he peeled from the $1,000 bankroll he always carried.

Then, in 1946, at the age of 19, he was convicted of grand larceny in Boston, and a white judge sentenced him to 10 years in prison. While in jail, he learned of Poole's doctrine. "When I heard the white man was a devil," he told us, "it clicked."

Articulate, single-minded, the fire of bitterness still burning his soul, Malcolm X travels the country—organizing, encouraging, trouble-shooting in local Muslim organizations. He appears on radio-TV interviews and speaks and debates on street corners, in Muslim temples and on college campuses. Malcolm X and his wife, a former nurse, are so dedicated to militant accomplishment of Muslim goals that they named one daughter Attila (for the leader of the Huns) and another Qubillah (after Kublai Khan). While Muhammad appears to be training his son Wallace to succeed him when he retires or dies, many Muslims feel that Malcolm is too powerful to be denied the leadership if he wants it.

But as remarkable and typical as Malcolm's transformation has been, law-enforcement officials feel that the dedicated Muslim may be a worse threat to society than the criminal. "There is no way to measure the long-term effect of the race hatred they preach," a New York police official told us.

Equally insidious, we were told repeatedly, are the results of Muslim teachings about violence. Although Muslims profess to abhor violence, pointing to their regulations against carrying weapons, they are often in the thick of it. When a riot in Los Angeles last April resulted in the gunshot death of one person and the wounding of 14 others, Muslims were involved. When twin riots partially wrecked a youth reformatory outside Washington, D.C., last summer, Muslims were prominent. Prison riots involving Muslims have broken out in California, Michigan, Maryland and elsewhere.

A look at Muslim statements shows what inspires this violence. "We must take things into our own hands," Muhammad said in one speech. "We must return to the Mosaic law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. What does it matter if ten million of us die?"

Malcolm X is even more provocative on the subject. "If anyone attacks you," he told one audience, "*lay down your life!* If anyone so much as touches your finger, his place is in the graveyard!"

## "I got a wire from God"

Malcolm shocked even sympathetic Negroes with a statement made last June after receiving a message that 121 white civic and cultural leaders from Atlanta had been killed in the crash of a chartered airliner outside Paris.

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that has just happened," he told his audience. "I got a wire from God today. . . . Somebody came and told me that He really had answered our prayers in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it. . . . we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."

How does this fanatical doctrine fit in with the tenets of the orthodox Muslim faith, which has 500,000,000 followers throughout the world?

"Elijah Poole's teachings, his dogma and doctrine of hatred, are utterly non-Muslim," says Ahmad Kamal, a recognized authority on the faith who has written a noted pilgrimage guidebook and heads the worldwide Islamic relief agency, Jami'at al Islam. "It is anti-Muslim. We feel a great compassion for all Negroes who have been duped by the Black Muslims."

Muhammad himself has no known tie with orthodox Islam. One of 13 children of a rural Baptist preacher, he worked as a Georgia field hand, on railroad gangs, at a sawmill, in a brickyard and in factories in Detroit. Apparently, he had his first experience with this twisted form of Muhammadanism when he met a silk peddler named W. D. Fard in Detroit about 1930. Fard claimed to have come from Mecca. If indeed he did, he made two recorded stopovers: one in California, where as "Wallie Ford" he was sentenced to San Quentin State Prison on a narcotics charge; and then in Chicago, where a cultist known as Noble Drew Ali suggested that Fard become a "Prophet of Islam." Ali gave Fard the concept of a "Nation of Islam," and terminology like "so-called American Negroes."

In 1931 in Detroit Poole helped Fard found Temple of Islam No. 1, the Fruit of Islam Guard, and the first University of Islam. Fard bestowed on Poole the name "Muhammad" and the title, "First Minister of Islam." When Fard disappeared in 1934, Poole took over the sect.

Today, despite the Spartan discipline which governs the lives of the mass of Muslims, Elijah Poole is reaping the benefits of his life of struggle. He and his Georgia-born wife Clara commute between an 18-room mansion in Chicago and a four-bedroom winter home, complete with a swimming pool, in Phoenix. All eight of their children have positions in the movement, and all are apparently dedicated to their father's extremism. In a visit to his Chicago home, the Negro member of our team noted that Muhammad's fanaticism extends even to the symbolic use of brown bread instead of white and of African coffee packaged by a Muslim in New Jersey.

Like most racists, Poole believes unshakably in the righteousness of his cause and the inevitablity of his eventual triumph. When asked about planned investigations into his movement by Congress, the FBI, and local, state and Federal tax officials, Poole replied stubbornly, "Let them come. I have all I need. I have the truth!"

What is the truth? Just how strong are the Black Muslims?

To begin with, most published reports number Muslim membership as between 100,000 and 250,000. This, authoritative sources told us, is vastly exaggerated. Actually, of approximately 20,000,000 American Negroes, only a hard core of 5,500 to 6,000 have actually become temple members. This figure, of course, does not include an estimated 50,000 others who are sympathetic.

The Muslims' financial power also is exaggerated. Their businesses, though clean and well-run, are low-profit neighborhood enterprises. Most are owned by the members, not by the movement. The total amount of aggregate property accumulated by the sect is only a fraction of that owned by the late Daddy Grace or Father Divine.

The Muslims have found that prisons and slums are their most fertile breeding ground. It is hopeful to note that whenever there is strong Negro leadership and good race relations in a community, the sect has flopped miserably.

"The average Negro," says noted Negro psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York City, "readily realizes that there is no point in talking about whether the Negro wants to integrate in America. He has no choice. He is involved with America—inextricably so—and America with him."

## How important are they?

Like counterpart white supremacist groups the Black Muslims are not on the Attorney General's subversive list. Federal investigators report no evidence of foreign domination.

Of what significance, then, are the Muslims? "In this difficult period of social transition," says Burke Marshall, Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Civil Rights, "no group with this discipline and dogma can be ignored." In the event of real trouble, says Los Angeles police chief William Parker, "they could become the shock troops in a conflict between races."

On the other hand, some authorities believe that, unintentionally, the Muslims have had some good effects. Says Ralph McGill, famed publisher of the Atlanta *Constitution*, "Now that real Negro extremists have appeared, possibly there will be an end to irresponsible charges that moderate, responsible organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League are unreasonable—or, more absurdly, 'Communist-run.'"

Little Rock's Harry S. Ashmore, a Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and a practical expert in race relations, puts it this way: "The Black Muslims are a warning to which churches, community leaders and public officials had better pay heed. That is, that the masses of Negro people no longer are willing to stand still, that injustice has been done, and change is going to come. The only question is, will the change come through men and women working together regardless of race, or will the field be left to extremists?

"The Black Muslims and White Citizens councils offer one answer. Let us hope that responsible Americans will begin working for another." **THE END**

*Grim guards of the organization's elite, Fruit of Islam, do military drill in strenuous training course.*

# A COMMUNICATION

## Footnote for the Historians

By STEWART ALSOP

President Kennedy has said that the matter of Adlai Stevenson's role in the Cuban crisis should be left to the historians. During the furor caused by the article (*The Post*, Dec. 8) on the crisis by Charles Bartlett and myself, I was on a reporting tour in Latin America. Since reading the press clippings on my return, it seems to me that the historians might get a rather distorted idea of the whole matter. So perhaps the following footnote to history will interest them.

Charles Bartlett and I have been widely pictured as the victims of "managed news," and as the instruments of a Byzantine anti-Stevenson plot. In fact, we simply set out to do the traditional and rather laborious job of reportorial reconstruction which at least a dozen other reporters were doing at the same time.

We interviewed a great many people and took many pages of notes. We kept getting indications that Adlai Stevenson had taken a position during the crisis which differed sharply from that of the members of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council. We were told that Stevenson, unlike the members of the Executive Committee, was willing to negotiate with the Communists about yielding Guantanamo, the American base in Cuba, and about the elimination of other foreign bases as well. These proposals, we learned, had been bitterly opposed by other presidential advisers.

To get Mr. Stevenson's version of the matter, we therefore had three lengthy talks with Clayton Fritchey, Mr. Stevenson's official spokesman, who is an old and trusted friend to both of us. Since we have been widely accused of making no effort to understand Mr. Stevenson's position, we feel that we are justified in reporting these talks, and Mr. Fritchey agrees. So I hope the reader will bear with me through the following admittedly uninspired excerpts from our notes.

From C. Bartlett's notes after luncheon, Saturday, November 10: "Fritchey believes that AS did not take any position at his first session in Washington, Tues. Oct. 16, because they were just fluffing around with it . . . he does not know what position he took on the following Saturday when he met with the group but we'll find out."

Early the next week, after Mr. Fritchey had kept his promise to "find out," he read to Mr. Bartlett notes on Mr. Stevenson's position at the Saturday meeting, from which Bartlett took down the following excerpts: "Stevenson's general approach was to avoid military action until the peacekeeping machinery of the UN had a chance to function. He therefore opposed the air attack and favored the blockade. . . . As the consensus hardened on the quarantine approach, he turned his thoughts toward the possibility of a settlement, both short term and long term . . . he wanted all nuclear capability defused and the bases dismantled. He said that if it were necessary to sweeten up our negotiating position at this point, we might even consider yielding the Guantanamo base. . . . As a final point, he suggested a proposition to the USSR to discuss the elimination of foreign bases in connection with the disarmament negotiations. . . ."

On November 16, as I was preparing a final draft of the article, I was still not satisfied that we had Mr. Stevenson's position clear, so I telephoned Mr. Fritchey for a third talk. From my notes: "Read to Clayton sentence to the effect that 'Stevenson was only willing to discuss Guantanamo and the European bases with the Communists after a neutralization of the Cuban missiles.' Asked if this was fair summary and Fritchey agreed it was." The summary was duly included in the article.

Mr. Stevenson's willingness to consider yielding Guantanamo and the elimination of other foreign bases was, of course, at the heart of his difference with the Executive Committee majority. Stevenson had every right to take the position he did take. Others—including large portions of the British press—took much the same position, on the theory that a willingness to negotiate major concessions would lessen the danger of nuclear war, in case of a violent Soviet reaction to the Cuban blockade. But Mr. Stevenson's critics also have a right to their views.

One such view, which we quoted, was that Stevenson's position amounted to willingness to accept a "Munich." The elimination of foreign bases has been a Soviet refrain since the days of Stalin, simply because the loss of the forward American bases would upset the world power balance in favor of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Guantanamo has one characteristic in common with Berlin—it is locally indefensible. Stevenson's adversaries sincerely believed that such concessions as Stevenson proposed for consideration would encourage the Soviets, as Hitler was encouraged in the time of Munich, to further adventures in the expectation of further concessions.

Stevenson's proposals were therefore not accepted by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee also rejected the proposals of the "hawks" for air strikes against the Cuban missile bases. As Dean Acheson, the leading ex-hawk, generously agreed in retrospect, "The final decision was the right one." Neither air strikes nor major concessions to the Communists proved necessary.

Unlike Mr. Acheson, Mr. Stevenson used every device to becloud the real issue that arose between him and other presidential advisers. He portrayed himself as a victim of a McCarthyite plot, while hotly "denying" that he had "opposed" the President's blockade policy—which, of course, we never wrote.

The real issue between Mr. Stevenson and his critics had nothing to do with the blockade. It concerned the concessions to the Communist side which Stevenson was willing to consider, as even the brief section we wrote on Mr. Stevenson's subsidiary role in the crisis certainly made clear. Surely this was a vitally important issue. But hardly anyone seemed interested in discussing it.

Instead, to support Mr. Stevenson's strictures, various lists of "errors" in our account were drawn up. With one meaningless exception, these "errors" either had no bearing on what we wrote or were not errors at all. It is worth noting that neither the President nor anyone else in a position really to know, other than Mr. Stevenson himself, denied the essential accuracy of our account of his role. But one issue that was widely raised does deserve comment—"the issue of security."

A great newspaper, for example, charged us with a "breach of security." Although the same newspaper was the first to report Attorney General Robert Kennedy's opposition to an air strike and other important positions of NSC members, the grounds for the charge were that "the various positions of the members of the NSC must remain secret. . . ."

Must they? Obviously there are times, as in the critical days before the President's blockade decision, when Government secrecy is essential. But the decisions confronting the NSC are precisely those decisions which determine the future of all Americans. Under the American system "we the people" have a right to know about and argue about such decisions and about the men who make them.

The members of the NSC are, after all, like Mr. Stevenson himself, politicians or political appointees. Their political futures depend, or should depend, not only on the President's judgment but on the judgment of the American people. That is why we have every right to know the bent of their minds, how they react in a crisis. To suppose otherwise, to suppose that no one has a right to inquire into the policies advocated in our highest-policy-making body, is to make of the NSC another Politburo, awesome and sacrosanct, its decisions to be accepted without question by a docile people.

We have no need for Politburos. The issue raised by Mr. Stevenson's proposals on Guantanamo and other foreign bases goes right to the heart of American policy in time of danger. It is precisely the sort of issue the American people, not only the historians, have a right to know about and make up their own minds about.

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Resistance Orgs. Negro
2/18/63

LWD ✓ JS
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# How To Gain Greater Destiny!

By ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

**THE FLAG OF THE USA and ISLAM:**

**"Which one will survive the War of Armageddon?"**

The answer is essential to the mentally dead lost-found black people in North America. By just a slight glance at the two flags, even a fool could give the correct answer. But you would be surprised to know how little knowledge my people have of science.

**Allah and His Messenger** seek separation of our people from our once slave master and their children that we may enjoy freedom, justice and equality along with the other nations of our earth.

Twenty million people must have independence from their open enemies who hope to deceive our people with false promises; and if their promises are true it still would mean the doom of both races. There is hardly any hope for the American whites because of her evils done to us, the black nation, even if they do live up to their promises which they are now offering the poor, blind, deaf and dumb Lost-found members of the Asiatic Nation.

**Allah is well able** to take us away from our enemies and slay them, as they have and are still slaying us. So we have no fear. It is incumbent upon Allah says the Holy Qur-an to separate us from our enemies. Therefore, we must have knowledge of that which we are being separated from lest some, without understanding ask: Why were we separated? The average Lost-found (so-called Negro) does not know that it is a MUST that we be separated. This is my job: to teach them that it is a must.

The flag of Islam which represents the Sun, Moon, and Stars means to teach us that the religion of Islam (entire submission to the will of Allah) is as old and as true as the universe — without any knowledge of its birth nor its end.

But the American flag and its people are different. They have a beginning and end

(Continued on Page 13)

MR. MUHAMMAD

Dedicated to Freedom, Justice and Equality for the so-called Negro. The Earth Belongs to Allah

# Muhammad Speaks

Justice Freedom Equality Islam

VOL. 2 — NO. 11 FEBRUARY 18, 1963 — CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 15c

# Have Georgia Racists Doomed—

Mrs. Gladys Canty's Husband Got A 15-Year Prison Term Because He Dared To Defend His Own Life.

By JERMIAH SHABAZZ

ATLANTA, GA.—"Today they gave my husband 15 years in prison because he dared defend himself against white men who tried to kill him.

"I guess self-defense is a crime for a Negro, but my husband did what was right.

"Now me and my kids are alone, but I'd want him to do the same thing if he had it to do again.

(Continued on Page 3)

# Line to Right For Black Taxes

See Page 5

# Pickets Hit JFK On Travel Ban

## Demonstrators Protest Kennedy 'Demo' Award

**WASHINGTON — While President Kennedy was inside receiving his "democratic legacy" award from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, police officers bolstered with K-9 dogs were arresting 16 of the more than 50 pickets who were outside protesting the award.**

The pickets carried signs which read:

"Kennedy's 'Democratic Legacy:' Jim Crow, Cold War, Colonialism, Which Hunt, Travel Bans."

**MARCHING IN FRONT** of the Sheraton-Park hotel, they were protesting the "demorcatic legacy" award to Kennedy in view of the federal government's three-month sentence imposed on Negro newsman William Worthy because he visited Cuba without State Department sanction.

They charged also that Kennedy was receiving the award citing his civil rights efforts despite his "inadequate and temporizing record on civil rights for Negroes" and that Negro Americans in Mississippi "and other southern states live under a reign of terror similar to the Nazi terror against the Jews."

**OF THE 10 MEN** and six women arrested, 13 of them will stand trial for disorderly conduct Feb. 8, in General Sessions court here.

The demonstrators were port of a nationwide citizens' committee which included Nobel Prize-winning Dr. Linus Pauling and author James Baldwin and which had sought to have B'nai B'rith withdraw its award to Kennedy unless Worthy was cleared.

**Worthy, internationally known newsman, was convicted, many say, for what he reported about the Cuban revolutionary movement and not for any technical violation of the law.**

The newsman himself contends he was indicted because "I have reported many positive achievements of the Cuban revolution including the rapid elimination of all racial barriers."

**NEW YORKERS picket the Anti-Defamation League in New York, charging that President Kennedy should not be given a "democratic legacy" award while Negro newsman James Worthy is under jail sentence for visiting Cuba without the OK of the State Department. Later, President Kennedy did receive the award in Washington's Sheraton-Park hotel while 50 demonstrators marched outside. At far right is William Jones of the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee, which sponsored the demonstration. Similar picket lines appeared in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Seattle, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Newark and Boston.**

*World Traveler's*

# Expose On 'The Living Death'

**(Special To Muhammad Speaks)**

BOSTON, Mass — A shocking first-hand report of terror and oppression heaped upon people of Portugese held territories in Africa was giving last week by a Roxbury resident.

Carlos Texiera went to the Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese colony off Africa's West Coast, to study conditions there and returned to expose the Portuguese government as a bloody oppressor of humanity.

This is what Texiera reported on his return from the island and from Portuguese Guinea on Africa's West Coast:

1. **Peonage-type labor still exist in the islands, though it is supposedly illegal.**
2. **Strikers are shot and there is no medical care for the sick.**
3. **Workers get the equivalent of $2 a month in American money and one meal per day is the rule.**

Texiera said that the people were afraid to talk to him and that they are not allowed to congregate or hold meetings without government supervision.

**ONE MAN DID TALK,** Texiera reported, but he was jailed following the conversation.

Africans do not have schools of their own and cannot attend Portuguese schools unless they speak the language, said Texiera, whose trip was financed by the Cape Verdian Society of Boston.

Meanwhile, an organization of 165,000 Cape Verdians living in the United States has been formed to solicit funds for food, medicine and clothing to be sent to the people of Portuguese held territories in Africa, it was announced.

CARLOS TEXIERA

# Will U.S. Go All-Out For Rich Holdings In Africa?

**NEW YORK—Americans may soon find themselves in Africa using force to support practices that all their traditions condemn.**

These practices, says American economist Alvin W. Wolfe, are "colonialism, racism and a non-free-entreprise type of capitalism."

Assistant professor of anthropology and sociology at Washington university at St. Louis, Wolfe had earlier charged that a huge industrial combine was poised to sieze Africa and halt its independence movements.

**THESE CHARGES,** reported by Muhammad Speaks UN and foreign correspondent Charles Howard, were made public by Rev. Michael Scott, a recognized petitioner for Africans in South West Africa.

It is this financial combine, says Wolfe, that is "drawing the U.S. toward a commitment to defend European interest in Africa South, and those (European interests) are diametrically oppossed to African interests in an independent Africa."

Last Year, it was pointed out, saw the establishment in the U.S. of the Belgian-American Development Corp., whose chairman and president is Adm. Alan G. Kirk, U. S. Navy (retired) former ambassador to Belgium.

**KIRK IS ALSO** a director of the Belgian-American Banking Corp., and the Belgian-American Bank and Trust company, both of which are affiliated with the Societe Generale de Belgique.

This industrial complex exclusively controls an area in southern Africa rich in copper, coal diamonds, tin, zinc, cobalt, cadmium, palladium, gold and uranium.

**"Though all this wealth is in Africa," Wolfe says, "It is not regarded as belonging to Africans."**

These giant cooporations, it was said, joined by interlocking directorates on whose boards sit members of parliaments and retired military officails, financed Col. Mobutu in the Congo against the late Premier Patrice Lumumba. Today, they finance Tshome in Katanga.

**REV. SCOTT,** in another warning to the UN, urged strong measures to free the Africans and break up the "unholy alliance."

Together with African and Asian delegates he called for sanctions including a trade boycott against South Africa, which is accused of forming an alliance with the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese rulers of Angola and Mozambique and taking in Tshombe as junior partner.

Scott called again for a UN inquiry in "the challenge presented by the powerful industrial complex existing in Central and Southern Africa (which) wielded more power that any state in Africa and worked in close alliance with the racist government of South Africa."

**THE U. S. PROTESTS** that American loans and investments in southern Africa were "intended to improve the social and economic conditions of all the citizens and residents." Britain joined the U.S. in declaring that sanctions and a boycott would not hurt South Africa.

But Africans point out that South Africa buys 43 per cent of its goods from Britain and 20 per cent from the U.S.

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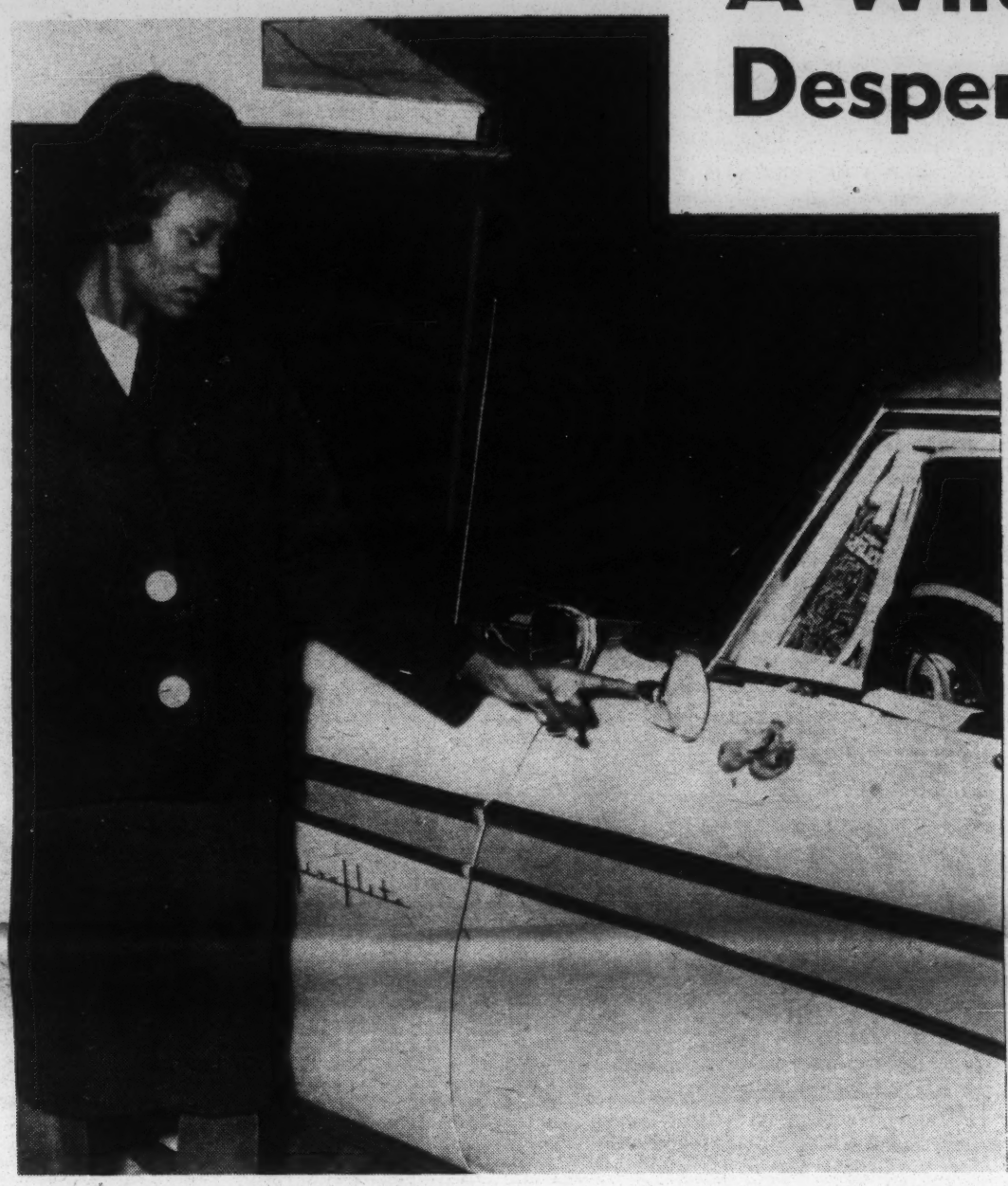
## Punishment Without Crime

# Sentenced For Self Defense!

## A Wife Relives Husband's Desperate Battle To Live



BULLET HOLES in car owned by her husband are indicated by Mrs. Gladys Canty, who says her husband did the right thing by fighting back when white state revenue agents tried to kill him.

Her husband, Albert Canty, Jr., was sentenced to 15 to 20 years in the Georgia State prison for the fatal shooting of Agent Glenn Jenkins.

(Continued from Page 1)

**I'd rather have a man like that than someone who'd give up his life for nothing without a fight.**

**"Any Negro wife and mother in any state would feel the same way. What was he supposed to do? Sit there and let those white men kill him?"**

Sobbing softly, Mrs. Gladys Canty continued:

**"THOSE WHITE AGENTS** were out to get him for no reason and they shot at him and tried to kill him. My husband fought back and one of the agents was killed.

"My husband's trial was a joke. One witness saw the revenue agent shoot first but that didn't make any difference. The jury didn't believe in self-defense for Negroes and the judge took it from there.

Judge Alverson gave my husband 15 years without batting an eye and as far as they're concerned that's the end of it. But for me and my husband and children it's just the beginning of a awful lonliness and I don't know how we're going to do.

**"WE'VE ALL** suffered so much, my hope's almost gone and I don't know which way to turn.

"But I'll tell you how the whole thing started and you draw your own conclusions.

"Two white men in an unmarked car stopped my husband as he was driving back to Atlanta from my cousin's place in Zebulon (about 54 miles from Atlanta). He'd gone there to kill some hogs.

**"THEY SAID** 'godammit nigger!' where the hell you going? You better slow that g....d... thing down...We ought to lock you up right now....We're revenue agents!"

Fighting to control herself, the 26-year-old mother of four continued:

"My husband could smell the liquor on their breath and could see whiskey bottles on the seat of their car. He felt there was going to be some trouble. But before he could even answer, the men began to curse and swear at him and made all kinds of threats.

**"HE WAS TOLD** to follow the agents' car into town. Then, they switched and told him to go in front of them, which he did. The agents began jockeying with him on the highway by pulling up in front and alongside him.

"When they got to Atlanta the men ordered him to turn off the main highway and they drove to a colored section called the Pittsburg area."

Then, one pulled his gun and aimed it at Albert.

**"HE SAID,** 'This is it, nigger,' and started shooting into Al-

(Continued On Page 4)

## Mr. Milquetoast?

# No, It's Georgia's Negro Lawmaker

**ATLANTA — To the surprise of many, the crucial issue of fair employment will not be one of the high priority programs of State Senator Leroy Johnson, first Negro to serve in the Georgia legislature since Reconstruction.**

In fact Mr. Johnson, who is addressed here by his fellow white lawmakers as "Leroy," instead of the customary "Mr. Senator" admits he has no program at all.

Senator Johnson told Muhammad Speaks last week that he is not advocating fair employment at the present time and does not have it in his timetable for the future.

"My primary aim," says the Senator, "is to represent the Negro as an 'ethnic group' in such a manner as to 'influence a better flow of democracy.'"

He offered no concrete program on police brutality, stating merely he thought it should be "left up to local leaders."

Asserting that he hoped his election would serve as an incentive for Negroes throughout the South to enter politics and run for public office, he declared his chief interest is in voter registration and added he hopes to be re-elected.

Asked what he thought of Muslims in America, his reply was that he doesn't believe in extremism or in black or white supremacy but feels that the Muslims have the right to say whatever they want to say.

"IS THERE ANY JUSTICE for Negroes?" ask Mr. and Mrs. Albert Canty, Sr. Their son, father of four, has been sentenced to 15 to 20 years in prison for the self-defense shooting of a white Georgia State revenue agent.

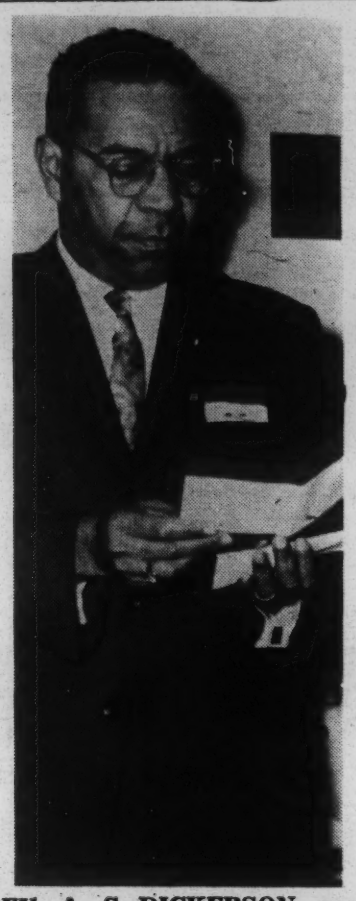
# Push Fund Drive To Aid Canty

**ATLANTA—More than $1,000 has been contributed to the Albert Canty Legal Defense Fund as churches civic groups and citizens close ranks in their fight to right a cruel and inhuman wrong.**

Rev. A. S. Dickerson, pastor of Central Methodist church and chairman of the fund raising drive has issued an urgent national appeal for contributions to be used for an appeal of Canty's 15 to 20 year sentence.

**DEFENSE ATTORNEY** Dan Duke has said he is willing to appeal Canty's case to the Supreme Court. Atty. Duke commented after the decision: "If he had been a white man he probably would have been acquitted."

# Dad Of Four Gets 15 Years In Revenue Agent's Death



**REV. A. S. DICKERSON, pastor of Central Methodist church of Atlanta which Albert Canty, Jr., is a member, heads the Canty Legal Defense Fund which has issued an urgent national appeal for funds. In this photo he holds a check contributed by a sympathizer. Funds will finance Canty's appeal and assist his destitute wife and four children.**

(Continued from Page 3)

bert's car.

"My husband ducked down in his seat and reached for the gun he had taken to kill the hogs with. Without raising his head to see where the agents were he shot back through the car door. This is when they say he killed agent Glenn Jenkins.

"When Albert heard them clicking their guns like they were out of bullets he got up from the floor of the car and drove out of there fast to the home of a friend who lives in Pittsburg.

**"THE COPS** came got him and made him lie down on the ground while they put handcuffs on him. They threw him in the station wagon and they all began to beat him unmercifully.

"My husband was beaten all the way to the police station and was in such bad shape at that time they had to take him to Grady hospital. While he was waiting for treatment the policemen took him into a room at the hospital and gave him another terrible beating in there.

**HERE, THE** slender Mrs. Canty broke down and was unable to continue.

The horror of her husband's arrest, the vicious bloody beatings he suffered and the hate-filled trial which assured his conviction have proven almost more than she can bear.

**CANTY'S TWO-DAY** murder trial ended when an all-white Fulton Superior Court jury returned a voluntary manslaughter conviction. A silent crowded courtroom listened as the jury foreman read the verdict.

The quiet, soft-spoken father of four, had taken the witness stand in his own defense and charged that the deceased agent's partner, John A. McCall, fired at him before he returned the pistol shot that fatally wounded agent Jenkins.

**CANTY INSISTED** that he only fired after the agent shot at him and charged that the agents had been drinking and that he "spotted a bottle in their car when they stopped me."

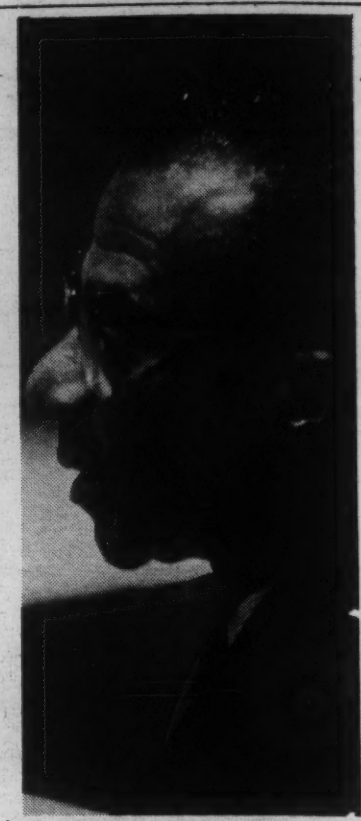
Earl Gober, toxocologist, state crime laboratory, told the jury that blood tests he had performed on Agent Jenkins after his death revealed an 0.08 percent of alcohol content. He said it would require more than a ounce 'shot' of whiskey to raise the alcoholic content of the blood to 0.08.

Police chief Herbert Jenkins turned the names of the police officers said to be responsible for Canty's beating over to the grand jury for possible criminal action but no action has been taken.

**MRS. CANTY,** who sat by her husband's side throughout the trial, left the courtroom following the verdict and burst into tears as she reached the crowded corridors filled with Negro and white spectators.

White defense lawyer Dan Duke said, "If it had been a white man on trial it is very likely he would have been acquitted. I have never seen such a resort to prejudice."

**DUKE, WHO** urged Atlanta Negroes to form a Defense Committee to prevent such police brutality, charged there are many errors in the trial and said there are good grounds for a new trial.



**SYLVANUS OLYMPIO, assasinated President of Togo, was regarded by Africans as one of the pioneer leaders in the march of Africa toward freedom. Olympio, who was educated in Britain, is credited with laying much of the groundwork upon which Africa is building its future.**

## Editor Tells Why

# Muslims Are Victims Of Violence

BALTIMORE, Md. — A newspaper official here punctured the hate and violence labeling of Muslims by whites by pointing out that the anti-Muslim campaigns are motivated by guilt and fear—because "Muhammad doesn't preach the doctrine of love."

Chester M. Hampton, assistant managaing editor of the Afro-American newspaper, in a front-page feature article, wrote at one point:

"White men in America — all over the world in fact, — have sown a great deal of hatred and resentment. This has given them feelings of guilt and apprehension."

**HE OBSERVED THAT** while the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has been compared with Father Divine " and others of that ilk," the Muslim leader, "unlike the flamboyant leaders of the other unconventional religious sects," does not preach the doctrine of love."

**"And for that reason," Hampton declared, "white people cannot laugh at him — and the colored man whom whites can't laugh at is one dangerous colored man in their eyes."**

Hampton mocked the "Black Merchants of Hate" title on an article in the Jan. 26 issue of the Saturday Evening Post — Composed by "a colored and a white writer" — by asserting flatly:

**"IF THEY HAD** used the word 'victims' instead of 'merchants,' I might have been more confident that they were trying to do something more informative than to merely manufacture another "shocker."

Commenting further on the magazine story — relates an incident where Minister Malcolm X of New York's Mosque No. 7 dispersed a crowd gathered around policemen who had "clubbed a Muslim over the head and took him to jail" — Hampton remarked:

**"HERE THE COPS** blunder themselves into a bad situation; call on New York's top Muslim to help them out of it; then seemed surprised and dissatisfied when he is able to do so.

**"Of course it must have been an awesome thing for the cops to realize there was more discipline in the Muslim movement than there is in the police department."**

Editor Hampton concluded by stating that he is "glad there is an Elijah Muhammad." Among the reasons he enumerated was:

"I am glad there is someone to care about the uncared-about."

He referred to his statement that the Muslims "recruit followers in the lower socio-enconomic groups and in jails."

# Congolese: Negroes My Brothers

**UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.— "I am very interested in the condition of the American Negro. I consider the Negroes of America as my brothers."**

The speaker was Alphonse Lema, second secretary of the Congolese UN Mission — a 30-year-old diplomat who has not allowed protocol to keep him from all segments of New York life and whose friends are common people and businessmen.

Lema, who was born in Leopoldville, is keenly interested in the problems of the Negro in America.

In his many visits to Harlem he has found, he said, the people warm and kind to him. He declared that he found no barriers between himself, an African, and American Negroes.

"They treat me like a brother," he asserted.

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## Racists' Pipe Dream

# A Weak War Cry From A Wan And Weary Crew

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "White Men Unite!"...create a "Wholesome White Folk Community ..." cries the fading white supremist National States' Rights Party, from its dilapadated headquarters here.

In an official platform, NSRP nails down its wishful lily-white plan for the nation, outlines it's racial, economic, social, states' rights and foreign policies at the same time soliciting new members.

Planks from the NSRP platform include:

**RACIAL POLICY** — We believe that only members of our White Folk Community be allowto take part in the affairs of government or serve in the courts.

— We believe that immigration should be restricted to select White individuals.

— We believe in the creation of a wholesome White Folk Community, with a deep spiritual consciousness of a common past and a determination to share a common future.

**ECONOMIC POLICY** — We approve of labor unions, run by honest White men and free of subversive influence.

— We believe that the government should refrain from competing with private enterprise, and from interfering in the hiring policies of private business.

**SOCIAL POLICY** — We demand the complete reorganization of our educational system, so that every individual White citizen is afforded full opportunity to realize his vocational ambitions.

— We demand the creation of a clean and honest White government, which will provide the basis for a sound economy, with full employment and improved living conditions for White citizens of every age.

**STATES' RIGHTS POLICY** — We demand that the federal government stop fostering thought-control, and refrain from violating the traditional social customs of the individual states.

— We demand that the federal government cease interfering with the sovereign rights of the states, as guaranteed by the Constitution.

**FOREIGN POLICY** — We approve the strengthening of cultural and moral ties among all White nations, in view of the world-wide suvival crisis which the White Man Faces.

— We demand that White Christian boys never again be sent to fight and die on foreign soil to appease the interests of an alien minority.

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## Black Taxes, White Taxes

# Segregating The $$$ Money

**VALDOSTA, Ga. — There are black taxes and there are white taxes and never the twain shall meet.**

This, apparently, is the underlying thought behind the most recent move of racist officials here.

**UNDER NEGRO PRESSURE,** "White" and "Colored" signs have been removed from the newly-built service windows. But tax record books still will be kept by race, as the tax commissioner stubbornly says separate tax books are required by law.

Dollar bills are all the same color though Americans who use them to pay taxes are of many different hues.

**THE DOLLAR SPENT** by a Negro on his taxes goes just as far as one spent by a white tax payer but the returns a Negro gets from his tax dollar are much smaller throughout the country.

Negro observers here point out that segregating the tax money as it is collected is a foolish and costly scheme because once the money is collected it is impossible to distinguish between "black tax dollars" and "white tax dollars."

**THEY DO NOT FAIL** to note, however, that though the tax rate imposed on black and white is the same, Negroes are barred from a way of life that their "black tax dollars" support.

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# Sinatra Hits Hypocrisy And Needless Poverty

NEW YORK — Frank Sinatra, one of the great popular vocalists who has often been presented in an unfavorable light by the American press, probably gave newspaper publishers future ammunition to be used against him in the wake of brutally frank interview in the February edition of Playboy magazine.

Sinatra, whose cronies include Sammy Davis, Jr., Dean Martin and Peter Lawford, assailed Christian hypocrisy, hit poverty in a nation whose standard of living leads the world and called for admission of Red China to the United Nations.

**RAPPING** Christian hypocrisy, Sinatra recalled the leering, cursing lynch mob in Little Rock reviling a meek, innocent little 12-year-old Negro girl as she tired to enroll in public school. "Weren't they — or most of them — devout churchgoers?" he asked.

"I detest the two-faced who pretend liberality but are practiced bigots in their own mean little spheres,, Sinatra declared. "...When lip service to some mysterious deity permits bestiality on Wednesday and absolution on Sunday — cash me out."

**ASKED HOW THE** United States can combat Communist expansion into underdeveloped nations other than from massive material aid and guidance, Sinatra said: "Attending rallies sponsored by 110-percent anti-Communist cultists or donning white sheets and riding with the Klan ...isn't the answer. All I know is that a nation with our standard of living, with our Social Security system, TVA, farm parity, health plans and unemployment insurance can afford to address itself to the cancers of starvation, sub-standard housing, educational voids and second-class citizenship that still exist in many backsliding areas of own country. When we've cleaned up these blemishes, then we can go out with a clean conscience to see where else in the world we can help.

"Hunger is inexcusable in a world where grain rots in silos and butter turns rancid while being held for favorable commodity prices."

**THE THIN MAN,** who has made well over $25,000,000 from records, films, night-club appearances and investments, called for the admission of red China, observing that you can't kick "800,000,000 Chinese under the rug and simply pretend that they don't exist."

Queried regarding the prospects for an eventual American rapprochement with Russia, Sinatra replied that he is a singer, not prophet or diplomat. However, he expressed a desire to go to the USSR with Ella Fitgerald and Count Basie, not to sell the American way of life but to "wail up a storm with real American jazz" for the Russian kids.

# Emancipation Calendar

Supreme Life Insurance Company, headquartered in Chicago, one of the leading Negro owned and operated insurance firms in the U. S., has issued a 1963 souvenir calendar in observance of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which freed Negroes from a life of slavery. The calendar is also a part of a national advertising and public relations program tying in the prolamation with the present progress made by Negroes in every phase of American life. — (ANP)

## SCIENCE and MEDICINE

# Dentists Chew Up 'Whites Have Better Teeth' Claim

By JOSEPH WALKER
(Muhammad Speaks Correspondent)

**NEW YORK — A trio of prominent Negro dentists here angrily put the bite on oft quoted reports that the teeth of Negroes are inferior to those of whites.**

**"Emphatically no, this isn't so!" exclaimed one of them — Dr. Julian W. Ande son — who received his DDS from Howard University in 1949 and is currently an instructor in oral surgery at Columbia University, where he did post g aduate work.**

President of the North Harlem Dental Society, Dr. Julian said:

**THERE IS NO** difference from any dental standard in the teeth of Negroes and whites other than the pigment. Teeth of black people are not chalk white but contain color. To say Negro teeth are inferior to whites' is a totally void. And cannot be proved statistically, clincially or any other way.

"Exploitation of Negroes in the United States contributes to bad teeth of many Negroes. The scourge of those who have degenerated teeth is not their racial background, but their economic condition. If these Negroes, especially in the south, were given more opportunities to afford three meals a day, clothing, shelter and decent dental service, their teeth would be better."

**ALSO CHEWING UP** the "whites have better teeth" claim were two other well known Negro dentists.

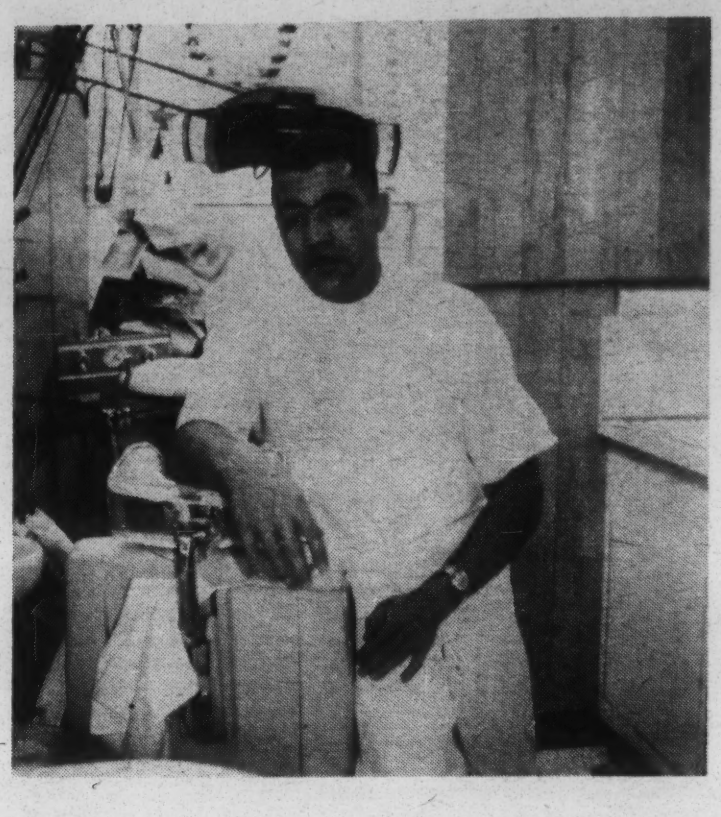
**They told Muhammad Speaks that the e are many indications that Negro teeth are not "inferior" to white teeth, but in reality in many cases are "superior."**

**Both related that in New York city clinics in neighborhoods where they work had encountered countless cases of pove ty-ridden Negroes who possessed exceptionally healthy and strong teeth, even though they were never brushed or cared for - as well as good gums and jaws. Because of their positions with white-controlled agencies, they asked that they not be identified.**

**DR. ANDERSON** observed that there are "regional differences in teeth."

"For instance," he said, "people from Louisiana and Texas generally have good teeth because the water there has natural fluorine. This is why dental authorities want fluoride added to the water supply of cities."

"Diet can affect teeth he pointed out." Eskimo teeth are short and black because they chew blubber (fat from whales) and East Indians have black teeth from chewing beetal nuts. These are not racial differences but usage differences.



**NEGRO TEETH are not inferior to white teeth, says Dr. Julian W. Anderson, 36-year-old instructor in oral surgery at Columbia University. He was backed by two other Negro dentist who said that in many cases the teeth of Negroes are superior to those of whites.**

### *Aleutian Mink Used In Study*

# Link Cancer, Virus Infection

LA JOLLA, Calif. — It may turn out that cancer and kidney disease - two of the great killers - are end products of simple virus infections that smolder for years before entering their final destructive stage.

Basis for these startling observations is a study involving the valuable Aleutian mink now underway here at the Scripps Clinic and Ressearch Foundation.

**DR. FRANK J. DIXON,** head of the division of experimental pathology at Scripps, told a March of Dimes and Atomic Energy Commission meeting that the Aleutian mink, a nobleman of the animal kingdom, is an ideal subject for studying progressive stages of infections.

He asserted also that hereditary factors apparently control the effectiveness of man's immunity defense system against both cancer and kidney disease.

**Several years ago it was discovered that mink suffered a kidney disease which was traced to a virus. Dr. Dixon later learned that the virus infects cells called lymphoid plasma cells, which manufacture antibodies to fight infections.**

Though the infection causes lymphoid cells to produce a tremendous amount of antibody, the antibody is not effective against the virus.

**AS THE INFECTION** smolders the antibodies combine with a protein in the animal's blood. Millions of these combinations slowly deposit in the kidney. The result is a kidney disease called glomerulonephritis.

Dr. Dixon brought several dozen sick animals to Scripps for observation. A strange thing is happening. One animal is developing leukemia.

**Only the Aleutian mink gets the kidney disease. This indicates a hereditary factor is required.**

Dr. Dixon and Dr. Robert A. Goode of the University of Minnesota believe a similar chain of events happen to man.

# Hog, Horse Hair Used To Cure Brain Malady

**Hog and horse hair can be used to cure a brain disease that cause as many as 100,000 new stroke cases each year in the United States.**

The coarse hairs, each about a quarter-inch long, are shot into the diseased portion of cerebral arteries by a specially designed, pencil-shaped air gun, said Dr. John P. Gallagher, developer of the new procedure, in his description of the process in the American Medical Association Journal.

**DR. GALLAGHER** explained that the hairs are shot into aneurysms of the brain - blister like sacs that form in the wall of the arteries.

He estimated that aneurysms cause as many as 100,000 of the 500,000 to 600,000 new stroke cases each year in America. Dr. Gallagher is neurosurgeon at Washington's Georgetown University hospital and Providence hospital.

In developing his procedure, Dr. Gallagher theorized that short, stiff animal hairs, if injected directly into the bulging aneurysm on the artery, would cause clotting of the aneurysm.

**THE HAIRS** have scales that serve as a nucleus around which natural clotting agents in the blood could form.

If the aneurysm could become clotted, he reasoned, other cells in the blood, called fibroblasts, would turn the clots into scar-like tissue and eventually shrink the artery to normal size.

**THE SURGEON** put his theory into practice last June and the results were dramatic, he said. The surgery was used on 15 patients. One patient died from causes not related to the new procedure, and the other 14 are alive and well, he said.

In one case, the arterial swelling disappeared 20-minutes after injection of six shafts of horse hair, each about a quarter-inch long. The patient, a 34-year-old service station manager, left the hospital ten days later completely recovered.

### *Bright New Trend In Medicine*

# Skill Of Rejoining Limbs May Be Heart Surgery Boon

**BOSTON — "Reimplantation," the important new medical trend of rejoining severed limbs, may pay many other medical dividends as well.**

Other operations such as heart surgery, will benefit from skills developed in joining small arteries and veins, informed sources said last week.

**The reimplants will lay the groundwork for future operations to transplant limbs from one person to another. Limbs conceivbly could be willed to human parts banks doctors say. However, such transplant sugery awaits answers too intense research, now under way, into why human body almost always rejects tissue from another person.**

**NO ONE** knows precisely how many persons lose limbs in accidents, though a pioneer study at the National Academy of Sciences indicates that 7,500 Americans a year are fitted with artificial arms or legs. Most of these amputees have diseased limbs that are surgically removed but about one-third are accident victims who could be candidates for reimplant surgery.

When an ambulance rushed 37-year-old William Hunt to Peter Ben Brigham hospital here recently, his leg was nearly severed, the result of an automobile accident.

**Until recently surgeons would have amputated the leg. But an operating team of 30, including seven surgeons, nailed the broken leg bone together, rejoined veins and arteries and restored vital blood flow in a six-hour operation. Hunt is now able to move his toes and his leg seems well on the way to functioning normally again.**

**ALREADY AT LEAST** a dozen such cases have been reported, including eight in which arms, legs, hands or feet were totally cut off.

**In three of these cases reimplantation apparently has been successful, but surgeons still are waiting to learn whether operations to rejoin nerve ends will bring back normal limb functioning. Although the five other cases were failures, doctors consider any success at all a major break through.**

In September, a paper-cutting machine in Chicago amputated a 41-year-old Negro worker's hand just above the wrist. Surgeons at Presbyterian-St. Luke's hospital peering through an operating microscope at the tiny blood vessels, rejoined the hand.

**A 17-YEAR-OLD** California girl on a Canadian vacation in July fell from a parachute ride in a carnival. A guy wire broke her fall but broke off her arm. Surgeons rejoined the arm and when the girl returned home in November she was apparently doing well. But later doctors detected a bone infection and were forced to reamputate.

**In the case of the Chicago amputee, physicians said, "we don't think the hand ever will be entirely normal but the patient should be able eventually, to feed and clothe himself, pick up objects and be employable."**

In these cases, of course, patients can be fitted with artificial limbs. But despite considerable advances in these devices, doctors say they are never a good substitute for the original limbs.

**MUCH OF THE** researchs centered on new ways to join blood vessels. The usual technique of sewing them together with silk or other sutures is difficult and time consuming.

A new joining stapler, developed in Russia and refined in this country, is now going into commercial production.

New types of fast-setting plastic glues which do not irritate human tissue may also speed up blood vessel surgery. Researchers use such a glue to strengthen seals formed with staples.

**MEDICAL FAMILY WILLIAMS — One of the most outstanding medical families in America gathered at the installation banquet of the Cook County (Illinois) Physicians' Association last week in Chicago as one brother succeeded another brother as president of CCPA. Dr. Jasper F. Williams was succeeded by his brother, Dr. James B. Williams. Another brother, Dr. Charles L. Williams, was installed as assistant secretary. In photo (from left to right) are: Dr. and Mrs. Jasper Williams, Dr. and Mrs. James Williams, Mrs. and Dr. Charles L. Williams and Mrs. Clara B. Williams, mother of the brother-physicians. In front are Brenda and James B. III, the daughter and son of the new CCPA president and his wife.**

## Negro MD's Protest

# Doctors Rap 'Legal Kidnap' Of Welfare Children

**Negro doctors strongly denounced the proposal by the minister-president of the Chicago Branch NAACP that the authorities should wrest illegitimate children from their unfortunate welfare-receiving mothers, and urged the Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel to publicly retract the brutal plan.**

The stand of the medical men, members of the Cook County (Illinois) Physician's Association, was revealed at the CCPA's installation banquet last week in Chicago's Morrison Hotel by the outgoing president, Dr. Jasper F. Williams.

Rev. Daniel

In his progress report, he told the 52-year-old medical organization that "we have opposed (the) proposed legislation for (the) legal kidnap of illegitimate children, and we have asked Rev. Daniel to retract the proposal.

"We will do all we can," he added, "to help defeat it."

Reverend Daniel, pastor of Antioch Missionary Baptist Church here, could not be reached for comment.

The pastor made his statements and even stirred up a storm even before he was officially installed on January 1 as head of the local NAACP.

Dr. Jasper Williams, who was succeeded to the presidency by his brother, Dr. James B. Williams, also emphasized the disturbing report that the medical schools of the nation are continuing to lose out in attracting students — applications to medical schools were reported on the decline for the fifth straight year — and "this means that most of the doctors are not being replaced."

The CCPA moved from one progressive reign to another when Dr. James was installed as sucessor to his brother, Dr. Jasper. And, perhaps "waiting in the wings" is onother brother, Dr. Charles L. Williams, who was installed as assistant secretary.

Other physicians installed during the affair were Dr. Robert Schoop, vice president; Dr. James Jones, secretary, and Dr. T. C. Henderson, treasurer. Dr. T. Manuel Smith conducted the installation rites.

**PRINCIPAL SPEAKER** was Judge James D. Crosson of Chicago's Superior Court. Other program participants included Dr. James M. Allison, Jr., chairman, executive Committee, who made the presentation of awards to Dr. William P. Quinn and Mrs. Anne Schoop; Dr. E. K. McDonald, master of ceremonies; Rev. Morris H. Tynes, invocation, and Betty Jackson King Artists' Group, music.

# Oust Chicago's NAACP Boss, Says Ohio Group

**CINCINNATI, Ohio — Chicago Negroes should repudiate the "leadership" of a minister who, as newly elected president of the Chicago NAACP, declared that poor Negroes on relief should have their children taken away from them.**

That is the swift decision of a group of Negroes here and in Dayton.

They had read in Muhammad Speaks that Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel, Sr., Negro pastor of Antioch Missionary Baptist church and NAACP president-elect, urged that poor Negroes should have their children taken from them and that the parents should be cast adrift without help.

**IN JOINT SESSION,** the Dayton and Cincinnati divisions of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (U.N.I.A.) "condemned with all the vigor at their command the statement of Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel, Sr., of Chicago, who advocated the breakup of these families on relief."

The divisions, meeting at the Cincinnati Liberty Hall here, "called upon all free men and Christians to repudiate the leadership of such a character."

Speakers at the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial program included Raymond Kelly, president of the Dayton division, Mrs. Hattie Jennings, and Rev. W. E. Sanders, president of the Cincinnati division.

# Cry Of Unborn Lost On Modern Society?

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The present controversy raging around so-called illegitimate children of mothers on public aid, recalls the famous words of the American Judge and reformer, Ben B. Lindsey, who said:

..**"Motherhood is so honorable a thing that nothing — no convention — can possibly make it dishonorable; and from the standpoint of the right of the child, the unborn — the unmarried mother should be granted by society the same reverence and regard as the married mother.**

"I am for children first, because I am for society first, and the children of today are the society of tomorrow. I insist, therefore, on the right of the child to be born, and that there be no "illegitimate" children.

**"I DEMAND** for the unmarried mother, as a sacred channel of life, the same reverence and respect as for the married mother; for Maternity is a cosmic thing, and once it come to pass our conventions must not be permitted to blaspheme it."

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# Chinese Scholar Warns 1st African Congress Of Trick Used By Freedom's Enemies

## Atlanta Dean Elected to ICA Permanent Body

**ACCRA, Ghana — "The African gaint who has already stood on his own two feet is invincible and his future is bright and boundless," a Chinese scholar told the First International Congress of Africanists here.**

**But Professor Liu Si-mu of the Academy of Sciences of China warned that imperialism is playing the trick in some African countries of "granting independence with one hand and taking it back with the other."**

**PROFESSOR LIU** told representatives from 42 countries that China, whose own history is studded with years of bloody existence under the oppressor's iron heel, is standing shoulder to shoulder with the African peoples on a common front.

He said, "The awakening of Africa and the national liberation movements of the African peoples are an important part of the struggle of the people of the whole world for an enduring peace and the progress of humanity."

Liu noted that in order to hold back the tide revolution in Africa, cling to the last front of colonial exploitation and pave the way for neo-colonialism, every colonial power - old or new—is using double-faced tactics of brutal supression and political swindle to check the national liberation movements in Africa.

**"EVEN IN THE COUNTRIES** which have already won independence," he said, "imperialism has not slackened its effort to carry out aggression. Under the impact of the surging tide of African national liberation movements, the citadels of old colonialism are collasping one after the other. But imperialism is making every effort to retain its colonial rule in a new form.

**"It is still controlling the national economy of many African countries and exploiting their peoples in the same old manner. Not a few African countries have been compelled to sign binding political treaties and allow imperialism to station troops and establish military bases on their territories. They thus remain under the political domination of imperalism."**

Pointing out that Africa has a long history and a splendid culture, the Chinese scholar said that it is not difficult to see that the economic and cultural disintegration of Africa was entirely due to the prolonged exploitation and enslavement by colonialism and imperialism.

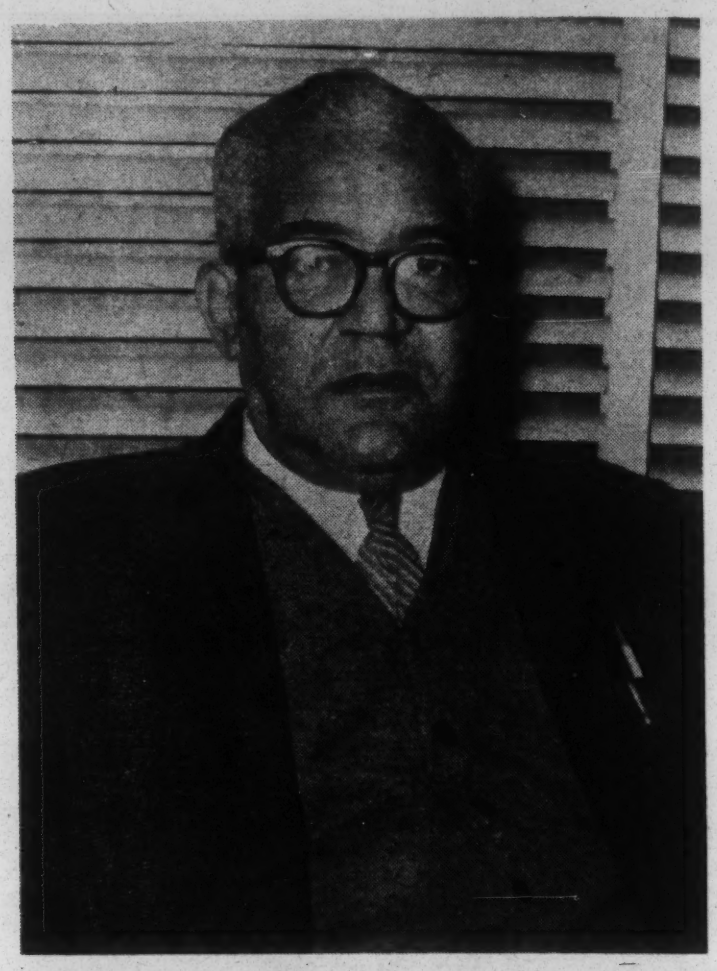
**HE TRACED THE INVASION** of Africa by Western colonialists since the 15th Century, asserting that their "prolonged and ruthless plundering and enslavement" destroyed African culture and economy and caused great suffering among the Africans, "including a widespread hunger and poverty and death on a mass scale."

**He cited Egypt, and the Kush Empire and the Axum Kingdom, south of Egypt, as centers of ancient civilization and culture and said that in subsequent times the kingdoms of Ghana and Mali and the Songhay Empire in West Africa were all prosperous and powerful countries.**

"Central and South Africa also witnessed the rise of several kingdoms, including Monomotapa, Congo and Buganda. And to this day," he continued, " the rock paintings of Tassili Mountains, the terra cotta figures of Nok, the bronze sculpture of Benin, the magnificent royal palaces and mosques at Timbuktu and the lofty granite towers of Zimbabwe all bear eloquent testimony to the outstanding cultures of Africa south of the Sahara."

**DR. HORACE MANN BOND,** dean of education at Atlanta University in Georgia, who attended the meeting as an observer, was elected a member of the permanent council of the International Congress of Africanists.

Presiding officer was Kenneth Dike, principal of the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria. New President of ICA is M. Alioune Diop, editor of Presence Africaine. The next meeting will be held in Senegal. in 1965.



**DR. HORACE MANN BOND, dean of education at Atlanta University in Georgia. Dr. Bond attended the recent eight-day first International Congress of Africanists in Accra, Ghana, and was elected to the Permanent Council of the ICA. The sessions were held at the University of Ghana, Commonwealth Hall. Forty-two countries were represented, including Russia and the Chinese People's Republic.**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## Still "Hidden" Persuasion

# Can Motivational Research Wipe Out Race Hate?

*Billions of dollars are spent each year by leading American business for scientific techniques which influence the public to buy their products. Contemplating the results of motivational research — called the science of persuasion — Muhammad Speaks posed the theory that such a science could be used by the government to alter American thinking and rid the country of race prejudice.*

**IF A WIDELY USED Scientific process can unmask man's inner motivations and help to alter the pattern of human desires, why can't such a process be used by the United States government to wipe out prejudice in America?**

**"It can," says Dr. Ernest Dichter, president and founder of the Institute of Motivational Research, which has uncovered the hidden wants of millions of consumers, thus guiding manufacturers and advertisers to tremendous monetary returns.**

"The same principals that apply to selling or having any other ideas or concepts accepted could be applied by the government in getting people to accept the rights of Negro citizens," declared Dr. Dichter during an interview with Muhammad Speaks.

**POINTING OUT THAT** the government fails to take into consideration the emotional attitude of the people and thus fails to get its program across, Dr. Dichter said he believed that motivational research "could definitely be used as tool in creating a better America."

**The Institute of Motivational Research, which has branches in 15 countries, is headquartered in a castle-like mansion overlooking the Hudson River Valley in New York. It has been used extensively in the United States and in many foreign countries.**

**Top business firms have engaged the organization to find — through its psychological techniques — the explanation of human behavior and motivation as a guide to better present their commodities in the highly competitive consumer market. Many have achieved happy results.**

Dr. Ernest Dichter

**DR. DICTHER IS "FATHER"** of motivational research and a member of numerous professional societies, such as the American Psychological Association. He arrived in the United States in 1938 with a Ph.D from the University of Vienna and the idea that psychological techniques could be applied to social organization and to consumer buying.

Today, his institute of trained psychologists and 3,000 interviewers has conducted more than 1500 investigations throughout the world in such projects as voting habits, the donation of blood, the public "image" of young nations and consumer habits in many products.

**SAYS DR. DICHTER:**

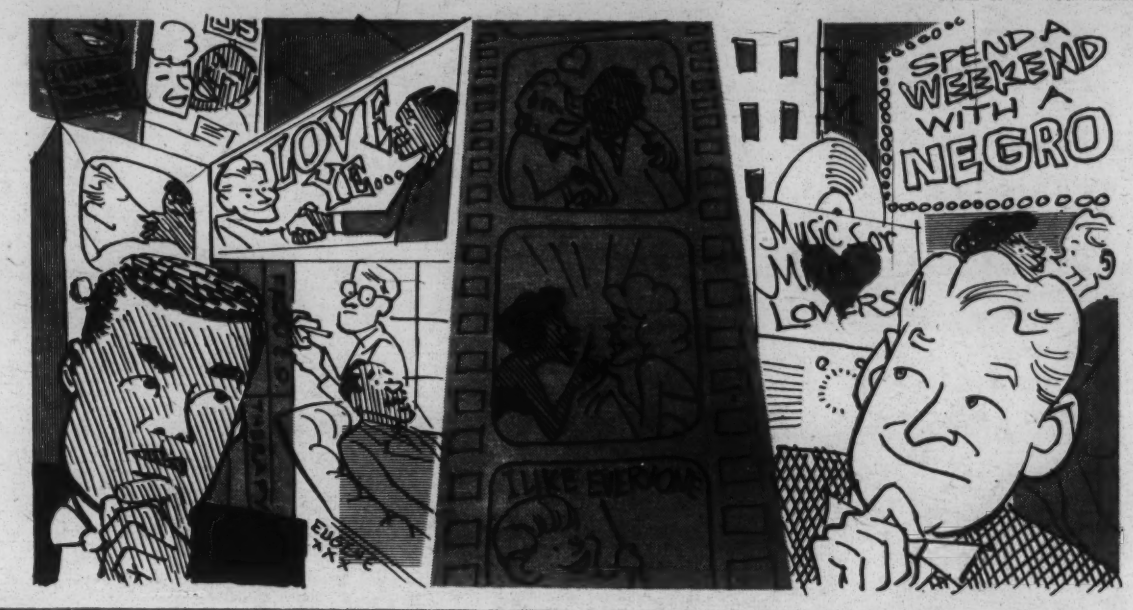
**"The science of Motivational research is used extensively in commercial selling and has been used for the past 25 years.**

"We've also done some work with the Mayor's Committee on Rights, in New York, on patterns of prejudice, and I serve with the President's Information Service as a consultant."

The scientist would say only that there was a "possibility" that motivational research could have helped in the James Meredith case at the University of Mississippi.

**"AT ANY RATE,** this is a slow process," he explained, "one that involves finding out what motivates people and what emotional reactions they have to certain things.

**"This information must then be analyzed by letting tolerant and intolerant people talk at great length to find areas where they might be persuaded, by means of using modern methods of propaganda and advertising techniques."**




# Negroes Step Up Struggle For More, Better Jobs In Atlanta

**ATLANTA — As "Operation Breadbasket" got underway here a group of white racists threatened that there will be "fewer jobs for Negroes."**

The "Operation," lead by Negro ministers, is a boycott (selective patronage, they call it) of white merchants who refuse to hire Negro help on a basis of equality.

Here in this deep South City the "Operation" is being directed against Highland Bakeries, traditionally a stronghold for "white supremancy" hiring policies, although its bread is sold throughout Negro neighborhoods.

**MORE THAN** 400 ministers have already urged their congregations not to buy Highland Bakeries products until the requests for upgrading Negroes were met. So far all demands have been rejected by the company.

**THE STRUCTURE** of "Operation Breadbasket," like that of the Philadelphia campaign, is completely informal. The selection of industries and companies within industries and how and when they should be approached is done by a priorities commitee. The priorities committee has no chairman, and the membership constantly shifts.

**In recent weeks Negro clergymen throughout the country have begun similar selective buying programs. In addition to Atlanta and Philadelphia, selective buying campaigns have been reported in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Wilmington, Del.**

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has indicated the possibility of a nation-wide conference of Negro propects of coordinating all future selective patronage campaigns.

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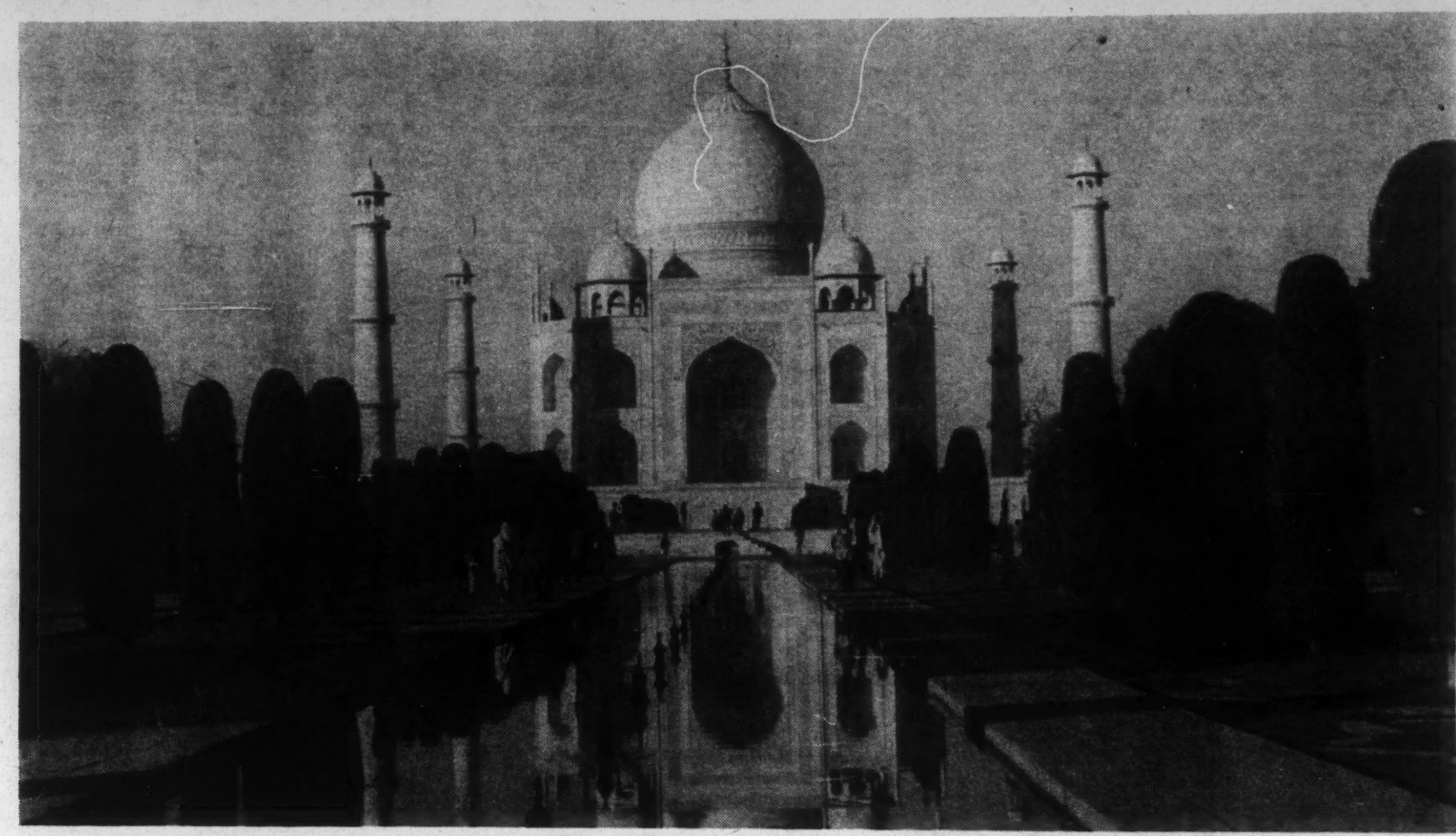
# Taj Mahal - A Labor Of Love



## Timeless Gem Symbol Of Hope To India's Masses

By HERBERT MUHAMMAD
(Muhammad Speaks Correspondent)

**AGRA, India — Though the ominous threat of war was hanging heavily over the whole of India, it was difficult to remember this chilling fact after I arrived in Agra and stood before the vast, breath-taking beauty of the wo·ld's most remarkable monument to connubial love — the Taj Mahal.**

The majestic Taj Mahal, often called — and justifiably so — "a dream in marble," was built on orders from the Shah Jahan as a shrine for the earthly remains of his beloved and lovely wife, Mumtaz Mahal.

Built in 22 years by an estimated 20,000 workmen, the mausoleum was named for one of the Empress' titles Taj Mahal, meaning "Crown of the Palace."

**THIS DOOMED,** square is constructed of pure white marble. It rises from a terraced garden overlooking the Jamuna River.

Then central dome, 210 feet high with an internal diameter of 58 feet, is surrounded by four smaller domes. Standing like majestic sentinels at the four corners of the terrace, are four minarets.

The Emperor and his wife lie side by side in centographas six inches apart beneath the central dome, with light filterring through a double screen of marble. The inside walls bear exquisite designs inlaid with semi-precious stones. The Cenotaphs are works of magnificent carved art, profusely inlaid with gems in flowered patterns.

**THE MANY - SPLENDORED** beauty of the 186-foot square Taj Mahal is attributed inpart to its varying colors and the serene surroundings. Encompassing the terrace is a red sandstone wall.

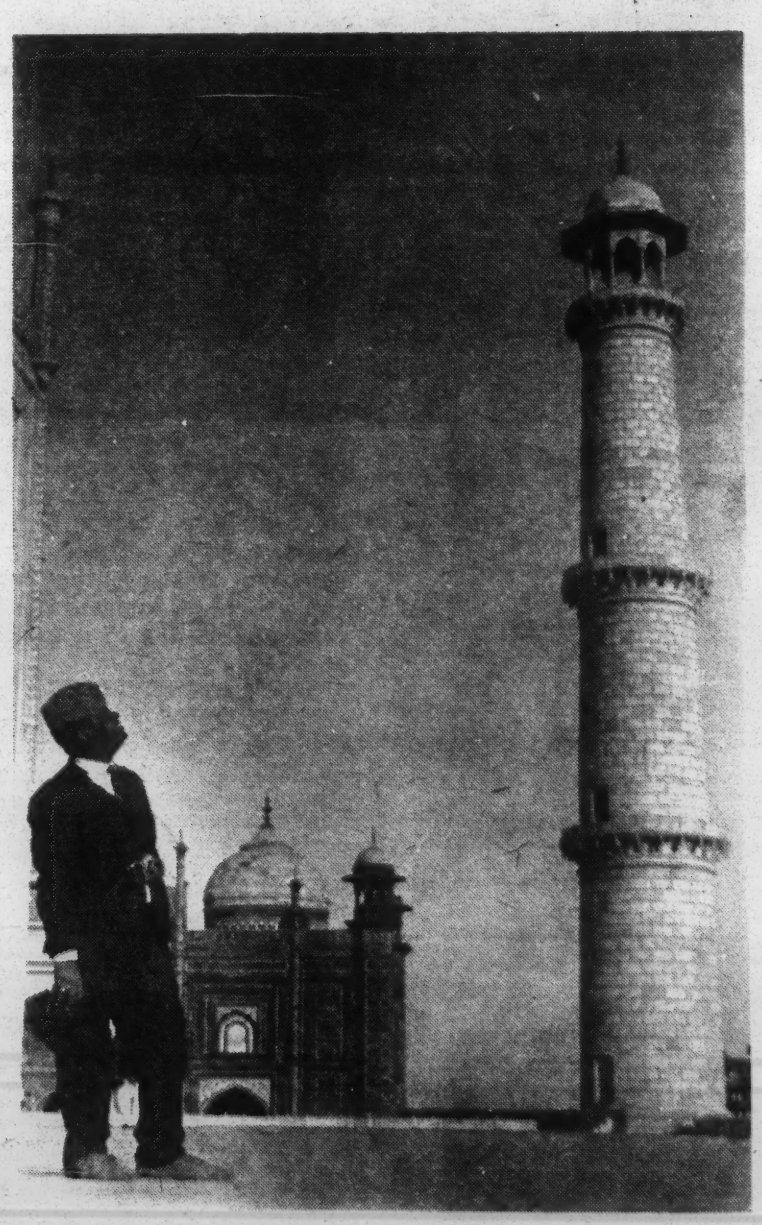
An anonymous writer once said of the Taj Mahal:

**"Masked by a lovely garden and consecrated by the clam of the surrounding scene, the Taj on a moonlit night creates the illusion of a dream in stone."**

No diamond could have a more contradictory setting than this magnificant building, for India, while moving mightily to raise the living standards of its people, still bear the unmitigated marks of colonialism.

Yet, I found the confidence and hopefulness of the Indian people inspiring. There is hardly a single one of its millions who do not staunchly believe that India will someday construct a society which will be as rich and as beautiful as their poetic Taj Mahal.

**CORRESPONDENT MUHAMMAD and his turbaned Indian guide rest after completing a tour of Taj Mahal. Indians believe that India, the second largest nation in the world will someday build a society just as rich and as beautiful as their Taj Mahal.**



**A MINARET in the majestic Taj Mahal captures the attention of Muhammad Speaks Correspondent Herbert Muhammad. He is wearing special socks as visitors are not permitted to wear shoes at the world's most beautiful shrine. Four of these minarets stand like sentinels at the four corners of the terrace.**

**AFRICAN STUDENT Chimere Ikoku, President of the Pan-African Students' Association says African nations, in gaining independence, are just regaining what they formerly had and that the feeling that** Africans and Afro-Americans don't get along is just a myth. Here **Ikoku and his wife scan through one of West Africa's newspapers.**

## *Africans View America No. 1*

# Says Africans Must Teach A Thing Or Two To Whites

## *They're Tops At Science But Need Improvement Morally, Spiritually*

Africans have white Americans and Europeans outstripped in three areas:

"Morally, culturally and spiritually, the white man has nothing to teach us," asserts Chimere Ikoku of Nigeria, National President of the Pan African Students Association of the Americas, the largest grouping of foreign students in the western Hemisphere.

**"IN INDUSTRY** and science we have much to learn and are learning fast," Ikoku believes, "but morally.. " he shakes his head emphatically.

Ikoku, a chemistry major at the University of Chicago does not regard the nations of Africa as "new nations." He points out that they are actually not "new," but simply "regaining what they formely had."

**THIS HAS NOT** prevented him, however, from tearing apart studies made by his own University and statements in national magazines promugating the peculiar proposition that there is a fundamental incompability between American Negroes and Africans who share mutual distrusts and ill will.

"This allegation about Africans and Afro-Americans 'not getting along' just isn't so," says the young African leader who has lived among Negroes in America for four years. "It is only used by people who do not know history. There are many Afro-Americans on the continent now, making useful contributions to the rebuilding of Africa."

**"THESE STUDIES** are not scientific and I certainly wish our rebuttals to these articles had received as much publicity as the so-called studies," he said.

"I wish it known that we who are supposed to have been the object of the study reject and deny that they are scientific in any way."

"The obvious ties between the African and their descendents in America are being drawn tighter as the African nations increase their strength and more firmly established their independence," Ikoku says.

**IKOKU LITTERLY** noted that the theme of one of the articles was "marriages between Africans and Negroes seldom work!" "Can you imagine anyone using as a basis for a scientific study the longevity of marriages?" he asked.

"The divorce rate in this country is 64 percent, which means that 2 of every 3 marriages either end in divorce or separation. Why, it is highly immoral to use such a thing as a basis for such serious statements."

He explained the African view on marriage as "not just a union between two individuals but rather the uniting of two families. Africans, he said, honor their elderly people and a person would be considered insane for trying to put parents away in a home of some kind."

Ikoku, who received his primary and secondary education at Aggrey Memorial School in Arochuku and Lagos Grammar School, Lagos, said that Moise Tshombe of Katanga is guilty of three crimes.

**THE FIRST CRIME,** he said was "illegal secession," such as happened in the United States' when the South pulled out and went to war with the north.

"The Constitution of the Congo expressly forbade any such action," Ikoku pointed out.

"Secondly, treason — for allowing foreign mercenaries to establish headquarters in the Congo to fight the legally constituted government. I might also add that Patrice Lumumba died in Katanga and I believe in all fairness that Tshombe should not be absolved of blame in his death until it has been properly investigated.

**"THIRDLY, TSHOMBE,** in collusion with foreign cartels, sought to paralyze the economy of the Congo by printing his own currency and establishing bank illegally and with the aid of foreign cartels from France, Belgium and England."

The young student said there are about 5,000 African students in America now and more will be coming but that this will soon taper off.

"With the ambitious plans now formulating in Africa," he said, "our students will soon come to America only for undergraduate work."

**"AFRICANS ALWAYS RETURN HOME,"** Ikoku says.

# *Africa's True History To Be Written For First Time*

## Ground Work Laid For Encyclopedia Africana

ACCRA, Ghana — "Encyclopedia Africana" must be unashamedly Afrocentric but not indifferent to the impact of the outside world upon Africa, or to the impact of Africa upon the outside world."

**THE FAMOUS historian and educator, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois with his wife, the former Shirley Graham, shown here in Ghana where he heads up work on the forthcoming African Encyclopedia.**

**It should not confine itself to "Black Africa" — that portion of the continent South of the Sahara Desert — but should concern itself with the whole of the African continent.**

And it should not include African "diaspora," the dispersion of Africans in other countries, for example, the Afro-American peoples, except in certain historical aspects.

**SO CONCLUDED** the Secretariat for the Encyclopedia Africana after week-long conferences had reviewed and discussed prelimary draft plans for the scope, size, method of organization of material and other matters relating to the preparation of the projected volumns, which will give a comprehensive report of African history.

The Secretariat, which met after the close of the First International Congress of Africanists, thus rejected two previous suggestions concerning the scope of the encyclopedia:

1. **That the scope of Encyclopedia Africana would be limited to Africa South of the Sahara, to "Black Africa," thus excluding the whole of the Arab-speaking Africa.**
2. **That the scope should be broadened to include not only the whole of the African continent, but also the diaspora, so covering, for example, the Afro-American peoples.**

**THE SECRETARIAT** rejected the first position — that the Encyclopedia be confined in scope to Africa South of the Sahara — with little hesitation.

"Historical, ethnological, lingustic and economic ties firmly link together North Africa and 'Africa South.' There were well used trade routes across the desert in the first millennium B. C., and rock paintings of the horse-drawn chariots survive" they pointed out.

**"Such highly developed kingdoms as that of ancient Ghana spanned the world of the desert and that of the grasslands: in its northern regions the people were fair-skinned Sanhaja, in its southern, dark-skinned Soninke.**

"We think, in other words, that the concept of Africa South of the Sahara is one that tends to mislead, and that the scope of the Encyclopedia Africana should not be defined by reference to it.

**"THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE,** of including the whole African continent together with the African disapora in the Americas and elsewhere apears a much more attractive possibility.

"In rejecting it, we are governed more by practical considerations — of keeping the Encyclopedia Africana within manageable proportions — than by theoretical factors.

**"Nevertheless, there is a sense in which much of the history of, for example, the Negroes in the U. S. A. belongs to the American and not to the African past: their contribution was primarily to the development and growth of America.**

**"ON THE OTHER HAND** many aspects of their history and culture could scarcely be ignored in an Encyclopedia Africana — for example, Yoruba religious survivals in Brazil; Twi lingustic survivals in Jamaica; or, in the sphere of politics, Garveyism. Such topics clearly qualify for inclusion," they concluded.

# Prayer Service In Islam

**From the book "Religion of Islam." A comprehensive discussion of the sources, principles and practices of Islam.**

**— By Maulana Muhammad Ali**

**"O ALLAH! WE BESEECH THEE** for help, and seek Thy protection and believe in Thee and rely on Thee and extol Thee and are thankful to Thee and are not ungrateful to Thee and we declare ourselves clear of, and forsake, him who disobeys Thee.

"O Allah! Thee do we serve and for Thee do we pray and prostrate ourselves and to Thee do we betake ourselves and to obey. Thee we are quick, and Thy mercy do we hope for, and Thy punishment do we fear, for Thy punishment overtakes the unbelievers."

"I seek the protection of Allah, my Lord, from every fault and turn to Him.

"O Allah! Thou art the Author of peace, and from Thee comes peace. Blessed art Thou, O Lord of Glory and Honor.

**"Nothing deserves to be worshipped except Allah. He is One and has no associate; His is the kingdom and for Him is praise, and He has power over all things. O Allah! There is none who can withhold what Thou grantest, and there is none who can give what Thou withholdest, and greatness does not benefit any possessor of greatness as against Thee."**

# Thant Hides Killer Hunt, Under UN Rug

**UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (HNS) — The murder in 1961 of Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the Congo, was swept abruptly under the rug by United Nations Secretary General U. Thant.**

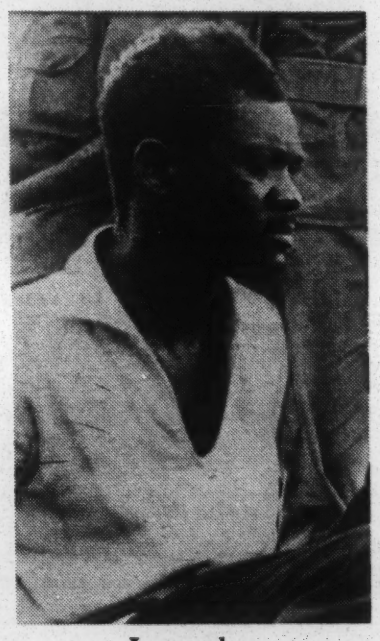
In a press conference here last week, Thant killed the investigation by declaring he has "no authority...to take any action regarding the case."

He had been instructed under the Security Council resolution of Feb. 20, 1961, to find and bring to justice the murderers of Lumumba.

**IN RESPONSE** to a question concerning the correspondence between himself and Ghana President Kwame Nkrumah — after covering the matter of the Security Council resolution, the appointment of a commission to "ascertain the circumstances" of the death of Mr. Lumumba, the failure of the commission to get authority from President Kasavubu and President Tshombe of the Katanga Province to enter the Congo and Katanga, respectively, to make their investigation, and the failure of the Security Council and the General Assembly to act on the commission report — Thant concluded by saying, "so I have authority, either under the Security Council of the General Assembly, to take any action regarding the case."

**IN THIS WAY** the UN is supposed to wipe its hands of the Lumumba murder.

Strong resentment is expressed here among African representatives here and informed observers to the Secretary-General's effort, as they call it, "to sweep under the rug" the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba.



Lumumba

Further, they point out that the Security Council resolution directing his acting still stands, and they say "he cannot nonchalantly ignore it."

They say he has taken no steps to have the resolution rescinded — and, until he does, it remains binding on him.

# Rush Bibles To Close Widening Africa Gap

**NEW YORK — Christianity is running a poor third in Africa, but an American organization is increasing its flow to the religious frontier on the Continent in a last-ditch campaign to close the "spiritual gap."**

The American Bible Society recently elected Paul A. Hopkins secretary for Africa. Apparently his instructions were to leave no Scripture unturned in keeping Christianity from falling out altogether in the race for Africa's soul.

It was recently revealed that Christianity was puffing along as a winded third, led by two non-Christian religions, Animism, first, and, in second and still moving up fast, Islam.

**THE ELECTION** of Hopkins, executive secretary of the Evangelical Foundation, Inc., of Philadelphia for 14 years, was preceded by the announcement that the society had expanded its work in the distribution of Scriptures into 25 additional African countries, for a total of 36.

During 1961, the last full year for which figures are available, the ABS distributed 384,312 Bibles in Africa.

The society noted that at least one book of the Bible has been translated into 401 African languages.

At last count, Christianity in Africa had 35,000,000 followers. Animism, a traditional African religion that is not a white import, has 116,000,000 adherents, with Islam, another religion free of the stigma of white importation, racked up 89,000,000 believers.

*"Sure, We're Brothers, kid . . . don't let anybody tell you different!"*

## Letters To The Editor

# A Drum Student's View Of Max Roach Article

I am a subscriber to the Muhammad Speaks Newspaper, and would like to take this opportunity to commend the writer's on the wonderful job they are doing.

I find the articles in this paper most educational and stimulating. I would like also to comment on the article written by Max Roach. I am a drum student and very familiar with controversial theme. (White Rape Of Jazz) It has long been the favorite subject among jazzmen.

It seems as though is was only yesterday that whites condemed this music called it the music of the Negro trash, the music of colored folk's.

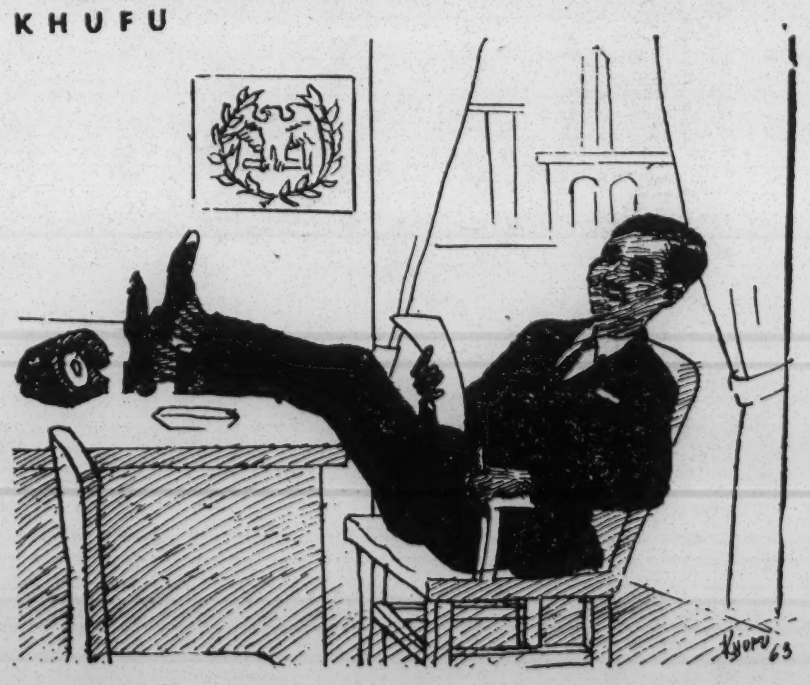
Today the white musician claims to be the creator's and the best exponent of the music they once condemmed. He teaches at all the schools of music books we are taught from, he is an alleged authority on Jazz.

I am not so bigoted or naive to realize that white musicians have made worthwhile contributions to music, but to state that he is the creator and best exponent of jazz is absured.

I personally believe that jazz in its true form is efficacious only when played by black jazzmen.

Jazz in its true form is a musical expression of and by blacks that has had the most inhuman injustice done them than any people in the world.

Billy Kendal
Brooklyn, N.Y.




**"KENNEDY SAID we'd be ready for the Presidency in 40 years, but I can't wait."** —From Correspondence

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

# A Greater Destiny

(Continued from Page 1)

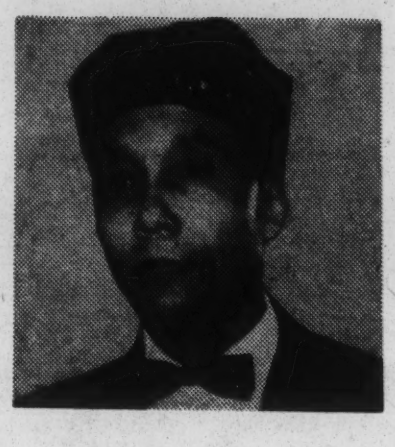
that is too near for comfort.

**The poor, Lost-found** black people here in North America must be told the truth of their slave masters and their evil, hateful and murderous children in the south as well as in any part of the United States of America. No justice for us under the American flag — 400 years is proof enough. Any so-called Negro who thinks so is indeed a fool.

You must know that you are dealing with a race of devils—created to be the enemies of God and all black, brown, yellow and red people. They are determined to deceive you to not believe the truth of them as Allah has revealed it to me; namely, tempting you, and especially our women to practice and do evil and indecency.

**As the Bible and Holy Qur-an** warns you and me, they will do these things in their last days. They have no shame; they present to you on their television every act of indecency; they show the world they are a people of filth and evil. Their filthy songs of love making is done only to catch the so-called Negroes and other members of the black nation to take you with them to their doom.

**You must know** the truth of them. They are not the people of Allah (the God of righteousness) as it is written in the Bible: John 8:44; and Holy Qur-an 7:12; 18. At this present time, most of the people think that their creation is the same as ours (the black Nation) . . But this is not so, they were created, by nature, evil and with a determined idea to destroy the darker people by deceit.



MR. MUHAMMAD

But now that Allah (God) has made them manifest, they are angry. Their desire is the same today as it was when Allah separated them 6,000 years ago after upsetting the peace of the righteous — as they have and are doing today. But this time will be for good, in a lake of fire!

**The Catholic churches,** with the help of its Father in Rome, intend to deceive the so-called Negroes. I will ever be with you with the Truth to warn you of their plans as Allah reveals them to me. Come down off the cross and lay hold to the crescent of Islam.

The battle over the so-called Negroes is now on between Allah and the devils.

HURRY AND JOIN ONTO YOUR OWN KIND! THE TIME OF THIS WORLD IS AT HAND! WRITE TO:

**Muhammad's Mosque No. 2**
**5335 South Greenwood Ave.**
**Chicago 15, Illinois**
**Elijah Muhammad,**
**Messenger of Allah**

# Poetry Corner

## BRAVE FATHERS

*Brave fathers before us, who toiled in the earth,*
*Unkown to our history and our noble birth.*
*Brave fathers before us your deeds were not in vain*
*We seek our freedom in dignity we have no need of shame.*
*Brave fathers before us, who toiled in the sun*
*We allow not time for dispair there is a battle that must be won.*
*Brave fathers before us, you left your native shore*
*To build a hostile wilderness — and return home no more.*

## DETERMINATION

*The sun is covered by a cloud of gray, and my every venture seems less than defeat.*
*But am I to say success has passed me by? Am I to relinquish my aims and like a baby cry? No!*
*I heed them not who say that I am through.*
*I nurish the dream that says go on I know what you can do.*

**—By Victoria James**

# Open House For Harlem Youth Unit

NEW YORK — The inaugural Open House of Harlem Youth Unlimited will be held February 21, 5 p.m., at Small's Paradise.

Harlem Youth Unlimited, an organization of civic - minded young people who are interested in helping themselves and the youth of the community, is the "youth associate" of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., 180 W. 135th St., New York.

In addition to a discussion of the role of Harlem Youth Unlimited, there will be a talent show composed of young artists from the Harlem community. A number of distinguished community adults also have been invited.

HYU has a two-fold purpose: (1) To assist the staff of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited in planning a "realistic program" of opportunities for improving the life of Harlem's young people, and (2) helping the youth to achieve the frame of mind which will enable them to grasp new opportunities for advancement and growth.

Harlem Youth Unlimited has to have room for both the Flowers of Islam and the fraternity boys; for the middle class, the lower class and the low class.

"Maybe other communities can afford the luxury of class divisions," a spokeman for HYOU said, "and an 'every man for himself' attitude. We can't."

# *Biography Of Ghana Official*

ACCRA—(ANP) — A London publishing firm has selected Prof. K. A. B. Jones Quartey, associate professor in the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, to do a full-length biography on Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, governor-general of Niggera.

Prof. Jones-Quartey is deemed admirably suited for the task, since he is one of the few remaining members of Dr. Azikiwe's first editorial team on the African Morning Post, which was launched in Accra in December, 1934, as one of the City Press Ltd. Newspapers.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# muhammad speaks Book Reviews

**JOHN BROWN (Centennial Edition) — By W. E. B. Du Bois International Publishers, New Yo k, 1962 — $2.25 Paperback, $5.50 Cloth**

CHICAGO — JOHN BROWN, which stands today as a classic work, was first printed in 1909, and has been out of print since its first publication.

This edition is published expressly for the One Hundreth Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. In it, Dr. Du Bois supplies a new preface, some additions to the text; and a few pages of new conclusions. Lithographed from the original edition, the old text has been altered; new material appears in italics.

**Three years and 29 days prior to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, a man branded "zealot, fanatic, and traitor" was hanged. This man was called "John B own."**

John Brown and his band of 21 followers seized the armory at Harper's Ferry to obtain weapons, arm the slaves, and through mass revolt end slavery.

So, in this book, with a rare combination of scholarship and passion, Dr. Du Bois defends John Brown against all detractors who saw him as fanatic, fiend or traitor.

**The eminent scholar and authority on Neg o history develops the view that at Harpers' Ferry John Brown fought the first battle of the Civil War. Fully documented, he gives a profound picture of John Brown the man, father, religionist, and i repressible crusader against the sacrilege of slavery.**

**GOD, ALLAH AND JU JU — By JACK MENDELSHON Thomas Welson and Sons, N. Y. — 245 Pages, $3.75**

In spite of the poorly chosen title, this is a significant book that needs to be read seriously, and soon. The problem of religion in Africa will be one of the determining factors in the future of Africa.

**The author, a Untiarian minister, has made a concise survey of the spi itual ferment now sweeping across Africa and the three main religions competing for the African's mind. More than any other competing religions, Christianity is in trouble in Africa. It is a trouble of ist own making. To most Africans, Christianity is the conquero 's religion and it has played the conqueror's game. In Africa Islam is on the march, and so are African indigenous religions.**

# African Viewpoints

**President MODIBA KEITA, Mali:**

"African unity is an absolute necessity and it will neither be built around the Monrovia group nor the Casablanca group, but on a common basis between the different African state. which will open up the way to union and social action. In order to become unified, the African states must observe tolerance towards one another, and non-alignment toward the two great blocs..."

**President WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN, Liberia:**

At any given moment, the ends pursued by the Monrovia and Casablanca groups do not seem to be definitely clear. But with time, it becomes apparent that the two groups are working for the same aims. Thus, there should no longer be a Monrovia group and a Casablanca group...".

**DR. J. GIKONYO KIANO, Parliamentary Secretary for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, Kenya:**

"An independent Kenya cannot afford the "parasitic leisure class! In Kenya, hard work must be the habit; sweat and toil, the yearning; and constant creativity, the national characteristic..."

**MR. NDABANINGI SITHOLE, Chairman, ZAPU, (Southern Rhodesia):**

"The situation in Southern Rhodesia is deteriorating and there will be bloodshed in my country if we are not given a fair chance to achieve constitutional changes peacefully..."

**MR. JEAN MARIE KONE, Minister of State i/c Economic and Financial Coordination, Mali:**

"Africa has been a forgotten continent because our colonial masters prevented us from moving freely among ourselves. Now that we have come into our own, it is the duty of the Heads of State to see that these barriers are removed..."

**Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS; Director, Secretariat, Encyclopedia Africana, Ghana:**

"This compendium (Enclyclopedia Africana) on knowledge about Africa will be of great value to Africans and people of the western world long schooled in the thought that Africa is a continent without a history until the coming of the European..."

**President WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN, Republic of Liberia:**

**"Though peace may never come to the world in our own lifetime, I am confident that future generations will carry on the task of pursuing it until the objective of human brotherhood is attained..."**

**Premier SIR MILTON MAGAI, Sierra Leone;**

"My government refuses to encourage the division of Africa into blocs or groups of states and believes that very soon, an organization of independent African states will emerge..."

# Pathetic Plight Of Poor Told In New Book

### Reviewed By Earl Shadracke

**THE OTHER AMERICA, By Michael Harrington The MacMillan Company, New York, 1962 191 pgs. $4.00**

**America in the sixties contains an affluent society within its borders that enjoys the highest mass standard of living the world has ever known.**

**At the same time, there exists in the United States, another America. In it dwell somewhere between 40 and 50 million citizens — roughly 25 per cent of the people of this land.**

**THESE PEOPLE** are beyond progress, maimed in body and spirit and existing at levels beneath those necessary for human decency.

**They are the American poor, human beings, who live in the dungeon of the economic underworld. They are practically invisible to the complacent Americans of whom so many are enjoying a decent standard of life that they are indifferent and blind to the plight of the poor.**

Using this stark framework, Michael Harrington, in his book, "The Other America," describes the world in which these people live. It is about the Other America, the unskilled workers, - the industrial rejects - the aged - and the minorities who live their dismal, hopless lives in a festering culture of poverty.

**HARRINGTON'S BITING** analysis of American poverty, its causes and far reaching effects, is a shocking expose of a culture within America that is populated by those driven from the land and bewildered by the city, by old people suddenly confronted with the torments of lonliness and poverty and by minorities facing a wall of prejudice.

It is the story of the tens of millions of Americans who lack the barest necessities of life and who greet every day without hope...

**THE UNSKILLED** and the

(Continued On Page 15)

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# Non-Whites Suffer Worst Forms Of Poverty: Author

(Continued From Page 14)

uneducated who lead bleak and bitter lives and then have to pay for that fact in old age because their social security payments do not provide a subsistence level of life...

**THE FARM WORKERS** who are forced from the land through automation and who make their way to the cities where they become slum-dwelling misfits in a society that demands industrial skills...

**NON - WHITE MINORITY** groups who are penalized first because they are minority groups and then exploited again through sweatshop, drudge-type, penny-paying labor from which there is no escape.

**THE PATHETIC PARADOX** which sees American science eagerly fighting to lengthen human life (and succeeding) in a society which increasingly glorifies youth and has no place for its elder citizens — often cruelly casting them aside in lonliness, isolation, ill health and despair . . .

**THE MIGRANT FARM** workers, the Southern Negroes, Texas-Mexicans and the California Anglos who are packed like cattle into trucks to make their annual pilgrimage of misery . . .

**AND OF THE POOR** everywhere who regard progress as their enemy because progress means more skills and skills are not listed among their meager possessions.

Let the author give an example of the vicious circle choking the poor:

**". . . The poor get sick more than anyone else in society. That is because they live in slums, jammed together under unhygienic conditions; they have inadequate diets, and cannot get decent medical care. When they become sick they are sicker longer than any other group in the society. Because they are sick more often and longer than anyone else, they lose wages and work, and find it difficult to hold a steady job. And because of this they cannot pay for good housing, for a nutritious diet, for doctors. At any given point in the circle, particularly when there is a major illness, their prospect is to move to an even lower level and to begin the cycle, round and round, toward even more suffering."**

The group cannot usually break out of this vicious circle because it lacks the social energy and political strength to turn its misery into a cause.

**ONLY THE LARGER** society, with its help and resources, can really make it possible for these people to help themselves.

"Yet," says Harrington, "those who could make the difference too often refuse to act because of their ignorant, smug, moralisms. They view the effects of poverty — above all, the warping of the will and spirit that is a consequence of being poor — as choices . . ."

**In their social blindness they say, "The poor are that way because they are afraid of work . . . If they were like me . . . (or my father or my grandfather) they could pay their own way. But they prefer to live on the dole and cheat the tapayers."**

**"THERE IS A BITTER** picket-line chant," writes Harrington, "that one sometimes hears when a store is being boycotted in the North:"

**'If you're white, you're right,**
**If you're black, stay back.'**

Describing this as an accurate sociological statement of the plight of the Negro in American society, the author states:

"Negro poverty is unique in every way. It grows out of a long American history, and it expresses itself in a subculture that is built up on an interlocking base of economic and racial injustice. It is, in fact, imposed from without, from white America."

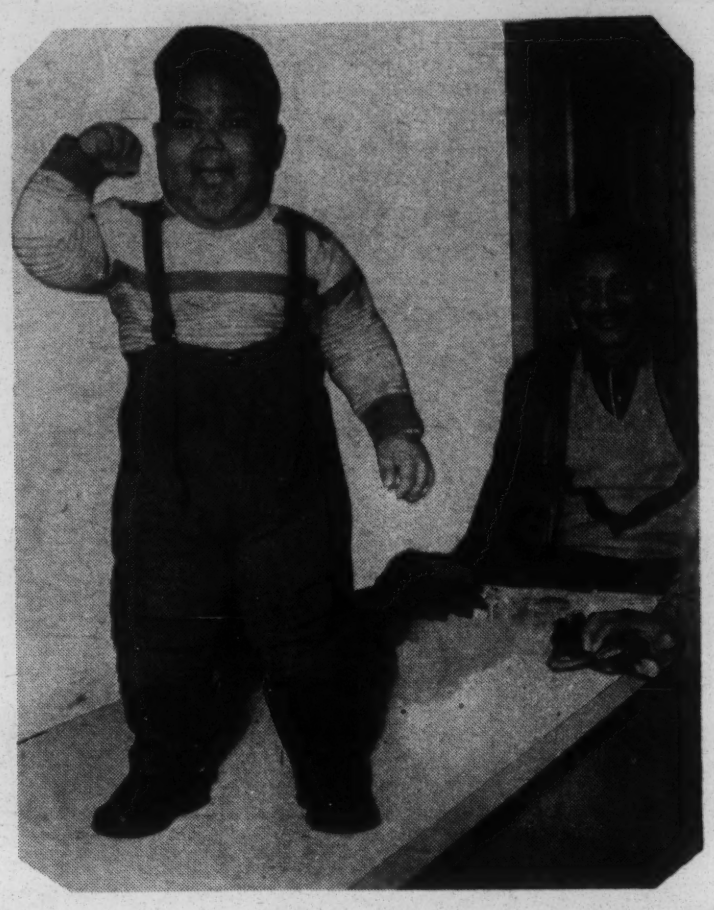
But perhaps the final degredation the Negro must face is the image the white man has of him, the author says.

**"WHITE AMERICA** keeps the Negro down. It forces him into a slum; it keeps him in the dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs. Having imposed this indignity, the white man theorizes about it. He does not see it as the tragic work of his own hands, as a social product. Rather, the racial 'ghetto' reflects the 'natural' character of the Negro: lazy, shiftless, irresponsible, and so on. So prejudice becomes self-justifying. It creates miserable conditions and then cites them as a rationale for inaction and complacency . . ."

**"Nonwhite minorities," said Harrington, "suffer from the most intense and concentrated impoverishment of any single group."**

**THIS THEN, IS** the brutal, factual picture of the gnawing cancer of poverty in the United States as documented by one who knows his subject, and who writes of it with feeling and anger but not without hope.

**It should be used as a springboard by sincere and far-sighted men to erase the sickening decay of the other America before it grasps with an even heavier hand at the vitals of an America that did not care.**



**THE WELL FED, happy child is typified by this youthful "strong man," who is showing off his good right arm for his proud father, Adolph Bratcher. Darren Shawn Bratcher, a robust young Chicagoan, is two years, 11 months old and weighs a hefty 35 pounds.**

**MRS. VERA COATES holds one of her six children. Three others turn frightened, bewildered faces toward camera. All wear coats as "home" has no heat. In rear are Sister Lt. Margaret 3X and Lt. Jerome 2,X who are trying to assist the impoverished family.** 6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**PERSONALITY PORTRAIT — Attractive personable Ella M. Stroud is a native of Atlanta, Ga. Miss Stroud was maitre d' at the famed and elegant Paschall Brothers Restaurant in Atlanta. She studied two years at Spelman College, majoring in elementary education. Twenty-one years-old, her hobbies include swimming and traveling, and she hopes to continue her scholastic studies preparatory to entering the teaching profession.**

# Women In Islam

## By TYNETTA DEANAR

**In the last article, we discussed briefly the effects of the Muslim Woman in American Society dealing specifically with the white population. I would like for us to consider the effects of the Muslim Woman upon the so-called Negro population. The difference in effects depends upon the roles we have played in American Society.**

Today, we are apart of a modern version of a Master-Slave System. There exists still the subjected as well as those who subject and unfortunately, regardless to those who exhaust the approaches to an intellectual rationalization, the fact remains that the white man has mastered and the black man has said "Amen."

The Black man and woman cannot be expected to understand immediately and without great difficulty the rapid change of so-called Negroes from Christianity to Islam. Or perhaps at best, we can say that we cannot expect many of the more well-to do to give up their material possessions acquired in the white man's name nor to lease the improverished prestige they have gained by following and catering to the wishes and demands of the White Race.

**MANY, NOT** realizing that they, too, are apart of this envolving pattern are wrought - with great internal strife resulting in exterior hostilities which are really signs of their downfall.

Running the length of the so-called Negro social scale, we find that Islam is rejected by the poor as well as the rich, however, it is particulary rejected by the so-called elite or intellectual class of our people who are unable to recognize the beauty of the great change that is coming about or at least, they are unwilling to accept the validity and stature of an Independent Muslim Government operating in unity with the rapidly growing Muslim Nations of the World.

**THE BLACK WOMAN** who puts away the short western style of dress and social habits and adopts the Muslims style of dress and social ettiquette becomes an object of mockery and cruel discussion. Likewise, the Black woman who passes by the cosmetic counters and prefers the clean, natural look to the facial makeup worn by her dark skinned sisters, who love to imitate their white idols, she again becomes an object of scorn and ridicule.

For all of these various elements of change begin to shape and form and to finally introduce to the public a new figure upon the American Scene.

**TO A GREAT MANY** of the American so-called Negro Women, this change becomes an obstacle in the pathway of their desired destiny which envisions the hoped for state of integration with the White Race. As they are hampering for what appears to them as the epitome of achievement, the Muslim women are fighting with their people for separation as is beautifully purported by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

# Women's NEWS and NOTES

# Mississippi Leads In Baby Deaths

## *Negro Infants Die Fastest*

**WASHINGTON — Mississippi has the worst record of any state on infant deaths, it was disclosed last week, with more Negro than white babies dying.**

In a report issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Delta state topped all others with a grim high of 41.6 deaths in every 1,000 births.

Utah had the best statistics in the nation, with a low infant mortality rate of 19.6.

For the entire country, between the period of 1950 and 1960, infant death rates for whites decreased 14.6 per cent, while for non-whites the decrease was only 2.9 per cent.

**THE REPORT,** issued by Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, chief of the Children's Bureau of HEW, noted that in spite of great medical advances, the country "is still tenth among countries in the world with populations over 300,000 in reducing its infant mortality rate. In 1950 the U. S. ranked fourth among these nations."

The report also showed that babies are dying faster in the nation's large metropolitan centers than elsewhere, adding that the rate of deaths for non-white children in 1960 was higher than that for whites in 10 major cities canvassed.

**Said Mrs. Oettinger: "It should be pointed out that we have a smaller percentage of decrease since 1950 than any of the nine nations which rank above us in the United Nations listing."**


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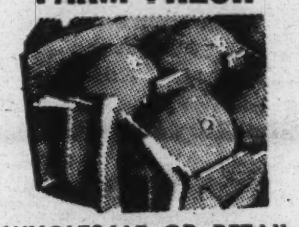
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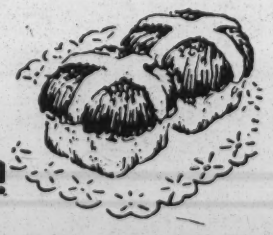
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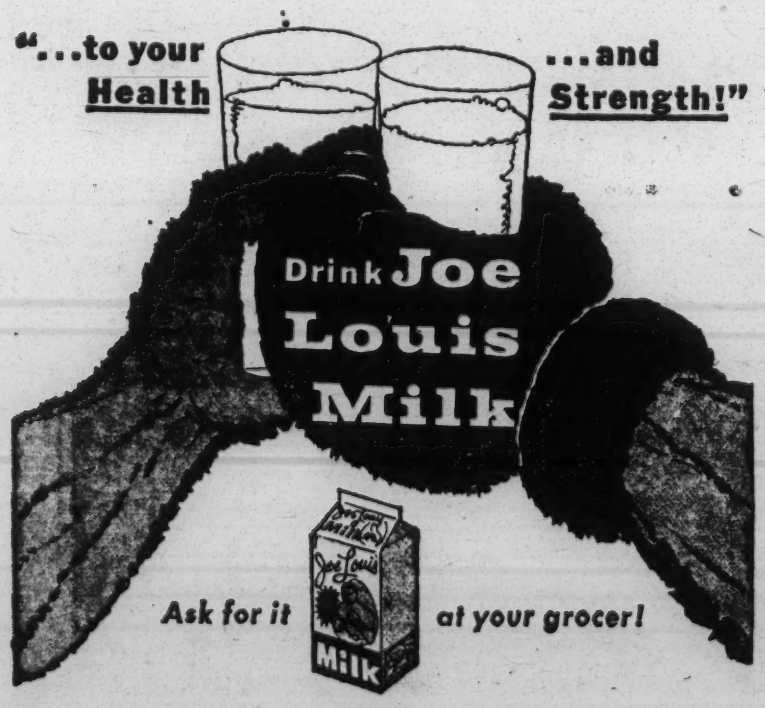

Ask for it at your grocer!

**NATIONAL INSTRUCTOR of the M. G. T. and daughter of Messenger Elijah Muhammad, Sister Ethel Sharrieff, at close of Unity Feast sponsored by the M. G. T. of Mosque No. 2, in honor of the Most Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Held at Chicago's El Cid Ballroom, more than 1,000 guests were entertained by some of the nations top performers. The M. G. T. Class at Mosque No. 2, headed by Sister Ethel Sharrieff, planned and arranged the Feast and spared no effort in making this the most successful event of its kind ever presented by the Muslims.**

# Negro History Contest

The Museum of Negro History and Art, 3806 S. Michigan Avenue, an independent archive of cultural materials relating to the American of African descent, will present "A Negro History Scrapbook Exhibit and Contest" as its Negro History Week feature.

Anyone, young or old that has a scrapbook of events concerning Negro history and achievement, is eligible to enter. Prizes of books on Negro history will be made on the basis of the contestant's age, grade, significance of materials, neatness and artistic arrangement.

Subject matter may be of a general or specific nature.

Examples are: School Integration, James Meredith, Negro in the Theatre, Negro Inventor, etc.

All entries should be sent or delivered to the Museum of Negro History no later than February 14, which is the birthday of Frederick Douglass.

Prizes will be awarded on March 10 at the Museum's annual Crispus Attucks Day Tea.

# Caveat Emptor
## Pocketbook Protection

*This column is dedicated to the housewife — who is constantly victimized by unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers in their relentless search for the easy dollar.*

*It is designed to help her protect her pocketbook and the health of her family in an era of high-pressure advertising that too often does not tell the whole truth about many products. Through it, Muhammad Speaks hopes to render an important service to its homemaker readers.*

*The findings are those of the United States Food and Drug Administration, detailed in its December 1962 report.*

### HOUSEWIVES TAKE HEED:

That **PULSE - A - RYTHM** vibrating mattress you were thinking of buying for your husband, who suffers with arthritis and rheumatism, does **NOT** have the therapeutic values it claims to have. The claims are "false and misleading," says the FDA.

And forget about **RICHELIEU MUSHROOM SAUCE** with **SLICED MUSHROOMS.** Sliced mushrooms the sauce does **NOT** have, says the FDA. The label falsely suggests the article contains sliced mushrooms but small mushrooms pieces were substituted instead.

For the peach deseit you were contemplating, try a brand other than **CORBETT'S POLLY CANNED PEACHES.** The FDA found that it does not conform to the standards for canned peaches in that it is labeled as being packaged in heavy syrup but is actually packed in light syrup. And hear this: It also contains peaches of excessive hardness and units varying too much in weight.

If you're trying to gain weight, don't waste your money on WATE-ON (liquid and tablets) and **SUPER WATE-ON** (liquid). The container labels and accompanyingg folders titled "Why Be Skinny?" claim the products should cause weight gains up to 33 pounds and were good for the treatment of lack and appetite, fatigue, etc. But the FDA brought action against the firm charging false and misleading drug labeling.

You don't get your money's worth in **MANOR HILL POTATO SALAD** and **MANOR HILL COLE SLAW.** They were charged with short weight.

Watch out for **BEAUTYLIFT** and **SCALP STIMULATOR** devices. False therapeutic claims for the devices, says FDA, include statements that they were an adequate and effective treatment for the prevention of baldness improvement of muscle tone, firming of skin tissue, prevention of stretching and sagging of the skin. They must relabel their products correctly, or else.

Avoid **FROZEN SHRIMP** shipped by Gulf Stream Quick Frozen Foods, Inc., of Miami, Fla. The FDA charge: — decomposed and short weight.

**TAST-D-LITE CANNED PINK APPLESAUCE** isn't exactly what its cracked up to be. The FDA charged misbranding in that it contains an undeclared artifical color.

When the children ask for cookies, save money by skipping **DUTCH TWINS CREME WAFER STICKS.** The FDA has charged Dutch Twins creme wafer sticks with short weight.


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DR. GEORGE W. GORE, Jr. (right), president of Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, was principal speaker at a recent public meeting of the (Negro) National Newspaper Publishers' Association in Miami's plush Hampton House Motel and Villas. Discussing points in his speech urging Negroes to prepare for the future are Garth Reeves (left), editor, Miami Times and Eugene Rhodes, editor, Philadelphia Tribune, and a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education. Dr. Gore, who taught many outstanding Negro newspapermen, was one of the first Negroes in the U. S. to receive a degree in journalism.

## Warns Negro Competition To Be - -

# 'Raceless But Ruthless'

**MIAMI, Fla. — One of the biggest and knottiest problems of the Negro in the sixties is to prepare to cross from the jungle of second-class citizenship into the coldly-precise, swiftly-moving world of a desegregated and integrated American society.**

Dr. George W. Gore, Jr., president of Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, told a public meeting of the National Newspaper Publishers' Association here that the prerequisites for lucrative jobs in the world of the near future will be applied to all with ruthless impartiality.

Dr. Gore, one of the first Negroes in the United States to receive a degree in journalism, warned the gathering of Negro newspaper publishers and editors that the "impact of desegregation and integration is creating problems."

**HE SAID THE** Negro must be prepared to "bridge the cultural and educational gap caused by segregation and the underprivileged status in American society."

He noted that while "the doors of lucrative job opportunities" are beginning to open in the future, "the competition is raceless and ruthless"...the "examinations are scored without prejudice but without mercy."

"It is becoming difficult to get into the better colleges and universities," he observed. "Even traditional jobs, formerly held by Negroes, are now difficult to obtain. With the iron curtain being lifted, Negro businessmen are rapidly facing problems, and, in some cases, are being faced with annihilation.

**"Even when Negroes are operating at a higher level than ever before, the results are disappointing, he said, "because the standards are being raised faster than they can qualify."**

**ACKNOWLEDGING THE** "need for sympathetic but remedial understanding of the problems faced by Negroes in general, he stressed the plight of the Negro youth.

"While we are all mindful of the handicaps of a segregated social environment," Dr. Gore said, "we cannot coddle our boys and girls to the extent that we do not urge them to do their very best to qualify for living in a competitive world.

Reflecting the impact of the Negroes accelerated fight for equal rights, the noted educator, who has taught many outstanding Negro newspapermen, said the initial move "may be to 'sit-in' and 'measure up' in a crucial struggle for full recognition."

**He declared that Negro youth can and must measure up second to none in the nation, but they must be "pushed to it."**

**HE WARNED THAT** "the need for illiterate and unskilled labor in the American market is being reduced so rapidly that, in the next decade, it will be practically non-existent."

Dr. Gore said the Negro press must play an important role urging Negro "youth and their parents to prepare to compete in all fields at top level."

While the increasing opportunities will be "more widespread, the competition for admittance will be keen — but the rewards for those who can survive will be limitless.

**"No other force," the Flordia A & M University president concluded, "can carry the message to our people as effectively as the Negro press."**

## Fattest Baby Not Always Healthy

**LOS ANGELES — A fat baby is not automatically a healthy baby, according to a pediatrician at the University of Rochester.**

Discussing overnutrition, Dr. Gilbert Forbes said that one of the chief reasons for this situation is the common belief that plump babies are healthy babies, plus the tendency of mothers to link the gain in weight with their own success as mothers.

Dr. Forbes said that nutrition experts traditionally have been concerned with nutritional deficiency.


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## Hazzards Of The Negro Ghettos

# Slums, Plus Fires Equals Destitution, Death

**A private agency grimly predicted last fall that 15,000 Negro homes across the country would be reduced to rubble when fire stalked their ghettos during the winter.**

So far, this tragic estimate has been surpassed and the fire monster continue to plague the big city slums, taking Negroes' lives and destroying the hovels they call home.

To make matters worse, poverty-ridden Negroes are further penalized by the bitter fact that they cannot get fire insurance on their ghetto living quarters.

**THERE IS ALWAYS** a sharp increase in the number of fires during the winter months, when slum dwellers attempt to make their own heat in flats where winter is a constant roommate.

The mournful dirge of fire engines in the streets is a common part of the sight and sound of the big city's backstreets.

Common too, are the strether bearers for those who did not escape the flames or smoke, and the shivering clusters of dazed "fortunates" who managed to escape with their lives and nothing else.

**MOST OF THE** fire departments in the cities have printed copies of the "home fire safety check list" to help you learn good fire-prevention habits. If these are not available in your town, try all the other municipal agencies. If this fails, inquire at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

A few safety reminders include:

**DO NOT USE** gasoline, benzine or other similar flammable fluids for cleaning clothing or floors in your home.

**IF YOU HAVE** wood floors, make certain the floor under stoves and heaters is protected by insulation or ventilated air space.

**CURTAINS NEAR** stoves should be arranged to prevent their blowing over the burners or flames.

**IF YOU HAVE** a portable oil heater, turn it out when you retire at night. Keep it well away from curtains, funiture, drapes, etc.

**CHECK TO SEE** that all rooms have an adequate number of outlets to take care of electrical appliances. Multiple attachment plugs are dangerous.

**MATCHES SHOULD** be kept in metal containers and out of the reach of children.

**MANY FIRES ARE** started by people who smoke in bed. This is a foolish and dangerous habit.

**KEEP THE TELEPHONE** number of your fire department in a handy place near your telephone.

**LEARN THE LOCATION** of the fire alarm box nearest your home, and how to turn in an alarm.

## Bitter Winter Harvest . .

**FIRE VICTIMS — Claude Carroll, holding daughter Anita, 4 years old, is still in shock after he and his wife, Alma, with Michael, 14 months, escaped from their first-floor apartment as fire destroyed everything they owned on Chicago's South side. Carrol was awakened by knocking on his door, his flat already filling with smoke. A 14-year year employee of a baking company, Carroll and his family are the tragic symbols of fire victims across the nation.**

**THESE WOMEN had to flee their apartments, forced out by a roaring fire, reportedly started when a boiler blew in the furnace room. Muhammad Speaks representative, Ted Evans, interviews Mrs. Anna Mae Covey, 816 E. 80th st., third floor, and Mrs. Gertrude Yancey, Insurance companies hesitate, and often refuse to issue proper fire insurance to Negroes.**

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## Muhammad Speaks Finds Answer To Question:

# Who Buys The Most JAZZ RECORDS?

*The impact of jazz on America and the world is one of the most important phenomena of our times. The folk music that has evolved into a bulti-billion dollar art form. touches and influences the lives of millions of people on an international scale. America, as the home of jazz, produces most of the jazz recordings in an industry that uses jazz records as its staircase to staggering amounts of profits. Muhammad Speaks, asking the question, "Who Buys The Most Jazz Records?" came up with some eye-opening answers. Though the story deals for the most part with the Mid-West, follow-up surveys indicate that the facts it contains are true throughout the United States.*

**EDITOR'S NOTE — "Jazz" as referred to in this story is music played by such as Gene Ammons, Errol Garner, Stan Getz, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Jimmie Smith, Paul Desmond, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Oscar Peterson, Ray Charles, Hank Crawford, Cannonball Adderly, etc.**

**Two men walked into a side-street record shop on Chicago's near Northside. One said:**

**"Say, have you got Gene Ammons' 'Jug'?"**

**The clerk got the album from a shelf and collected $2.99 in small change. The men looked at a few other jazz albums, then left the store.**

**THEY HAD COMPLETELY** ignored a prominently displayed long playing album about the First Family that distributors and retailers claim is the fastest LP in history.

**Interested in jazz and jazz alone, they are part of an 11 percent minority segment of America that year after year buys more than half of the millions of jazz records issued annually in the United States.**

The men, were, in short, Negroes. And Negroes make this staggering investment in jazz records despite the tragic fact that due to tremendous economic and social pressures their average yearly earnings are only 58 percent of those of white America.

**THUS NO JAZZ** record can hope to be a best seller unless it is accepted by the Negro market.

An official of Atlantic Records in New York says there are nine cities which jazz recording companies depend upon for their livelihood.

They are Chicago, New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. Baltimore, San Francisco, and Atlanta. Each of these cities has a large Negro population. In Chicago, for example, Negroes form roughly 25% of the population and the bulk of jazz records sold in Chicago are in areas where Negroes are heavily congregated.

**"IN CHICAGO,** jazz records sell much faster in areas where Negroes are centered," says Kent Beauchamp of the Big Town and Garmisa distributing companies, which service Chicago, the suburbs and other Midwest points.

**"But while Negroes are heavy buyers of jazz and rhythm and blues, their juke boxes will also have a number of Frank Sinatra records at the same time."**

This is because "Negroes know more of what's happening musically than whites," Beauchamp said.

"Whites listen, but they don't hear," he pointed out. This could account for the fact that juke boxes in white areas for the most part feature teenage pop tunes or the "top 40" in current popularity polls.

**THE MUHAMMAD**

**(Continued On Page 21)**

## Garner Wins Top British Honors

NEW YORK (ANP) — The English publication, Melody Maker, has voted Erroll Garner first-place honors in both its "World Section" and "Critics Section" in its annual popularity poll.

Garner scored a big hit during his concert tour of the British Isles in 1962.

His projected 1963 British tour will be expanded to include Ireland and Scotland.


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# Chicago Dealer Says Negroes Are Searching For Something

# They Look To Jazz

(Continued From Page 20)

**SPEAKS** survey showed conclusively that Negroes set the standards for whites in buying jazz. And, it was learned, when jazz is recorded, the vast and eager Negro market is held specifically in mind.

**Negroes are a more religious purchaser of records, said the Atlanta Records executive in New York. That is, if an artist such as Fats Dominoe, Miles Davis, Cannonball Adderly or Max Roach makes a recording a certain quantity of records or sold to their Negro fans whether recording is a "hit" or not.**

"But" says Max Tannenbaum, owner of "Mr. T's" one of the leading record shops on Chicago's Southside:

**"NEGRO FANS** will drop artists in a hurry if they find they are coasting or their music is suddenly insincere.

"If 100 jazz albums were issued, Negroes would buy 80 of them, said 'Mr. T.' Tannenbaum who recalled that when the neighborhood in which his shop is located was white, he sold mostly classical and popular music (he defined popular as Bing Crosby, Perry Como, etc.).

**"But when the neighborhood changed and Negroes moved in, the sale of Crosby, Como, etc., stopped almost completely.**

**"NEGROES WANTED** jazz, blues and spirituals, with the heavy emphasis on jazz," he said.

(Continued on page 23)

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# In This Corner SONNY LISTON

## MEMO TO CASSIUS CLAY:

**Charles "Sonny" Liston, the heavyweight boxing champion with the bulging biceps and the pulverizing punch, has tossed a verbal haymaker your way.**

Said Liston in an interview with Muhammad Speaks:

**"I don't see anyone fighting now that could beat me. Cassius Clay is about the youngest, fastest thing coming up — with his mouth — but I don't think he'll last as long as Patterson did."**

Having made this grim prediction, Liston dropped his guard for a few moments, broke into a smile and gave Chicago, his new home, a pat on the back.

**RELAXING** in the living room of his elegant Southside home, the Champion asserted "They treat me fine here in Chicago and I really like the town. If I don't find suitable quarters for training here the year around I'll train here in the summer and find someplace else to train in the winter."

Affable, and quick to answer questions. he declared he'd defend his title April 11, in Miami, Fla., against Floyd Patterson.

**"I'm going** to train here for two or three weeks," he said, "if I can find a place to train. Then I plan to set up camp in Florida with the same people I had with me for the other (Patterson) fight."

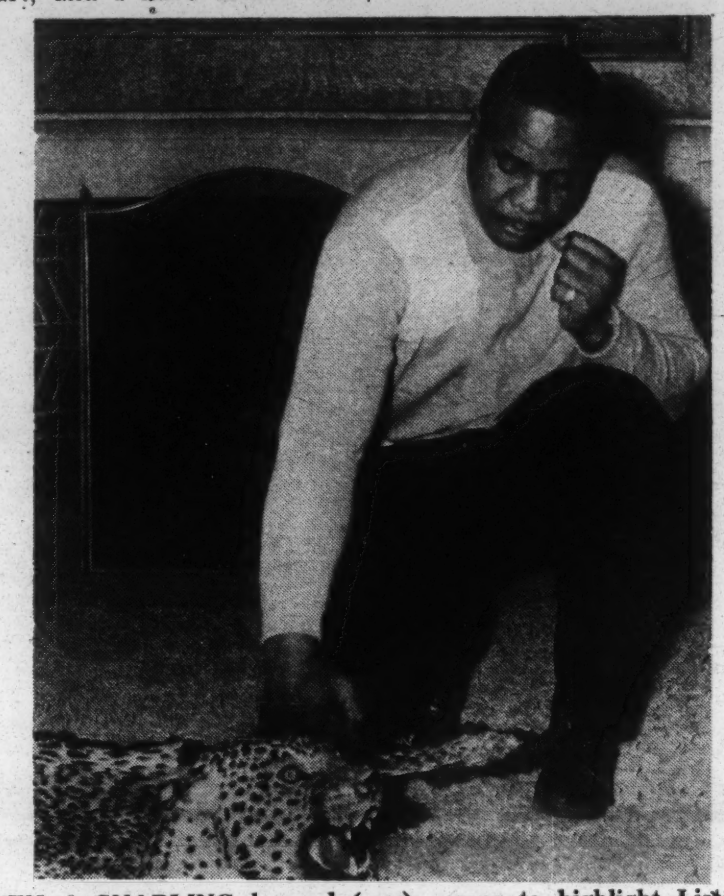
The Champ wants to start staging amateur fights here and is raising money to buy trophies for the winners.

**"I know** when I was boxing amateur the trophies made it seem more like something," he said.

"I'm looking for a spot to buy or rent for this project. I also plan to sponsor a team of boxers and give the sweaters and robes with my name on it.

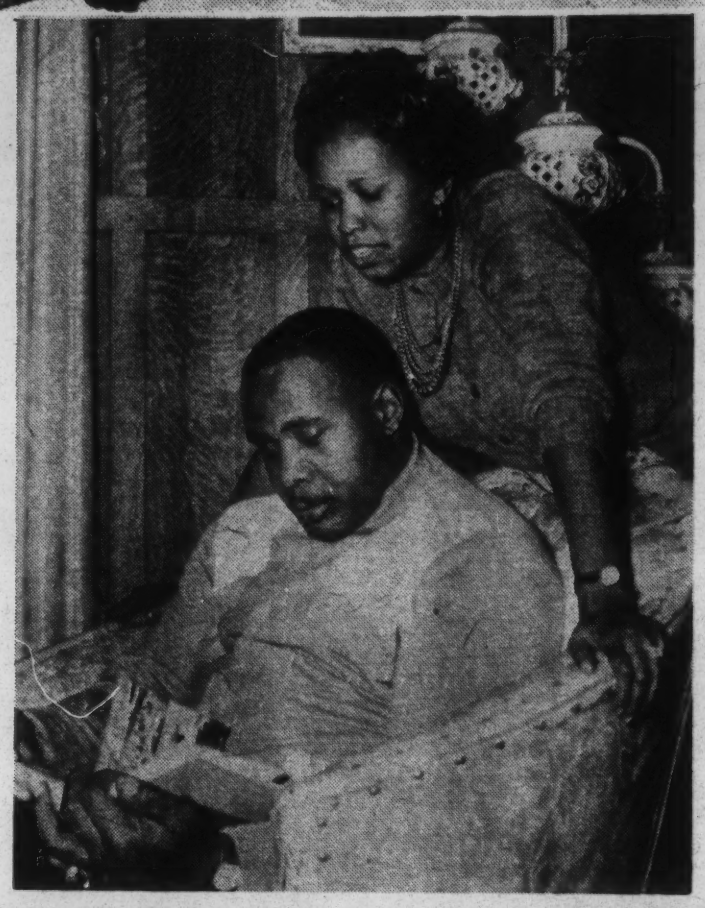
"I'd really like to help these youngsters and give them a start, and I have some other plans, too, such as ball teams and other sports. In my book, these kids deserve the best."

**Thus Sonny Liston is determined to be a champion both in the ring and out. It's possible some say that he will be the best thing that happened to boxing since Joe Louis blazed across the fistic horizon.**



**EVEN A SNARLING leopard (rug) serves to highlight Liston's powerful punch. Here he shows how his big fist could score a knockout over one of the animal kingdom's great fighters.**

# SPORTS



**HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION Sonny Liston, who predicts that Cassius Clay, wouldn't last as long against hm as Floyd Patterson did, reads a book while relaxing in his Chicago home. His wife, Gerry, takes a look from over his head.**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# Dealers Tell Why Negroes Buy Most Jazz Records

(Continued from page 21)

"They depend more on records for entertainment, principally of a lack of money to indulge in other forms of entertainment, such as musical shows, or opera. After all, a record can be purchased for a dollar and played 100 times.

**"And the record business in Negro section doesn't drop as much as it does in white sections during the summer time. In white neighborhoods people tend to go away on vacations. Because of the Negro's limited facilities for vacationing, he stays in the city.**

"Another thing is whites listen, but they don't dig the music," he added, "though they are beginning to more than they used to, as witness a musician like Jimmy Smith, jazz organist, who is now being bought and played in white neighborhoods. For years Smith would sell only in Negro neighborhoods."

**BUT THOUGH NEGROES** are the heaviest supporters of jazz in the neighborhood stores and shops, their impact is felt also by the big stores in the Downtown areas of various cities.

For example, a new check of Downtown stores in Chicago showed they brought far more jazz albums than whites at such stores as Wieboldt, Carson's, Goldblatt, Sears and Roebuck and Lyon and Healy.

**By admitting that whites and Negroes bought jazz records in an equal amount, the Fair Store, located in Chicago's Loop, proved that in proportion to the population, Negroes purchased many more jazz records than whites.**

Maurice Alpert, owner of the popular Met Music Shops in Chicago, says:

**"AS AN ETHNIC GROUP** Negroes are constantly searching for something new. Jazz is always new and growing newer all the time. This is what Negroes want.

"Their minds are a little more progressive than whites'. Whites are satisfied with things as they are but Negroes are not Therefore, they are always searching for something new.

**"About 75 percent of the whites don't even think of records, while about 90 percent of the Negroes buy records and many have collections that are absolutely fantastic," said Morrie," as Alpert is known by hundreds.**

In his famous thesis, "The White Negro," Norman Mailer, noted author of "The Naked and the Dead," described the Negro psychology of "coolness" as a defense reaction against a hostile world.

**MAILER IS AUTHOR** of the definitive definition of the world and meaning of "hep," the Negro argot meaning in essence "wise," or "an understanding deeper than the apparent."

Threatened by the Man, denied access to the society, the Negro, in Mailer's image, stays aloof, anticipates disillution, and turns cynicism into a style.

Says Mailer:

"...Any Negro who wishes to live must live with danger from his first day, and no experience can never be casual to him, no Negro can saunter down a street with any real certainty that violence will not visit him on his walk..."

**Negroes therefore "know more than whites" because they live closer to life and reality, in Mailer's opinion.....**

**JAZZ IS MUSIC** that came from life itself — a life outside "the cameos of security for the average white."

Perhaps that is why the Negro and jazz are forever together.

*Finally*

## First Class So. Tour For Marian

NEW YORK — Marian Anderson, who won her first critical acclaim in Europe and later was accepted as a star in her own country, will travel first class this month when she makes her first tour of the South in 13 years.

## Ghana Textbooks

ACCRA — (ANP) — School pupils throughout Ghana will be supplied with free textbooks beginning with the next school year. The Ghana government proposes to spend something like 3.5 million pounds for a selected and basic number of textbooks to be given children in the primary and middle schools. Essential textbooks will be provided for use by students in secondary schools.

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| BALTIMORE, MD. | WSID | 1010 | SUN. | 12:30 P.M. |
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# THE BLACK MUSLIMS

**AUGUST MEIER**

PERHAPS the most impressive development in the years since the Second World War has been the movement toward independence and freedom on the part of colored peoples throughout the world. In Africa and in Asia, darker-skinned peoples have successfully thrown off the rule of white men, obtained recognition of their dignity as human beings, and achieved influence in the councils of the world. Part of this larger movement for freedom and dignity have been the stirrings among American Negroes. Most notable have been the nonviolent direct-action demonstrations, such as sit-ins and Freedom Rides on the one hand, and the various nationalistic movements, of which the Black Muslims are the most important, on the other.

There are, in fact, notable similarities between the Black Muslims and the nonviolent direct-action movement. Essentially, the aim of both movements was summed up by the student demonstrators in Baltimore, during the early months of 1960, who, as they picketed, would chant, "We walk for human dignity." Both movements are manifestations of a rejection of white doctrines of Negro inferiority, and white policies of discrimination. Both reflect the new self-image of American Negroes, arising out of the emergence of the independent states of Africa. Both exhibit dissatisfaction with the traditional Christianty of the Negro masses. The Black Muslims claim that they reject Christianity entirely (though actually their brand of Islam is significantly influenced by Christian organization and doctrine), while the nonviolent demonstrators reject the old-fashioned, "pie-in-the-sky" kind of Christianity which accepted the racial *status quo* and promised rewards for the meek in heaven. Both thus insist upon changes in the pattern of American race relations, and insist that they be made at once; both preach what appears to most white people to be a revolutionary resistance to the old order of race relations; both indicate that Negroes will no longer tolerate a subordinate position in the American social order, that gradualism in race relations must go.

Though most American Negroes would not agree with the program of Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Black Muslims, it is important to point out that most of them would agree with his indictment of the American race system:

> My people, the so-called American Negroes, have long been the victims of attacks by their slavemasters. . . . America tells the Negro he is an equal citizen, but America denies him justice. The so-called Negro has been declared an equal citizen. Where is this equal citizenship? It is only in words! It has not been in deeds! . . . The United States Constitution declares equal justice for all. This equal justice is never practiced on the so-called Negro.

Thus the difference between the Black Muslims and other Negroes lies not in the Muslim criticism of the prejudice and discrimination practiced by American whites, and of American hypocrisy in regard to the treatment of Negroes. Rather, the difference lies in their proposed solutions to the problem. Most Negroes hope that integration and constitutional rights can be achieved, that Negroes will be accepted as fellow-citizens without discrimination. The Black Muslims do not believe that this is possible. In a nutshell, most Negroes still have faith in the American white man; the Black Muslims do not.

And the Black Muslims can cite impressive evidence to back up their belief on this score. Pointing to cases of discrimination, violence and police brutality, they

claim that the white American will never live up to his democratic ideology in regard to the Negro. Those whites who appear to favor integration are worse than open segregationists, for the white liberals are hypocrites; they are like foxes who are trying to deceive the Negro by holding out the promise of integration. Says Elijah Muhammad:

> There is no security for even one black life in America. What chance have we against well-armed devils who are free to use their arms on the poor unarmed black people? This country's police force, using the tactics of brute savages, have behind them the government to kill us.

And again:

> The evil slavemasters know that they can never sincerely accept their slaves as their equals. In fact this is against the very nature of the white race; they were not created to accept the black man as their equal. . . . There are none who are actually seeking justice for the so-called Negroes but Allah and myself, His Servant. It makes me ashamed to read and hear over the radio, and to see my people on the TV in Washington praying and begging the same murderer for justice. . . . If they would only accept their own god and religion [Islam] and follow me, they would enjoy Freedom, Justice and Equality at once. . . . Though the government of America claims you are free, she is still the greatest hindrance to your exercising the freedom that she claims you have.

So profound is this distrust of the white man that observers have concluded that the Black Muslims actually preach hatred of the whites, though the movement's leaders deny this. One authority (C. Eric Lincoln*) has written of their "consuming and potentially violent racial and religious hatred. . . . They find no mandate except that of temporary expediency, for peace and submission between whites and blacks." In their literature the white race is described as "the human beast—the serpent, the dragon, the devil, and Satan." A play written by one of the Black Muslim ministers charges the white man with being the greatest liar on earth, the greatest drunkard on earth, the greatest gambler on earth, the greatest robber on earth, the greatest deceiver on earth, the greatest trouble-maker on earth. And since it was white men who robbed Negroes of their freedom and made them slaves, since it was white men who spawned a numerous mixed-blood progeny out of adultery with Negro slaves, since white people have talked of democracy and equal rights while denying these things to ten per cent of our population, and since whites to this day keep Negroes in second-class citizenship, these charges contain a core of truth that gives the Black Muslims a potent appeal.

As we have noted, according to the Black Muslims even white liberals cannot be trusted. As they say, "The Caucasians are great deceivers. Their nature is against friendship with black people, although they often fool the black people . . . claiming they are sincere friends."

*C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslim in America*, Beacon Press, 1961.

Northern whites, say the Black Muslims, are concerned about race relations in the South only because maltreatment of Negroes is bad for international relations. After all, says Malcolm X, one of the movement's chief spokesmen, American society is like a ship, on which whites kept Negroes on the lowest decks until their ship was sinking; now why should Negroes want to integrate with whites when whites are going to drown anyway?

Fundamentally, the Black Muslims claim that the two races can never get along together, and they insist therefore upon the separation of the races as the only solution to the problem. Associated with this idea of separation is the belief that black men need race unity and race cooperation more than anything else, and that along with this they need a vigorous racial pride. In instilling this racial pride, and in giving the American Negroes a sense of identity and self-respect, they glorify the African background of American Negroes, and identify this African background with a rather unorthodox type of Islam. The founder of the Black Muslims, W. D. Fard, is regarded as the incarnation of Allah, sent to lead the persecuted American Negroes out of their bondage, and the present leader, Elijah Muhammad, has the title of "The Messenger of Allah." Actually Islam did not penetrate to the areas from which most of the New World Negroes came. But the achievements of the racially mixed ancient Egyptians, and the great Negro Muslim kingdoms of West Africa in the Middle Ages—most notably Ghana, Mali and Songhai—form the basis for a historical tradition, which is supplemented by the belief that all the colored peoples of the world can be classed as black men.

## Utopia for Blacks

What are the precise goals of the Black Muslims? For purposes of analysis we may divide their ideology into two parts—the extreme views and Utopian ideals on the one hand, and their more immediate program on the other. Now the most extreme views of the Muslims are not always stated, and are at times denied. It can be said, however, that they assert the physical and moral inferiority of the white men, and the divinity and superiority of the black men. The Black Muslims hold that the six thousand years of white domination of the world is about to come to an end, and that Allah is about to usher in a struggle between the forces of good and evil which will eventuate in the destruction of the white race and the ascendancy of the black race. This Armageddon will result in a this-worldly Utopia for black men—for the Black Muslims do not believe in a future life but assert that heaven and hell are right here on earth. As a song by Minister Louis X of Boston puts it, "A white man's heaven is a black man's hell." Allah, it is anticipated, will soon reverse this situation.

The Black Muslims' more immediate program stresses four chief elements: a plea for greater race unity and race pride; an advocacy of Islam as opposed to Christianity; an economic and moral program composed of a

puritanical sexual code, thrift, industry and economic accumulation designed to build up Negro businesses, so that Negroes can obtain employment and services in their own establishments rather than seek these things from whites; and political separatism, or the creation of an independent all-Negro state out of land obtained from the United States government. Says Elijah Muhammad:

> We must have some of this earth that we can call our own. We have lost 400 years making our slavemasters rich, powerful and independent. . . . Would you not like to live in peace and be recognized and treated as brother-citizens by your own people, in your own country, rather than to be unrecognized and treated like a "dog" by others than your own kind and country? Allah wants to give you, the so-called Negroes, the best and most permanent home the earth has to offer. . . . We must have some of this earth that we can call our own for a permanent home.

Exactly where this territory is to be the Black Muslims fail to state, and needless to say, it is unlikely that they will obtain it.

Thus though the eschatological prediction of the doom of the white race, and the Utopian vision of a separate territory of their own form an important part of the emotional appeal made by the Black Muslims, their actual practical program is centered upon the economic and moral uplift of their members. This they do by giving their members a sense of identity and self-respect through an appeal to the race's glorious past and a prediction of an equally glorious future, by stressing a high degree of morality, and by supplying some sort of half-way practical answer to the economic problems of the Negro masses. (I say it is a half-way practical answer because the major credit and industrial facilities are in the hands of white corporations, so the quickest and only realistic way of advancing the Negro masses economically is through breaking down the walls of discrimination in employment.) In fact, the movement is known for the number of former criminals who have joined it, have been reformed and now lead respectable lives.

## Violence and Hatred

Though it is feared that the Black Muslims preach racial violence and revolution, there is no direct evidence to support this. Those who have studied the movement must closely are not in entire agreement on this matter. It is agreed that the Muslims direct their members not to start fights, but that they are urged to resist when attacked. One observer reports that when leaving religious services they are told, "Never be the aggressor; but if the wolf should bite you on the jaw, do not turn the other jaw. Show the wolf that you also have teeth and that you can do battle." One careful student of the movement (E. U. Ession-Udom*) in fact concludes that the eschatological aspects of the Black Muslim ideology, with its assertion that Allah will miraculously destroy the white race, actually mitigates the movement's violent and revolutionary potential; that the Black Muslims actually accommodate to the realities of the white-Negro power relations in the United States by preaching that Allah will bring about the solution to the Negro's problems in his own way. However, I feel that implicit in the movement's ideology is a strain of violence and hatred that, given the right conditions, could easily flower into a significant revolutionary force, though at present this eventuality seems quite unlikely.

Now why is it that this movement has risen to prominence at this time? It is of course not the first important nationalistic movement to have arisen among American Negroes. The Garvey Movement of the 1920's is simply the most famous of these Negro nationalistic movements, which go back as far as the 18th century. In fact most of the ideas of the Black Muslims have in one form or another been held by substantial numbers of American Negroes in the past, though the particular synthesis they have made is quite unique. But still the thoughtful observer might well ask why it is that, in a period when so much progress has been made toward improving race relations as in the last fifteen years, when conditions for Negroes appear to be better than ever before, such a movement should thrive. As a matter of fact, the movement, which was founded in 1930, remained small until well after the Second World War; indeed its chief growth has been from the period since 1954—since, in fact, the very year of the famous Supreme Court decision on desegregation in the public schools.

For one thing, the advances that have been made in race relations since the Second World War have caused a revolution in aspirations among American Negroes. They no longer feel that they have to accept the humiliations of second-class citizenship, and consequently these humiliations—somewhat fewer though they now are—appear to be more intolerable than ever. And in spite of Supreme Court decisions, Fair Employment Practices Laws and all the rest, the pace of change has been disappointingly slow. Thus there is considerable disillusionment among American Negroes. The sit-in movement and the Freedom Rides have been an expression of this impatience among the great rank and file of Negroes. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the rise of colored nations—especially African nations—to independence has had a profound effect upon the self-image of American Negroes. If Africans can obtain their freedom, why should not Afro-Americans have theirs?

Thirdly, an important clue to the phenomenal rise of the Black Muslims is to be found in the fact that their appeal has been almost entirely to the very poorest Negroes, in the lowest paid occupations, many of whom are in fact unemployed, to Negroes living in the overcrowded urban slums and unable to escape to better neighborhoods as the middle-class Negroes do. For these peoples the conditions of life have been growing not better, but worse, in the last eight or ten years. At

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*E. U. Ession-Udom, *Black Nationalism; The Search for an Identity in America*, University of Chicago Press, 1962.

the very time that the Negro's aspirations have risen, their situation has deteriorated.

Let us cite some concrete figures to illustrate this. In 1952 the average Negro family's income was 57% of the average white family's income; ten years later, despite improvements in race relations, and despite the highly publicized occupational breakthroughs of a minority of Negroes, the average income of Negro families has fallen to 54% of the average income of white families. Meanwhile the unemployment rate has increased; and in fact the first real spurt in the membership rolls of the Black Muslims seems to have dated from the first post-war recession, that of 1954. Negro unemployment has been growing constantly since 1958, for unlike whites, Negroes do not recover any of the losses made during recessions. Negro unemployment is now two and a half times that of whites. In some major cities the figures are even more striking. In Chicago, with a total unemployment rate of 5.7%, 17.3% of the Negroes are jobless; and one quarter of that city's Negroes are on relief. In Detroit 60% of the unemployed workers are Negroes, though only 20% of the city's inhabitants are Negroes. In Philadelphia the general unemployment rate is 7%, while Negro unemployment is 28%; in Gary, Indiana, the community as a whole has an unemployment rate of 6.3%, while the city's Negroes have one of 44%. According to official A.F.L.-C.I.O. statistics, the over-all rate of unemployment of Negroes is 20%, which is higher than the rate of general unemployment during the depression.

Negroes, last to be hired and first to be fired, and for the most part confined to semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, are bearing the brunt of the technological unemployment caused by automation. Elijah Muhammad indicated his awareness of this fact when he said:

> It is beyond a shadow of doubt that America has no future for the so-called Negroes other than being subjected people. Though she has no labor for the so-called Negroes today that she cannot do for herself with modern machinery, she refuses to allow them to go for self.

## Feeling of Hope

The great mass of lower-class Negroes thus find the American dream further from reality than ever. Rejected by the dominant whites, and pretty much ignored by middle- and upper-class Negro leadership (and the Black Muslim leaders express nothing but scorn for Negro leaders like those in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whom they regard as toadying to white people), the frustrated Negro masses are ripe for the message of the Black Muslims. For those who are willing to submit to the severe discipline of the Black Muslim movement, this organization serves as a way out. It does this because it gives an identity and a sense of purpose and destiny, a self-respect and a feeling of hope, for its members. In short, then, Black Muslims appeal to those whom integration and the advances of recent years have passed by. To them the Black Muslims have a program that makes sense, for it offers them four things: an explanation of their plight (white devils); a sense of pride and self-esteem (black superiority); a vision of a glorious future (black ascendancy); and a practical immediate program of uplift (working hard and joining together to create Negro enterprise and prosperity).

It is important to note, however, that the ideology and program of the Black Muslims are shot through with paradoxes. In the first place, they exhibit the same sort of prejudices for which they so justly criticize whites. They assume that all whites are bad; and the stereotyped image which the prejudiced have of Negroes is the very image of whites which the Muslims are projecting—i.e., that whites are inferior beings, lazy, sexually immoral, dirty and criminal. Secondly, in their emphasis on thrift, hard work, economic accumulation, and Puritan morality, they seem to be trying to make Negroes over into the old-fashioned middle-class American image. In this, of course, they are imitating not only white middle-class virtues, but also the Negro middle class which they attack so much. They are indeed attacking the lower-class way of life of the very group to which they appeal—and their appeal lies in the very fact that they offer a route of upward mobility, a road to respectability, for people who would otherwise have no hope of improving themselves. Thus, as Essien-Udom suggests, the Black Muslims are as much anti-Negro-lower-class values, and anti-Negro-middle-class complacency and opportunism as they are anti-white injustice. In the third place, the faith of the Black Muslims is racially exclusive, though orthodox Islam preaches brotherhood and equality of all races. There are a number of similarities between the Black Muslim doctrines and Christianity. Like the Black Muslims, the early Christians appealed to the poor and the downtrodden, and they did this by giving them a sense of dignity and self-respect. Both the Christian and Black Muslim eschatologies paint a future of bliss for their righteous followers, and punishment for the wicked who are their oppressors. Both stress righteousness and justice, and both protest against oppression. Both believe that God was incarnate in a man, the founder of the faith—and in this and other ways W. D. Fard is comparable to Jesus. Both the Christians and the Black Muslims appear to be intolerant of other faiths. And both white Christians and Black Muslims have perverted their religious doctrines to justify racial hatreds.

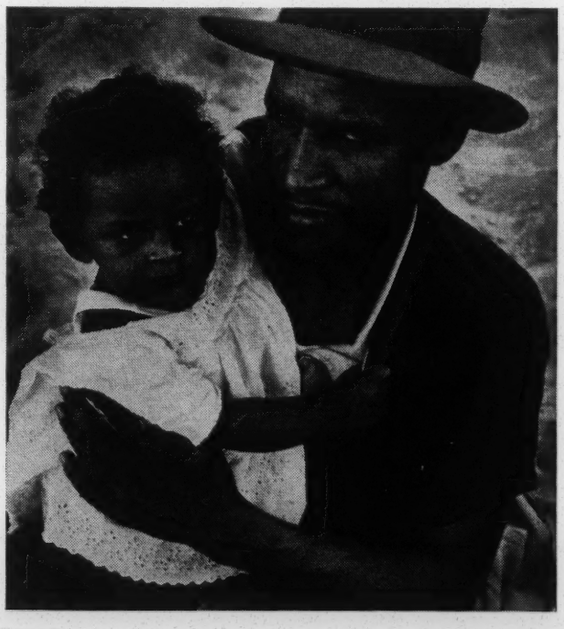
There are paradoxes involved also in the Muslims' espousal of race pride. First, by stressing the Arabic language and Islam, the Black Muslims unintentionally seem to agree with whites who have incorrectly held that the culture of the Negro societies of Ashanti, Dahomey, Yoruba and related peoples—who were the chief sources of New World Negroes—were negligible and inferior. Second, the Black Muslims have attacked Martin Luther King, CORE and the student demonstrators as lacking in self-respect because they want integration—because, as the Black Muslims put it, they are begging to eat and sit in the white man's places rather

than building their own. Psychologists have found that people who hate others—as do the white supremacists and the Black Muslims—are the ones who, subconsciously, really feel inferior and actually hate themselves, and therefore need a scapegoat on which to vent their frustrations. Only people with pride and confidence in themselves could display the courage of the nonviolent demonstrators, who have risked jail and even death, instead of being like the Black Muslims, who retreat into their own separate world.

In view of the situation in which lower-class Negroes find themselves, the wonder is not that the Black Muslim movement has grown so much, but that it has not grown far more. The severe discipline and ascetic code of the movement undoubtedly discourage many sympathizers from becoming members. But more important is the fact that fundamentally what most American Negroes want are their full rights as American citizens; that is, though they are forced to think of themselves as a disadvantaged minority group, in part the failure of the Black Muslims to attract larger numbers of people is due to the quest of the masses of Negroes for identification with the larger American society. Even among the Negro lower classes, the dream of full participation in the promise of American life remains a pervasive influence.

## The Challenge

I do not mean to suggest that the Black Muslim movement does not have a great potential for further growth. Current estimates of its membership range from fifty thousand to half a million; probably the lower figure is more nearly correct, though the true numbers are a closely guarded secret. But the actual influence—and potential influence—of the Black Muslims is several times greater than this, both because the Muslims have many sympathizers in the Negro community, and because they are extremely well organized. While the movement's leaders thus far have discouraged their members from voting, it is not at all unlikely that they could wield an important—and in some cases a decisive—political influence in the major urban areas in the near future. In large part the future influence of the movement depends upon the actions of white Americans. If the slow pace of change in race relations continues and more Negroes become disillusioned, and particularly if something drastic is not done—and soon—to reverse the unemployment rate and improve the economic opportunities for Negroes, it is quite possible that it could become a mass movement that could create serious problems for American whites. Moreover, it is not too difficult to conceive of a combination of international circumstances that could give the movement a very real revolutionary potential. The crux of the situation, it seems to me, lies in the challenge Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X have hurled at the white people of America, when they charge them with being hypocrites mouthing the language of freedom and equal rights, while according Negroes an inferior place in the American social order. The relatively slow pace of change in race relations, the continued economic deprivation and oppression of the great masses of Negroes, the slowdown on school desegregation, the resistance to Negro voter registration in the South, the frequency of police brutality, the reluctance to employ Negroes in skilled labor, white collar and managerial positions (even on the part of some individuals well-known for their interest in integrating Negroes into American society), the flight of whites from neighborhoods when a Negro family moves in, all support the contention of the Black Muslims that basically Americans do not want to accord equal rights to Negroes, that white Americans do not want to recognize the Negro's essential manhood and citizenship, but are being forced into making grudging changes only because of the pressure of international public opinion and the exigencies of United States foreign policy. And unfortunately it cannot be denied that much of the improvement in race relations over the past fifteen years has been for just this reason. The only way to meet the challenge posed by the Black Muslims and the possible danger they may pose to American society in the future is to show that white Americans really mean what they say when they talk about freedom and the democratic way of life by taking prompt and effective action to end segregation and discrimination at once. Even more than the student demonstrators and the Freedom Riders the Black Muslims have a message for white America—and that message is that not only discrimination but also gradualism in race relations must vanish.



Harold Feinstein

**RELIGION OF REBELLION**—With their doctrine of black supremacy, the Muslims have been called "the other side of the White Citizens Councils of the South." Seated before white-robed Muslim women, Malcolm X prepares to address a meeting in Washington, D. C. In the foreground are two members of the rigorously trained elite group that enforces the cult's rules.

**The nation's 20,000,000 Negroes are united in their determination to win equality but they are divided over the means of achieving it.**

eted waiters serve well-dressed diners. A mural of the Sphinx fills one wall. Even the juke box seems toned down. It is like a stage set.

For three and a half hours, Malcolm X virtually mesmerizes the listener with his ingratiating manners, an endless flow of ideas, Biblical quotations, boyish smiles and bland insults. He is tall (6 feet 3 inches), a light-brown, 37-year-old, ruggedly handsome man with coldly appraising eyes behind horn-rimmed glasses. With pauses for phone calls or to sip water (he was on a monthly three-day fast), he roams widely over religious, economic, cultural and racial subjects on which he has educated himself.

He never got beyond a formal eighth-grade education. He attributes "all that I am and all that I know" to his teacher, Mr. Muhammad. When he pronounces the name, it is with the same awe that Catholics refer to St. Peter, or Jews to Moses.

He was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., one of 11 children and the son of a Baptist minister. He tells you he was 6 years old when the Ku Klux Klan burned his home to the ground; later his father was found killed. These terrible memories have never left him. The family broke up and Malcolm went to a boys' institution. Eventually, he moved East and into the underworld. Known as "Big Red," he went to prison for larceny in Massachusetts on an 8-to-10-year sentence, and served seven years. In prison he began to absorb the Muslim religion and to correspond with Muhammad. He likes to say that "Christianity took me to prison and Islam brought me out."

"THIS Elijah," he tells you, "is teaching us that just as Moses solved the problem of the Jews by taking them to a land of their own, this Moses, our Elijah, will lead us to a land of our own."

"Where?" (Some reports have identified the site as three Southern States.)

Malcolm X flashes his smile. "Moses never told the Jews where it was to be. It was part of the Mosaic strategy politically just to lead them out toward the 'promised land.'

"The reason that Muslims don't want integration with the white man," Malcolm X continues, "is because we see what's coming to the white man, what's in store for him. It's a sinking ship.

"We're not anti-white. We're anti-oppression, and the oppressor is white. That's why I say there is a guilt complex among the whites.

"The N.A.A.C.P. is not a Negro organization, so Roy Wilkins [N.A.A.C.P. executive director] is not a Negro leader. As long as Arthur Spingarn is the president, it's a Jewish organization. And it's the same with the Urban League, CORE, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund—all those are white organizations.

"When Negroes in those organizations open their mouths to speak words of praise, it's always for white people—the good liberals, the good Jews, the good white folks. When they say anything good about Mr. Muhammad, it's always with reservations to let people know that 'I'm not a Muslim.' These are statements by scared men."

Asked whether he feels his racism is comparable to Hitler's he replies blandly: "Uncle Sam was practicing racism and white supremacy before Hitler was born. Hitler learned from Uncle Sam. Kennedy exploited the Negro to get in office and since then he bucked everyone on this earth — U.S. Steel, Khrushchev, Castro, everybody—but he won't buck the Southern segregationists. Tokenism — minimum integration — is a political trick."

BUT is not race irrelevant? Shouldn't man be judged as a human being, not on his color?

"It's too late to undo the chain reaction of events that has been set in motion by the white supremacists. There is some Muslim in a whole lot of Negroes. The only movement with mass appeal today is the Muslim movement. Why? Because Negroes are fed up. The most dangerous thing that confronts whites today is the white man's attempt to minimize the intense dissatisfaction among Negroes."

Malcolm X likes to say that he has no political ambitions, yet like other Muslim ministers, he is constantly recruiting—on speaking tours, at outdoor rallies, on *(Continued on Page 86)*

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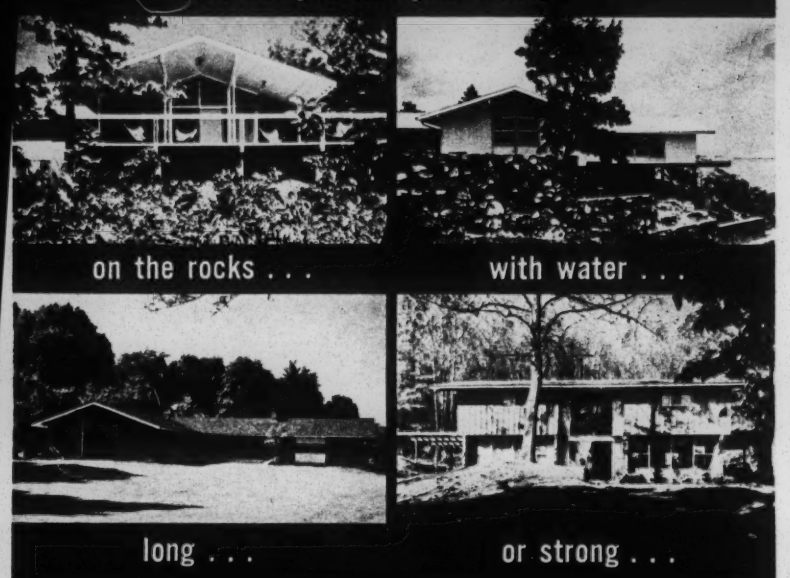


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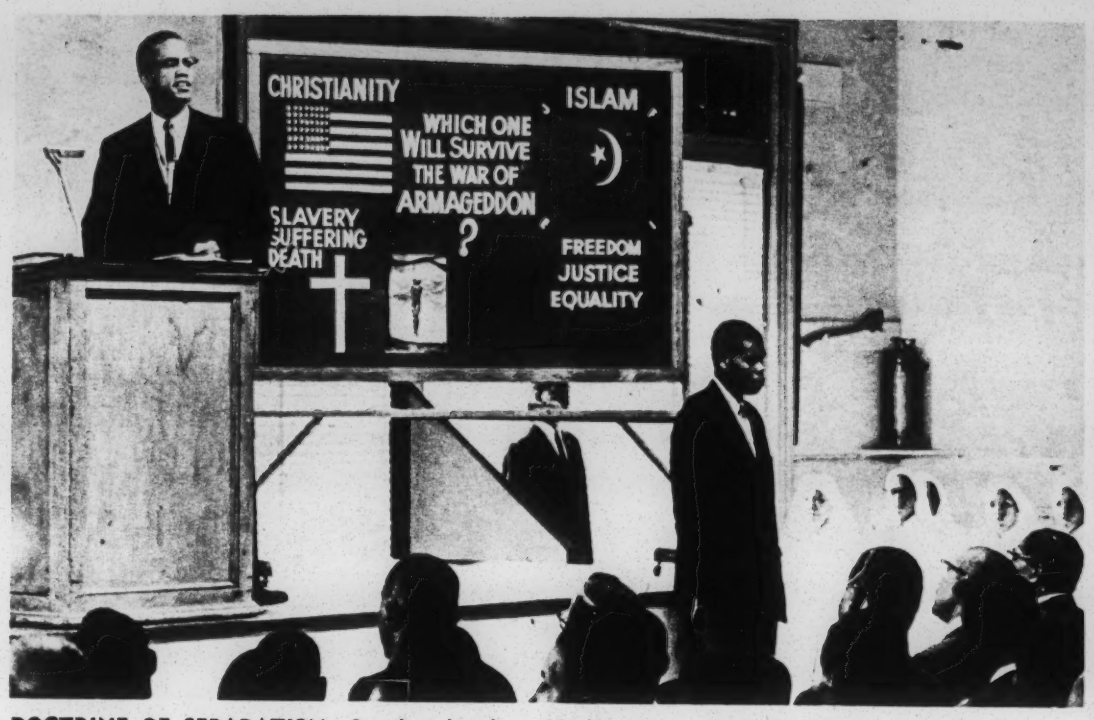


**DOCTRINE OF SEPARATISM**—Standing beside a blackboard on which the Muslim viewpoint is presented with graphic simplicity, Malcolm X presides at a meeting in Harlem's Muslim Temple No. 7.

# Two Ways: Black Muslim and N.A.A.C.P.

*(Continued from Page 27)*

college campuses, in pool halls, prisons and drugstores—inviting Negro Christians to attend lectures at the mosque.

So strong is Malcolm X's drawing power in Harlem today that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, a Baptist preacher, has begun to link himself to the Muslims.

The other week, at a huge, outdoor rally in Harlem Square, the Congressman declared:

"I tell you again and again, we are not going to get anything more in this life except that which we *fight* for and *fight* for with all our power. Unless we can seize completely the administration of our national Negro organizations, then we must say there is no hope there for us. This may sound like black nationalism. If it is, then what is wrong with it?"

Powell added that he did not agree with "some things" that Malcolm X preached, but he said Malcolm X was his "friend." In wrathful tones that won loud approval, he attacked on racist grounds such nonviolent, interracial groups as N.A.A.C.P. (of which he happens to be a life member), the Urban League, CORE, and the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They had, he said, white people in leadership positions.

Malcolm X rose at the same meeting to declare: "We won't get our problems solved depending on the white man." Both speakers obliquely singled out for attack those leaders with Jewish names.

The leading Negro press has been scathing in reaction to the attacks on the N.A.A.C.P. But in Harlem, the Muslims and Powell have been given a curious boost by the writings of James Hicks, executive editor of The Amsterdam News, a Harlem Negro weekly. Hicks has been trying to paint N.A.A.C.P. leaders and Negroes high in government as in league with "the enemy," calling them "stupid." (His paper, paradoxically, has been advertising that its "great" columnists are the very men he is criticizing — Roy Wilkins and Dr. King.)

During the newspaper strike, when reaction was necessarily mute, the paper charged that "Jews control New York's top jobs." Recently, Hicks wrote that he was "fed up" with leaders who criticized Malcolm X for "fighting the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time."

"Who is the enemy?" asked Mr. Hicks.

### THE N.A.A.C.P.

THE enemy, answers N.A.A.C.P., is race hatred —whether it comes from men with white skins or black skins.

The N.A.A.C.P. rejects segregation or, as the Muslims call it, "separation." It is biracial. It was founded fifty years ago by liberal whites and Negroes. N.A.A.C.P. fights in three nonviolent ways — legal, legislative and educational — to help Negroes break out of their ghettos. It is trying to teach all people that race is irrelevant, that man must be judged as man.

In contrast with the Muslims, N.A.A.C.P. seeks to bring about complete integration in all phases of American life. It wants equal justice under law, the right to vote (Muslims discourage voting), personal security against mob and police violence, and nondiscriminatory treatment in housing and all public facilities. It is the largest civil rights organization in the nation with some 400,000 paying members and probably millions of supporters, Negro and white.

For traditional reasons, all presidents of N.A.A.C.P. have been white. The board of directors, which sets policy, numbers 60, of whom 11 are whites. The board has included such public figures as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph Bunche, Gov. Herbert Lehman, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Walter Reuther. Arthur Spingarn, 85-year-old Jewish lawyer, who heads N.A.A.C.P., was for nearly a quarter-century the association's entire "legal department," serving on a no-fee basis.

Today the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, a separate, nonprofit group, works for civil

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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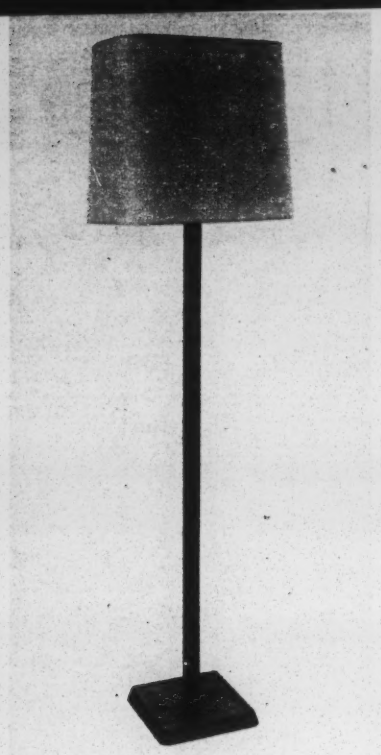

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### X the Unknown

**Asked about his family name, Minister Malcolm X says that he long ago took the surname X: "The last white man to own my forefathers was Little, and it would be an insult to call me by that name."**

**He told the writer to call him Malcolm X, or Mr. Malcolm X, or Mr. X.**

**"The X means that I don't know who I am," he said. "No one knows who these Negroes are — their identity was destroyed during slavery. All of the Muslims take X—the unknown. Sixty-seven brothers in our mosque alone have the name James X with the number of their sequence — James X-11, James X-12, etc. We have done this deliberately.**

**"I feel more intelligent saying my name is X," he added, icily, "than I would saying my name was Little —or Bunche or Powell or King. They don't know that they don't know what their name is."—G. S.**

*(Continued from Preceding Page)*

rights through legal actions. Its nine lawyers (six of whom are Negro) have 121 cases pending in the Southern states. Of these, 66 are school segregation cases; six involve admission of physicians to hospital staffs and patients to treatment facilities; the remainder are sit-in and Freedom Rider cases.

N.A.A.C.P. is also encouraging the economic boycott—what it calls "selective buying." Negro purchasing power is estimated at $15 billion a year; N.A.A.C.P. reports that planned boycotts of certain merchants and retail stores in Jackson, Miss.; Savannah, Ga.; Macon, Ga., and St. Petersburg, Fla., are "effective" and that the idea is spreading.

The chief legal counsel until recently was Thurgood Marshall, a Negro who is now a Federal judge. When asked to comment on the appointment of Jack Greenberg, his successor as director-counsel (now under attack by the Muslims and Congressman Powell), Judge Marshall said: "As those who are fighting discrimination, we cannot afford to practice it."

* * *

URBANITY is the word for Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P.'s graying executive director, who looks younger than his 62 years. The son of a Methodist minister, tall, lean, known as a cool strategist, Wilkins worked his way through the University of Minnesota (as a redcap and a railroad dining-car waiter). He was managing editor of The Call, a Negro weekly in Kansas City, Mo., until he joined the association some thirty years ago. At N.A.A.C.P. headquarters in mid-Manhattan the other day, Wilkins discussed Powell and spoke with contempt of the Muslims and their hate philosophy.

"WHAT is Adam Powell doing in Congress," asked Wilkins, "if he doesn't believe in integration? Logically, if he's given up on the system, or doesn't support what most Negroes want — integration — he ought to resign.

"I don't think that there's any doubt that Negroes are frustrated, bitter and impatient, but I don't see that as identical with the Muslim objectives. This Muslim group is a cult. The first point of departure is its anti-Christianity which gives them the cult aspect and is attention-getting. But Christianity has been for the American Negro part and parcel of his development and his life. So when he is asked to get rid of it and to adopt Islam and Allah, well, it is bound to get attention.

"And, let's face it," he went on coolly, "the white community brought it on themselves. The whites are responsible for

*(Continued on Following Page)*

**ON THE SPEAKERS' STAND**—At a Human Rights Rally in Harlem, Malcolm X (center) shares platform with Adam Clayton Powell (left) and Hulan Jack, former Manhattan Borough President.


# A GIRL WITHOUT A COUNTRY

Sepier's six years of life have been cruelly tragic. Her family was deported from Turkey and would not be welcomed back, even if there were funds to get back. Her Armenian parents belong to the oldest Christian nation but it no longer exists. There is only a Russian Communist Satellite in the Caucasus. Her father was an invalid when the family was forced to leave Turkey and poor and insufficient food caused his death soon after arriving in Lebanon. For many years the family has existed in a one room hovel. The mother has tried to eke out a living working as a farm hand. Malnutrition has since incapacitated her for hard labor. Now in this one small room, bitter cold for lack of fuel in winter and blistering hot, standing in the dry sun-scorched plain in summer—evicted, unwanted, countryless, a sick mother and her four children have one constant companion—hunger.

There are hundreds of Sepiers in the Near East, born of refugee parents who, in many cases, have lived in the same temporary, makeshift shacks for over 30 years. Their parents are not worthless, good-for-nothing people. But it is hard to keep hoping for a real life for 30 years. The children themselves never asked to be born into such a miserable and hopeless existence.

Sepier is an appealing, sweet child. There is a haunting sadness about her but she is naturally affectionate and appreciative. Little girls like Sepier can be found in many other of the 55 countries listed below where CCF assists over 42,000 children in 469 orphanages and projects. Youngsters like her can be "adopted" and cared for. The cost to the contributor is the same in all countries—ten dollars a month. The child's name, address, story and picture and correspondence with the child are provided for the donor.

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Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Borneo, Brazil, Burma, Cameroun, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, England, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea, Lapland, Lebanon, Macao, Malaya, Mexico, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Okinawa, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Scotland, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Republic of; Spain, Swaziland, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay, United States (Indian, Negro, White), Vietnam, Western Germany.

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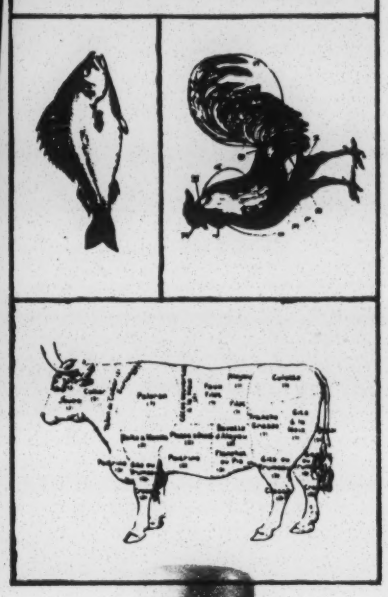

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*(Continued from Preceding Page)*
the seeds of this cult being even an inch high — their rebuffs to the Negro, their rejection of his worthiness no matter how worthy.

"The supreme push to this defeatist Muslim philosophy was given by the tolerated defiance of the Supreme Court decision. Negro citizens had a right to believe that once the Supreme Court in 1954 had affirmed that segregation was unconstitutional, things would change. But instead of progress, there has been token integration — driplets of compliance. Of course, the Muslims capitalize on all this.

"But for all his frustrations, the Negro is still an American. This is his country. He's sore about a lot of things. But most Negroes—the vast majority—have decided to fight it out, fight for what is their due. The Negro is convinced that he can do something about it. If he didn't believe it, you wouldn't have the steady membership in N.A.A.C.P., the personal following of Martin Luther King, the kneel-ins at the churches, the sit-ins at the lunch-counters, and the demonstrations."

* * *

WHAT is the meaning of the present schism for the Negro community and for America?

Many people believe that the influence of the Muslims is growing. They seem to have plenty of money. Their code, emphasizing race pride and individual decorum, is helping to shatter the Negro stereotype of shiftlessness and lawlessness and has undeniable appeal. As one non-Muslim Negro put it: "No one can calculate the psychological and emotional impact throughout the nation." Though their political power is latent, it is a threat. The immediate danger is that, through them, a growing number of colored people are beginning to experience a real sense of alienation from American society.

**SYMBOLS OF DEDICATION**—White robes and headdresses are ceremonial garb for women members of Black Muslim movement.

Partly in reaction to the rise of the Muslims but mostly because of its own impatience with the slow progress on civil rights, the N.A.A.C.P. and other moderate groups are being forced into more militant positions. The militancy, especially of the young Negro American, has been dramatized in recent days by the various "freedom walks" and the hundreds of arrests of young Negroes in Birmingham, Ala., in the demonstrations against segregation. Some believe that the very existence of the Muslims points to a failure of the N.A.A.C.P. to reach the grass roots where the cult is having success.

As Roy Wilkins moves about the South, he encounters redcaps, porters and bellhops who keep abreast of events, reading the papers and watching TV. They are apt to ask him: "How're things going? You think those folks are going to act right down there in Washington?"

"I think so," Wilkins replies, "if you keep up the pressure."

"We're going to do it," they answer, "but sometimes—" and they shake their heads—"I don't know . . . I don't know. Adam flies off the handle — but he gets white folks *told*."

The warnings are clear. The Muslims exist and their influence will remain potent so long as they are able to give the Negro masses something that articulates their pent-up frustrations.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at City College, chief of HARYOU (the Federally supported Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited) and himself a target of the Muslims, puts it this way:

"THE danger of the Muslim movement is that it exploits chaos. It is really the other side of the White Citizen Councils of the South. It can put terror into people and intimidate the responsible elements. The anti-Semitism is part of the demagoguery. The Muslims have again demonstrated the ease with which masses of human beings can be aroused by hatred. There is no reason to believe that Negroes are any more immune to this type of hate appeal than are whites."

It is the disease of racism and discrimination that must be attacked. Negro leaders are warning that the whites must open their eyes to some painful realities they have been trying desperately not to see. The racial confrontation in America now exists and cannot be postponed. Gradualism and tokenism are no longer acceptable to the Negro people.

At the highest level of government, it is felt, there must be wider understanding of the sense of urgency. The racial crisis is upon us.

"It must be resolved positively now," Kenneth Clark concludes, "or we run the risk of stagnation, moral dry-rot or worse. No Negro leader in America today can ask the masses to wait for rights which are enjoyed by the newest American citizen who is white."

## How Students Feel

**The Muslim movement is geared to attract "Young Blacks." It emphasizes youth and masculinity. Its young leaders make a show of self-confidence and a sort of military posturing. They do not wear uniforms but have the Muslim insigne—a star-and-crescent button — in their lapels.**

**In a meeting with Negro students of Hunter College and City College, the writer asked what the Muslims meant to them. Here is a sampling of their replies:**

***On the Muslims:***

**"They are bringing the facts into the open. They're saying the truth and you can't deny it — that civil rights aren't as great as we think they are, that we haven't moved the way people claim we have. As Malcolm X gives you these facts and valid information, you go along and it's rational. But when he moves into these farcical concepts and pie in the sky—the creation of a Black State—I feel he's ridiculous. Why, it's unconstitutional."**

**"I agree with some things that Malcolm X says, but I don't agree with his racism and separation of the races. When I visited the mosque the men were extremely mannerly and neat. I think that the Negro should have more dignity in being a Negro."**

**"One thing the Muslims want is for all the shop-owners on 125th Street to be replaced by Negroes. Perhaps that's not such a good idea. If Negro shops are going to survive, they should function in competition with white shops, as they do in the rest of the business world."**

**"I think it's a dream—this Black State. I don't think it could happen. But I'll say this: The very fact that they could preach it, and people follow them, despite the absurdity of the idea, shows the frustration and bitterness of the Negroes."**

**"They have shown exactly what is in the minds of Negroes: that the hate is still there, it hasn't gone, and something must be done about it."**

***On the N.A.A.C.P.:***

**"In its time, N.A.A.C.P. was radical. Now they're not. If the big move isn't made with this generation, we might just as well wait until the 12th of Never. What do I want? Not a way-out radical approach — but building the concept of equal rights, of getting political and economic awareness."**

**"Where N.A.A.C.P. keeps speaking on the intellectual level, playing everything out of that legal bag, I wish they would realize that the answer lies with the grass roots. They have to reach the very groups that the Muslims are working with, to move them upward."**

**"I'd like to see a real Youth Leader branch that would be structured and give directives, for instance, to the youth leaders at my college."**

**"I'd like an action program—people who will act instead of react to situations like the Muslims. N.A.A.C.P. has done a good job. But it's too middle-class. It has no appeal to most people in Harlem. If it had, would people there flock to the nationalist rallies?"—G. S.**

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Playboy
May, 1963

# PLAYBOY INTERVIEW: MALCOLM X

## *a candid conversation with the militant major-domo of the black muslims*

*Within the past five years, the militant American Negro has become an increasingly active combatant in the struggle for civil rights. Espousing the goals of unqualified equality and integration, many of these outspoken insurgents have participated in freedom rides and protest marches against their segregationist foes. Today, they face opposition from not one, but two inimical exponents of racism and segregation: the white supremacists and the Black Muslims. A relatively unknown and insignificant radical religious Negro cult until a few years ago, the Muslims have grown into a dedicated, disciplined nationwide movement which runs its own school, publishes its own newspaper, owns stores and restaurants in four major cities, buys broadcast time on 50 radio stations throughout the country, stages mass rallies attended by partisan crowds of 10,000 and more, and maintains its own police force of judo-trained athletes called the Fruit of Islam.*

*Predicated on the proposition that the black man is morally, spiritually and intellectually superior to the white man, who is called a "devil," Muslim doctrine dooms him to extermination in an imminent Armageddon — along with Christianity itself, which is denounced as an opiate designed to lull Negroes — with the promise of heaven — into passive acceptance of inferior social status. Amalgamating elements of Christianity and Mohammedanism (both of which officially and unequivocally disown it) and spiked with a black-supremacy version of Hitler's Aryan racial theories, Muslimism was founded in 1931 by Elijah Poole, a Georgia-born ex-factory worker who today commands unquestioning obedience from thousands of followers as the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah. At the right hand of God's Messenger stands 36-year-old Malcolm Little, a lanky onetime dining-car steward, bootlegger, pimp and dope pusher who left prison in 1952 to heed Muhammad's message, abandoned his "slave name," Little, for the symbolic "X" (meaning identity unknown), and took an oath to abstain thereafter from smoking, drinking, gambling, cursing, dancing and sexual promiscuity — as required of every Muslim. The ambitious young man rose swiftly to become the Messenger's most ardent and erudite disciple, and today wields all but absolute authority over the movement and its membership as Muhammad's business manager, trouble shooter, prime minister and heir apparent.*

*In the belief that knowledge and awareness are necessary and effective antitoxins against the venom of hate,* PLAYBOY *asked Malcolm X to submit to a cross-examination on the means and ends of his organization. The ensuing interview was conducted at a secluded table in a Harlem restaurant owned by the Muslims. Interrupting his replies occasionally with a sip of black African coffee and whispered asides to deferential aides, the dark-suited minister of Harlem's Muslim Temple Number Seven spoke with candor and — except for moments of impassioned execration of all whites — the impersonal tone of a self-assured corporation executive.*

*Many will be shocked by what he has to say; others will be outraged. Our own view is that this interview is both an eloquent statement and a damning self-indictment of one noxious facet of rampant racism. As such, we believe it merits publication — and reading.*

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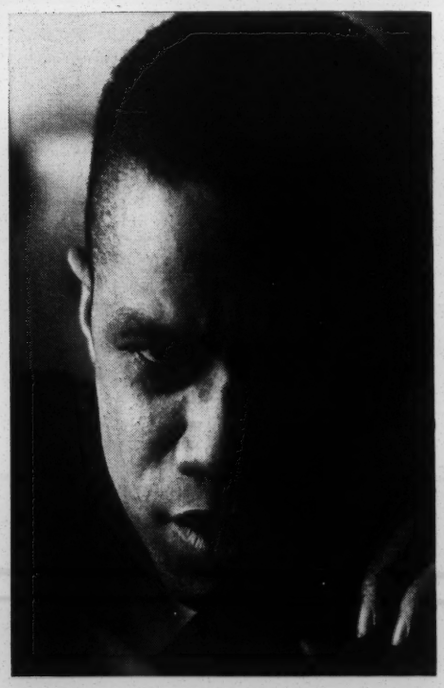
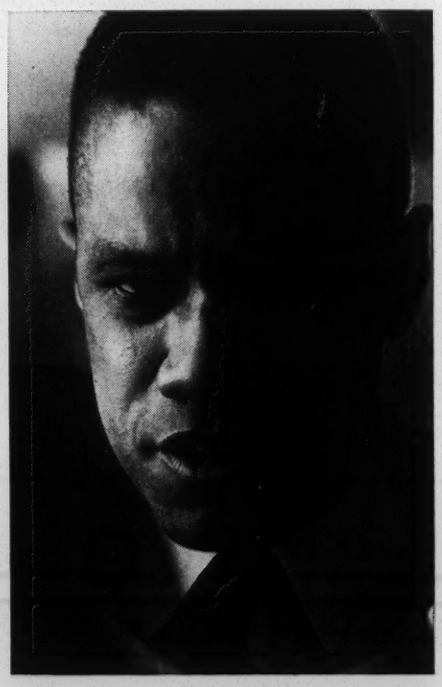
**PLAYBOY:** What is the ambition of the Black Muslims?

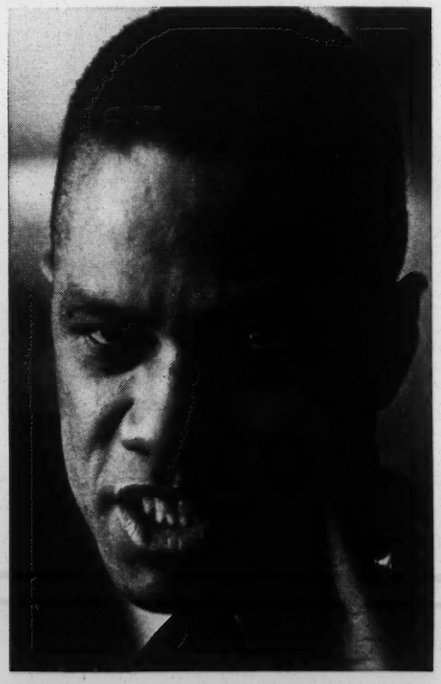
**MALCOLM X:** Freedom, justice and equality



*"I don't know when Armageddon is supposed to be. But I know that the time is near when the white man will be finished. The signs are all around us."*



*"Christ wasn't white. Christ was black. The poor, brainwashed Negro has been made to believe Christ was white to maneuver him into worshiping white men."*



*"Verwoerd is an honest white man. So are the Barnetts, Eastlands and Rockwells. They want to keep white people white; we want to keep black people black."*

are our principal ambitions. And to faithfully serve and follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the guiding goal of every Muslim. Mr. Muhammad teaches us the knowledge of our own selves, and of our own people. He cleans us up — morally, mentally and spiritually — and he reforms us of the vices that have blinded us here in the Western society. He stops black men from getting drunk, stops their dope addiction if they had it, stops nicotine, gambling, stealing, lying, cheating, fornication, adultery, prostitution, juvenile delinquency. I think of this whenever somebody talks about someone investigating us. Why investigate the Honorable Elijah Muhammad? They should subsidize him. He's cleaning up the mess that white men have made. He's saving the Government millions of dollars, taking black men off of welfare, showing them how to do something for themselves. And Mr. Muhammad teaches us love for our own kind. The white man has taught the black people in this country to hate themselves as inferior, to hate each other, to be divided against each other. Messenger Muhammad restores our love for our own kind, which enables us to work together in unity and harmony. He shows us how to pool our financial resources and our talents, then to work together toward a common objective. Among other things, we have small businesses in most major cities in this country, and we want to create many more. We are taught by Mr. Muhammad that it is very important to improve the black man's economy, and his thrift. But to do this, we must have land of our own. The brainwashed black man can never learn to stand on his own two feet until he is on his own. We must learn to become our own producers, manufacturers and traders; we must have industry of our own, to employ our own. The white man resists this because he wants to keep the black man under his thumb and jurisdiction in white society. He wants to keep the black man always dependent and begging — for jobs, food, clothes, shelter, education. The white man doesn't want to lose somebody to be supreme over. He wants to keep the black man where he can be watched and retarded. Mr. Muhammad teaches that as soon as we separate from the white man, we will learn that we can do without the white man just as he can do without us. The white man knows that once black men get off to themselves and learn they can do for themselves, the black man's full potential will explode and he will *surpass* the white man.

**PLAYBOY:** Do you feel that the Black Muslims' goal of obtaining "several states" is a practical vision?

**MALCOLM X:** Well, *you* might consider some things practical that are really impractical. Wasn't it impractical that the Supreme Court could issue a desegregation order nine years ago and there's still only eight percent compliance? Is it practical that a hundred years after the Civil War there's not freedom for black men yet? On the record for integration you've got the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court — but show me your integration, where is it? That's practical? Mr. Muhammad teaches us to be for what's *really* practical — that's separation. It's more natural than integration.

**PLAYBOY:** In the view of many, that is highly debatable. However: In a recent interview, Negro author-lecturer Louis Lomax said, "Eighty percent, if not more, of America's 20,000,000 Negroes vibrate sympathetically with the Muslims' indictment of the white power structure. But this does not mean we agree with them in their doctrines of estrangement or with their proposed resolutions of the race problem." Does this view represent a consensus of opinion among Negroes? And if so, is it possible that your separationist and anti-Christian doctrine have the effect of alienating many of your race?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, you make a mistake listening to people who tell you how much our stand alienates black men in this country. I'd guess actually we have the sympathy of 90 percent of the black people. There are 20,000,000 dormant Muslims in America. A Muslim to us is somebody who is for the black man; I don't care if he goes to the Baptist Church seven days a week. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that a black man is born a Muslim by nature. There are millions of Muslims not aware of it now. All of them will be Muslims when they wake up; that's what's meant by the Resurrection.

Sir, I'm going to tell you a secret: the black man is a whole lot smarter than white people think he is. The black man has survived in this country by fooling the white man. He's been dancing and grinning and white men never guessed what he was thinking. Now you'll hear the bourgeois Negroes pretending to be alienated, but they're just making the white man *think* they don't go for what Mr. Muhammad is saying. This Negro that will tell you he's so against us, he's just protecting the crumbs he gets from the white man's table. This kind of Negro is so busy trying to be *like* the white man that he doesn't know what the real masses of his own people are thinking. A fine car and house and clothes and liquor have made a lot think themselves different from their poor black brothers. But Mr. Muhammad says that Allah is going to wake up all black men to see the white man as he really is, and see what Christianity has done to them. The black masses that are waking up don't believe in Christianity anymore. All it's done for black men is help to keep them slaves. Mr. Muhammad is teaching that Christianity, as white people see it, means that whites can have their heaven here on earth, but the black man is supposed to catch his hell here. The black man is supposed to keep believing that when he dies, he'll float up to some city with golden streets and milk and honey on a cloud somewhere. Every black man in North America has heard black Christian preachers shouting about "tomorrow in good old Beulah's Land." But the thinking black masses today are interested in *Muhammad's* Land. The Promised Land that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad talks about is right here on this earth. Intelligent black men today are interested in a religious doctrine that offers a solution to their problems right now, right here on this earth, while they are alive.

You must understand that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad represents the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy to us. In the Old Testament, Moses lived to see his enemy, Pharaoh, drowned in the Red Sea — which in essence means that Mr. Muhammad will see the completion of his work in his lifetime, that he will live to see victory gained over his enemy.

**PLAYBOY:** The Old Testament connection seems tenuous. Are you referring to the Muslim judgment day which your organization's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks,* calls "Armageddon" and prophesies as imminent?

**MALCOLM X:** Armageddon deals with the final battle between God and the Devil. The Third World War is referred to as Armageddon by many white statesmen. There won't be any more war after then because there won't be any more warmongers. I don't know when Armageddon, whatever form it takes, is supposed to be. But I know the time is near when the white man will be finished. The signs are all around us. Ten years ago you couldn't have *paid* a Southern Negro to defy local customs. The British Lion's tail has been snatched off in black Africa. The Indonesians have booted out such would-be imperialists as the Dutch. The French, who felt for a century that Algeria was theirs, have had to run for their lives back to France. Sir, the point I make is that all over the world, the old day of standing in fear and trembling before the almighty white man is *gone*!

**PLAYBOY:** You refer to whites as the guilty and the enemy; you predict divine retribution against them; and you preach absolute separation from the white community. Do not these views substantiate that your movement is predicated on race hatred?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, it's from Mr. Muhammad that the black masses are learning for the first time in 400 years the real truth

MEET

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of how the white man brainwashed the black man, kept him ignorant of his true history, robbed him of his self-confidence. The black masses for the first time are understanding that it's not a case of being anti-white or anti-Christian, but it's a case of seeing the true nature of the white man. We're anti-evil, anti-oppression, anti-lynching. You can't be anti- those things unless you're also anti- the oppressor and the lyncher. You can't be anti-slavery and pro-slavemaster; you can't be anti-crime and pro-criminal. In fact, Mr. Muhammad teaches that if the present generation of *whites* would study their own race in the light of their true history, they would be anti-white themselves.

**PLAYBOY:** Are you?

**MALCOLM X:** As soon as the white man hears a black man say that he's through loving white people, then the white man accuses the black man of hating him. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate. The white man isn't *important* enough for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and his followers to spend any time hating him. The white man has brainwashed himself into believing that all the black people in the world want to be cuddled up next to him. When he meets what we're talking about, he can't believe it, it takes all the wind out of him. When we tell him we don't want to be around him, we don't want to be like he is, he's staggered. It makes him re-evaluate his 300-year myth about the black man. What I want to know is how the white man, with the blood of black people dripping off his fingers, can have the audacity to be asking black people do they hate him. That takes a lot of nerve.

**PLAYBOY:** How do you reconcile your disavowal of hatred with the announcement you made last year that Allah had brought you "the good news" that 120 white Atlantans had just been killed in an air crash en route to America from Paris?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, as I see the law of justice, it says as you sow, so shall you reap. The white man has reveled as the rope snapped black men's necks. He has reveled around the lynching fire. It's only right for the black man's true God, Allah, to defend us — and for us to be joyous because our God manifests his ability to inflict pain on our enemy. We Muslims believe that the white race, which is guilty of having oppressed and exploited and enslaved our people here in America, should and will be the victims of God's divine wrath. All civilized societies in their courts of justice set a sentence of execution against those deemed to be enemies of society, such as murderers and kidnapers. The presence of 20,000,000 black people here in America is proof that Uncle Sam is guilty of kidnaping — because we didn't come here voluntarily on the Mayflower. And 400 years of lynchings condemn Uncle Sam as a murderer.

**PLAYBOY:** We question that all-inclusive generalization. To return to your statement about the plane crash, when Dr. Ralph Bunche heard about it, he called you "mentally depraved." What is your reaction?

**MALCOLM X:** I know all about what Dr. Bunche said. He's always got his international mouth open. He apologized in the UN when black people protested there. You'll notice that whenever the white man lets a black man get prominent, he has a job for him. Dr. Bunche serves the white man well — he represents, speaks for and defends the white man. He does none of this for the black man. Dr. Bunche has functioned as a white man's tool, designed to influence international opinion on the Negro. The white man has Negro local tools, national tools, and Dr. Bunche is an international tool.

**PLAYBOY:** Dr. Bunche was only one of many prominent Negroes who deplored your statement in similar terms. What reply have you to make to these spokesmen for your own people?

**MALCOLM X:** Go ask their opinions and you'll be able to fill your notebook with what white people want to hear Negroes say. Let's take these so-called spokesmen for the black men by types. Start with the politicians. They never attack Mr. Muhammad personally. They realize he has the sympathy of the black masses. They know they would alienate the masses whose votes they need. But the black civic leaders, they do attack Mr. Muhammad. The reason is usually that they are appointed to their positions by the white man. The white man pays them to attack us. The ones who attack Mr. Muhammad the most are the ones who earn the most. Then take the black religious leaders, they also attack Mr. Muhammad. These preachers do it out of self-defense, because they know he's waking up Negroes. No one believes what the Negro preacher preaches except those who are mentally asleep, or in the darkness of ignorance about the true situation of the black man here today in this wilderness of North America. If you will take note, sir, many so-called Negro leaders who once attacked the Honorable Elijah Muhammad don't do so anymore. And he never speaks against them in the personal sense except as a reaction if they speak against him. Islam is a religion that teaches us never to attack, never to be the aggressor — but you can waste somebody if he attacks you. These Negro leaders have become aware that whenever the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is caused by their attack to level his guns against them, they always come out on the

losing end. Many have experienced this.

**PLAYBOY:** Do you admire and respect any other American Negro leaders—Martin Luther King, for example?

**MALCOLM X:** I am a Muslim, sir. Muslims can see only one leader who has the qualifications necessary to unite all elements of black people in America. This is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

**PLAYBOY:** Many white religious leaders have also gone on record against the Black Muslims. Writing in the official NAACP magazine, a Catholic priest described you as "a fascist-minded hate group," and B'nai B'rith has accused you of being not only anti-Christian but anti-Semitic. Do you consider this true?

**MALCOLM X:** Insofar as the Christian world is concerned, dictatorships have existed only in areas or countries where you have Roman Catholicism. Catholicism conditions your mind for dictators. Can you think of a single Protestant country that has ever produced a dictator?

**PLAYBOY:** Germany was predominantly Protestant when Hitler ——

**MALCOLM X:** Another thing to think of — in the 20th Century, the Christian Church has given us two heresies: fascism and communism.

**PLAYBOY:** On what grounds do you attribute these "isms" to the Christian Church?

**MALCOLM X:** Where did fascism start? Where's the second-largest Communist party outside of Russia? The answer to both is Italy. Where is the Vatican? But let's not forget the Jew. Anybody that gives even a just criticism of the Jew is instantly labeled anti-Semite. The Jew cries louder than anybody else if anybody criticizes him. You can tell the truth about any minority in America, but make a true observation about the Jew, and if it doesn't pat him on the back, then he uses his grip on the news media to label you anti-Semite. Let me say just a word about the Jew and the black man. The Jew is always anxious to *advise* the black man. But they never advise him how to solve his problem the way the Jews solved their problem. The Jew never went sitting-in and crawling-in and sliding-in and freedom-riding, like he teaches and helps Negroes to do. The Jews stood up, and stood together, and they used their ultimate power, the economic weapon. That's exactly what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is trying to teach black men to do. The Jews pooled their money and *bought* the hotels that barred them. They bought Atlantic City and Miami Beach and anything else they wanted. Who owns Hollywood? Who runs the garment industry, the largest industry in New York City? But the Jew that's advising the Negro joins the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, and others. With money donations, the Jew gains control, then he sends the black man doing all this wading-in, boring-in, even burying-in—everything but buying-in. Never shows him how to set up factories and hotels. Never advises him how to own what he wants. No, when there's something worth owning, the Jew's got it.

**PLAYBOY:** Isn't it true that many Gentiles have also labored with dedication to advance integration and economic improvement for the Negro, as volunteer workers for the NAACP, CORE and many other interracial agencies?

**MALCOLM X:** A man who tosses worms in the river isn't necessarily a friend of the fish. All the fish who take him for a friend, who think the worm's got no hook in it, usually end up in the frying pan. All these things dangled before us by the white liberal posing as a friend and benefactor have turned out to be nothing but bait to make us think we're making progress. The Supreme Court decision has never been enforced. Desegregation has never taken place. The promises have never been fulfilled. We have received only tokens, substitutes, trickery and deceit.

**PLAYBOY:** What motives do you impute to PLAYBOY for providing you with this opportunity for the free discussion of your views?

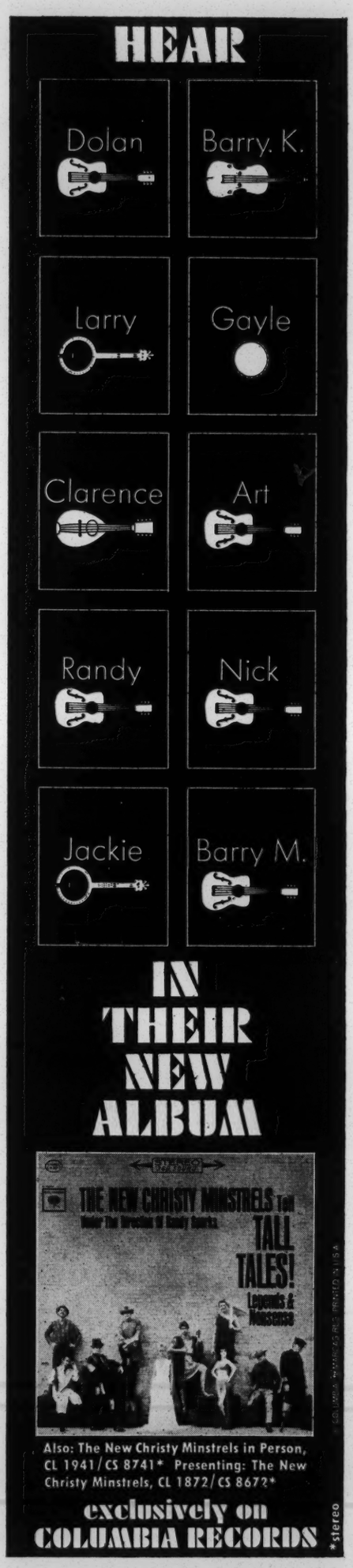
**MALCOLM X:** I think you want to sell magazines. I've never seen a sincere white man, not when it comes to helping black people. Usually things like this are done by white people to benefit themselves. The white man's primary interest is not to elevate the thinking of black people, or to waken black people, or white people either. The white man is interested in the black man only to the extent that the black man is of use to him. The white man's interest is to make money, to exploit.

**PLAYBOY:** Is there any white man on earth whom you would concede to have the Negro's welfare genuinely at heart?

**MALCOLM X:** I say, sir, that you can never make an intelligent judgment without evidence. If any man will study the entire history of the relationship between the white man and the black man, no evidence will be found that justifies any confidence or faith that the black man might have in the white man today.

**PLAYBOY:** Then you consider it impossible for the white man to be anything but an exploiter and a hypocrite in his relations with the Negro?

**MALCOLM X:** Is it wrong to attribute a predisposition to wheat before it comes up out of the ground? Wheat's characteristics and nature make it wheat. It differs from barley because of its nature. Wheat perpetuates its own characteristics just

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as the white race does. White people are born devils by nature. They don't become so by deeds. If you never put popcorn in a skillet, it would still be popcorn. Put the heat to it, it will pop.

**PLAYBOY:** You say that white men are devils by nature. Was Christ a devil?

**MALCOLM X:** Christ wasn't white. Christ was a black man.

**PLAYBOY:** On what Scripture do you base this assertion?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, Billy Graham has made the same statement in public. Why not ask *him* what Scripture he found it in? When Pope Pius XII died, *Life* magazine carried a picture of him in his private study kneeling before a black Christ.

**PLAYBOY:** Those are hardly quotations from Scripture. Was He not reviled as "King of the Jews"—a people the Black Muslims attack?

**MALCOLM X:** Only the poor, brainwashed American Negro has been made to believe that Christ was white, to maneuver him into worshiping the white man. After becoming a Muslim in prison, I read almost everything I could put my hands on in the prison library. I began to think back on everything I had read and especially with the histories, I realized that nearly all of them read by the general public have been made into white histories. I found out that the history-whitening process either had left out great things that black men had done, or some of the great black men had gotten whitened.

**PLAYBOY:** Would you list a few of these men?

**MALCOLM X:** Well, Hannibal, the most successful general that ever lived, was a black man. So was Beethoven; Beethoven's father was one of the blackamoors that hired themselves out in Europe as professional soldiers. Haydn, Beethoven's teacher, was of African descent. Columbus, the discoverer of America, was a half-black man.

**PLAYBOY:** According to biographies considered definitive, Beethoven's father, Johann, was a court tenor in Cologne; Haydn's parents were Croatian; Columbus' parents were Italian——

**MALCOLM X:** Whole black empires, like the Moorish, have been whitened to hide the fact that a great black empire had conquered a white empire even before America was discovered. The Moorish civilization—black Africans—conquered and ruled Spain; they kept the light burning in Southern Europe. The word "Moor" means "black," by the way. Egyptian civilization is a classic example of how the white man stole great African cultures and makes them appear today as white European. The black nation of Egypt is the only country that has a science named after its culture: Egyptology. The ancient Sumerians, a black-skinned people, occupied the Middle Eastern areas and were contemporary with the Egyptian civilization. The Incas, the Aztecs, the Mayans, all dark-skinned Indian people, had a highly developed culture here in America, in what is now Mexico and northern South America. These people had mastered agriculture at the time when European white people were still living in mud huts and eating weeds. But white children, or black children, or grownups here today in America don't get to read this in the average books they are exposed to.

**PLAYBOY:** Can you cite any authoritative historical documents for these observations?

**MALCOLM X:** I can cite a great many, sir. You could start with Herodotus, the Greek historian. He outright described the Egyptians as "black, with woolly hair." And the American archaeologist and Egyptologist James Henry Breasted did the same thing.

**PLAYBOY:** You seem to have based your thesis on the premise that all nonwhite races are necessarily black.

**MALCOLM X:** Mr. Muhammad says that the red, the brown and the yellow are indeed all part of the black nation. Which means that black, brown, red, yellow, all are brothers, all are one family. The white one is a stranger. He's the odd fellow.

**PLAYBOY:** Since your classification of black peoples apparently includes the light-skinned Oriental, Middle Eastern and possibly even Latin races as well as the darker Indian and Negroid strains, just how do you decide how light-skinned it's permissible to be before being condemned as white? And if Caucasian whites are devils by nature, do you classify people by degrees of devilishness according to the lightness of their skin?

**MALCOLM X:** I don't worry about these little technicalities. But I know that white society has always considered that one drop of black blood makes you black. To me, if one drop can do this, it only shows the power of one drop of black blood. And I know another thing—that Negroes who used to be light enough to pass for white have seen the handwriting on the wall and are beginning to come back and identify with their own kind. And white people who also are seeing the pendulum of time catching up with them are now trying to join with blacks, or even find traces of black blood in their own veins, hoping that it will save them from the catastrophe they see ahead. But no devil can fool God. Muslims have a little poem about them. It goes, "One drop will make you black, and will also in days to come save your soul."

**PLAYBOY:** As one of this vast elite, do you hold the familiar majority attitude toward minority groups—regarding the

white race, in this case, as inferior in quality as well as quantity to what you call the "black nation"?

**MALCOLM X:** Thoughtful white people *know* they are inferior to black people. Even Eastland knows it. Anyone who has studied the genetic phase of biology knows that white is considered recessive and black is considered dominant. When you want strong coffee, you ask for black coffee. If you want it light, you want it weak, integrated with white milk. Just like these Negroes who weaken themselves and their race by this integrating and intermixing with whites. If you want bread with no nutritional value, you ask for white bread. All the good that was in it has been bleached out of it, and it will constipate you. If you want pure flour, you ask for dark flour, whole-wheat flour. If you want pure sugar, you want dark sugar.

**PLAYBOY:** If all whites are devilish by nature, as you have alleged, and if black and white are essentially opposite, as you have just stated, do you view all black men — with the exception of their non-Muslim leaders — as fundamentally angelic?

**MALCOLM X:** No, there is plenty wrong with Negroes. They have no society. They're robots, automatons. No minds of their own. I hate to say that about us, but it's the truth. They are a black body with a white brain. Like the monster Frankenstein. The top part is your bourgeois Negro. He's your integrator. He's not interested in his poor black brothers. He's usually so deep in debt from trying to copy the white man's social habits that he doesn't have time to worry about nothing else. They buy the most expensive clothes and cars and eat the cheapest food. They act more like the white man than the white man does himself. These are the ones that hide their sympathy for Mr. Muhammad's teachings. It conflicts with the sources from which they get their white-man's crumbs. This class to us are the fence-sitters. They have one eye on the white man and the other eye on the Muslims. They'll jump whichever way they see the wind blowing. Then there's the middle class of the Negro masses, the ones not in the ghetto, who realize that life is a struggle, who are conscious of all the injustices being done and of the constant state of insecurity in which they live. They're ready to take some stand against everything that's against them. Now, when this group hears Mr. Muhammad's teachings, they are the ones who come forth faster and identify themselves, and take immediate steps toward trying to bring into existence what Mr. Muhammad advocates. At the bottom of the social heap is the black man in the big-city ghetto. He lives night and day with the rats and cockroaches and drowns

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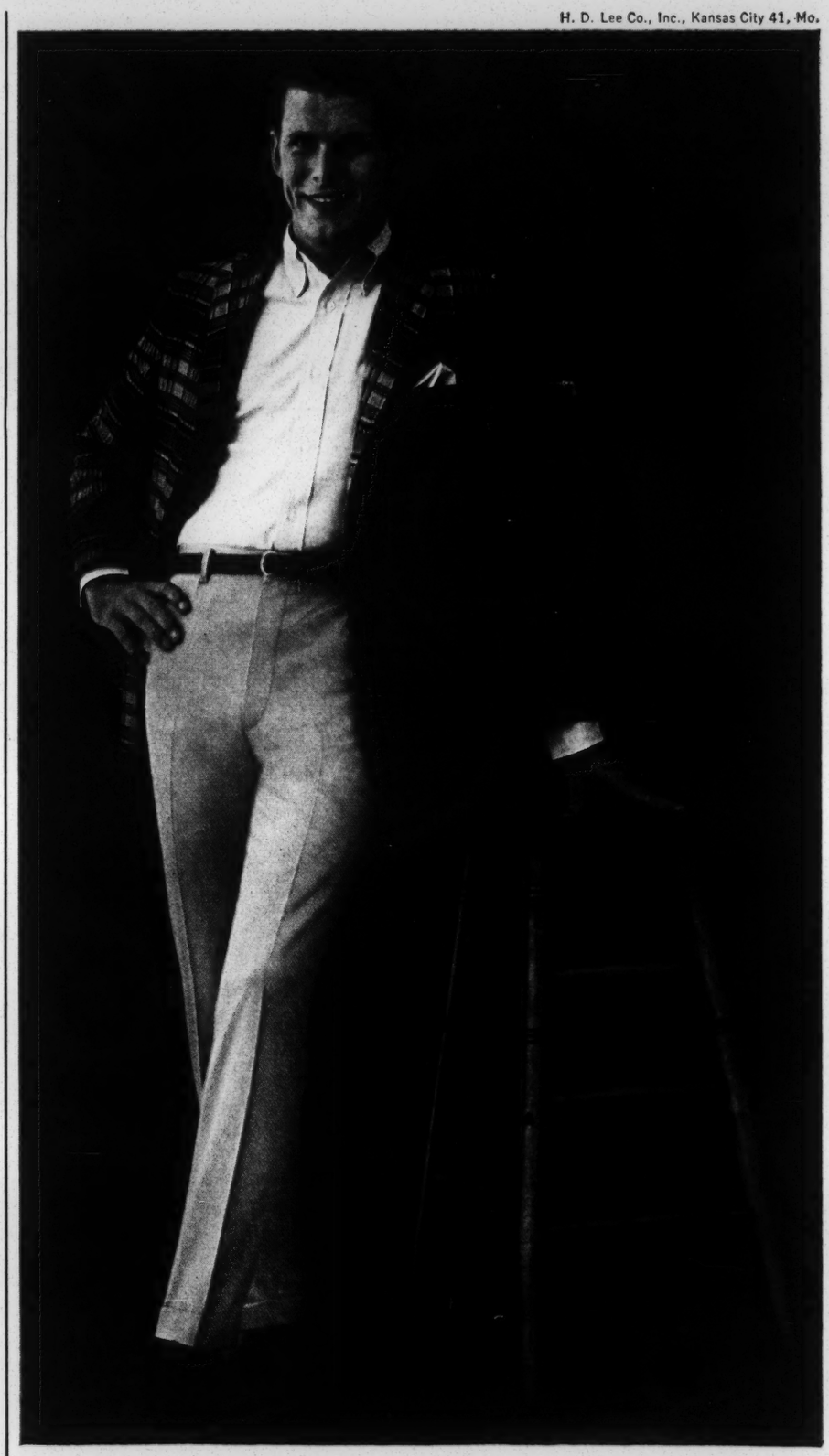

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himself with alcohol and anesthetizes himself with dope, to try and forget where and what he is. That Negro has given up all hope. He's the hardest one for us to reach, because he's the deepest in the mud. But when you get him, you've got the best kind of Muslim. Because he makes the most drastic change. He's the most fearless. He will stand the longest. He has nothing to lose, even his life, because he didn't have that in the first place. I look upon myself, sir, as a prime example of this category — and as graphic an example as you could find of the salvation of the black man.

**PLAYBOY:** Could you give us a brief review of the early life that led to your own "salvation"?

**MALCOLM X:** Gladly. I was born in Omaha on May 19, 1925. My light color is the result of my mother's mother having been raped by a white man. I hate every drop of white blood in me. Before I am indicted for hate again, sir — is it wrong to hate the blood of a rapist? But to continue: My father was a militant follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. The Lansing, Michigan, equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan warned him to stop preaching Garvey's message, but he kept on and one of my earliest memories is of being snatched awake one night with a lot of screaming going on because our home was afire. But my father got louder about Garvey, and the next time he was found bludgeoned in the head, lying across streetcar tracks. He died soon and our family was in a bad way. We were so hungry we were dizzy and we had nowhere to turn. Finally the authorities came in and we children were scattered about in different places as public wards. I happened to become the ward of a white couple who ran a correctional school for white boys. This family liked me in the way they liked their house pets. They got me enrolled in an all-white school. I was popular, I played sports and everything, and studied hard, and I stayed at the head of my class through the eighth grade. That summer I was 14, but I was big enough and looked old enough to get away with telling a lie that I was 21, so I got a job working in the dining car of a train that ran between Boston and New York City.

On my layovers in New York, I'd go to Harlem. That's where I saw in the bars all these men and women with what looked like the easiest life in the world. Plenty of money, big cars, all of it. I could tell they were in the rackets and vice. I hung around those bars whenever I came in town, and I kept my ears and eyes open and my mouth shut. And they kept their eyes on me, too. Finally, one day a numbers man told me that he needed a runner, and I never caught the night train back to Boston. Right there was when I started my life in crime. I was in all of it that the white police and the gangsters left open to the black criminal, sir. I was in numbers, bootleg liquor, "hot" goods, women. I sold the bodies of black women to white men, and white women to black men. I was in dope, I was in everything evil you could name. The only thing I could say good for myself, sir, was that I did not indulge in hitting anybody over the head.

**PLAYBOY:** By the time you were 16, according to the record, you had several men working for you in these various enterprises. Right?

**MALCOLM X:** Yes, sir. I turned the things I mentioned to you over to them. And I had a good working system of paying off policemen. It was here that I learned that vice and crime can only exist, at least the kind and level that I was in, to the degree that the police cooperate with it. I had several men working and I was a steerer myself. I steered white people with money from downtown to whatever kind of sin they wanted in Harlem. I didn't care what they wanted, I knew where to take them to it. And I tell you what I noticed here — that my best customers always were the officials, the top police people, businessmen, politicians and clergymen. I never forgot that. I met all levels of these white people, supplied them with everything they wanted, and I saw that they were just a filthy race of devils. But despite the fact that my own father was murdered by whites, and I had seen my people all my life brutalized by whites, I was still blind enough to mix with them and socialize with them. I thought they were gods and goddesses — until Mr. Muhammad's powerful spiritual message opened my eyes and enabled me to see them as a race of devils. Nothing had made me see the white man as he is until one word from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad opened my eyes overnight.

**PLAYBOY:** When did this happen?

**MALCOLM X:** In prison. I was finally caught and spent 77 months in three different prisons. But it was the greatest thing that ever happened to me, because it was in prison that I first heard the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. His teachings were what turned me around. The first time I heard the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's statement, "The white man is the devil," it just clicked. I am a good example of why Islam is spreading so rapidly across the land. I was nothing but another convict, a semi-illiterate criminal. Mr. Muhammad's teachings were able to reach into prison, which is the level where people are considered to have fallen as low as they can go. His teachings brought me from behind prison walls and placed me on the podiums of some of the leading colleges and universities in the country. I often think, sir, that in 1946, I was sentenced to 8 to 10 years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a common thief who had never passed the eighth grade. And the next time I went back to Cambridge was in March 1961, as a guest speaker at the Harvard Law School Forum. This is the best example of Mr. Muhammad's ability to take nothing and make something, to take nobody and make somebody.

**PLAYBOY:** Your rise to prominence in the Muslim organization has been so swift that a number of your own membership have hailed you as their articulate exemplar, and many anti-Muslims regard you as the real brains and power of the movement. What is your reaction to this sudden eminence?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, it's heresy to imply that I am in any way whatever even equal to Mr. Muhammad. No man on earth today is his equal. Whatever I am that is good, it is through what I have been taught by Mr. Muhammad.

**PLAYBOY:** Be that as it may, the time is near when your leader, who is 65, will have to retire from leadership of the Muslim movement. Many observers predict that when this day comes, the new Messenger of Allah in America — a role which you have called the most powerful of any black man in the world — will be Malcolm X. How do you feel about this prospect?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, I can only say that God chose Mr. Muhammad as his Messenger, and Mr. Muhammad chose me and many others to help him. Only God has the say-so. But I will tell you one thing. I frankly don't believe that I or anyone else am worthy to succeed Mr. Muhammad. No one preceded him. I don't think I could make the sacrifice he has made, or set his good example. He has done more than lay down his life. But his work is already done with the seed he has planted among black people. If Mr. Muhammad and every identifiable follower he has, certainly including myself, were tomorrow removed from the scene by more of the white man's brutality, there is one thing to be sure of: Mr. Muhammad's teachings of the naked truth have fallen upon fertile soil among 20,000,000 black men here in this wilderness of North America.

**PLAYBOY:** Has the soil, in your opinion, been as fertile for Mr. Muhammad's teachings elsewhere in the world — among the emerging nations of black Africa, for instance?

**MALCOLM X:** I think not only that his teachings have had considerable impact even in Africa but that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has had a greater impact on the world than the rise of the African nations. I say this as objectively as I can, being a Muslim. Even the Christian missionaries are conceding that in black Africa, for every Christian conversion, there are two Muslim conversions.

**PLAYBOY:** Might conversions be even more

numerous if it weren't for the somewhat strained relations which are said by several Negro writers to exist between the black people of Africa and America?

**MALCOLM X:** Perhaps. You see, the American black man sees the African come here and live where the American black man can't. The Negro sees the African come here with a sheet on and go places where the Negro — dressed like a white man, talking like a white man, sometimes as wealthy as the white man — can't go. When I'm traveling around the country, I use my real Muslim name, Malik Shabazz. I make my hotel reservations under that name, and I always see the same thing I've just been telling you. I come to the desk and always see that "here-comes-a-Negro" look. It's kind of a reserved, coldly tolerant cordiality. But when I say "Malik Shabazz," their whole attitude changes: they snap to respect. They think I'm an African. People say what's in a name? There's a whole lot in a name. The American black man is seeing the African respected as a human being. The African gets respect because he has an identity and cultural roots. But most of all because the African owns some land. For these reasons he has his human rights recognized, and that makes his civil rights automatic.

**PLAYBOY:** Do you feel this is true of Negro civil and human rights in South Africa, where the doctrine of apartheid is enforced by the government of Prime Minister Verwoerd?

**MALCOLM X:** They don't stand for anything different in South Africa than America stands for. The only difference is over there they *preach* as well as practice apartheid. America preaches freedom and practices slavery. America preaches integration and practices segregation. Verwoerd is an honest white man. So are the Barnetts, Faubuses, Eastlands and Rockwells. They want to keep all white people white. And we want to keep all black people black. As between the racists and the integrationists, I highly prefer the racists. I'd rather walk among rattlesnakes, whose constant rattle warns me where they are, than among those Northern snakes who grin and make you forget you're still in a snake pit. Any white man is against blacks. The entire American economy is based on white supremacy. Even the religious philosophy is, in essence, white supremacy. A white Jesus. A white Virgin. White angels. White everything. But a black Devil, of course. The "Uncle Sam" political foundation is based on white supremacy, relegating nonwhites to second-class citizenship. It goes without saying that the social philosophy is strictly white supremacist. And the educational system perpetuates white supremacy.

**PLAYBOY:** Are you contradicting yourself by denouncing white supremacy while praising its practitioners, since you admit that you share their goal of separation?

**MALCOLM X:** The fact that I prefer the candor of the Southern segregationist to the hypocrisy of the Northern integrationist doesn't alter the basic immorality of white supremacy. A devil is still a devil whether he wears a bed sheet or a Brooks Brothers suit. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches separation simply because any forcible attempt to integrate America completely would result in another Civil War, a catastrophic explosion among whites which would destroy America — and still not solve the problem. But Mr. Muhammad's solution of separate black and white would solve the problem neatly for both the white and black man, and America would be saved. Then the whole world would give Uncle Sam credit for being something other than a hypocrite.

**PLAYBOY:** Do you feel that the Administration's successful stand on the integration of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi has demonstrated that the Government — far from being hypocritical — is sympathetic with the Negro's aspirations for equality?

**MALCOLM X:** What was accomplished? It took 15,000 troops to put Meredith in the University of Mississippi. Those troops and $3,000,000 — that's what was spent — to get one Negro in. That $3,000,000 could have been used much more wisely by the Federal Government to elevate the living standards of all the Negroes in Mississippi.

**PLAYBOY:** Then in your view, the principle involved was not worth the expense. Yet it is a matter of record that President Kennedy, in the face of Southern opposition, championed the appointment of Dr. Robert Weaver as the first Negro Cabinet member. Doesn't this indicate to you, as it does to many Negro leaders, that the Administration is determined to combat white supremacy?

**MALCOLM X:** Kennedy doesn't *have* to fight; he's the President. He didn't have any fight replacing Ribicoff with Celebrezze. He didn't have any trouble putting Goldberg on the Supreme Court. He hasn't had any trouble getting anybody in but Weaver and Thurgood Marshall. He wasn't worried about Congressional objection when he challenged U. S. Steel. He wasn't worried about either Congressional reaction or Russian reaction or even world reaction when he blockaded Cuba. But when it comes to the rights of the Negro, who helped to put him in office, then he's afraid of little pockets of white resistance.

**PLAYBOY:** Has *any* American President, in your opinion — Lincoln, FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy — accomplished anything for the Negro?

**MALCOLM X:** None of them have ever done anything for Negroes. All of them have tricked the Negro, and made false promises to him at election times which they never fulfilled. Lincoln's concern wasn't freedom for the blacks but to save the Union.

**PLAYBOY:** Wasn't the Civil War fought to decide whether this nation could, in the words of Lincoln, "endure permanently half slave and half free"?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, many, many people are completely misinformed about Lincoln and the Negro. That war involved two thieves, the North and the South, fighting over the spoils. The further we get away from the actual incident, the more they are trying to make it sound as though the battle was over the black man. Lincoln said that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, he would. But after two years of killing and carnage he found out he would *have* to free the slaves. He wasn't interested in the slaves but in the Union. As for the Emancipation Proclamation, sir, it was an empty document. If it freed the slaves, why, a century later, are we still battling for civil rights?

**PLAYBOY:** Despite the fact that the goal of racial equality is not yet realized, many sociologists—and many Negro commentators—agree that no minority group on earth has made as much social, civil and economic progress as the American Negro in the past 100 years. What is your reaction to this view?

**MALCOLM X:** Sir, I hear that everywhere almost exactly as you state it. This is one of the biggest myths that the American black man himself believes in. Every immigrant ethnic group that has come to this country is now a genuinely first-class citizen group — every one of them but the black man, who was here when they came. While everybody else is sharing the fruit, the black man is just now starting to be thrown some seeds. It is our hope that through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, we will at last get the soil to plant the seeds in. You talk about the progress of the Negro — I'll tell you, mister, it's just because the Negro has been in America while *America* has gone forward that the Negro appears to have gone forward. The Negro is like a man on a luxury commuter train doing 90 miles an hour. He looks out of the window, along with all the white passengers in their Pullman chairs, and he thinks *he's* doing 90, too. Then he gets to the men's room and looks in the mirror — and he sees he's not really getting anywhere at all. His reflection shows a black man standing there in the white uniform of a dining-car steward. He may get on the 5:10, all right, but he sure won't be getting off at Westport.

**PLAYBOY:** Is there anything then, in your opinion, that could be done—by either whites or blacks—to expedite the social and economic progress of the Negro in America?

**MALCOLM X:** First of all, the white man must finally realize that *he's* the one who

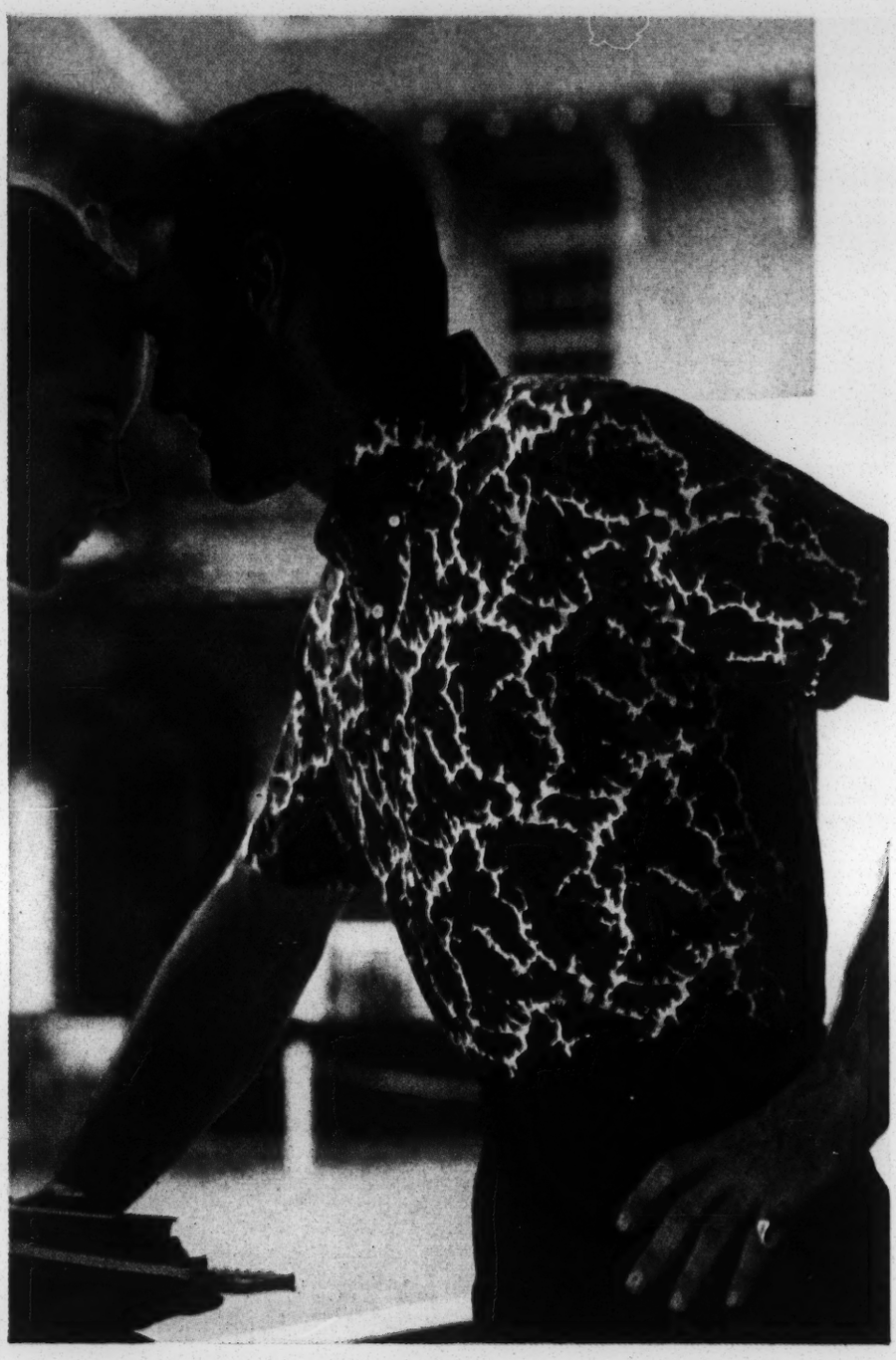
has committed the crimes that have produced the miserable condition that our people are in. He can't hide this guilt by reviling us today because we answer his criminal acts – past and present – with extreme and uncompromising resentment. He cannot hide his guilt by accusing us, his victims, of being racists, extremists and black supremacists. The white man must realize that the sins of the fathers are about to be visited upon the heads of the children who have continued those sins, only in more sophisticated ways. Mr. Elijah Muhammad is warning this generation of white people that they, too, are also facing a time of harvest in which they will have to pay for the crime committed when their grandfathers made slaves out of us.

But there *is* something the white man can do to avert this fate. He must atone – and this can only be done by allowing black men, those who choose, to leave this land of bondage and go to a land of our own. But if he doesn't want a mass movement of our people away from this house of bondage, then he should separate this country. He should give us several states here on American soil, where those of us who wish to can go and set up our own government, our own economic system, our own civilization. Since we have given over 300 years of our slave labor to the white man's America, helped to build it up for him, it's only right that white America should give us everything *we* need in finance and materials for the next 25 years, until our own nation is able to stand on its feet. Then, if the Western Hemisphere is attacked by outside enemies, we would have both the capability and the motivation to join in defending the hemisphere, in which we would then have a sovereign stake.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says that the black man has served under the rule of all the other peoples of the earth at one time or another in the past. He teaches that it is now God's intention to put the black man back at the top of civilization, where he was in the beginning – before Adam, the white man, was created. The world since Adam has been white – and corrupt. The world of tomorrow will be black – and righteous. In the white world there has been nothing but slavery, suffering, death and colonialism. In the black world of tomorrow, there will be *true* freedom, justice and equality for all. And that day is coming – sooner than you think.

**PLAYBOY:** If Muslims ultimately gain control as you predict, do you plan to bestow "*true* freedom" on white people?

**MALCOLM X:** It's not a case of what would we do, it's a case of what would God do with whites. What does a judge do with the guilty? Either the guilty atone, or God executes judgment.

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The Christian Century
6/5/63

# Malcolm X: Charismatic Demagogue

Racist. Supo Negro

## An interview with the number two man in the militantly antiwhite Black Muslim movement.

ALBERT B. SOUTHWICK

✦ IT IS ALWAYS interesting to meet someone who is the object of national controversy, if only to see how the flesh and blood person differs from one's prior impressions. Excellent as news stories and magazine articles and even television presentations may be, as far as personality is concerned they usually fail to carry the third dimension of reality.

I was reminded of this fact a few weeks ago when I and five fellow newsmen met and talked with Malcolm X, the number two man in the Black Muslim movement and the heir apparent to ailing Elijah Muhammad, founder of the extremist Negro organization.

### *The White Liberals' Frankenstein*

I had read quotations from the speeches of Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X which suggested that the Black Muslims nurse such a burning hatred against all whites that civil discourse with one of them would be impossible. But Malcolm X shook hands cordially, smiled easily, and seemed at ease even while countering the most pointed questions. He is a handsome, coffee-colored man of perhaps 45 who displays a charismatic demagoguery before a crowd and the talent of an able if somewhat devious lawyer when locked in hard debate across a table. Like all other Black Muslims he has dropped his family name for a letter of the alphabet, thus supposedly casting off the heritage of servility and shame bequeathed the Negro by the white man in the days of slavery. Those days, Malcom X never tires of telling his Negro audiences, have not ended, and will not end until the Negro people, in the pride of their race, rise up and separate themselves once and for all from the white man's culture and civilization. The message of the Black Muslims is one of contempt for and hostility toward all efforts to ameliorate a condition which can be cured, they say, only by radical surgery. Christian Negro leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., are reviled as "modern Uncle Toms" and "puppets of the white liberals." Ralph Bunche is an object of derision: "Instead of straightening out the Congo, why doesn't he straighten out Mississippi?"

It takes only a few moments with Malcolm X to learn that the "white liberals" are almost an obsession with him; such people are, he believes, deserving of the most corrosive sarcasm. "The white liberals," he said, facing six men who probably fitted the designation, "have a guilt complex about the Negro. They love people like King who salve that guilt feeling a little. That's why they finance him. He's their darling. But when a Negro moves into a white neighborhood, who are the first to flee? The white liberals every time. Negroes who think otherwise are blinding themselves to the facts."

"You whites," he charged, warming to his subject, "have created a Frankenstein monster by your treatment of the American Negro. You've created a man who is black outside and white inside. Despite his black skin, he wants to be a white man. He wants what the white man has. No matter what you've been told, he wants your sister, your wife—even your mother."

The American Negro can be redeemed only by the physical separation of the races. "Separation, not segregation," Malcolm X repeated again and again. "Segregation is a condition enforced by a superior on an inferior. Separation is a mutual agreement between equals. The white man will never have any respect for the black man until they are separated from each other. You have a higher opinion of Africans than you do of American Negroes because the Africans are separate."

His finger was pointed at me, so I began to object. Immediately he softened. "I don't mean you personally; I mean the collective you, the collective white man. We can't be bothered with individuals."

Not even individual Negroes?

"We have to think of the collective situation," he said with only a slight pause. "We can't think about individuals."

### *No Road Maps of the Promised Land*

One of the most frequent questions thrown at the Black Muslims is just how and where the physical separation of Negro from white Americans is to be accomplished. The most popular theory is that Elijah Muhammad has staked out Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and part of Texas for the future independent Negro state. But Malcolm X refused to be pinned down. Blandly he declared: "I have never heard Mr. Muhammad discuss the geographical factors involved, although he has said that when the American government wants to come to him, he will have proposals to make."

If Malcolm X has never heard Mr. Muhammad

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*Mr. Southwick is an editorial writer for the Worcester, Massachusetts,* Telegram and Gazette.

discuss the matter, it is fairly certain that no one else has—which suggests that the Black Muslim leaders are being astute. If there is one thing that will puncture the balloon of a charismatic ideology, it is such abrasive revelations as just where the leader is heading. For the moment Muhammad is holding out the vision of the promised land without distributing any road maps.

Whether the Black Muslims are an authentic part of Islam is a matter of debate. Certain Arab scholars have expressed negative opinions on the question. But Elijah Muhammad has been to Mecca, his son is now enrolled in a Moslem university in Cairo, and the Black Muslims do read the Koran and observe Moslem fasts and prayers. Malcolm X was eloquent as he described how, as a convict in a Massachusetts prison, he first learned about Elijah Muhammad, and how his life was changed so that he no longer indulged in his old vices of drinking, smoking, whoring, stealing and violence. "I went only as far as the eighth grade. Everything I know beyond that," he said reverently, "Mr. Muhammad taught me."

Christians would do well to mark one thing: the Black Muslims claim to have done more and better rehabilitation work among Negro prisoners than all the social agencies, psychiatrists and Christian ministers and priests combined. The claim is attested to by independent witnesses who state that the Muslims succeed in reaching and reforming dregs of humanity who were considered hopeless by everyone else. And the Black Muslim movement, even at its most hate-filled, antiwhite, anti-Semitic rallies, is strictly law abiding. Muslims are forbidden to smoke, drink, indulge in excessive sensuality, or break the law in any way, and there is reason to believe that they live up to this strict standard. Recidivism among former convicts who become Muslims is extremely rare.

### *Fanaticism Tempered by Opportunism*

Yet the impression Malcolm X left on six admittedly skeptical newsmen was not that of the pure fanatic devoted at all costs to his suffering people. Fanatic he certainly is, and his words stir thousands of Negroes, but there is also in the man a hunger for power coupled with a demagogic opportunism. On the one hand, he spoke of his complete absorption in the Muslim religion as the turning point of his life. On the other, he remarked shrewdly that it was very difficult for the F.B.I. or the congressional investigating committees to unduly harass a religious body.

Malcolm X seemed disconcerted only when he was asked whether Muhammad fosters race hatred. But he quickly recovered his assurance. The Black Muslims, he explained, do not preach hatred (the claim is not true; they certainly do preach hatred if there is any meaning in words). Gesturing toward a young Negro student accompanying him, he asserted: "If I tell him that you have robbed him and beaten him and stolen his self-respect and broken his legs, I'm only telling him what you've actually done to him. That's not the same as preaching hatred."

Another mark of the man's technique is his habit of imputing base motives to others. Negro leaders who oppose the Muslims are "Uncle Toms" eager to curry favor with the white man. James Baldwin's name drew a snort of contempt. "James Baldwin can't afford to come out openly for us; if he did, he wouldn't be the darling of *Harper's* and the white liberals any more." This low blow makes a double insinuation against Baldwin: first, that he secretly is allied with the Muslims; second, that he is too much of a toady to come out openly for them. The late Senator McCarthy could have learned from Malcolm X.

### *Challenge to Christianity*

In retrospect I find it hard to believe that any large segment of the American Negro community will follow the Muslim vision for any great distance. The promised land of an independent Negro state is a chimera. The Muslim theological indictment of the collective white man for demoralizing the collective Negro is neurotic nonsense.

But at the same time, and without pretending to be an expert on the subject of Negro thinking, I must say that I fear that the *mood* projected by Malcolm X is already becoming a part of the Negro consciousness. A Negro may see the absurdity in the claims of the new Black Islam, but Malcolm X touches a responsive chord in his heart as he describes in painful detail the bitter hopelessness of life under the present dispensation of N.A.A.C.P. servility and "white power structure" ruthlessness. After three centuries of living with the white man, he tells his Negro audiences, the only thing a Negro owns are his churches. According to Alan Lomax, a sensitive observer of the Negro scene, a wave of disaffection with Christianity is sweeping the Negro ghettos.

It is a supreme irony that the new black proletariat spawned in the slums of America should now be looking for succor to the fighting faith that mortally challenged Christianity in eastern Europe centuries ago. One wonders if modern Christianity has the vigor needed to meet the new challenge of Black Islam.

But one need not wax apocalyptic to recognize that at the very least the Black Muslims are proof that Negro patience is not inexhaustible. The Muslims' bitter feeling of alienation from American life is shared at least in part by most American Negroes. If the dangerous sparks of black racism being thrown off continually by Malcolm X should ever start a real conflagration among one-tenth of our citizens, our past racial troubles will seem like child's play.

The Activist Fall 1963

## The Question of Violence: The Black Muslims

*by Ethan Geto*

Resist. Imp. Negro

"We are never aggressors. We will not attack anyone...BUT --- we teach our people that if anyone attacks you, lay down your life!"(1) Thus Minister Malcolm X of Muslim Temple #7 (in Harlem) addressed a Muslim rally. Islam preaches a doctrine of peace. Yet the Muslims believe in "justified" retaliation. They insist that they will never initiate violence, but will, under all circumstances, retaliate against white aggression. Most editions of "Muhammad Speaks", the Muslims' weekly newspaper, admonish Negro men to protect their women from the inevitable assaults of white men,and in general to be physically prepared to combat the white enemy. A special "Extra" edition boasts a blazing red headline: "SEVEN UNARMED NEGROES SHOT IN COLD BLOOD BY LOS ANGELES POLICE"; the front page photo shows police with rifles standing over the bodies of several Negroes. (2) So long as white brutality persists it becomes more difficult to intellectually refute the Muslims' emotional appeals.

The Fruit of Islam, a para-military organization, was established to protect the Muslim brotherhood from physical attack by hostile individuals, or, as the Muslims expect, by the police. Fruit of Islam (FOI) candidates are enrolled in a rigorous course of physical conditioning and in the use of weapons. FOI members guard famous Muslim personalities, and Muslim property. They have not been utilized as an aggressive strike force against the white community -- and as many critics have added,"yet". But it is important to remind oneself that violence originating from the Negro community need not be triggered by the Muslims. James Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), speculated about just such possibilities: "There is a real danger of violence...if it should break out, God forbid, I think it may well be directed against the merchants in Harlem and against landlords and their rent collectors."(3) Mass reprisal may be influenced by black nationalist agitation, but would be largely the spontaneous result of the deep and long-term dissatisfaction of the American Negro.

The Muslims have not specifically stated that violence is a necessary precondition to their "liberation" -- they do feel that violence will be a prominent factor in the destiny of the white race, but a superhuman violence inflicted by divine sources. The Muslims forecast a Battle of Armageddon in which the whites will be destroyed, and only the Black Race (4) will survive.Allah "declared the doom of America for her evils (against) Black Men." (5) This doctrine is sometimes interpreted as a covert threat on the part of the Muslims to one day wage a fanatic "Holy War" against whites. The Muslims ask that, since the white race is soom to be destroyed, "Why integrate with a dying world?" (6)

It is informative to examine the theory of the origination of the white "race" as put forth by the Muslims: The white race was created by an ancient named Yakub, "a black scientist in rebellion against Allah. (7) Yakub, by means of a 600 year-long human breeding experiment, created the white race (6,647 years ago). "In grafting out his creatures' color, Yakub grafted out their very humanity." (8) The theory goes on to state that "these devils were given six thousand years to rule. The alloted span of their rule was ended in 1914, coinciding with a major conflagration involving all of the white western nations; and further, that the seventy-year grace period, beginning in 1914, will terminate in 1984 -- again "coincidental" concurrence with a symbolic year.

A more realistic interpretation of this doctrine (of Armeddon) is one which the Muslims have often set forth in their publications: Because the white race has an immense capacity for devilish hostility, and posesses weapons capable of destroying the world,once Negroes have isolated themselves from white society, the whites will turn on one another and liquidate their race, man by man, nation by nation. The Black Men of the world are impatiently waiting for their brothers in America to separate from the whites, so that Allah may finally obliterate the white race.

Day-to-day Muslim hostility usually occurs in dramatic, yet relatively non-violent ways. A New York newspaper recently reported an incident presumably involving Muslims ("presumably," as many papers are apt to blame the Muslims for any Negro aggressions): "MUSLIMS TOSS EGGS AT KING," reads the headline; Dr. Martin Luther King was egged by Black Muslims last night when he appeared to address 2,000 persons in Salem Methodist Church (in Harlem) ...when his auto approached the church eggs were thrown by some in a crowd of 500 outside. Another egg hit King on an elbow as he went into the church...King said: 'I cannot understand what my colored brothers have against me. I have become accustomed to white mobs in Mississippi and Alabama but I have not yet adjusted myself to what I just experienced here in Harlem.'" (10)

## The Philosophy of Non-Violence

Passive resistance, according to Martin Luther King, "is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually. It is not passive nonresistence to evil."(11) No one in Twentieth Century America until Dr. King has mobilized this doctrine into a dynamic, popular force, perhaps capable of achieving great progress.

The American foundation of nonviolence is Christianity. "Any religion that professes to be with the souls of men and is not concerned with the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them, and the social conditions that cripple them is a dry-as-dust religion.(12) Nonviolence, like the Muslim movement, professes a religious basis. In a direct refutation of the Muslim philosophy, Dr. King states: "God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men, and brown men, and yellow men; God is interested in the freedom of the whole

human race."(13)

A student who has participated in freedom rides places the Christian basis of nonviolence into a more understandable perspective when he observes, "Make no mistake, it is not particularly easy to love your 'enemy' -- especially when he has his foot on your throat! But in the life and teachings of Jesus there is no reference to the fact that the way of the cross was an easy way."(14)

Dr. King had not advocated nonviolence merely because it conforms to Christian doctrine, nor because it is supposedly ethical, moral,and civilized. Although a cleric, Dr. King is an individual who has assumed the earthly leadership of an oppressed people. Therefore, his doctrine must encompass what he feels to be a pragmatic militancy within a broad theological framework. Dr. King apparently believes that the nonviolent method is the best method; and that the subsequent outcome will be the best one for the American Negro. "Violence...is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind, (and)it is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding...it creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers." (15)

The NAACP and the Urban League certainly do not fall under the classification of "violent organizations". Yet, on the other hand, they have not yet joined the ranks of the new passive resistance movement.

Although the work of the NAACP and the Urban League has surely been commendable, today many Negroes feel that these established organizations are not acting with the vitality necessary to extinguish racial discrimination. "The precise legalism of the NAACP, while gaining spectacular courtroom results, has made relatively little practical headway.(16) A further observation is that "the sit-ins and freedom rides have relieved more common indignities for more common people in two years than legislation has accomplished in a quarter of a century."(17) Many Negroes believe that the leaders of an organization such as the NA ACP, being successful, entrenched professionals, are actually serving as a conservative rather than a progressive force. Because NAACP leaders have themselves gained social status within white society, and because they value theircareers,they are not willing to risk all that they have gained as individuals.Students complain that the leaders of the NAACP must suffer the indignities inflicted upon those Negroes who are active participants in the mass movements. The NAACP has made vigorous efforts to meet this charge, but not without dissent within the organization. The traditional NAACP position was advocated with great force at the recent NAACP convention by James Meredith; it is a sign of the times that Meredith was opposed by national secretary Roy Wilkins.

Muslim attacks on the philosophy of non-violence are predictable and vociferous. For organizations like the NAACP the Muslims have more than contempt: they charge

that it is controlled by the whites on its executive councils. Muslim racism and opposition to cooperation does make distinctions between whites -- some of the enemy race are more dangerous. Muslim racism and nationalism takes the form of all secular "religions" based on race: it becomes anti-semitic. (George Lincoln Rockwell spoke at the Muslim's February 1962 convention.) And, in Muslim eyes, it is the Jews who control the NAACP.(18)

## The Appeal of the Black Muslims

When a man is accepted as a member of a Muslim Temple, he is assigned the name "X" in place of his family name. When a Muslim has proven his worth as a servant of Allah, his "X" name is replaced by an Arabic name bestowed on him by Muslim elders. The letter "X" seems to be an anonymous, mysterious symbol with no special significance. Yet the Muslims offer an intriguing explanation: "The symbol X has a double meaning: implying 'ex', it signifies that the Muslim is no longer what he was; and as 'X' it signifies an unknown quality or quantity. It at once repudiates the white man's name and announces the rebirth of the Black Man, endowed with a set of qualities the white man does not know."(19)

The Negro, according to one source, is "grateful for a mystique, especially one dignified as a religion, that rationalizes his resentment and hatred as spiritual values in a cosmic war of good against evil."(20) Christ is supposed to have been a Muslim prophet -- thus the Muslims downgrade Christ's status, yet at the same time transform him into both a black man and a servant of Allah. An attack on the religion which most American Negroes presently embrace is a logical strategy of the Black Muslims. "The Christian religion was and is the master strategem for keeping the so-called Negro (21) enslaved. The whites gave him the 'poisoned book'...which teaches him to love his oppressor ."(22) The Muslims continually deride the hypocrisy of American Christians, as well as denouncing Christians throughout the world as being morally reprehensible. Specific reference to the horrendous World Wars and the colonielism which white Christians initiated are often made. The Muslim attack on Christianity, though, implies "a strong, though disillusioned, Muslim respect for Christian ideals,(23) for they are continually measuring the shortcomings of Americans against their Christian philosophy.

The Muslims attempt to create an atmosphere of security and identity for the individual Negro. The Muslims present "an explicit rejection of the symbols of the 'alien' white culture, balanced by an exaggerated and undiluted pride in 'black' culture."(24) The Muslims realize that the Negro is painfully conditioned to reject fellow Negroes (and by extension, himself), and to glorify all that is white.(25) But the Muslims offer a psychological retreat by extolling the Black Man,and encouraging race pride. The Black Muslims claim that they reveal the true past of the Negro people,which they (as well as other Negro groups) feel has been purposefully ommitted from American history textbooks and

other historical sources. "When the Negro learns the truth about himself he will be proud to associate with his own kind."(26)

Certain observers, although largely opposed to many of the Muslims' goals, feel that the Muslims are actually serving a vital purpose at this moment in the history of American race relations. Omar A. Ahmed, a believer in Islam (although not a member of the Black Muslims), expressed this point of view: "For years the Negro has been told that he is equal. It is obvious that this indoctrination has neither made the Negro feel equal psychologically, nor made him equal in reality. It is time that the Negro be told that he is a superior human being, and this grasping for something higher than equality will actually raise the Negro up to a true feeling of equality with the white man."

The Muslims have avidly followed the growth of the new African states. "The Muslims...count themselves a part of the growing alliance of non-white peoples,which they expect eventually to innundate the white race, washing away the hated supremacy that that race has so long enjoyed."(27)

## The Black Muslims' Political and Social Programs

The Muslims propose separation from white American society, and withdrawal into a Negro-ruled,Negro-populated society, in which Negroes would manage their own industries and would be wholly independent of the white man. "We Must Have Some Of This Earth," reads a headline of an edition (28) of "Muhammad Speaks." The pages of this issue are replete with the Muslims' demands for a country of their own. "If they won't give us justice, then let us separate ourselves from them and live in four or five states."(29) At first, these programs strike even the most impersonal observer as being blatantly ludicrous. Nevertheless, if one substitutes oneself for a resident of a Negro Ghetto, the concepts of "A Land Of Our Own" becomes more plausible -- for after all, the average American Negro today dwells within a "land of his own", segregated from the white community, compressed into slums, and surrounded by a hostile white culture.

The Muslims propose that the Negro must establish, once having obtained his own land, an entirely self-sufficient economy. Only under such conditions can the Negro really be "free", according to the Muslims. A cartoon in "Muhammad Speaks" portrays President Kennedy holding Thurgood Marshall (30) in his hands and saying, "Certainly you're equal to me, Thurgood! Who cares about your not having any land of your own, nor any factories or diesel trains....Who cares that I'm the maker of your Cadillacs, TV,movies, chewing gum, false teeth,matches, toothpicks, your toilet paper.... Just because you're too lazy to provide your own folk with even a few of life's necessities....YOUR'RE STILL MY EQUAL....ALLRIGHT,BOY??" The above irony might be directly translated into the Muslims' dream of economic power.

At the present, the Muslims are conducting a vigorous campaign to reform the morals of the Negro

community, and combat the cynicism impressed upon them by whites. Alcoholism, dope addicition, crime(especially juvenile delinquency), prostitution, gambling, and illicit sexual conduct are the prime targets of Muslim crusades. The Muslims actively recruit criminals(they do much of their recruiting in prisons), and have enjoyed enormous success in reforming these outcasts. The heir apparent to Elijih Muhammad is New York Muslim leader Malcolm X, himself reformed by the Muslims while in prison.

## The Future of Race Conflict

The contrast between American ideals and American reality has always been marked, and nowhere moreso than in race relations. Up to the present, it is a testament of the power of the American promise that the Negro, despite all injustice and disappointment, has coninued to hold to it. But the time has come when that devotion is itselfin doubt.

Younger Negroes, especially, demand a resolution of the race conflict immediately. "Negroes have been told to 'wait a little longer' or 'let's not go too fast' for so long that it is ludicrous. What white men mean when they say this is 'don't push me at all'." (31) The very fact of success has created a sense of possibility and a mature recognition of opportunities for real equality: racism has become intolerable. It is an ominous fact that the appeal of Muslim ideas is so strong to the young: up to 80% of a typical congregation is between the ages of 17 and 35.(32)

In the Prophetic words of Dr. King,"If the moderates...fail to act now, history will have to record that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition was not the strident clamor of the bad...,but the appalling silence of the good people."(33)

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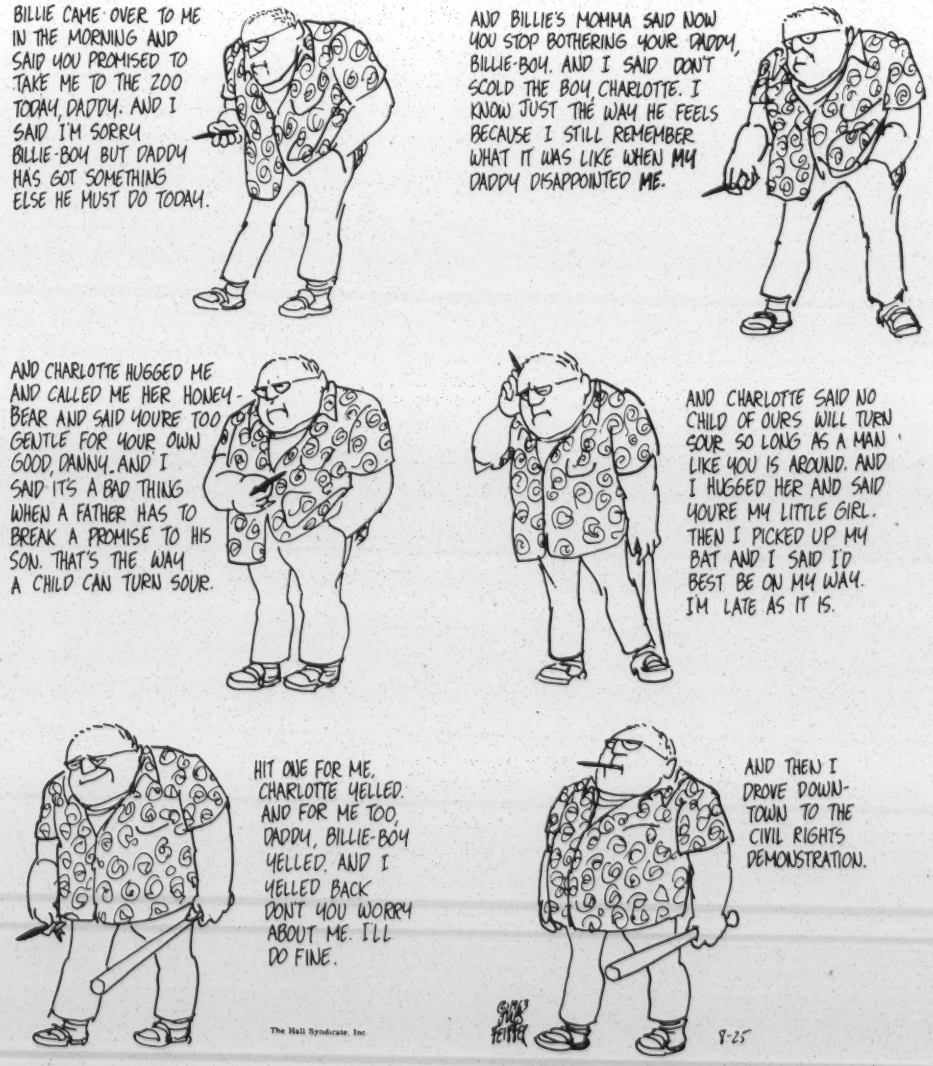
Footnotes

1) C, Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, Boston, 1961; page 4
2) "Muhammad Speaks", August, 1962.
3) "Jet", Vol. 24, #11, July 4, 1963; page 30
4) The Black Race includes everyone who is not Caucasian: thus Arabs, Chinese, etc., are black.
5) op. cit., Lincoln; page 74
6) ibid., page 89
7) ibid., page 76
8) ibid., page 77
9) loc. cit, page 77
10) The NY Daily News, July 1, 1963, page 10
11) Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom, Ballantine Books, NYC, 1958; page 82
12) ibid., page 28, 29
13) ibid., page 180
14) Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace III, The Angry Black South, Corinth Books, NY, 1962; page 228
15) op.cit., King; page 173, 174
16) Louis Lomax, The Negro Revolt, Signet Books,1962; page 112
17) ibid., page 127
18) Contrary to popular belief, the Muslims seem not to be any more anti-Semitic than they are anti-Christian.
19) op.cit., Lincoln; page 110
20) ibid., page 48, 49
21) The Muslims object to the word "Negro", noting that whites are not referred to as "Caucasians" but as "white people." The Muslims prefer that the Negro be termed "Black Man," When using the word "Negro", Muslims prefix it with "so-called".
22) op.cit, Lincoln, page 78
23) ibid., page 248

24) ibid., page 44
25) The concept of whiteness as good and blackness as evil is a recognizable part of Western, if not universal, culture.
26) op.cit., Lincoln; page 174
27) ibid., page 27
28) "Muhammad Speaks"; page 3 (April, 1962)
29) op.cit, Lincoln, page 95
30) Former head of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education fund; a negro
31) op.cit., Mitchell and Peace, page 44
32) op.cit., Lincoln, page 22
33) op.cit., King, pahe 164

## JULES FEIFFER

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Resistance Groups - Negro

UPI A21N AJ

NIGHT LEAD MUSLIMS

RIVHMOND, VA., AUG. 1 (UPI)--A FEDERAL COURT REJECTED AN APPEAL TODAY BY 21 JAILED BLACK MUSLIMS WHO WANTED PORK-FREE PRISON MEALS SERVED IN THE DARKNESS--AT AN HOUR WHEN IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH WHITE THREAD FROM BLACK.

THE CASE WAS HEARD BY THE U. S. FOURTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS, WHICH UPHELD A LOWER COURT'S DECISION REFUSING TO ORDER OFFICIALS OF THE LORTON, VA., FEDERAL REFORMATORY TO SERVE SUCH MEALS.

MUSLIM MINISTER JAMES 15X C. (CQ) WHITE, AN INMATE, FIRST TOOK THE CASE BEFORE U. S. DISTRICT JUDGE OREN R. LEWIS LAST DECEMBER--THE MONTH THAT MUSLIMS FAST DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS.

THE MINISTER EXPLAINED THAT MUSLIMS CONSIDER THERE IS DARKNESS ONLY WHEN IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH Q WHITE THREAD FROM A BLACK THREAD WHEN HELD SIDE BY SIDE.

MINISTER WHITE AND HIS 20 FELLOW MUSLIM INMATES, AOO SERVING TIME FOR VARIOUS CRIMES COMMITTED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CONCEDED PRISON OFFICIALS HAD GONE ALONG WITH THEIR REQUEST FOR A PORK-FREE DIET DURING DECEMBER OF 1962, BUT THEY CLAIMED THE EVENING MEAL WAS SERVED ONLY MINUTES AFTER OFFICIAL SUNSET.

LEWIS DISMISSED THE SUITS AS FRIVILOUS AND UNJUSTIFIED.

THE APPEALS COURT, IN UPHOLDING THE DISTRICT JUDGE TODAY, SAID IN THE MAJORITY OPINION:

--THAT THE PRISON OFFICIALS SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR ALLOWING THE MUSLIMS TO EAT BEFORE SUNRISE AND AFTER SUNSET IN DECEMBER.

--THAT MEAL-SCHEDULING IS A MATTER OF INTERNAL PRISON ADMINISTRATION.

--THAT THE QUESTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS WAS NOT INVOLVED.

--THAT THE MUSLIMS WERE SEEKING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES "NOT EXTENDED TO THE OTHER INMATES."

--THAT PRISONERS MAY EXPECT TO "SUFFER A LIMITATION OF MANY PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS" BECAUSE OF THEIR STATUS AS CONVICTS.

"THE OBVIOUS WAY IN WHICH THE PLAINTIFFS MAY ASSURE THEIR RIGHT TO THE FREE AND UNFETTERED PRACTICE OF THEIR RELIGION IN ITS EVERY DETAILED TEACHING AND CUSTOM IS TO EARN THE RIGHT TO LIVE OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL PRISON," JUSTICES CLEMENT F. HAYSWORTH JR. AND HERBERT S. BORMAN SAID IN WRITING THE MAJORITY OPINION.

"IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE PRISON AUTHORITIES ARE ENTITLED TO PLAINTIFFS' COMMENDATIONS FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO COOPERATE BUT SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECTED TO COURT INTERFERENCE WITH THE ROUTINE MANAGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTION."

S

Grace Boggs
WA 11236
Resist. Grp. Negro

LWD ✓
PW ✓
VJ ✓
PA ✓
WB ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓

NEW NORTHERN NEGRO ORGANIZATION LAUNCHED

DETROIT --- A new, militant, all-black organization, presently linking 11 northern cities in eight states, came into being Sunday night at King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit amid electrifying addresses by Reverend Albert B. Cleage of Detroit, William Worthy of New York, and Malcolm X of the Black Muslims.

Called the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference, this first coast-to-coast Northern black conference:

Announced support of the boycott campaign being carried on in Cleveland against Cadillac and instructed the Grass Roots Leadership Conference's (GRIC) Steering Committee to work out "ways and means of organizing a nation-wide campaign paign";

Called a "Christmas boycott against all merchants";

Authorized creation of machinery for calling national boycotts of schools to end discrimination and the use of biased textbooks;

Entered the campaign against persecution of Robert ("Negroes With Guns") Williams and Mae Mallory in the infamous Monroe, North Carolina, civil rights "kidnap" incident;

Called on members to organize units of the GOAL-sponsored International All-Trades Union of the World in their home areas;

Recognized " solidarity with the colored oppressed people of the world";

Gave "whole-hearted" backing to the Freedom-Now Party, and

Announced support of the "principle of self-defense."

The self-defense resolution, read by Program Chairman Reginald Wilson of Detroit, received a resounding, four-minute, standing ovation from the 2,000 people gathered in the auditorium.

Sponsored by the Group On Advanced Leadership (GOAL), the conference-culmi-

nating rally was opened with a prayer by the Reverend Laurence Henry of Philadelphia, who married an English version of an Islamic invocation into his Christian prayer as a symbol of the "active tolerance and fraternity" now existing between GOAL, with a Christian leadership, and the Islamic Black Muslins.

Richard Henry, GOAL President, then welcomed the guests with the words: "Welcome to the revolution!"

The GRLC is a constinuing organization of individuals --- not groups --- and the GRLC members are bound to carry out GRLC resolutions through the organizations to which they already belong, and by other means. GRLC members will solicit other individual members. The membership fee is five dollars.

The next general session of the Conference will be in Chicago within six months and a constitution and permanent officers are expected to be chosen at that time. GRLC resolutions are being carried out and organizational procedures worked out by an 9 member steering committee, composed of:

James Boggs, Chairman, 3061 Field, Detroit 14, Michigan, WA 11236; Selma Sparks, Executive Vice Chairman, 499 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y., MA 22564; James M. Russell, Exeutive Vice Chairman, 14715 Darwin Ave., Cleveland 10, Ohio, 761-1743; Harold Hill, Executive Vice Chairman, 7442 S. Evans, Chicago, Ill., ST 36702; Richard Thorne, Executive Vice Chairman, 2816 A. Grove St., Berkeley, Calif.; Joseph L. Constantine, Jr., 1220 N. Broadstreet, Philadelphia 30, Pa., PO 55085; Wilbur V. Grattan, Constitutional Committee Chairman, 2635 E. 48th. St., Cleveland, Ohio, EX 11029; Rosetta Fleming, 9810 S. Normal, Chicago, Ill., PR 96060; Gwendolyn Mallett, Treasurer, 3303 Sturtevant, Detroit 6, Michigan, 865-9542.

Minister Malcolm told the audience that "there is a Negro revolution and there is a black revolution." The Black Revolution, he said, was concerned with completely changing the Negro's position in this country; the "Negro revolution" he said, was concerned with eating at lunch counters and going to the toilet with white people. He promised support of black political candidates who are not Uncle Toms.

He said the Muslims would permit no betrayal.

Reverend Cleage called for support of the Conference's resolution and for a Negro commitment to settle for only total freedom. He denied that Christ taught the type of non-violence taught by Martin Luther King. "That is not the way," he said.

Among the papers presented at the conference was a pamphlet by Richard Henry entitled "VIOLENCE AND NON*VIOLENCE, THE THEORY OF PROPORTIONED GUERRILLA WAR." Also submitted was a pamphlet by James Boggs entitled "PAGES FROM A NEGRO WORKER'S NOTEBOOK." Another pamphlet by Henry, entitled, JOBS, was also submitted.

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Desist. Grp. Negro

8,000 STUDENTS HEAR MALCOLM X BLAST WHITE LIBERALS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA - Speaking at a capacity SLATE-sponsored Rally at the University of California's Dwinelle Plaza, Minister Malcolm X, national representative of Messenger Elijah Muhammad leader of the Muslims, indicted America's white liberals for their hypocrisy and named them the real criminals in the oppression and exploitation of the Negro.

He warned his listeners that America stands in danger of exploding into a bloody race war. Malcolm X said, "white liberals in the North make a lot of noise over what's happening in the south, this is designed to keep the Negroes' mind closed to what's really going on in the North."

White liberals were blamed for building the vicious trap of ignorance, poverty, disease and death, which surrounds and eventually ensnares all Negroes.

Malcolm X said, "white liberals urge the Negroes to move into white neighborhoods and go to white schools, knowing full well that when they do, the whites will evacuate the neighborhood and the school as though the Negro is contaminated. These same whites will move to the suburbs, and set up another lily-white community, leaving the Negro living in a newly formed ghetto.

Because these formerly white owned houses are sold to Negroes (by white liberals) at exorbitant prices, the Negro has to take roomers into his home to help make the payments. The resulting crowded conditions stop all opportunities for Negroes to live peaceful, clean, decent and moral lives," he said.

Under such conditions the only provider many Negro children know is the white welfare worker. He added, "Many of them think of him as their father and in many cases this is true."

Levelling his sharp tongue and wit at the integrationists' efforts, and claiming there is no real integration anywhere, only miserable failures in attempts to integrate schools and housing, Malcolm X decalred, "As long as the integration happy Negroes were clamoring for the white man's schools and houses, the whites could always move out to the suburbs and saart their "separated white communities" all over again, now the Negro leaders are demanding white men's jobs. And white men can't move to the suburbs and create new jobs for themselves, so the Negro demands for jobs must lead to violence and bloodshed."

He continued, "the white should never be of the opinion that Negroes still harbor the fear of their slave-parents. Our people have lost all fear-we have ceased turning our non-violent other cheek." Mr. X quoted from the bible the Mosaic Code of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' also, in the Holy Koran, the believer is given the right of self defense where it states, 'fight with those who fight with you." saying "Negroes will pay for freedom with their lives if need be."

Minister Malcolm likened the role of Messenger Elijah Muhammad to that of Moses, sent by God to free the Hebrew slaves from Pharoah, America as the land of bondage and the government played the role of Pharoah in his analogy.

He accused the "Catholic Administration in Washington, D.C." of playing political football with the Negro and said that the Kennedy civil rights program would turn America in to a dictatorial police state, but the Negro would still be begging for freedom.

Since integration has proven to be a failure, the only solution to America's race problem lies in complete separation, he said, "The Black people here in America must be allowed to go back to their own land and people, instead of waiting around another thousand years for the white man to have a change of heart and then solve their problems.

But the white man doesn't want the Negro to go back to his own people and his propaganda machine is at work day and night to make the Negro think that no matter how bad things are getting here in America, they are better than they would be anywhere else," Malcolm stated.

He concluded with the warning that the destiny of America and all those black people who fall for the white man's false, empty promises hangs in the balance saying "come out of her my people be not partakers of her sins neither of her plagues, flee for your lives and save yourselves!"

The Meeting was then open to questions from the audience. One of the questions was, "how will you get this land you want, and how will you get there?"

Malcolm X answered, "We had no trouble getting here." He explained how the Negro was brought to America in chains and gave 310 years of free labor to this country. In return, the Muslims believe the federal government should pay transportation and support their Nation for the next 20 to 25 years. This is classified as back-wages.

If the government does not want the Negro to return to Africa, the alternative is to set aside a part of the United States, where the Negro can set up his own Nation. He said that if the government can send foreign aid to communist countries such as Poland, Czechoslovokia and Yugoslovia, it should be glad to contribute to the establishment of a free independent nation of Black people.

When a questioner asked Mr. X what land was available that doesn't already belong to somebody. He replied, "You took this land away from the Indians, so that's no problem."

Another student asked why can't Negroes infiltrate the political machine and use the power structure to their own benefit.

Malcolm X replied that it might be possible, but that there are only two courses open to Negroes entering politics. One is to become a puppet of the white power structure; the other is to be independent and really speak for the Black people.

To be successful Negro politician support of the black masses is necessary and to get the support of black people, one must speak in terms the black man can understand, he said. And a politician who manages to do so is immediately "condemned by whites as an extremist, racist and hate teacher."

-30-

# Negro Student Shot In Nashville Riot

RIOTS

AC 4/10/67

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP)—A Negro college student was shot through the neck Sunday night as racial violence crackled like a brushfire across a 30-block section of Tennessee's capital city.

Calvin Conners, 19, was shot when police exchanged gunfire with a crowd of 300 rioters at predominantly Negro Tennessee A&I University. He was the second shooting victim in two nights of rioting that had spread from two other predominantly Negro schools, Fisk University and Meharry College.

Conners was admitted to Hubbard Hospital in undertermined condition.

At least 15 persons were injured and 40 arrested in the two nights of racial trouble that started when police arrested a young Negro near Fisk and charged him with disorderly conduct.

Roving band of Negroes roamed the streets like guerrilla units, throwing bricks and stones, looting shops and starting fires.

At least two Molotov cocktails were thrown. One burst into flames and badly damaged a small store, but police snuffed

Continued on Page 20, Col. 1



★★

# Negro Student Shot in Riot As Nashville Police Fire Back

Continued from Page 1

out the other, tossed into an oil company office.

Police shot back, but Assistant Chief Donald Barton insisted they aimed their guns high into the air.

Stone said between 100 and 150 shots were fired as the students laid siege to the police positions for 20 minutes.

The battle ended, Barton said, when police withdrew shortly after debating whether to move huge spotlights onto the Tennessee A&I campus, where the trouble had spread from Fisk University and Meharry College.

Police withdrew to dark vantage points and kept watch on the milling students who were difficult to spot as they darted from spot to spot on a tree-dotted field near the gymnasium.

The trouble erupted suddenly when a mob of students gathered at Tennessee A&I, a state university located about one mile from Fisk and Meharry, where rioting broke out earlier in the day.

Shortly before the gunfire, a police officr at A&I reported "They're throwing bricks at everything that moves."

Moments later, shots rang out from a mob of about 300 young Negroes. Fifty riot policemen were at the scene and some of them began returning the fire.

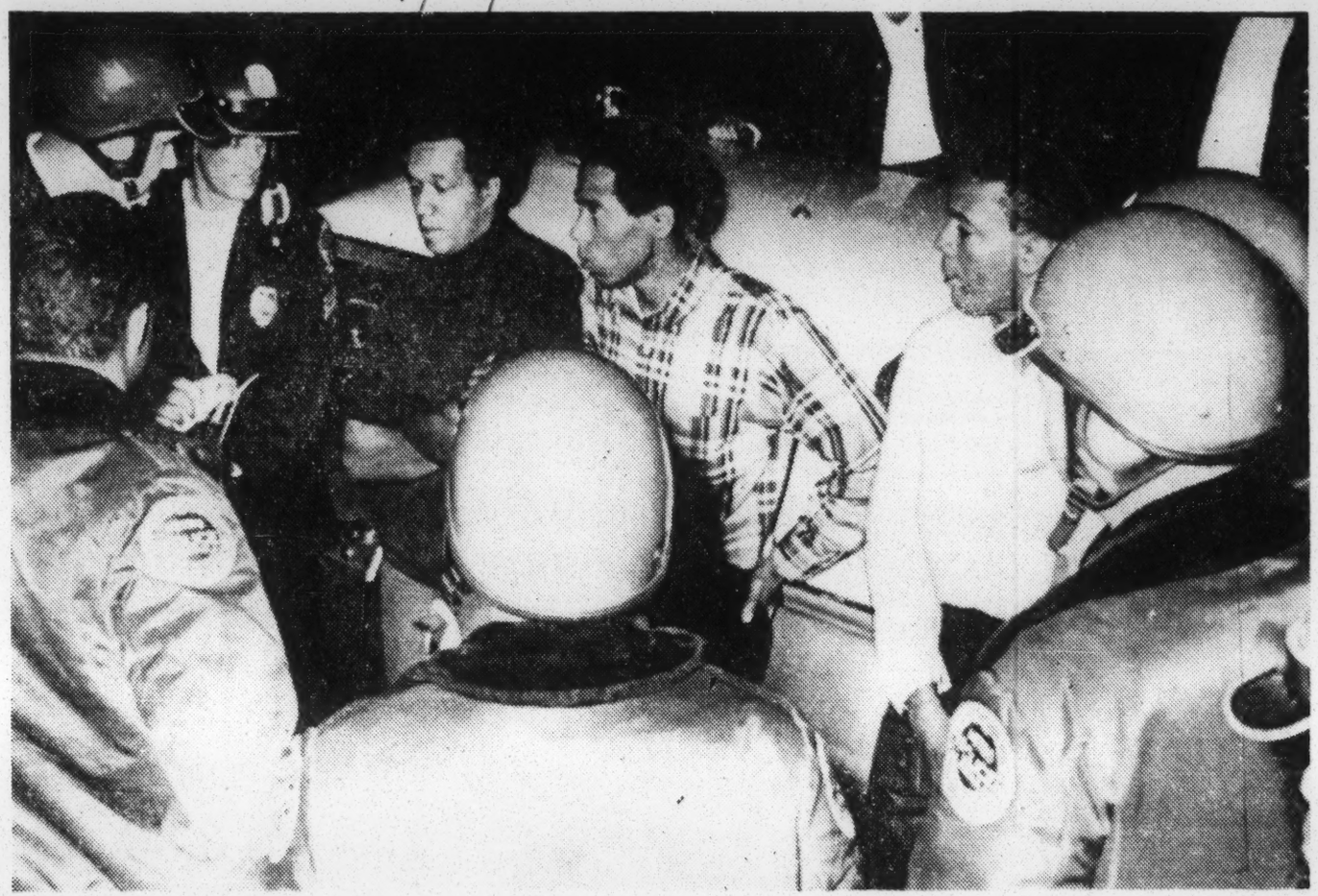
From other sections of the embattled 30-block trouble area came reports of sporadic trouble. A Molotov cocktail was hurled through the window of a small store, starting a fire that caused heavy damage to the shop. Five bullet holes were found in the windshield of a parked car at Fisk.

Both police and Negro bands of troublemakers moved like guerrilla units through the predominantly Negro trouble area. Nine riot squads patrolling the area were sporadically hit by flying bricks and stones thrown by Negroes lurking behind bushes, trees and fences.

When small trouble developed, police moved in swiftly in an effort to keep the roving bands to a minimum. Police said five persons were arrested at the Fisk campus, but there were no immediate details.

The roving bands of Negroes stoned cars and broke windows. Gunfire broke at least one windshield, but the driver was not hurt.

 4/10/67 RIOTS



Associated Press Wirephoto

**HELMETED NASHVILLE POLICE SURROUND SNCC LEADERS ARRESTED IN RIOT**
**Suspects Identified as Ernest Stephens, in Sweater, and George Washington Ware, in Plaid Shirt**

# Atlantan Charged In Nashville Riot

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 10 (AP)—A light rain and sunlight brought an apparent end early Monday to Nashville's second straight night of racial violence in the city's Negro college section.

Gunshots, fires and looting erupted overnight, continuing into the early hours Monday morning—and left one student seriously wounded. But the dawn—coupled with so many arrests that police officials said they were uncertain of the number—apparently brought the Sunday night strife to an end.

Police charged two Negroes with inciting a riot. They were identified, as George Washington Ware, 26, of Atlanta and Ernest Stephens, 25, of Tuskegee, Ala., and were held under $2,500 bond each early today.

Ware told police he was with "black power" advocate Stokely Carmichael here Saturday. Stephens said he was a worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, headed by Carmichael.

The charges stemmed from riots which erupted Saturday night — a few hours after Carmichael spoke at a symposium at predominantly white Vanderbilt University. The violence was triggered when police ejected a Negro from a Negro tavern at the owner's request. Police said Carmichael was not seen in the area of the rioting.

One Negro college student was shot in the neck Sunday night and hospitalized as Negro rioters fired at police, stoned passing cars and roamed the streets between the campuses of predominantly Negro Fisk and Tennessee State universities a mile apart.

Most charges ranged from disorderly conduct to unauthorized possession and transportation of explosives. Four white men arrested had a shotgun and a pistol in their possession. Police arrested six men and a woman at a house where officers said they found some Molotov cocktails.

Three businesses, one owned by a white man, were set afire by Molotov cocktails, police said, and one vacant house and several trucks caught fire. Rocks were thrown at fire engines en route to the blazes, which were extinguished quickly.

At a food store, several Negroes fled under a hail of police bullets after a window was broken.

Hospitals reported many persons injured by rocks and bottles thrown from behind bushes, trees and stone walls.

Helmeted riot police patrolled the area during the night and at the Tennessee State campus, where officers attempted to disperse a growing crowd, shots rang out for 20 minutes.

Police said the shooting began when they fired into the air as a warning. Officers said the gunfire was returned from the campus and bullets struck a rock wall behind which police had taken cover.

# Lindsay Puts Life Ahead of Property In Curbing Looters

RIOTS NYT 7/17/64

By RICHARD REEVES

Mayor Lindsay summed up the city's philosophy and strategy of dealing with racial violence yesterday in these words:

"We happen to think that protection of life, particularly innocent life, is more important than protecting property or anything else. ...We are not going to turn disorder into chaos through the unprincipled use of armed force. In short, we are not going to shoot children in New York City."

The Mayor contrasted his thinking with the orders of Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago to shoot rioters—orders that were also criticized yesterday by Gov. Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey and former Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

Mr. Lindsay was showered with questions about the orders to Chicago police during a City Hall news conference. Mayor Daley had an-

Continued on Page 29, Column 2

# NEGROES CRITICIZE DALEY RIOT ORDER

## But Aide Says Majority of Telegrams Support Mayor

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 16—Many Negro leaders were sharply critical today of Mayor Richard J. Daley's orders to the police yesterday to shoot arsonists and looters in any future rioting.

Criticism came from spokesman for some organizations concerned with civil rights and improving race relations. There was also, however, some strong support for Mr. Daley's position. The views were expressed in interviews and in prepared statements.

One of Mr. Daley's aides said he had scanned more than 200 telegrams received by the Mayor and found that the majority of senders had praised the Mayors stand.

At his news conference yesterday, Mr. Daley said he had ordered that policemen be instructed to "shoot to kill" arsonists and to "shoot to maim or cripple" looters when necessary to arrest them.

In rioting that reached its peak the weekend of April 5-7, more than 200 buildings were destroyed or badly damaged here with loss estimated by insurers at $9-million. At least seven persons were killed, several hundred were injured, and about 3,000 persons were arrested.

Five thousand Federal troops and 6,700 Illinois National Guardsmen were called in to help restore order.

### Order Called Biased

Today, Robert Lucas, chairman of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality said that Mr. Daley was giving a "racist" police department full power to be judge, jury and executioner. He said the orders were obviously aimed if Mr. Daley's "shoot" orders were carried out they would be effective.

### Stern Action Asked

ST. LOUIS, April 16 (UPI)—Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes said in a state of the city message today that "this is no time

# Lindsay Puts Life Before Goods in Curbing Looters

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

nounced on Monday that he had ordered Chicago police to "shoot to kill" arsonists and "shoot to maim or cripple" looters.

The Chicago Mayor had added that he did not want children shot, but suggested that his police use the temporarily disabling chemical spray, Mace, on young looters. But Mr. Lindsay, who said he was against using Mace on looters, sai dMr. Daley's orders "may come down to shooting children."

Thumping with his right hand a copy of the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Mr. Lindsay said:

"If you take the trouble to read this, you'll find out why it may come down to shooting children."

Mr. Lindsay rejected charges by some merchants that city police were "soft" on looters in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in the nights following the murder of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Citing his experience as vice chairman of the civil disorders commission, the Mayor said:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation cautioned against overresponding to disturbances. There were incidents last summer when persons thought to be looters were killed, but it turned out upon later investigation that they were not looters."

Mr. Lindsay then dismissed as "simply not true" charges by merchants that he was minimizing the damage caused by looters and arsonists. He said the city had made no estimates and was stil gathering information on how much damage was done during the violence after Dr. King's death.

The Mayor announced that he had directed Richard Lewisohn, administrator of the city's Commerce Administration, to "work with any businessman who has had damage done to his store."

"We're doing everything we can to assist those businessmen," he said, "although we don't have any legal obligation or legal power in that area."

### Redress Is Considered

City officials, he continued, are conferring with banks, insurance companies and the Federal Small Business Administration to determine what aid is available for merchants who lost property because of looting or arson.

Mr. Lindsay repeated yesterday that he believed the Federal riot commission should reconvene immediately because of the racial violence that erupted in more than 100 cities after Dr. King's death. But he said there was no basic disagreement between himself and Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, the commission's chairman, who has said that he sees no need for an emergency meeting.

"It's a question of timing," the Mayor said when asked about the confusion that followed his announcement last week that Mr. Kerner had agreed to an emergency meeting. "The chairman didn't say the commission would not meet at any time."

The Republican Mayor's criticism of Mayor Daley of Chicago, a Democrat, coincided with the comments from two prominent Democrats, Governo Hughes and Mr. Wagner.

While Mr. Hughes discussed 'the sanctity of human life" at a Tenton news conference, Mr. Wagner told New York reporters he wuld "perhaps handle it differently."

"I have a high regard for Dick Daley," the former Mayor said, "but I think to persuade and try to keep things from getting out of hand is perhaps the best way to handle it .. . I don't lean to Lindsay's philosophy but to my own."

In discussing the charges made by merchants in areas here hit by violence, Mr. Lindsay said he believed those making the charges were trying to put pressure on the Small Business Administration to provide" disaster" aid.

"We have consulted with the Administration," the Mayor said, "they don't regard any part of New York City as a disaster area."

## Hughes's Statement

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, April 16—Governor Hughes said today that he was opposed to the outright shooting of looters and arsonists in a riot.

"My own judgment," the Governor told the New Jersey Conference of Mayors, "is that the sanctity of human life is such that an intelligent response by the police will result in arrests rather than shootings."

"In the atmosphere of fever and carelessness, indiscriminate shooting often results in the killing of the police and innocent people," the Governor said.

Governor Hughes, who gained nationwide attention last July by his initial get-tough attitude against rioting in Newark, contended today in a speech at the War Memorial Building near the State House that massive police action — and not shooting — was the best weapon against rioting.

The Governor said also that massive police force should be backed up by "very stern sentencing" by the courts.

The Governor apparently was influenced himself by the February report of his select commission on civil disorder which condemned the indiscriminate shooting by law enforcement forces in Newark.

The Democratic Governor appeared today before almost 200 mayors to seek support for the special urban aid program that he will propose to the Legislature next week. Last week, during a tour of a Trenton neighborhood that was hit by looting and fires, the Governor said he planned to recommend that the state assume most of the local costs of public welfare programs.

The Governor refused to give any specific details today except to say that an outright take-over of local costs by the state would exceed $100-million a year. He said that New Jersey local property taxes, which are the third highest per capita of any state in the nation, could no longer adequately finance local schools.

Mr. Hughes is understood to be giving serious consideration to a variety of tax programs, including the possibility of increasing the current 3 per cent state sales tax, or proposing a state income tax. The overwhelming Republican majorities in both houses of the Legislature have generally reacted coolly to the possibility of any major tax increase.

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In rioting that reached its peak the weekend of April 5-7, more than 200 buildings were destroyed or badly damaged here with loss estimated by insurers at $9-million. At least seven persons were killed, several hundred were injured, and about 3,000 persons were arrested.

Five thousand Federal troops and 6,700 Illinois National Guardsmen were called in to help restore order.

**Order Called Biased**

Today, Robert Lucas, chairman of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality said that Mr. Daley was giving a "racist" police department full power to be judge, jury and executioner. He said the orders were obviously aimed at Negroes.

Sydney H. Finley, regional director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the orders would bring "massive frustration in the black communities" and tend to separate further the black and white societies.

Jerome J. Friedman, a member of the Chicago Commission of Human Relations, a city government agency, said reports from the commission's staff indicated that the police had done a creditable job during the recent disorders.

Mr. Friedman added, "I do not believe in extreme or drastic measures except to prevent loss of life."

William H. Robinson, a Negro who is Cook County Public Aid Director, praised the police for restraint during the rioting.

He terms Mr. Daley's orders too harsh. Under these orders, he said, policemen would be "regarded as potential killers, and relations between police and the community then may become further irritated."

**No Kerner Comment**

At a news conference in Springfield, Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, who headed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, sidestepped questions regarding Mr. Daley's orders. He said he was not in position to comment and would not attempt to tell the Mayor how to run the city.

Governor Kerner said he did not know whether such shooting would lead to more rioting or what effect Mr. Daley's announcement would have on the Negro community. The Kerner commission had urged that police not "over-react" in disorders.

Police Supt. James B. Conlisk, who late yesterday issued instructions to policemen in accordance with Mr. Daley's orders, canceled his scheduled weekly news conference today.

But his predecessor, Orlando W. Wilson, of Poway, Calif., who retired last July after seven years as superintendent, said in a telephone interview that vestigation cautioned against overresponding to disturbances. There were incidents last summer when persons thought to be looters were killed, but it turned out upon later investigation that they were not looters."

Mr. Lindsay then dismissed as "simply not true" charges by merchants that he was minimizing the damage caused by looters and arsonists. He said the city had made no estimates and was stil gathering information on how much damage was done during the violence after Dr. King's death.

if Mr. Daley's "shoot" orders were carried out they would be effective.

**Stern Action Asked**

ST. LOUIS, April 16 (UPI)—Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes said in a state of the city message today that "this is no time to treat confirmed criminals with kid gloves."

"The time has come to not only respect the civil rights of those accused of crime but also to deal sternly with those who are found guilty," he said.

## Fund for Land Purchase In Indiana Dunes Granted

WASHINGTON, April 16 (UPI)—Congress has given $2-million to the Interior Department for emergency land purchases within the boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.

Senator Birch Bayh and Representative J. Edward Rouch, Indiana Democrats, announced today the approval of the Senate and House Interior Appropriations subcommittees, the only move necessary to release the funds to the department.

The National Park Service, which requested the funds, will use $755,000 to buy land in the west branch area where sand mining companies threatened the removal of three large sand dunes. The balance, $1,-245,000, will finance the purchase of private property in the corridor of the Indiana dunes.

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The Republican Mayor's criticism of Mayor Daley of Chicago, a Democrat, coincided with the comments from two prominent Democrats, Governo Hughes and Mr. Wagner.

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# Shot Kills Texas Policeman In Riot at a Negro College

RIOTS

5/18/67

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, May 17—A policeman was killed and two other policemen and a student were wounded early today in an exchange of rifle fire during a five-hour riot at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Negro school.

The Houston police, assisted by sheriff's deputies, fired rifles and carbines into Lanier Hall, an L-shaped freshmen's dormitory, for almost three-quarters of an hour this morning. The officers who were hit by bullets were in a group advancing on the dormitory.

The police said shots had been fired at them from the third floor of Lanier Hall after a student rally on the campus marked by rock throwing. They said they rushed the building to seize the gunmen.

The police arrested 488 students, five of whom were charged with inciting a riot, a felony in Texas, which carries penalties of up to 40 years' imprisonment.

**Some Are Released**

Early tonight, some of the students had been released without being charged, but more than 450 of them were still in jail, which helped create more unrest on the campus.

Ken Fairchild, an aide to Mayor Louie Welch, said the other students would be charged or released after they had been fingerprinted, photographed and questioned.

"This is by its nature a slow process," Mr. Fairchild said.

A number of the students were being questioned by homicide detectives trying to find out who had fired the shots that struck the three police officers.

The officer who was killed

Continued on Page 46, Column 1

# POLICEMAN KILLED IN A HOUSTON RIOT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

in the exchange of gunfire was identified as Louis Kuba, 24 years old, who had been on the force 34 days.

Students on the campus this morning said they were incensed at the damage done to the personal belongings of the students who were arrested in Lanier Hall.

The walls and ceilings of the dormitory had been ripped apart by officers looking for rifles and pistols and shotguns. They reported later that they had found one shotgun, one rifle and a pistol. Doors to the rooms of the sutdents had been chopped open with axes or locks had been shot open.

Blood was smeared on the third floor corridor of the dormitory wing that faced the police line along the street.

"The police carried out five or six as bloody as beef," siad Mrs. Mattie Harbert, the Lanier Hall house mother.

Screens on television sets had been broken. Radios were thrown against the wall and smashed. A watch on one table had been hit with some object. Clothes were torn and ripped.

The windows facing Wheeler Avenue — a thoroumghfare students have demanded that the city close — were pockmarked with dozens of bullet holes.

Mrs. Harbert, who lived in the dormitory, said "most of the students hadn't been doing anything except hiding from the bullets."

When the officers rushed the dormitory and began to arrest the students about 3:15 this morning, most of them were in pajamas or underwear.

**'Made Me Lie on Floor'**

"When the police broke in here they made me lie on the floor and two or three of them walked on me," Mrs. Harbert said.

Using rifle butts and nightsticks, the officers went through the dormitory systematically smashing the television sets and other objects belonging to the students, Mrs. Harbert said.

"One of them kicked in the screen of my TV set and even dropped my flower pots on the floor," she said. "I don't know what they were looking for. I guess they thought I had some pistols underneath those flowers."

Mayor Welch said this afternoon that he had ordered an investigation "to find out who did the damage" in the dormitories.

"There is a good bit of resentment over it," said one student, George A. Pierce, a psychology major.

A woman student said that the white police officers, who were joined last night by a number of Negro officers and

# Mass Arrests Follow Violence on a Campus in Texas

Students being loaded into van in Houston yesterday after riot at Texas Southern

United Press International Telephoto

Patrolman Louis Kuba lies mortally wounded from gunfire

ported univresity with about 4,400 students, was the scene

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"There is a good bit of resentment over it," said one student, George A. Pierce, a psychology major.

A woman student said that the white police officers, who were joined last night by a number of Negro officers and Negro deputies, searched the women students this morning as they left their dormitories for classes.

"But what can you expect?" another woman student shouted. "We're nothing but niggers. To them we're just apes."

"I'm sorry there wasn't but one of them killed," said a student who identified himself as "Madison."

**Root sat High School**

The riot apparently had its roots in an incident at Norwood School, a junior high school, where a number of white and Negro students had been suspended for fighting. The Negro students, who were suspended for the remainder of the semester, complained that the white tudents had been suspended for only three days.

Yesterday morning, 19 Texas Southern students demonstrated utside Norwood School and were arrested for disturbing classes. In the afternoon, they were fined $1 and released after promising not to picket the school again.

Last night, in a rally on the Texas Southern campus, other students were asked to picket the Norwood school. During the rally, someone threw a watermelon at two police officers who were watching nearby.

The officers arrested a student from the group that threw the melon and said the student was wearing a pistol. The officers sent for reinforcements after the students broke up the rally and began throwing rocks at automobiles passing down Wheeler Avenue, a common occurrence during recent weeks.

Patrolman Robert G. Blaylock, 31, said that during the rock-throwing incidents, some shots were fired from Lanier Hall, one of the bullets striking him in the leg. The face of his partner, Allen D. Dugger, 32, was cut in several places by flying fragments of some object.

**Wait a Block Away**

About 300 policemen gathered about a block from the dormitory and waited while sutdent leaders tried to break up a group that was throwing rocks and to urge the students with rifles to turn themselves in.

After about three hours of uneasy quiet, several Negroes moved from the dormitory and set fire to some barrels of tar in Wheeler Avenue and began to erect a barricade across the avenue, using pieces of metal from a building under construction nearby.

After conferring by phone with Mayor Welch, Police Chief Herman Short ordered the police men on the scene to clean up "this damned mess."

The police then began shooting into Lanier Hall with rifls and carebines. An Associated Press reporter on the scene, Larry Lee, estimated that the polic fired 2,000 eor more shots. One student, identified as Morris English, 22, was wounded in the back. The firing lasted 40 minutes before police rushed the building to arrest the students, Mr. Lee said.

Th poliece said Mr. Kuba apparently received his fatal wounds during the rush to the dormitory.

Texas Southern, a state-supported univresity with about 4,400 students, was the scene of a number of demonstrations this spring. In April, about 100 students boycotted classes for sveeral days after the university administration said that Stokley Charmichael, black power advocate, would not be allowed to speak on campus.

Mr. Carmichael later spoke at the school and at the Univrsity of Houston, a predominantly white univrsiety several bolocks from Texas Southern.

Students on campus this morning were almost unanimous in their opinion that the riot could not be classed as a "black power" movement.

"But what Carmichael told us made sense," said Mr. Pierce, the psychology major, as a larg group of students nodded in agreement. "He made us feel a new worth in ourselves, telling us that we had much to be proud of."

**New Jackson Protest**

JACKSON, Miss., May 17 (UPI)—Students at predominantly Negro Tougaloo College continued today to bar cars from the campus in a protest over disciplinary action against two students in connection with riots last week at Jackson State College.

A spokesman said people were allowed to walk through the gates of the campus but could not ride through.

**Wisconsin Demonstration**

PLATTEVILLE, Wis., May 17 (AP)—For the second consecutive night, several thousand Platteville State University students demonstrated last night against the city's 21-year minimum beer drinking age.

The demonstrators, estimated at about 2,000, swarmed through the downtown business section, and pelted police squad cars with rocks, bottles and eggs. Policemen and firemen used tear bas and sprayed the crowd with fire hoses in an attempt to break up the disturbance.

United Press International Telephoto

**Patrolman Louis Kuba lies mortally wounded from gunfire**


ANNUAL NATIO
of the
UNION OF ORTHO
CONGREGATIONS
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1967
Americana Hotel, N
Guest of Honor and
KETHER SHEM T
ABRAHAM M. D
Recipients of UOJCA PRE
Ephraim Berliner — Mic
Teodor Braun — Sam
Donald B. Butler — Juli
Lipman S. Gerber — Dav
Irving Kaye — Ben
Abraham M. Kopelka — Har
Guest Speaker: The Hon
Governo
For information call AL
MARVIN HERSKOWITZ, Chairman
NATIONAL DINNER COMMITTEE

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1967

# Student Links Riot on Negro Campus to Frustration and Hatred

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, May 18—A student leader said today that "hate" caused Tuesday night's riot at Texas Southern University, where a Houston policeman was killed and two policemen and a student were wounded by gunfire.

Frustrations at being treated as "second-class citizens" gave rise to feelings of hate that exploded, said F. D. Kirkpatrick, a graduate student in secondary education at Texas Southern and an associate of Stokely Carmichael, a leading black power advocate.

Mr. Kirkpatrick helped lead civil right demonstrations in Bogalusa, La.

The Rev. W. D. Salisbury, a Roman Catholic chaplain at the predominantly Negro university, said that the Houston police had acted out of "revenge" Tuesday night by tearing up personal belongings of the students while arresting 488 of them.

In recent weeks, city policemen have been kept off the campus by the city administration despite numerous incidents. In some cases police cars were pelted with rocks by the students.

### 'Hit One With Fire Ax'

It would seem that there was "fury" in the minds of the police on Tuesday night, said Father Salisbury, a chaplain at the university for eight years.

The Dean of Students, James B. Jones, said that police officers beat 20 or 25 of the students whom they arrested yesterday morning.

Frederick Hill, a 20-year-old sophomore, said that the police had struck the students in the hallway of the dormitory as they made arrests.

A member of the Houston police rescue squad told reporters last night that after he had helped rescue one of the dents] in the head with a fire ax."

"My sergeant said he liked that and asked me to lend him the ax," he remarked.

However, no student reported being struck with an ax.

City officials attempted to attribute part of the cause of the disturbance to the university administration.

Mayor Louie B. Welsh said that the school maintained "absolutely no control over the students" and had allowed outsiders full range of the campus.

Students congregated last night at the scene of the early morning gunfire denounced police and city officials and the school administration while speaking of their "bitter feelings" to reporters.

One student said that "all the faculty is interested in is a pay raise, and they are fearful that this incident is going to keep them from getting their raise."

Faculty members stood near the gathering, but made no move to disband the crowd.

### No Further Violence

The evening passed with no further reports of violence, while 150 policemen waited all night about six blocks away, ready to act if any new incident should occur.

Father Salisbury contended that the destruction of property in the men's dormitory after the arrests had cost the city police a chance to instill respect for law in the minds of the students.

"For years we have been trying to instill within these students a respect for personal property," he said. "It took some policemen, who are supposed to represent law and order, to destroy all that we've been doing."

Mayor Welch and District Attorney Carol Vance said they were not convinced that the police had destroyed the television sets, radios, watches, clothing, records, guitars, electronic equipment and pictures that were found smashed in the dormitories after the police left yesterday morning.

"In my opinion, any rumor that police destroyed the personal effects of the students was spread mainly for the purpose of trying to incite another riot," said the district attorney.

The house mother at the freshmen dormitory, Mrs. Mattie M. Harbert, has testified that she saw police officers breaking students' television sets and radios.

After questioning the 488 persons arrested on the campus, the police released 472 without placing charges against them. Sixteen were held for further investigation.

"They were trying to find out who fired the shot that killed the policeman," said one student. "Nobody seemed interested in trying to find out why all the trouble happened."

The student was referring to the racial tensions in the city that led to the rioting on the campus.

A police spokesman said the bullet that fatally wounded Patrolman Louis Kuba had apparently ricocheted before striking him, making it difficult to tell whether it was a .32 or a .38-caliber slug.

The police said they had confiscated a pistol, a rifle and a shotgun while searching the men's dormitories yesterday morning. A search of the women's dormitories did not turn up any weapons.

A number of students withdrew from the university today. The registrar's office said that for the current semester the university had an enrollment of 4,325. About 1,000 live on campus.

Mr. Jones estimated that up to half the students who live on campus had left school by today. Last night, dozens of parents showed up to take their children home.

Final examinations for seniors were scheduled to start today. Exams for other classes will start on Monday. A university spokesman said that the examinations were still scheduled.

### Wisconsin Students in Court

PLATTEVILLE, Wis. May 18 (UPI)—Four Platteville State University students who were arrested during a demonstration marked by violence, went to court today while authorities stayed alert for a possible fourth consecutive night of disturbances.

The students are angry because those under 21 years of age are barred from drinking beer in Platteville by a local-option law. They also said they were upset by several university policies.

**Close-Up** AC 6/26/67 RIOTS

# Learning from Snick

"Responsible" Negro leaders, said Atlanta NAACP President Dr. Albert Davis, worked for months without success for city construction of recreational facilities in Dixie Hills. Then, he added, "in a period of 12 hours, outsiders came in and developed a program of riotous activity, and the city reacted immediately.

"If you lived in Dixie Hills, would you not assume that Stokely Carmichael has a better program than we have?"

You can quibble over details. City officials, for example, say plans for the playground were well developed long before the rioting.

You also can argue that the "better way" cost the life of an innocent bystander and the critical injury of a 9-year-old boy.

But Dr. Davis' point still is valid enough in Dixie Hills and many another trouble spot to cause reflection.

If rioting can produce such immediate results, then does it not encourage rioting? And does it not seem to equate "responsibility" of Negro leadership with ineffectiveness?

In condemning Snck's racism and incitement to violence, we should not overlook its achievements. Snick people speak the language of the Negro poor. They communicate.

They go into communities seething with frustrations—of joblessness, poor housing, inadequate recreation, poor public services—and teach the basic democratic principle that bad conditions will never improve unless you say something about it. Surprising as it seems, public officials and "leaders" hear nothing from some communities where conditions are worse simply because no leadership has emerged and no one knows how to articulate grievances.

Snick has taught them to speak. And though we find the voice raucous and alarming, we at least owe it to ourselves to ponder the lesson in grassroots leadership.

It is my opinion that no substantial improvement can be imposed on people or a community from the outside: by government, by the white power structure, by "responsible" Negro leadership, or by Snick, for that matter. It must come from within the individual and within the community.

If Snick in many instances has done a better job of organizing communities and developing local leadership, and if we deplore the attendant racism and violence of its preachments, then we must study its methods and offer nonracist, nonviolent alternatives.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

RIOTS 6/27/67

**Eugene Patterson**

~~ADVERTISEMENT~~

# Dr. King Warns Against the Riots

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is standing up strongly now in opposition to the use of riots and violence in pursuit of racial change. Not for him, the fearful equivocations that too often follow disorders such as Atlanta endured last week. That kind of black power, he says in a new book, "will not work."

"Occasionally Negroes contend that the 1965 Watts riot and the other riots in various cities represented effective civil rights action," writes Dr. King, in *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (Harper & Row).

"But those who express this view always end up with stumbling words when asked what concrete gains have been won as a result.

"At best the riots have produced a little additional antipoverty money, allotted by frightened government officials, and a few water sprinklers to cool the children of the ghettos. It is something like improving the food in a prison while the people remain securely incarcerated behind bars. Nowhere have the riots won any concrete improvement such as have the organized protest demonstrations."

Dr. King might have enumerated some concrete things the riots have helped to lose, such as much racial liberalism in Congress. But he chose the constructive course of listing concrete achievements that Negro nonviolence did win. And, he noted, "fewer people have been killed in 10 years of nonviolent demonstrations across the South than were killed in one night of rioting in Watts."

"This is no time for romantic illusions and empty philosophical debates about freedom," Dr. King goes on bluntly. "This is a time for action. What is needed is a strategy for change, a tactical program that will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement.

"Beyond the pragmatic invalidity of violence is its inability to appeal to conscience . . . Nonviolence is power, but it is the right and good use of power. . . .

"One of the main questions that the Negro must confront in his pursuit of freedom is that of effectiveness. . . . If a method is not effective, no matter how much steam it releases, it is an expression of weakness, not of strength. . . . Only through our adherence to nonviolence—which also means love in its strong and commanding sense—will the fear in the white community be mitigated."

Choosing to be a man of conviction rather than conformity, Dr. King repeated, in the teeth of this summer's gale of violence, "If every Negro in the United States turns to violence, I will choose to be that one lone voice preaching that this is the wrong way."

With this respected Negro voice raised, so uncompromisingly, there is some hope for the salvage of Negro aspirations from the hands of the Black Power wrecking crews.

RURAL PROBLEMS

Published as an information service in the War on Poverty by the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity

RURAL Opportunities

December, 1966
Vol. 1, No. 8
Washington, D. C. 20506

# WHAT IS AHEAD FOR RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION?

**Don Hess —Director, Office of Program Planning, OEO/CAP**

In a program such as CAP, where so much depends on the actions of committed people in hundreds of communities, generalizations are risky. However, as Director of CAP's Office of Program Planning, I would like to suggest to you some of the implications of the new Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act as enacted by the 89th Congress.

The net judgment in OPP is that this year's Congressional action will make it easier for CAP to do *some* of the things which we have wanted to do, and should have been doing, since the program began. Let me single out three of these:

- The further development of programs of community action against poverty in *rural areas*
- Building some new reality into the concept of *maximum feasible participation* of those who are to benefit from the Economic Opportunity programs
- Targeting in on projects and programs which yield demonstrable benefits in terms of *eliminating the causes of poverty*

Community Action memoranda and program guidance material will be issued to help rural communities implement specific new programs and Amendments to the Act.

I will try, without going into any great detail here, to fit some of the new features into the framework of the three major objectives listed above.

### 1. Community Action in Rural Areas

The 89th Congress in its first session charged the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to ensure that poor people living in rural areas have equal access to the benefits of all Economic Opportunity programs, the Community Action Program included. This mandate was affirmed many times in the course of the long and searching discussions which resulted in the 1966 Amendments to the Act.

One of the priorities for CAP in the coming year will be to provide encouragement to local community action efforts in those States which were unable to utilize all of the Title II funds allocated to them in Fiscal Year 1966 under the statutory formula of Section 203. For this to be accomplished within the Title II appropriation, which was somewhat below the figure proposed in the bill supported by the Administration, some of the communities which went well over their guideline allocations in Fiscal Year 1966 may receive a smaller proportionate share of the total. However, very few rural Community Action Agencies fall in this category.

A large proportion of the Federal funds appropriated for Fiscal Year 1967 Community Action were designated by Congress for specific programs:

- $73 million for special training and employment programs
- $8 million for small emergency loans to low-income families
- $352 million for Head Start
- $22 million for Legal Services programs
- $61 million for the establishment of comprehensive health services and narcotics rehabilitation programs
- $7 million for special adult basic education programs.

**THE OEO BILL HIGHLIGHTS**

**Total CAP authorization: $846 million**

**Earmarked funds:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Head Start | 352 |
| Legal Services | 22 |
| Adult Work Training and Employment | 73 |
| Health | 49 |
| Narcotics | 12 |
| Emergency Family Loans | 8 |
| Adult Basic Education | 7 |

**One-third of board membership must comprise representatives of the poor, selected by the poor.**

**CAA's may pay "reasonable allowance" in addition to expenses for attending meetings, to members of boards and committees.**

**Level of research and demonstration programs reduced from 15% to 5% of total CAP dollars.**

**Provision for new programs of comprehensive health services.**

**Provision for funding of independent agencies in rural areas where CAA's are not feasible.**

**Rural family loan maximum (Title III) raised from $2,500 to $3,500.**

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

Ed - would you discuss with Al & let's talk, Paul

January 23 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I need your help. The Department of Agriculture wants low-income and minority-group people to know about its programs. Because of your work with disadvantaged people and your contacts with grass-roots leaders, we hope you can use information on the Department's programs to help more people to understand the programs and to encourage more people to participate in them.

I am enclosing the packet "So All May Share" which tells about the Federal food programs for both urban and rural people. The programs are for low-income families, children in schools and in orphanages, unemployed and partially employed people, and many others. They help improve people's health through better diets, and they are for everyone who needs them without regard to race, color, or national origin.

The Consumer and Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 20250, will be glad to give you as many copies as you need to send to your field staff or, if you will supply a mailing list, they will mail the packets directly. They will be happy to work out any arrangement with you that will help bring their programs to more people.

I hope that the Department can send out information on other programs during the year. I would like to send this packet and any other information we have to everyone who can use it, so if you know of other groups or community leaders that might be interested, would you please send me their names and addresses.

Sincerely,

Wm M Seabron

William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

Rural Problems

# SO ALL MAY SHARE

**Food Help From the U.S. Department of Agriculture**

RURAL PROBLEMS

# U.S. Accused of Shortchanging Rural Poor in Aid Programs

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30—The rural poor are being shortchanged by Federal programs to combat poverty, a national conference on rural poverty was told today.

Neither the Office of Economic Opportunity nor the Department of Agriculture are geared to help the rural poor, said Dr. C. Edwin Gilmour, professor of political science at Grinnell College in Iowa.

The Department of Agriculture, he said, has been more concerned with corn than with people" and is "by no means the master of its own programs and actions."

The department is dominated, he said, by the House and Senate Agriculture and Appropriations Committees. He said some of the members of these panels had power that "rivals or exceeds that" of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

Furthermore, he said, they are conservatives "in outlook and actions."

"How, then, can we expect to have progressive, promising, and people-oriented programs for rural America from Congressional committees with such orientation?" he asked.

The conference is sponsored by the National Association for Community Development, a nonprofit professional organization, which was founded in 1965 to assist in the national effort to combat poverty and give antipoverty workers a meeting ground. The meeting is being held at the Twin Bridges Motor Hotel across the Potomac River.

Dr. Gilmour was preceded as a speaker by Mr. Freeman, who conceded that his department had a tough task.

"Measured by what needs to be done, it is apparent that we have only scratched the surface," he said. "But we are making the attempt."

The new attempt, he went on, "points up a basic change in the department thinking, a change from nearly exclusive concern with agriculture and a beginning on the problems of the other rural America."

This other rural America, he said, is where "poverty is ingrained, opportunity is lacking and basic community growth facilities are sometimes nonexistent."

### $33-Million in Loans

Mr. Freeman said his department this year would provide $33-million in economic opportunity loans to help 13,000 low-income rural families and about 390 rural cooperatives made up of low-income families.

There will also be $435-million in rural housing loans for 48,000 families, $304-million in loans and grants for construction or improvement of water and waste disposal systems in rural areas and financing for nearly 200 rural community recreation centers. These funds will come through the Farmers Home Administration.

Dr. Gilmour characterized the Farmers Home Administration as a "very bankerish and banker-oriented loan agency" that makes loans to "financially sound farmers."

He also said that the department's Rural Community Development Service, which Mr. Freeman established as a clearing house for all Government services to the rural poor, had been hampered by money troubles. Dr. Gilmour said its budget had been $600,000 but that it was cut in the Presidents budget last week to $450,000 out of more than $6-billion allocated to the department.

Dr. Gilmour was the first director of the Iowa Office of Economic Opportunity.

He praised Sargent Shriver for an "admirable job" in bringing the antipoverty office into being, but he criticized the agency for "less than satisfactory" operations in fighting rural poverty.

Mr. Shriver, he said, has no "top assistant to advise him on rural realities and programs or to plan and execute rural phases of the Community Action Program." This program is run by and for local communities.

". . . The urban bias of the C.A.P. has become increasingly evident," he said. "Prepackaged programs are designed with urban resources and realities in mind. . .'

RURAL PROBLEMS

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
WASHINGTON, D. C. FEBRUARY 15, 1967

I appreciate the invitation to appear before this National Commission on Rural Poverty, as I always welcome the opportunity to testify against the shameful injustice of endemic poverty in the richest society the world has ever known. Yet I must confess my discouragement in appearing again before still one more commission when the facts are obvious and the need is for action.

Everyone knows the unrivaled productive capacity and the magnificent natural resources of the United States. And nearly everyone knows now, if they did not a few years ago, that while 30 per cent of our people live in the rural areas, 43 per cent of our poverty is there; and while 25 per cent of our people live in the Southeastern states, about half the poverty is there. The President has deplored it. The Secretary of Agriculture has documented it. Only two weeks ago, in this very city, outstanding citizens assembled from all parts of this nation under the auspices of the National Association for Community Development and gave three days to discussion of rural poverty. I am relying on the National Sharecroppers Fund, of which I am proud to be Vice-Chairman, for many of the facts and figures I will present in my statement here today.

Gentlemen, we have had enough committees, enough commissions, and enough conferences. We need action. In the generation from 1940 to 1965, some 25 million people (in terms of change of residence and net migration) left agriculture. Is this not one of the great migrations in all the world's history? Yet in all that quarter of a century we have seen no coherent plan or program or social purpose either to help those millions remain on the land or to prepare them for the changed environment of the cities into which they thronged.

Now there is concern and testimony and legislation to deal with the great crises of American cities. How could there not be a crisis in our cities? But it starts in the countryside where, even today, new thousands are being dispossessed and starting the long involuntary trek away from their homes.

In the great depression of the thirties, when poverty blighted the land, evictions and forced sale of farmlands were stopped by desperate farmers with guns on their shoulders. Auctions found no buyers. Government listened, at least for a few years, when the Farm Security Administration experimented with programs to keep land in the hands of small farmers. But the programs died under pressures on Washington, and the Department of Agriculture went back to its usual services to commercial agriculture, helping the big grow bigger as the little were forced to the wall. A major speaker at the Community Development conference I have mentioned, speaking of the current neglect of the rural areas, suggested: "Perhaps if there had been a few demonstrations out in the country, the OEO might have responded with more demonstration projects. I'm not suggesting that sharecroppers rampage along the cotton rows or start burning cornfields," he said, "but it does appear that the action is where the action is."

The "tent cities" of Alabama and Mississippi, housing the dispossessed who have nowhere to go and nothing to do, are vivid testimony to the pressures behind the great migration to the cities. Last year, the cutback in cotton acreage was the rationale for the dispossessions; before that, it was mechanization and efficiency. There were evictions in Alabama because tenant farmers would not sign over their ASCS checks to the plantation owners. In Hinds County, Mississippi, evictions are directly related to the tenant farmers' attempt to share in federal programs; to their asking for receipts in business dealings; to the election of Negro members to ASCS committees. Some evictions can be attributed to voter registration drives, and the fear of the growing Negro vote in the black-

belt counties is certainly a factor in the desire of the white power structure to see Negroes leave the area.

And now there are reports from Mississippi that the minimum wage for farm workers is a new reason given for evictions. Two explanations are made: first, the minimum wage applies only if there are seven or more employees; this stipulation is an incentive to avoid coverage by getting rid of many who have been working as day laborers and who have continued to live in the plantation shacks. Second, some plantation owners are shifting from cotton to cattle; they want to clear the land now occupied by tenant housing and truck crop patches,and turn it into pasture. The latest word is that the Governor of North Carolina has declared sharecroppers "independent contractors" in order to prevent them from qualifying for the federal minimum wage.

We strongly urge that the federal government respond to this emergency with programs to rescue these impoverished people who have been kept in a state of dependency and who are now once again being made the victims of the very legislation that should be helping them.

Discrimination in Agriculture

The large local landowners are still the dominant voice in the control of federal programs that ought to be helping small farmers, black and white alike, to remain on the land. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' report in 1965 revealed that the Department of Agriculture's practice was to follow local patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in providing assistance. White farmers were trained in the new technology while Negroes were not; white farmers were encouraged to diversify, to acquire more acreage, and to make their land more productive. Negroes for the most part received only subsistence loans with limited supervision from the Farmers Home Administration, while white farmers received supervised loans for capital expenditures. Other services were similarly limited.

Two years later, there have been changes in form, but not in substance. Average loans to whites are still substantially greater than to Negroes. Only half the number of Negroes, proportionately to whites, benefit from the Soil Conservation Service. Widespread irregularities have been reported in this year's ASCS elections, because procedures are still controlled by the large landowners. (Appendix 1, attached.)

Although discrimination is most blatant against Negro farmers, all small farmers suffer. The Department of Agriculture has, throughout its history, served commercial agriculture, and not rural people. Its FHA, for instance, is more interested in its loan repayment record than in the survival of farmers. The aim of federal agricultural programs has been to add value to things -- primarily land -- and not to people. Thus the benefits of farm programs go to the larger farmers who produce the most, who earn the highest incomes from the market, and who hold the most physical assets.

The Exodus

It is thus understandable that the continuing exodus from the rural areas includes white and nonwhite farmers alike -- tenants, part-owners, and owners -- and that the small individual farmers are hardest hit.

Nearly 20 per cent of the farms disappeared in the five-year period 1959-64 in nine Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. In 1959, the total number of tenants, part-owners, and owners amounted to 995,857 farm operators, 765,130 white and 230,727 nonwhite. By 1964, the over-all figure had dropped to 802,180 of whom 648,448 were white and 153,732 were nonwhite. (Appendix 2, attached.)

Many more whites than Negroes are affected, but the percentage of the Negro population migrating is much greater. Studies by the Census Bureau and the Department of Labor show that more than two million Negroes left the South in the years from 1960 to 1965.

In Alabama, the National Sharecroppers Fund has been working with other concerned groups and individuals to try to secure a surplus food program for needy people. Out of 67 Alabama counties, the 30 richest counties have food programs and the 37 poorest do not. When the attempt was made to organize food distribution as a single-purpose project under the Community Action Program, white citizens previously opposed to a food program announced they would cooperate but suggested setting up an integrated CAP. The result was that the single-purpose project did not go through, and there is still no food distribution in the poorest counties.

The food stamp program was expected to provide both more food and more choice for poor people than surplus commodity distribution, but in practice it means that those who are too poor to make the cash payment required to buy stamps are cut off from food altogether. A survey of eight Mississippi counties where the change was made from direct surplus food distribution to food stamps last summer, showed a drop from 54,395 to 33,307 participants. (Appendix 3, attached.)

> Government administrators seem not to understand that the poorest people simply don't have money, and once again a program intended to help the most impoverished people is actually working against them. We strongly urge that workable food surplus programs be immediately initiated and carried through from the federal level to see that all needy persons receive adequate food to prevent widespread malnutrition and even starvation.

For some months last fall, the National Sharecroppers Fund and other organizations worked with South West Alabama farmers on plans for a Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA). It was found that Extension personnel were advising the Negro farmers to plant soybeans for the local market, to secure the credit they needed from local buyers, and to hire harvesting machines from the same people. Yet the farmers were trying to organize, and had come for advice, primarily to escape this local monopoly control which had always kept incomes low. When pressed, the county agent mentioned other crops, but always directed them to the same local market.

> The functions of the Extension Service should not be to preserve the status quo or to aid only the well-established commercial farmers (who are now apparently their main concern). County agents should be helping low-income farmers survive by improving their agricultural techniques, raising income levels, organizing co-ops, and finding new crops and markets.
>
> Because the county agents receive some of their funds locally and are locally controlled, the Federal Extension Service should either revise its regulations governing its cooperative extension programs with the states, or it should establish a new educational arm which can do the job of bringing poor farmers and other rural poor, both Negro and white, the help they desperately need.

A day-long conference was held in Selma, Alabama, in January, 1967, attended by local farmers, members of co-ops, and local and national representatives of OEO and the Department of Agriculture. After the government representatives had consulted together, their spokesman called the efforts of the group "premature" and suggested that they go back and organize themselves more effectively, and perhaps next year they could have a vegetable marketing operation.

> Perhaps the farmers were not well organized -- after all, they had met to ask for help in organizing. Is this the best the government can do, to say, "Come back next year, any of you who are still farming"?

## The South Needs More, Gets Less

The South, defined as the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, had 25.9 per cent of the nation's population in the 1960 census, and nearly half its poverty. But its share in the programs that might relieve that poverty is, at best, only near the population proportion, and far from the extent of need. For instance, only 21.8 per cent of public assistance payments in the United States in fiscal 1965 were made in the South. Public assistance payments there are below the national average in total funds, coverage, and average payments.

The heart of the President's proposals for the war on poverty in 1967 centers on needed increases in social security benefits. But what about those -- many among the rural poor -- who are not covered by social security?

Nearly two-thirds of the payments in Southern states go to the aged, even though the average payment is around $60 a month. This means that less than a fifth of the funds are available for children in need; few of them are covered, and monthly payments range from $9.13 in Mississippi to $25.55 in Kentucky. (Appendix 4, attached.)

The proportion of substandard and deteriorating housing is twice as high in rural as in urban areas. Yet, since 1950, the federal government has built more than 36 homes in cities and their suburbs for each one built with the assistance of FHA in rural communities.

> Why is not the government moving to aid the thousands being dispossessed in Mississippi today, for instance, and giving them work at the same time, by helping them to build new homes for themselves?

Even under the antipoverty program itself, the rural areas get less than they should. In fiscal year 1966, less than one-seventh of total CAP funds went into rural program development and the conduct and administration of rural community action agencies and programs. CAP, like the whole antipoverty program, is urban oriented and is only beginning to understand the close relationship between rural needs and urban problems.

In Department of Labor programs, only 20 per cent of Manpower Development and Training Act funds went for projects in rural areas, where the need is enormous. In 1964, the Rural Community Development Service found that only 3.4 per cent of MDTA training projects were conducted in small towns under 10,000 population and in the rural areas they serve, and only 3.1 per cent of the number of trainees who participated were in rural and small-town training projects.

The lack of assistance is nowhere exposed more starkly than in the support for the land-grant colleges in the South. The total budget for the 16 Negro agricultural colleges was $32 million in 1962 while that for the four white land-grant colleges in the same area, with somewhat fewer students, was $72 million.

Only $600,000 of the Department of Agriculture's $6 billion budget has been allocated to the Rural Community Development Service whose function is to serve rural people and to help them take advantage of federal programs. That is 1/100 of 1 per cent.

> Where is the federal help that is necessary if people are to survive and prosper in their home communities rather than flee to unaccommodating cities?

## It Can Be Done

The fact is that something can be done about rural poverty. Small farmers who want to remain on the land can be helped to do so. The great exodus can be stemmed -- although there will always be some who want to migrate and who should be given help to ease the transition. But the rural areas can be rebuilt.

The proof of this lies in many pilot projects -- a kind of tokenism that has repeatedly demonstrated success and hope, and then been forgotten. But the demonstrations have been made and the need now is not for "pilot" but for massive economic programs which only the federal government with its resources can accomplish.

The Tennessee Division of Vocational Education, working with county school boards, developed a program under MDTA to try to raise the income of farmer participants from 20 to 40 per cent in the first year, and by 60 per cent over a three-year period. Subjects taught in this training course were specifically geared to the farming operations of each individual trainee. Most attention was given to soils, crop production, livestock production, and farm plans. The course started with a visit to each farm to develop a realistic plan for it. Other subjects farmers need to know about, such as keeping records, taxation, electricity, were included. Information was given about government programs and services; and in this case the local agencies cooperated enthusiastically.

The first pilot program, the Yorkville Management class, began on July 15, 1963. Attendance averaged 97.4 per cent. Average net income for the trainees, both white and nonwhite, in 1962 had been $343, but by 1964 it was $1,285. Of the 19 men in the class who completed the course, 14 increased their incomes by more than 100 per cent, and all know that their returns will continue to grow. When Employment Service representatives asked the trainees if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No." (Appendix 5, attached.)

The experience of the Southern Rural Training Project of the National Sharecroppers Fund proved the possibilities once again. Local leadership in Southern communities was helped to secure funding for 12 programs providing education and training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. Sixteen additional projects, to serve more than 3,000 trainees, were ready for 1967 funding when the Project ended. For SRTP was a demonstration program, and when the demonstration of success had been made, the Project was over and, ironically, could not be refinanced, according to Labor Department officials. (Appendix 6, attached.)

Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act was found to be the most fruitful for developing projects in rural areas. In developing these projects, SRTP field staff encouraged indigenous people to take an active part in the planning and processing. Bi-racial advisory committees were organized, allowing seasonal farm workers to meet on an equal basis with their employers and with government agency personnel. These committees, it is hoped, will become permanent organizations to apply for other programs to meet their community needs. Out of twelve projects funded by the time SRTP ended, seven were III-B projects; out of fourteen projects submitted but not yet funded, nine were III-B's.

Obviously, a great deal more of OEO funds should be channeled through Title III-B programs, which have the flexibility to meet directly the needs of the rural poor. They can provide basic education, prevocational training, medical and counseling services, and assistance in job placement or in obtaining advanced training.

Moreover, OEO's Title III-B is eminently suited for getting the work done, since it is a young agency and not bound by outworn bureaucratic practices, nor is it subject to veto by vested interests; it has the commitment and the knowledge of the real needs of the rural poor which make it one of the best equipped agencies to get this job done.

All over the South, poor rural farmers -- like those in Alabama -- are trying to help themselves by developing cooperatives that will stretch their incomes further and add to their net returns. One example of this is the MidSouth Oil Cooperative organized in Fayette and Haywood Counties, in Tennessee, with the help of an OEO loan for $49,000. Another is in Kershaw County, South Carolina, where a group of Negro farmers secured an FHA loan of $13,000 to buy a one-row mechanical cotton picker mounted on a tractor, and two cotton wagons. A third is in Mississippi, and I should like to tell its story.

Panola County, Mississippi, is a county which lost one in four of its residents in the decade between 1950 and 1960. In 1964, a group of struggling small farmers were desperate about the price they were getting for their okra -- only 4 cents a pound. A single local broker had monopoly control of the market and wouldn't even discuss the price with the farmers. NSF's Mississippi field representative advised them about forming a cooperative. They learned to buy seed wholesale and pass the saving along to members. They learned to sort and grade the okra, and how prices varied on the Memphis market. At first the county FHA agent was discouraging, but after they surveyed the county themselves and found out how many farmers would join, he changed his mind. The co-op obtained a $113,000 OEO loan which covered not only the okra operation but two cotton pickers -- this meant that their children were freed to go to school instead of having to help with the harvest. The co-op also bought bean combines and a bulldozer. Now they are planning expansion to buy fertilizer, insecticide, and farm equipment for the members, and talking about a cotton gin. These farmers are staying in Panola,

and they are meeting with farmers in neighboring counties to help them get started the same way. (Appendix 7, attached.)

> Yet farmers in Alabama are still told to come back next year. Why should the rural poor have to fight so many obstacles to get help to which they are entitled?

The way up from poverty should be easier in the rural areas, far less costly. The maximum loan to a farmer under OEO -- which reaches those too poor to be helped by FHA -- is $2,500. One of the trainees in the Tennessee program bought a second-hand walk-in cooler and constructed a slaughterhouse with a loan for that amount.

Measure against this the cost of maintaining a family on welfare in the city -- a cost which does nothing to help the family become self-sufficient, and which mounts up, year after year, and perpetuates the cycle of poverty. The basic monthly welfare allowance for a family of five in New York City was given as $289.85 in the New York Times for December 19, 1966. That is $3,478.20 for a year without including overhead and personnel expenses. The city distributes $42 million a month to welfare clients, more than half a billion dollars a year.

J. P. Lyford, author of a well-known study of urban slums, has asked:

> Why, for instance, must huge concentrations of unemployed and untrained human beings continue to pile up in financially unstable cities that no longer have the jobs, the housing, the educational opportunities, or any of the other prerequisites for a healthy and productive life? Why do we treat the consequences and ignore the causes of massive and purposeless migration to the city? Why are we not developing new uses for those rural areas that are rapidly becoming depopulated? Why do we still instinctively deal with urban and rural America as if they were separate, conflicting interests when in fact neither can be served independently of the other?

A crash program for the rural areas is overdue and must be given priority. Just as an example, why should it not be stipulated, when government contracts are awarded, that preference shall be given to subcontractors in underdeveloped areas with surplus manpower? This would begin to move jobs and industries into the rural areas without extra expenditures. Why not a massive housing program, with

new, inexpensive building materials and techniques, using the labor of the dispossessed under the direction of skilled craftsmen, first to build the homes they need themselves; then, with acquired skills, to repair or to build for the thousands nearby who are miserably sheltered now? Why not say YES to the groups of farmers struggling to build co-ops, and share with them the knowledge of crops, techniques, and markets that has been developed by our agricultural specialists? Federal initiative should reach out in every county. Why not make adult literacy and skill training as universal as the public school system?

Granted, public investment is needed: roads, schools, hospitals, water systems -- everything is lacking in the rural areas. But it is equally true that every dollar spent will come back multiplied. Rising incomes mean both reduced welfare costs and a growing tax base. Money spent locally means the revitalization of small towns, small businesses, and community services, growing trade, each an expanded tax base. All this will encourage industry to move in; and the local market created for truck crops will stimulate the small farms. The cycle of poverty can be reversed into a cycle of prosperity. (Appendix 8, attached.)

A great deal has been said, and studied, and resolved, in the course of the war on poverty, on the question of adequately motivating the poor -- the under-achievers, the hopeless.

It is time that question was turned back on the developers and administrators of federal poverty policy. Too many of them are without hope -- they take the view that nothing can be done for the marginal farmers and the rural poor, despite the evidence of demonstration projects that prove the opposite.

It is the government bureaucrats who are the under-achievers. Having the authority and the resources, they have been unable, and sometimes unwilling, to bring these to bear in a creative and massive program of rural redevelopment that could end rural poverty.

Government officials need to be motivated. We can end rural poverty. Let's tell our public servants to stop shortchanging the rural areas and to get on with the job.

Appendix 3

SURPLUS FOOD AND FOOD STAMP
PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

Mississippi

| County | Food Stamp (Sept. 1966) | Direct Distribution (Date Indicated) | | Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chickasaw | 2,628 | 2,546 | (Aug. 65) | + 82 |
| Clay | 3,395 | 5,075 | (Jun. 66) | -1,680 |
| Coahoma | 9,233 | 6,592 | (Oct. 65) | +2,641 |
| Forrest | 2,566 | 5,958 | (Mar. 66) | -3,392 |
| Harrison | 2,201 | 9,500 | (Jun. 65) | -7,299 |
| Jones | 4,646 | 9,923 | (Jun. 65) | -5,277 |
| Lowndes | 2,687 | 3,557 | (Aug. 65) | - 870 |
| Madison | 5,951 | 11,244 | (Sept. 65) | -5,293 |
| Total | 33,307 | 54,395 | | -21,088 |

NOTE: Chickasaw and Lowndes counties distributed food to public assistance recipients only prior to shifting to food stamps. All but 51 of Coahoma County's participants in direct distribution were also public assistance recipients.

RURAL PROBLEMS

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

Interim Activities Report
February, 1967

The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor has concentrated its efforts in two main areas since its last report in May, 1966. First, a major effort was made to build support for the minimum wage bill including farm workers. Second, NACFL strengthened its support of farm worker organizing efforts, particularly among the grape workers in California. We are now working on a major pamphlet on farm labor unionization, to be widely distributed as part of a concerted drive to include farm workers under collective bargaining legislation.

Minimum Wage

After the House had passed a minimum wage bill, it encountered unexpected opposition in the Senate, and in July and August, 1966, NACFL sent out action mailings to its entire mailing list urging letters to members of the Senate supporting coverage for agricultural labor. When in September the Senate-House conferees agreed on most of the better provisions of the two different versions, NACFL sent a personal letter to every Senator and Representative who voted for the conference report. The letter stated that while coverage was too low and too limited in scope, this was a major step forward for farm workers. It also expressed hope that this was a promise of future action, including coverage of farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.

NACFL will continue to press for increased minimum wage coverage for farm workers at every opportunity, and will support efforts to improve state minimum wage laws.

Farm Worker Organizing

By October, 20,000 copies of NACFL's pamphlet, The Grape Strike, had been distributed in response to requests from all over the country (a few copies were also requested from foreign countries). Our supply is now exhausted, and we hope to reprint the pamphlet, adding a few pages to bring the story up to date with an account of the resounding victories since the pamphlet was printed in February, 1966. Of major importance was the merger of the two striking unions -- the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) and the National Farm Workers Association -- into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee under a charter from the AFL-CIO. Requests for The Grape Strike are still coming in, and we trust that funds can be obtained to permit us to meet this continuing demand for the pamphlet.

To assist in the boycott efforts that were instrumental in winning the struggle of the union for recognition by the DiGiorgio Corporation, an NACFL representative participated in several meetings held by the New York City boycott organizers, and NACFL sent a special mailing to its New York list urging support of the workers through joining the consumer boycott, marching on the picket lines, and sending contributions to the union. In response to a request from a Chicago boycott organizer, NACFL sent names of key people there and thus aided in the setting up of the Citizens Committee to Aid Delano Farm Workers in that city.

In its basic work of bringing education and information about farm labor to the public, NACFL devoted its last two Information Letters (Numbers 31 and 32) almost entirely to reports on organizing efforts in various parts of the country. Many requests for additional quantities of these publications have come in, and the number of concerned individuals asking to receive our Information Letters and other publications grows steadily. Several Information Letters have been printed in their entirety in labor newspapers and other organizational publications.

Governmental Hearings

Sugar Wages. In June, NACFL presented testimony for a sugar cane wage hearing in Florida and alerted other groups that should also be represented. In January, the Department of Agriculture held seven hearings around the country on sugar beet wages for the 1967 crop; NACFL not only presented its own testimony but also located a number of other witnesses, thus assuring significantly more representation on behalf of farm workers at this series of hearings than ever before. Several of the state labor bodies were apparently not informed of the hearings, and NACFL was responsible for alerting them so that their representatives could appear. Each contact was sent NACFL's carefully documented background material.

Importation of Foreign Workers. In December, the Department of Labor held four regional hearings on the subject of standards for aliens performing temporary labor in the U.S. Again, NACFL presented its own testimony and also contacted other groups to make sure the interests of domestic farm labor would be represented. NACFL's statement strongly urged that the same standards be applied to all employers' requests for farm labor, whether domestic or foreign; that tax-supported facilities such as the federal-state employment services be denied any growers who would not meet basic standards of a living wage and decent working and living conditions.

In both these series of hearings, NACFL played a vital role in seeing that farm workers have a voice in matters that affect them so directly -- their wages and working conditions. In previous years, these hearings have often been a mere formality, giving growers a forum to present their views unopposed, since the government has made little effort to secure representation of workers themselves. But NACFL has gradually built up a group of contacts across the country -- organizations and individuals who can be counted upon to appear at hearings and for other needed action -- so that farm workers can be assured of having a voice to speak for them while they are still struggling to build their own strong organization to fill this vital role.

Food and Fiber. The President's National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber invited NACFL to present testimony at two hearings in a series being held around the country. In December, we presented a statement on Natural Resources, calling once more for enforcement of the 160-acre limitation on lands irrigated by federal water projects, as a means of encouraging competition of small farmers with the giant corporations, which would also benefit hired farm workers. In January, NACFL made a statement on National Policies for Farm Labor, and laid the greatest stress on the need for national legislation if agricultural workers are to be freed from their cycle of poverty.

Other Activities

In September, two farm workers were burned to death and another critically burned when a wood-burning stove ignited the wooden shack in which they were living on a western New York farm. NACFL wrote to the Governor, as it has on similar

disastrous occasions in the past, protesting the state's poor enforcement of the inadequate housing laws that do exist. A press release was issued, and contact was made with a college student who had been working to help organize the local farm workers. NACFL informed the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, of the situation, and they sent an organizer to the area. NACFL also contacted an editor of the New York Times who sent a reporter to do a feature story on the fire and the general conditions in the area. We hope to work closely with the New York State AFL-CIO and to reactivate the New York State Committee on Migratory Labor in order to bring about action and legislation to aid farm workers in New York State.

NACFL sent an action mailing in June asking for letters to Congress in support of an amendment to the Wagner-Peyser Act which would prohibit Federal-State Employment Services from referring workers not covered by the National Labor Relations Act (e.g., farm workers) to jobs where a labor dispute exists.

In August, the NACFL Activities Report of May, 1966, was sent to the entire mailing list along with a form requesting a response from individuals who would be willing to write their legislators on urgent issues and who wanted to receive all our action mailings. The response was most gratifying, and now NACFL has a sizeable file of action-minded individuals in almost every state upon whom we can call as issues arise.

NACFL continues its assistance to writers, photographers, students, and others. NACFL also provides many personal contacts to persons organizing local action groups, preparing proposals for government or foundation funding, or seeking specialized information. Requests for general and specific factual materials on farm labor issues continue to grow in number. This reflects a heartening increase in public awareness and concern. This means increased demands on NACFL's small staff and points to the need for expanded financial support so that NACFL can respond to the growing demands and opportunities for its services.

NACFL assists interested groups by suggesting speakers or by sending a staff member whenever possible. NACFL's field representative makes frequent presentations at meetings and informal discussions in the Midwestern states and in Florida. Members of the New York staff have given talks recently to groups including a Columbia Law School Seminar which is studying legal aspects of the farm labor problem, and a Sunday school session of some 200 junior high school students.

Collective Bargaining: The Role of NACFL

The NACFL staff is presently preparing a major pamphlet which will cover the past history of farm labor organizing, current efforts, and future prospects. It is planned as a piece of basic ammunition in the coming struggle to gain coverage for hired farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act. NACFL is joining with a broad coalition of labor, religious, and civic organizations in a massive campaign to educate the public at large to the need for this legislation, thereby creating the necessary pressure on Congress to enact it. An initial printing of 50,000 copies of the pamphlet is planned, with quantities to be made available to other organizations that will distribute it to their own memberships in this concerted educational and legislative campaign. One-page fact sheets, action memos, and Information Letters on this issue are also planned.

RURAL PROBLEMS

# POVERTY WAR WILL BE VIEWED

Times-Picayune

LAFAYETTE, La. (AP) — A joint committee of the Louisiana Legislature will take a look at the manner in which Southwest Louisiana has waged its anti-poverty campaign Wednesday and Thursday.

The two-day hearing is the outgrowth of The Daily Advertiser identifying a key anti-poverty worker here as a former member of a New York-based policy committee recruiting young people for a Communist-dominated World Youth Festival.

Lafayette Parish legislators asked for a probe of the six-parish poverty program. And the Louisiana Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution directing the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate.

The hearing will open in the War Memorial Building here at 8 a.m. Wednesday. Sen Jesse Knowles of Lake Charles is committee chairman.

Knowles said the auditorium doors will be closed when the 100 seats inside are filled.

# ANTI-POVERTY RECORDS EYED

Pov. La.

## Dist. Atty. DeBlanc Subpenas Books

Times-Picayune 4-12-67

LAFAYETTE, La. (AP) — Dist. Atty. Bertrand DeBlanc Tuesday subpenaed the records of three controversial anti-poverty groups in southwest Louisiana.

The 15th Judicial District attorney said he would order an overall audit of the agencies. DeBlanc said any misconduct of financial activities will be prosecuted.

DeBlanc said he took his action on the findings made by a certified public accounting firm. He said he would use a CPA firm that has not been identified with the war on poverty.

The three agencies are Acadiana Neuf, Southern Consumers Cooperative and Southern Consumers Education Foundation.

The education foundation handles Head Start operations in five parishes, a sweet potato project, three remedial reading groups in St. Landry Parish and a credit union in Vermilion Parish.

Acadiana Neuf has been audited periodically by a firm in Lafayette and Southern Consumers engages another CPA firm.

There has been no single overall accounting of the financial transaction of the three agencies.

In a partial audit of SCEF by the New Orleans CPA firm of Marwick, Mitchell and Co., SCEF was cited with having general ledgers out of balance, questionable entries on travel expenses, and lack of final executive approval in cash disbursements.

Operations of Acadiana Neuf are being phased out by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The OEO ordered the agency to shut down for failure to give the poor a bigger voice in administration.

DeBlanc's study comes on the heels of a two-day hearing by the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee looked in the poverty programs and said it would issue a report to the legislature this May.

4-13-67

RURAL PROBLEMS

This grant was made finally!



# Leaders of Negro Farm Co-op in Alabama Go to Washington to Seek Funds

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12—A dozen leaders of a Negro farmers' cooperative in Alabama came to Washington today to try to shake loose a Federal grant that is being opposed by the concerted political power of their state.

The farmers drove here in two cars to try to put over their new organization, the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association, as a practical way for low-income farmers to save on the purchase of supplies and get higher prices for their peas, okra and cucumbers.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is considering a $503,540 demonstration grant to the cooperative as part of its effort to find new ways of fighting poverty.

The grant reportedly was almost ready for approval until Alabama's two Senators and four of its eight Representatives descended on the Office of [illegible] Opportunity last [illegible] ex[illegible]

Spokesmen for the antipoverty agency declined to speculate today on the status of the proposed grant [illegible] to say that a decision would be made shortly. One said the proposal was on the desk of Sargent Shriver, the director, and was being closely studied by the agency's economic advisers.

The cooperative is being opposed not only in Washington but also by powerful white leaders in Alabama. The opposition there includes many of the county and city officials in the 10 Black Belt counties that the cooperative covers, as well as the owners of at least one packing company, a pickle manufacturer who stands to pay higher prices for cucumbers if the cooperative succeeds.

Fears of a Negro political take-over are being aroused as the opposition campaign is pressed in the Black Belt, a region that contains rich, dark soil and is dominated by a white minority that is outnumbered in some counties by as much as four to one.

A spokesman for one of the Congressmen said today that the cooperative was controlled by "Black Panther people." Black Panther is a name applied to certain militant Negro political groups that were organized in a few Alabama counties prior to the 1966 elections in Alabama. The organizations showed little electoral strength and some have disintegrated since then.

### Link Denied by Moderates

Moderate civil rights leaders in Alabama deny that the Panthers control the cooperative or have any substantial connection with it.

Joe R. Johnson, leader of the delegation of farmers, said today at the antipoverty agency that the cooperative needed the Federal money now, during spring planting, if it was to do any good.

"I'd like to take it home with me today," he said.

Mr. Johnson's group met with half a dozen antipoverty officials led by Bertrand Harding, deputy director.

The farmers brought with them several nonfarmer friends, including representatives of two well-known Negro schools, Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Ala., and Southern University at Baton Rouge, La.

Dr. Asa C. Sims, professor of horticulture at Southern, and the Rev. Robert Smith, director of religious extension service at Tuskegee, told the Federal officials that the cooperative was needed and was feasible.

The white political leaders who met with the Federal officials last week argued, along with white business leaders from Alabama, that the cooperative would duplicate services already provided by Federal, state and local agencies. They also questioned the economic feasibility of the cooperative, saying that group marketing might just as easily lower the price of prod-

About 850 families belong to the cooperative. Mr. Johnson said they formed it more than a year ago but had not yet begun full operation.

An 80,000-pound purchase of fertilizer this year demonstrated that the cooperative can save money for the farmers, a spokesman for the antipoverty agency said. The spokesman did not know the amount saved but it had been substantial.

The cooperative hopes to get higher prices for its vegetables by controlling the time of selling and by bargaining with packers.

The members live in 10 counties once dominated by cotton but now well down the road toward agricultural diversification. The counties are Choctaw, Dallas (Selma), Greene, Hale, Lowndes (where Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, the civil rights worker, was murdered in 1965), Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox.

Jack Venable, administrative assistant to Representative Bill Nichols of Alabama, said the cooperative had been organized mainly by Miss Shirley Mesher, a 37-year-old white civil rights worker. Miss Mesher first went to Alabama in 1965 to help manage the Selma-to-Montgomery march headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

She helped organize the militant Negro political organization in Selma and Dallas County last year. The group is referred to as "Black Panther" by whites in Selma.

Miss Mesher now is an unpaid, volunteer coordinator for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Her efforts for the farmers' cooperative coupled with her past political work are the basis for the charge that the cooperative is controlled by Black Panthers. Mr. Venable said that Miss Mesher's hand-picked candidates were elected to the governing board of the cooperative in each of the 10 counties.

Mrs. Albert Turner of Marion, Ala., the wife of the Alabama director of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said today in a telephone interview that she and her husband were members of the cooperative and that she knew of no Black Panthers connected with it in their county. The Turners have steered clear of the Panther organizations.

Fred Gray, a lawyer in Tuskegee, is the cooperative's lawyer. He accompanied the delegation to Washington and helped argue its case. Mr. Gray is influential in the moderate element of Negro politics in Alabama.

The grant would be for one year. The money would be used mainly to hire a staff and buy equipment, such as 10 small trucks for carrying produce.

Mr. Venable said the budget included money for two-way radio communications systems in the trucks. He said the assumption among white Alabamians was that radios would be used to help organize Black Panther political groups.

### Shafer Asks Record Budget

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 11 (AP)—Gov. Raymond P. Shafer submitted a record $1,861,061,787 budget for the fiscal year 1967-68 to the General Assembly Tuesday but deferred all tax recommendations until a later date.

Atlanta Constitution
4/24/67

RALPH

# McGILL

RURAL PROB.

## It Makes One Curious!

WASHINGTON—Ten counties in Southeast Alabama contain a total of 14,848 farms. Of these, 4,697 produce incomes under $500 per year.

A project to bring a carefully screened number of operators of these farms into a cooperative group has made a request to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a loan. It is estimated that of the 4,697 operators of these small farms, about 1,500, give or take a few, would be able to keep their farms and make them successful family farms.

The really small farmer, by himself, is helpless in today's agricultural competition. But as members of a well managed cooperative, able to share in cooperative purchase of seed, fertilizers, oil, gas, tractor parts, and so on, they could make a go of things. The cooperative manager can make available agricultural technology on crops, fertilizers, irrigation, farm equipment, eligibility for loans, insurance programs, and many other services open to farmers.

### A Handicap

One of the handicaps of the small farmer is that the average county agent is too busy with the large operators who know of all the services available to give much, if any, attention to the small struggling farmers who are, in general, on the way out.

In a great many areas there are large operators with an eye on the small, subsistence farmer's land. It is pretty sure to be for sale. Farm land is more and more difficult to come by. The small farmers and their families who annually are

farmers.

## A Handicap

One of the handicaps of the small farmer is that the average county agent is too busy with the large operators who know of all the services available to give much, if any, attention to the small struggling farmers who are, in general, on the way out.

In a great many areas there are large operators with an eye on the small, subsistence farmer's land. It is pretty sure to be for sale. Farm land is more and more difficult to come by. The small farmers and their families who annually are forced off the land move on to the cities to seek jobs for which they have no skills. They become, soon or late, applicants for welfare. They become medical problems. Their children, ill-prepared for schools, contribute to educational dilemmas. Half the nation's 35 million poor are rural Americans.

Cooperatives have an honorable history. There are many today, doing millions of dolars of business each year, whose businesses were created with government loans during the 1930-40 depression years. Some of these now operate not merely on a national scale, but do an international business.

## Rags to Riches

The stories of some of these are fiction-like in their rags-to-riches success. The writer recalls being present at some of the meetings of one such cooperative of small poor farmers. It was lucky in getting a manager of superior abilities. The writer recalls the cooperative's first daring purchase—a great gamble—of an old, near dilapidated fertilizer plant. That was not too many years ago. Today this same cooperative, with the same manager, operates literally around the world. Good management is an essential—as in all other go enterprises. Coops have an honorable history. They are in no sense un-American. The contrary is true.

It is against this background that the plan of small farmers in Southeast Alabama to obtain good management and form a cooperative must be weighed.

Congressmen from the area involved oppose it. Spokesmen for the farmers say the storekeepers who sell to these farmers—usually with high mark-ups and credit rates—are violent in their opposition. So, spokesmen say, are the big farm operators.

Why?

One becomes curious.

Is it not in the American tradition to have those who have the ability to "stay on the land?" Isn't it proper to help the little man help himself?

Is there in this story, as the farmers' spokesmen believe, the smell of greed and prejudice?

It is a fight—and the final chapter is not yet written.

RURAL PROBLEMS

# Alabama Co-op Gets Poverty Aid Despite Opposition in Congress

NYT 5/12/67

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 11 — The Office of Economic Opportunity has decided to grant $399,967 to an Alabama cooperative of Negro farmers despite the opposition of the state's concerted political power.

The antipoverty agency, which announced the grant last night, was caught for more than a month in a political pressure squeeze between the Alabama politicians on one side and liberal, union, and church-oriented groups, such as the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty.

Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace of Alabama has authority under the Economic Opportunity Act to veto the grant and thus force the poverty agency director to reconsider it. The director has the authority, however, to override such a veto.

The area was once devoted predominantly to cotton, but the cooperative's leading crops now are cucumbers, okra, and peas.

The conflict was analogous to last winter's long fight over refunding the Child Development Group of Mississippi, a Head Start project opposed by Mississippi political power. The project was cut off in September, then refunded on a smaller scale after months of cross fire.

The Mississippi fight strained relations between Sargent Shriver, the poverty agency director, and the Citizens' Crusade. Today, however, Richard W. Boone, executive director of the crusade, said in a statement:

"Mr. Shriver and his staff are to be congratulated on making this grant. In doing so, the O.E.O. has displayed the kind of leadership and imagination that have been too often lacking in other departments of the Government in the recent past."

### Unidentified Targets

Mr. Boone did not identify his targets but was believed to mean old-line agencies that are reluctant to tackle grass roots problems that could lead to political recriminations. A recent example was the Agriculture Department's refusal to provide emergency food for Mississippi persons who, a Senate subcommittee had found, were hungry, if not starving.

The recipient of the grant is the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association operating in Dallas, Lowndes, Wilcox, Perry, Hale, Greene, Monroe, Marengo, Choctaw, and Sumter counties.

The grant is designed to test ways by which poor farmers can significantly raise their income and become self-sufficient. With organization and capital, for example, they can buy fertilizer and other supplies at savings. By cooperative selling they can bargain with the larger buyers for higher prices.

### Congressional Opposition

Representative William Nichols, a Democrat, who is one of six members of the Alabama Congressional delegation that went to the poverty agency offices and argued for three hours against the project, said in a statement today:

"I stringently oppose this grant along with other local and state officials on the ground that the leadership of the cooperative was insufficient to handle such a project. We felt along with other members of the Alabama delegation that if the project were to be funded the leadership should be strengthened to include directly members of the State Extension Service and other Agriculture officials."

Donald M. Baker, general counsel for the poverty agency, was in Selma, Dallas County, today for talks with Sheriff Wilson Baker and Mayor Joel Smitherman in connection with the grant.

The O.E.O. public affairs office said the agency was not expecting harassment of the cooperative and that Mr. Baker's trip was a courtesy to explain to local officials the rationale of the grant.

RURAL PROBLEMS



# Freeman Hears 300 Negro Farmers in Alabama Complain of Food Stamp Costs and Bias

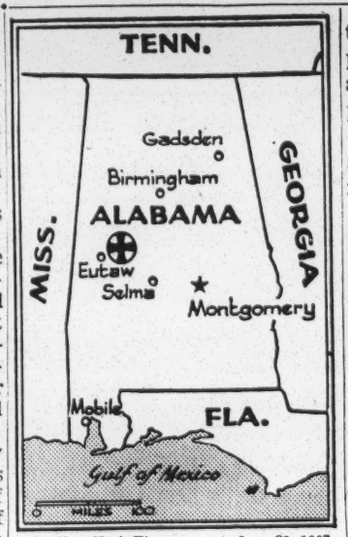
By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to The New York Times

EUTAW, Ala., June 28 — Nearly 300 bitter and frustrated Negro farmers and farm wives confronted Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman today with complaints of discrimination in farm programs and demands for food aid.

The Negroes jammed into the First Baptist Church in sweltering heat for an unscheduled meeting with Mr. Freeman. It was his first mass confrontation with poverty-ridden farmers and their families on a tour billed as an inspection of rural redevelopment projects.

Quietly but forcefully, they asked Mr. Freeman questions that ranged over a host of problems, including the lack of economic opportunity loans, the inadequate service from the local committees that administer farm programs, and the inability of poor farmers to buy food stamps.




The New York Times June 29, 1967

**Negroes in Eutaw (cross) seeking Federal food aid.**

Their cardboard fans moved faster to ward off the heat and they murmured "yes, yes," as he promised to see that they got a fair shake in all agricultural programs.

The first question came from a middle-aged woman in the middle of the audience.

She told of trying to sign up for the recently inaugurated Federal food stamp program in Green County in Alabama's Black Belt. "I was told it would cost me $62," she said. "I don't have enough money to buy food stamps."

The food stamp program is one of Mr. Freeman's toughest problems. The stamps are purchased by the poor according to their income. Families then use the stamps to buy food in their local food stores. The Government pays the difference between the amount each family pays for the stamps and the value of the coupons.

Controversy over the programs is rising, however, because families without any income cannot purchase stamps. The minimum payment has been $2 per person a month for stamps.

Mr. Freeman has ordered a cut in the minimum for Mississippi, which he visited yesterday. He is reducing the minimum from $2 to $.50 cents per person per month. He also hopes to get county officials to establish funds to pay for the stamps for persons who cannot afford even 50 cents. He also expects to extend the reductions to other states and to cut the payments of those who have some income.

### Rights Aide Outspoken

Some members of Congress have opposed the reduction, arguing that anyone can earn $2 to get stamps.

After a half-hour in shirtsleeves, Mr. Freeman departed, but he left behind his special assistant for civil rights, William A. Seaborn, a Negro, who invited more questions.

Unlike Mr. Freeman, who has been playing his Southern trip in a low key and talking little, Mr. Seaborn has been more outspoken.

In Alabama, only six of 67 counties take part in the food stamp program. "Our problem here is with the probate judges and county supervisors who say they don't want the program," Mr. Seaborn told the Negroes. "They say Negroes are lazy."

One farmer complained that the poor farmers could not get adequate advice on producing cucumbers, a new crop in this area started after tenant cotton farmers were evicted and replaced by machinery. "Farming has gotten to be very technical," he said.

Mr. Seaborn replied: "The man who is supposed to do that is your county agent. And I don't mean the Negro agent. I mean that office."

The meeting with Mr. Freeman was arranged by the Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore, a young civil rights leader. A flyer distributed when the Secretary's tour was announced called on the Negroes to come to the church.

"All we want him to do is give these people some inspiration," Mr. Gilmore told the Secretary's aides. The Rev. John L. Ryce, pastor of the church, who presided, drew approving "amens" when he said that the Negroes were not fighting against the machine. "We're just fighting for our place in the world," he said.

## Four Pentagon Promotions Approved by Senate Panel

WASHINGTON, June 28 (AP) —The promotions of four civilian officials of the Defense Department were approved today by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

They were:

Paul H. Nitze, now Secretary of the Navy, to succeed Cyrus R. Vance, who resigned as Deputy Secretary of Defense; John T. McNaughton to be Secretary of the Navy; Paul C. Warnke to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs, to succeed Mr. McNaughton; Charles F. Baird to be Under Secretary of the Navy, succeeding Robert H. B. Baldwin, who resigned.

Mr. Baird is an Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Warnke has been general counsel of the Defense Department.

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RURAL PROBLEMS

# THE BLACK IMMIGRANTS

**The Negroes of the northern ghettos are not simply colored people or poor people. They are also the new immigrants—foreigners within their own country. Here is the story of Walter Austin of Merigold, Mississippi, and the millions like him: why they leave the South, how they go to the alien land, and what they find.**

**By Ben H. Bagdikian**

*Photographs by Matt Herron*

At 6:40 on the evening of March 4, 1967, Walter Austin, who had lived for almost half a century within 60 miles of the Mississippi, actually saw the river for the first time. Still wearing his four-dollar overalls, he was sitting in the back seat of an automobile, jammed in with four other members of his family, crossing a high bridge. His eyes were red with the fatigue of the last 38 sleepless hours. But he stared down through the dusk at the aluminum reflection of the greatest body of water he had ever seen, and he said the same thing that rose out of him earlier when someone told him that in New York City there is a building 102 stories high: a low, slow, "Good gracious!" The car moved across the bridge, its occupants turning to keep in sight the massive river that had been the source of life and of suffering for five generations of Austin families. And then the river was gone, and they turned forward again to look uncertainly into the darkness ahead.

It was the most momentous crossing of their lives. From that time on their experiences would be like nothing they or their

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*The day the Austin family is to go North, young Wendell takes one last run in the yard by the Mississippi cotton field his father worked. But Wendell will never be a sharecropper.*

ancestors had ever known. That morning they had been just another impoverished Negro family working the fields on a remote Mississippi plantation. But at noon, with hardly a backward glance, they had slammed the doors of the two cars driven by a relative and a friend and headed north for a new life in the city. They carried all they could from the last hog they would ever butcher—the salted jaw, a slab of salt pork, two hams, 100 pounds of lard—stashed in the car like sacred objects. Riding with them as well was a new and confusing collection of hopes and fears.

That day the Austins—father, mother, five children aged 17 to 6, and one grandchild—added their eight lives to a flow of Americans that is one of the great unsung sagas of human history. It is an uprooting of more people in a shorter period of time than almost any peacetime migration known to man, a vast transfer that is changing America.

In a wicked moment Franklin Roosevelt once put a chill on a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution by greeting them, "My fellow immigrants," and it is true enough that one thing all Americans share is a background of migration. The American Indians were immigrants, probably from Asia; the forebears of most white Americans came from Europe in the largest intercontinental human movement in history; the ancestors of most American Negroes were the 400,000 Africans brought into the South as slaves between 1619 and 1808. Now the descendants of these Negro immigrants are making another mass move, this time within the United States.

In this generation, some four million Negroes have left the South, most of them for six states: California, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Where 50 years ago three quarters of Negro Americans were in rural areas, today three quarters are in cities. And the tide still runs strong. In 1960 there were four American cities that were 40 percent Negro; by 1970 there will be 14, and practically every city of any size will have a core of migrant Negroes, piling up, desperate. Like previous migrants, they are truly aliens, used to different customs, a different climate, essentially a different language, different everything. Their ghettos are countries within countries, in which nearly every inhabitant feels foreign to what surrounds him. But what surrounds the city Negroes is more hostile than anything any white alien has ever encountered. For them the ghetto perimeters are closed as tightly as foreign borders.

This exodus of southern Negroes is one of the most dramatic demographic events of the mid-century, yet it is a clandestine operation. When the Negro goes, he goes suddenly and secretly, because he is afraid of the white man. Generally, the Negro is a sharecropper, living in a feudal, noncash economy—his plantation owner provides him land and credit. When the harvest is over, the plantation owner announces that, after deducting the cost of food, fuel, seed, fertilizer and other things the sharecropper has obtained on credit, the sharecropper's profit is such and such. Or, much more likely, the owner tells him he owes the plantation as much as $100 or $500.

To the Negro this kind of debt is so astronomical that no one, laborer or landlord, expects that it will ever be paid off in cash. Only by working off the debt can the Negro family be clear. As manual farm work gives way to huge machines, the means of paying back the debt disappears. When that happens, most plantation owners are resigned to seeing their tenants leave.

Even so, there is often a question of who gets the paid-for television or kitchen range, in light of the debt, the landlord or the departing family's friends and relatives? And the rural Negro has been taught in the harshest way never to make an important decision without the approval of his landlord. So when he moves North, the Negro usually goes unannounced, a final gesture of rebellion and fear.

The families themselves seldom know when they will go until the moment comes. Moving vans are unknown to the dirt roads of the rural South, and departure frequently depends on the car of a visiting relative. Thus the times of greatest population loss in the South are the holidays—Christmas, New Year's, Memorial Day, July 4, Labor Day, any long weekend when city relatives can make the long trip down from the North. And at funerals. The South loses more than the dead at funerals. A brother from Chicago who comes down for the ceremony, having driven the 12 hours since work let out on Friday, arrives Saturday morning before dawn, and suddenly some of the youngsters, or the whole family, decide to go back with him.

Sometimes the mail arrives with the awaited passport: bus tickets sent by older children in the city. The next day the younger children drop out of school, and after dark that night the family heads for the station, carrying in their hands everything with which they will start their new life.

Or a mother takes the youngest children to "visit my sick aunty in the city," where she gets a job and sends the tickets back for her husband and the older children, and the next Saturday night the husband pays a neighbor $1.50 to drive him and his children and their suitcases to the station. Morning on the plantation finds the shack abandoned, and another rural family has entered the central mass of an American metropolis.

The decision to abandon a way of life, even one you love, can seem very simple.

"Christmas morning, last Christmas morning," Walter Austin said in his deep and vibrant voice, "I got up and I cried." Weeping did not seem to go with the dark, weather-beaten face. Austin is 48, has black hair without gray and a black moustache, and wears rugged-looking overalls and rubber boots clotted with mud. "I cried, and then I thanked the Lord to be living, because I could have been gone, and I was glad to be here, and all my children well. And the children had food. It put me in debt, but they had food, special Christmas food. For Christmas I saw to it that they had fresh apples and oranges."

Over and over he returned to the subject of moving to the city where, he knew, it takes even more money than in the country.

"Yes, yes, but you need *some* money here. You need *some* money here. I can't sit here with eight children"—he kept referring to eight children, though his two oldest sons had left for the city within the last two months—"I can't have my children around me and nothing to give them to eat. I feel bad in the morning. I feel *bad* in the morning, hearing the kids get up crying because they want something to eat and I can't find enough for them to eat. Then I feel bad. Then I feel like crying."

So the easy decision is really whether to eat or not. But there is a harder question for older people

## Suddenly the painful decision is made, and the Austin family flees North.

who know only their rural life and who love it. Walter Austin and his wife, Bessie, who is also 48, were born in Holmes County, Miss., but 10 years ago moved the 50 miles to Merigold, Miss., in Bolivar County.

"I don't want to leave Mississippi," Austin said. "I never been out of Mississippi except one time in my whole life, and that was only one week. Tell you the truth, up to the sixteenth day of March, 19 and 57, I never been out of Holmes County. I never been in no kind of trouble, never paid a fine, never been to court. I'll peck on wood"—he reached over the torn leatherette arm of the chair in his living room and rapped the bare wood floor of the shack with his knuckles—"I've been just plain Walter all my life."

We had spent hours talking country-versus-city, and there wasn't much doubt where he stood, given a free choice and enough food.

"I likes to farm. I loves it. I can raise my chickens, raise my hog, I have my garden with peas and beans and potatoes and squash and cucumbers and onions and greens. You can't do that in town. You can't raise a hog in town. I'm just a home child. I just don't want to leave home unless I have to. I'll be frank with you, I like the country."

He lifted his leather cap and scratched his hair.

"I know in the city you's supposed to have an education. If you got me a job in the morning and I was supposed to separate the salt from the sugar, I couldn't do it, not if they was in the same kind of bag. I couldn't do it, Cap'n, because I can't read."

His wife, with a soft face drawn with worry, and a blurry right eye blinded by a stroke seven years ago, told about a visit she made once to Chicago.

"I stayed with my husband's brother. I didn't even walk on the outside. That's all I know, what I saw from his place. I just couldn't stand that noise.

"I'd be satisfied working right here. If we had work. If I had enough to live on and be comfortable, oh, I'd stay. I'd stay."

What did she mean, "comfortable"?

"Nothing extra. You come into this world with nothing, and when you leave you can't carry anything away. I need some covers—quilts, you know—comfortable mattresses, some beds don't need to be propped up. I would like some clothes."

She thought for a moment and then worried that I might misunderstand her desire for clothes. She didn't mean for herself (she bought her last dress in 1956, her husband had never bought a suit and limited his new clothes to a four-dollar pair of overalls each year).

"I mean for the children. And nothing fancy, just not all sewed up. Not half-priced or leftovers but good common clothes, you know? Not eight-dollar dresses, just good three-dollar dresses. What I need most is extra underclothes and socks. We have enough outerclothes so the kids can wear clean things to school, but the children have to wash their underwear and socks every night so they'll be clean in the morning. If they had extra sets they wouldn't have to wash them every night."

Walter Austin looked in mock severity at the apple of his eye, his 10-year-old daughter, Bessie.

"I gets up at four o'clock every morning. At four o'clock I'm up, Sunday, Saturday, rain, sleet or snow. I put on my clothes, wash my face, go out and feed my hog, feed my chickens, and then I come back in and see if the kids has washed their clothes before they went to bed, and if they didn't, then I gets them up early so they can do it before schooltime and give their underclothes and socks a chance to dry in time. Ain't that so, Bessie?"

Bessie obviously was the most recent transgressor, and she smiled sheepishly and said to her father, "Suh?" By "early," Austin explained, he meant the backsliding child rose at 5 A.M. instead of the usual 6.

To Mrs. Austin the prospect of the city held out the deadly danger that the children would learn to drink. Walter Austin would miss his farming and would no longer experience the pride of running and repairing a large combine. But the children had different thoughts. Frances, 17, whose formal, bland expression masked a quick and taunting wit, was fatalistic—"I think things would be just the same whether I go or stay"—but she looked excited when she described how well-dressed her girl friends and relatives were when they returned from the city. David, 14, also wore an outer mask of solemnity, but his black-cloth visor cap worn at a rakish angle hinted at the adolescent itch. "I just don't want to farm. No, suh. I just don't want to be a farmer." Hearing about the city, Bessie simply glowed wordlessly. Her younger sister, Zettie Mae, 8, and brother, Wendell, 6, looked bewildered and polite.

But their parents kept reminding themselves how much better off they are now than they were in their youth. Neither of them had ever lived in so good a house as this one. It had a tight roof, the five rooms were lined with wallboard. There was a cold-water faucet in the kitchen and a privy out back (some plantation shacks lack even a privy). Three open gas grates heated the place in winter, and they had some chairs, bedsteads, and from a few good years in the early 1960's a television set and a freezer, all paid for.

"My mother's house back in Holmes County," Walter Austin said, "you could see the chickens through the floor and the blue sky through the roof. And when I was a kid, what I had to eat for the whole day was one slice of hog jaw and corn bread with flour gravy, sometimes not even that.

"Now here's David here, fourteen years old and he's in—what grade is it? Eighth—yes, the eighth grade. When I was seven years old I was trying to go to school but, Lordy, I just had to work. When I was seven years old I had to walk three miles before sunup, get a mule and feed it and then work that mule in the fields until dark, all of that for only eight dollars a month.

"I married Bessie, here, the only wife I've ever known, when we were both seventeen, and the day we got married we ate corn bread and flour gravy. We started with an old wood stove, a bed, a pig and a calf my mother-in-law give me."

The family worked for 20 years on a plantation in Holmes County. At the end of that time, Austin was driving a tractor for $4.50 a day, during the season and when weather was good. Mrs. Austin and the children did sharecropping for the same plantation, planting, chopping (weeding) and picking a cotton crop. They provided the labor and the landlord provided the land and their rent-free house. The landlord also gave them credit for their share of the cost of their seed and fertilizer and lent them $40 a month for food until the crop was harvested and sold.

"The four kids and I," Mrs. Austin said, "that last year, did twenty-six bales. We had to keep the kids out of school to do it. But I got tired, just tired going with the crops, weighing my own cotton, tromping it, putting it on the trailer. I got so tired. As a woman, I couldn't farm no more." At that time she had seven living children, ages 19 to 4, the older ones working in the field, the younger ones brought out in boxes to play all day near the cotton rows. Two infants died early, and a daugh-

*Top: With no cotton fields to romp in, Wendell now plays in a back alley in Springfield, in a Negro ghetto he may spend his whole life trying vainly to escape. At right, Frances works as a presser in a Springfield laundry which likes to hire the industrious Negro migrants. Already she earns more than her father ever did as a sharecropper.*

*Newly arrived in Springfield, Ill., the biggest city they have ever seen, the Austins encounter a tempting new standard of living—and all the pressures and confusions of urban life.*

ter later died of leukemia at the age of 16. "And all we got for that year and twenty-six bales of cotton was a hundred and fifty dollars. The four kids and I, from May to October. When I told the boss man I just couldn't sharecrop with the four kids no more, he told us we'd have to move. That's when we come down here."

(The average price farmers received for cotton in 1956 was $152 a bale, so the Austins' half share apparently was $1,976, minus $480 lent for food and their share of seed and fertilizer; neither they nor anyone they knew ever saw an accounting.)

Walter's brother heard of an empty house in Bolivar County, and they moved, and though they loved Holmes County better than anyplace else on earth, they considered themselves much improved. People had a little bit more. In Holmes, median income for the rural Negro family was $895 a year; in Bolivar it was $1,198. The Austins didn't know that, but they sensed it, and they sensed that their new plantation owner and agent were more benign. And the house was better.

Life was not easy, of course. They had more children. Their daughter, Jean, had leukemia and spent the last six weeks of her life in University Hospital in Jackson, 100 miles away, where her father lived, penniless, in a chair in her room, fed by compassionate nurses. After she died, he returned home to find that his daughter, Bessie, had been born, and his wife was back in another hospital with the shock that blinded her right eye. But, then, life had never been easy, and their family kept its strong bonds and Walter Austin his mastery within the family.

The world of the Austins in Mississippi was simultaneously enormous and tiny. Their little home was a dot in the Mississippi delta, a flat ocean of land made from the silt of centuries of flooding, land as rich as any on earth. Square mile after square mile of cotton fields stretch out, in the winter a rusty sea with here and there a scrap of windblown paper snagged on a dry stalk like a whitecap. The huge landscape is punctuated by an occasional small town, a cotton gin, a stand of oaks, and the clusters of Negro shacks in the fields. Like most southern rural Negroes, the Austins lived on a dirt road without a name, in a house without a number. But though the view seems endless, their neighbors were few, their life concentrated around their own family.

"Watch for a burned-out house on the highway," a relative instructed me, "turn left and go in three miles and look for a brown house with a tan 1959 Chevy that's broke down."

I was lucky to have met the Austins before they decided to move and to be with them when they changed their minds, for their experience told much about the thoughts and emotions of families facing the great migration. Before he knew he would go, Walter Austin had uppermost in his mind the improvements he had seen since his youth and all the things he liked in the country and feared in the city. He was genuinely undecided. The plantation owner had told him there would be no guaranteed work the next year because their cotton acreage was being rented to a big agricultural operator. But the owner held out the possibility of a job in a machine shop in a nearby town, or, at least, some days of casual labor in the fields.

The pressure increased, especially during the winter, when work ceases in the delta fields. Merchants knew at once that Austin had been put in the doubtful category. Where credit for food, bottled gas and doctors had once been immediate, everyone wanted cash. Families around them were going away. Ten years earlier 50 families worked and lived on that plantation. Now there were six. Within the last year the two houses on either side of the Austins had been vacated and torn down, and the skies of the delta now were regularly streaked with smoke from empty shanties being burned down to clear the ground for growing. The smoke got thicker after a one-dollar-an-hour wages-and-hours law for agricultural workers began last winter. When motorists stopped one day to watch a spectacular fire consuming a plantation shack, the agent in charge called out, "Wages and hours got that one."

Yet the Austins hung on. He was a good worker. His plantation agent, within the limits of feudalistic white supremacy, was a decent man. Each day Austin rose at 4, went to the plantation headquarters at 7. If there was work, he returned after dark, $10-minus-debts the richer. If there was no work, as was most often the case, he went home and worked in his yard and garden.

Mrs. Austin rose at 5:30 to start breakfast of sausage and corn bread, if they had it. The children rose at 6 and got ready for the 7:20 school bus, if they all had shoes. After school they played with the children of the few remaining neighbors, did homework, had supper of greens and salt pork, and were in bed around 8.

The end of the week was different. On a typical Saturday, David lighted a fire in the backyard under an ancient iron pot and heated water for the washing. Frances did the wash in a round, wringer-style washing machine on the back stoop and hung it on the "clothesline"—two strands, one old electrical cable, the other old barbed wire. David helped his father clean up the backyard. The hog grunted, and Walter Austin rubbed its head with his glove—"Baby, you want your breakfast?"—and told David to fetch the slops. Instantly at the trough were the pig, three puppies, two cats, four kittens and two roosters.

The three younger children, bundled in bright donated clothes, played hopscotch on packed earth at the end of some cotton rows, tiny scarlet figures under a huge sky, chased by their puppies, Frisco, Fuzzy and Alaska.

In the evening they look at television. "I cain't read," Walter Austin explained, "so I have to get the news and weather on the TV."

And they sang, Bessie leading and her mother and the others following. They coaxed David to do his imitation of a local preacher. His father called gaily to his children in the living room, using the private names he dreams up at their birth, and he alone uses: "Preacher" for Wendell, "Chicken" for Zettie Mae, "Barbie" for Bessie, "Ben" for David, and "Root" for Frances.

"Ben," he said, "Let's hear the one, 'Your God and My Love.'"

During the singing, the three youngest children played school with the most magnificent Christmas gift any Austin ever got, a plastic-and-chrome children's table-and-chair set from two years ago. As always, Bessie was the teacher, sitting at the table, facing Zettie Mae and Wendell in chairs.

"Wendell," she said imperiously, "spell . . . ." and she said what sounded like, "gown."

Wendell, puzzled: "Gown?"

Bessie, impatiently, "Yes, 'gown.'"

Wendell, timidly, "Like, 'machine gown'?"

Bessie, outraged, "No, Wendell, no! Like,

'Yesterday they went. Now they is gown.'"

Everyone laughed, though teachers know that this kind of misunderstanding is significant in explaining the difficulties in reading and learning among children whose natural tongue is not standard English.

Later there were baths, in a galvanized washtub put in Frances's room, the most private one, with a heater.

During the evenings the Austins constantly churned over their view of the future. "I wants to stay, I wants to stay," Walter Austin said. "If I could just get that machine-shop job or work in the boss man's pig farm where they works rain or shine. But how in the world am I going to feed eight kids on fifteen dollars a week?"

Periodically he'd resign himself to moving. "But after the snow is off up there. I is naked here, and up north I'm going to freeze."

None of us was prepared for what happened. One Sunday, photographer Matt Herron and I decided to visit the Austins' small church in the fields. Eight years ago 70 people would attend but now, with the migration, only 20. As we drove we were surprised to see Walter Austin and David out on the road, flagging us down. Walter Austin looked grave, his face gray with tension.

"They don't want you to go to the church because they's afraid it'll get burned down. The deacons, they ask would you please not go."

He explained that the day before, the plantation agent announced that Austin would have to move, telling him angrily, "Those white men kept coming and coming and coming to your place, and that's more than I can take. I know what they're doing. They're down here organizing a union. The state's full of them. So you better leave." Austin could take some time, the agent said, but he had to go.

The concern in Walter Austin's face was justified: To fall out of favor, angrily and catastrophically, with the boss man, especially for unauthorized dealings with outsiders, implied peril to life and limb.

The nearest public phone was six miles away. We drove to it, and Austin called a married daughter in Springfield, Ill. She was alarmed. She urged her father to come that night "before something happens, please, Daddy." But Austin's voice was calm as he spoke on the phone. "No, baby, I need a week to sell my freezer and my hog and take care of things."

We drove Walter and David Austin back to their home and went to see the plantation agent, a round-faced man in his 60's. He and his wife, the plantation bookkeeper, were civil though they were often angry. They recited our movements in the state for the last week; it is not difficult for plantation operators in Mississippi to keep track of suspicious strangers. They told us they knew we were stirring up "our people" and forming a union. Furthermore, we had violated common rules of courtesy. "You can drive down that road," he said, "and you can maybe stop at a house once. But to keep coming and coming and coming and staying after dark—that's too much."

After about an hour we persuaded him we were not organizers, and we parted in a friendly way. In a sense, this was unusual, but what the agent did was even more so. The next day he went to Walter Austin and apologized for falsely accusing him and said he could stay. Austin says he thanked the agent, but he had decided to move, and so he told the agent that he was going through with it. "Boss Man, you was dissatisfied with Walter, so Walter's going to move."

The agent told him he didn't have to sneak off like all the others. And Walter Austin didn't.

The next Saturday morning the Austin place looked like the center of a carnival. A total of 23 neighbors and friends were in and out of the house, up on the roof dismantling the motorized television antenna (bought for $149 four years ago and now sold for $5), carrying out the freezer (bought for $400 and now sold for $50). There was gaiety and almost no sentimentality.

Walter Austin, quietly, calmly, and with humor, left no doubt who was in charge. At 7 he had gone to the agent's house, returned a ladder, a set of wrenches, and paid back $7 the agent had lent him last fall so David could have shoes for school. Neither one said anything, but they both knew Walter Austin was leaving that day.

Austin quietly directed his son-in-law and his oldest son, who had driven down in the night from Springfield. Wandering through the yard was Walter's 29-year-old brother, who worked on the same plantation, and toward the end he said almost to himself, "I'm the only one left." When the time came, Walter and his brother looked at each other briefly, and Walter said, "Good-bye, son."

Frances and her boyfriend talked constantly, arms linked. An old parlor chair, the one with the torn leatherette covering, couldn't be taken, and they gave it to Frances's boyfriend, who carried it out. Walter said, "You get to keep the chair, Robert, but you'd like to keep Frances."

A recent plantation acquaintance tried too often to engage Walter's attention, and finally in exasperation Walter said to him politely, "Well, good-bye and come see me."

"How will I know where you'll be?" the acquaintance said too eagerly. "I don't even know where you're going."

Austin: "I'm going yonder."

Acquaintance: "Where's yonder?"

Austin, nodding northward: "Up."

Finally, Walter Austin walked through his stripped house. Gone from the living-room walls were the photographs of his children and some of his 15 grandchildren; the shadowbox of Jesus with the burned-out electric bulb; the pink plastic cross with the chrome crucifix; the small window frame containing postcards of Cherokee Indians and a table of decimal equivalents; and the too-bright picture of a romantic thatched-roof cottage surrounded by seed-catalogue flowers with the legend, GOD SHALL SUPPLY ALL YOUR NEEDS.

Walter Austin looked around and saw one remaining artifact on the faded blue wall—a calendar of the "Delta Burial Corporation, Seldom Equaled, Never Excelled," the society to which they paid $3.75 a month to guarantee them a decent Mississippi funeral. He hesitated a moment, then lifted the calendar off its nail and handed it to Bessie. "Barbie, in the green car."

In the kitchen he looked at the stove he had just bought on time but not made any payments on, at two lamps he had long paid for, the wringer washing machine for which he paid $200 and owed only $95 more, all left behind to be picked up by the dealer in town. Asked why he was leaving behind the lamps and the half-paid-for machine, he said, "I'm not looking for trouble. I'm just looking for a little peace and a little love."

And then he left, and when the car engines were started, Walter Austin never looked back.

As the cars moved rapidly northward, one could almost feel the arguments for staying sinking out of sight and the ones for going coming to the top. Before, the need for food and money had dominated conversation. Now, deeper things, long repressed, came to the surface. I asked if he had any fear of facing the strange life in the city at his age.

"Well, I guess so. But it had to come. It had to come. Back in Mississippi I was forty-eight years old, but I was still like a child. I needed the white man for protection. If the colored man had that he could keep out of lots of trouble. He could get credit. He could do lots of things, lots of things. But he just had to have that protection. If you didn't have that protection all kinds of things could happen, all *kinds* of things, just like could happen to a child without a daddy."

His eyes were red and tired, but he talked on.

"You'd get up every morning, and you'd ask the boss man what to do, and every morning he'd tell you, just like you was a child. When you got your pay, he'd take out of it what he wanted for what you owed. He didn't ask you. Now I had a good boss man, for Mississippi, and if I had something special now and then, I could ask him to let me have all my pay, and he'd let me have it. But usual thing, he'd take out what he wanted. He handled most of your bills.

"Now I figure in the North one man pays you, and then you got to take care of your bills yourself. I know a man can get into a mess of trouble handling his own bills, but I reckon that ought to be up to him, to learn and decide himself. But not on a Mississippi plantation. They figured I was a child."

He described the tensions and treacheries on a plantation where all are struggling for approval and survival, and helped explain the too-eager acquaintance that morning. "You always had to watch those other boys on the plantation and be careful who you trusted and who you didn't."

You knew Walter Austin had not been caught up in the civil-rights movement because he still referred to Negroes in the white supremacists' term, "boys," and called all white men "boss man" or "captain."

"If the boss man was always giving the easy jobs to a boy, and he and The Man always had their heads together, then you better be careful with that boy, 'cause he's probably telling the boss everything he knows about you. So on the plantation you learn to be careful what you say, what you do, and who you speaks to. And if the boss man asks you about somebody else, and you don't want to be telling him no lies, you got to tell him you just don't know nothing."

The cars were still in Mississippi, but in Walter Austin's mind already "here" was North.

"Here you can be with who you wants and ride with who you wants."

The Sunday before, while we rode to the phone booth, we had to stop for gas. It was what is known in Mississippi as an "integrated car," and the white gas-station proprietor had a common reaction: He fixed a menacing, unblinking stare at Walter Austin and kept it on him as he deliberately and slowly wiped every window of the car. To a Negro this stare, whether in an integrated car or behind a voting table, is a serious threat.

As the landscape streamed by, it caught different eyes at different times. Walter Austin would turn whenever we passed a small farm on its own plot of land. When we began to pass large used-car lots, a small smile leaked onto David's solemn face. Frances watched the increasingly large neighborhoods of ranch houses with their lawns, the largest number of middle-class houses she had ever seen, and the first not associated with the plantation hierarchy. "I'd like a house like that," she said once, "with one of those checkerboard tiles on the floor." Did she think she'd ever live in one? She thought about it seriously and then said, "Yes. I think I will."

Walter Austin and I joked a little over his calling me "Captain," which I had asked him not to do. At the time, two weeks earlier, he had said, "I know, but it's hard to stop. Up north you say, 'yas suh,' and they looks at you like you was crazy. But when you're brought up from the time you can talk, and your mammy makes you go back and say it every time you forgets to say 'yas suh,' then it's hard to stop all of a sudden."

Periodically, he would lapse into "captain" or "boss man" when we talked. But after we crossed the Mississippi River, he never did it again.

The cars went into the foggy night toward Springfield, Ill., with a homing instinct that affects almost every migrant. It was common during the foreign immigrations to have whole villages—from Sicily, Russia, Poland, Germany, Ireland—be transplanted to some particular American city. The same thing now happens within the country. There are counties in West Virginia from which most departing people go to Cincinnati, others from which they go to Cleveland. In Chicago there are two blocks made up largely of Holmes County Mississippians. The compass of the migrating poor is seldom fixed by a job already arranged and waiting, but by the presence of close relatives and friends.

In his youth, Walter Austin cut wood with a friend in Holmes County. During World War II the friend got a job

on the Illinois Central Railroad, and took a room in Springfield. Later he bought a couple of rooming houses there and retired. From time to time the railroad man would return to Holmes County. Once he came to attend a wedding of his cousin with Walter Austin's cousin. When the cousins were evicted from their plantation, they moved to Springfield into a flat owned by the railroad man. In 1956 Austin's sister was told by her plantation owner that her family had to move, so the sister went to Springfield where she stayed with her cousin and got a job in Kennedy's Laundry. Four years later Austin's oldest daughter, Etoyre, decided there was no future in Mississippi, so when her aunt came from Springfield for a funeral, the daughter took her older children and rode back to Springfield. She also got a job in Kennedy's Laundry and found a flat, saved some money and sent bus tickets to her husband. They both saved some more money and sent tickets for their remaining small children and a full-fare ticket for the next oldest daughter, Mae Jessie, to accompany them. So Mae Jessie did this, taking her own daughter, an infant (no fare), and leaving her other children behind with her mother. She, too, got a job in Kennedy's Laundry, found a flat, and sent down tickets for her children and one for her mother to accompany them and visit.

Last winter Mae Jessie drove down for a New Year's visit, and the oldest Austin son, Walter Jr., decided to ride back with her. Walter Jr., unmarried, got a job sorting hides. A month later, Etoyre, the other married daughter in Springfield, drove down for a visit with her parents. Walter Austin's second oldest son, Jimmy Lee, who was married and had three children, was telling his parents he just didn't see how he could get enough work to support his family in Mississippi when the sister's car unexpectedly drew up in front. Jimmy Lee rushed to the window, saw who it was and said, "Daddy, I'm gone." He drove back to Springfield and got a job washing dishes, staying with his sister. A week later he drove down with his brother-in-law and fetched his wife and children. His wife got a job in Kennedy's Laundry.

Like an endless chain, whole tribes go link by link to some city where a base has been established. When the crisis came to Walter Austin, there was never any doubt where he would go, and when he got there, there were suddenly a total of 36 Austins within a scant half mile.

It was a scene of joy and relief, at 2 o'clock of a Sunday morning, when the two cars finally arrived at their destination, and the Austins of Merigold, Miss., became the Austins of Springfield, Ill., sharecroppers no longer but city dwellers now. Standing wearily on the sidewalk, they looked up with awe at Jimmy Lee's house, a neat, white clapboard with five spacious rooms and its own bathtub and toilet. Waiting inside were the older daughters who had come North earlier, and they helped sort the newcomers and send them to nearby homes to sleep the remaining hours of the night.

That day Walter Austin's family made the rounds of the relatives' homes. At Walter's sister's there were guitars, singing and joshing. The older women put on their wigs and urged Frances to try one. Bashfully, she put one on and imitated the modeling she had seen on television. Suddenly she was changed. One moment she was the shy country girl, the next a poised young woman. She lifted off the wig and said quietly, "I'm going to get one."

The next morning Jimmy Lee's wife took Frances with her to Kennedy's Laundry and introduced her to the boss, George Boehmer. He said, "I like to hire Mississippi people. They're good workers." So 29 hours after her arrival in the city, Frances Austin, working beside white women, was feeding flatwork into a presser and earning more than her father ever did in his 41 years of labor.

That same morning Mrs. Austin and her older daughter went out looking for a flat. In Jimmy Lee's house there were seven preschool children, crying, running, fighting, all tended by a new baby sitter, Walter Austin. He was no longer in overalls. Someone had lent him a white shirt, a pair of slacks and a too-large suit jacket. He stood in the middle of the kitchen with an open carton of milk. He cried out, "Hush, child," to one girl, and tried to restrain another one who was pounding a nail file into the linoleum with a hairbrush. "Soon as they find a place for us to stay, I'm hoping to find a job. Some kind of a job." Then, milk carton still in hand, he looked with bewilderment at the children. "This is one job I do not like."

The Austins had a small start. Four days later they found a pinched five-room flat for $65, where the whole family sleeps in just three beds and the beds are the only furniture in the place. The day after that, Walter Austin got a job that his son Jimmy Lee first had when he moved—mopping floors and washing dishes in a restaurant at $40 a week. His 17-year-old daughter earns $5 more than he does.

The Austins are in real need. They require medical attention, furniture, city clothes, and Walter Austin needs a job that will buy these things. But in some ways they are luckier than many migrants. For one thing, almost by chance, they followed the newer, less hopeless migratory routes from the rural South—more and more to the West and more and more to the medium-size cities. In the smaller cities the rate of growth is often better than in the huge ones, the Negro districts are distinct but lack the oppressiveness of square miles of squalor, and in a smaller community it is easier to match available men with available jobs.

Walter Austin had just left Merigold, Miss., which has a population of 602. When he heard that his new home, Springfield, had 86,000 people, of whom 5,000 are Negroes, he opened his eyes wide and said, "Good gracious!"

In Chicago there are a million Negroes.

II

The fact that migrants move means they hope for something better. The hope lasts remarkably long, so long that it seems a miracle in such places as the ghettos of cities like Chicago. Alice Perkins has been there almost two years now; she is wiser to the struggle than the Austins, harder to the squalor, but she still hopes for something better, hopes in the diminishing optimism that time and the ghetto steadily wear away.

She is a statuesque woman of 27 with a husky voice and a sardonic expression, and she lives in a second-floor flat on Van Buren Street in the middle of Chicago's West Side ghetto. Official statistics show that in 1960, eighty percent of all dwellings in her block were substandard and 30 percent lacked normal plumbing, but you don't need statistics to get the message: rubble and garbage is spread in vacant lots, the stairways are dark and dirty. Her door is untypically painted a fresh green, and on it her husband has used gay, red Christmas tape to letter out most of his name: HARRY PERKI—. But the door, typically, is locked several different ways and shows wounds from having been forced open several different ways. Inside there are rats the size of cats, and the children sleep crossways, usually four to a bed. The younger ones are normally barefoot and half bare-bodied so that the three older children can be properly dressed for school. Yet Alice Perkins and her husband have no doubt about the decision she made in the middle of a cotton field two years ago.

That day in August, 1965, she had, as usual, got up at 5:30 in their three-room shack, washed her face in a pail in the kitchen and, without breakfast, gone out to get on the back of a truck. In the field a mile away she dragged a bag nine feet long, putting in cotton balls, the ones a machine left behind. Early in the day the plantation agent started yelling that the cotton she and the others had picked was full of burrs and sticks. At noon she walked a half mile to a store and ate 10 Saltines, five pieces of baloney and a soda pop. Back in the field, The Man kept after them. "You-all are pullin' this goddamn cotton. I'm paying you to pick it, and you're just pullin' the goddamn stuff."

Toward the end of the afternoon he was still at it, and Alice Perkins said, "I don't have to take this no more I'm going." She said it to herself.

She got back home that night at 6 o'clock. She had picked 84 pounds and made $2.10 minus lunch, for 11 hours. She cooked turnip greens and a pound of salt pork for her five children and her husband, who came home after dark from driving a tractor at $6 a day. The children went to bed, the oldest one, Beatrice, then 7, in a cot in their front room, the infant in the double bed she and her husband used, also in the front room. Her husband and two neighbors played a game of cards, pit-a-pat, also in the front room.

Without telling Harry about it, she found two pieces of lined paper and a short pencil, and she wrote a letter to her aunt in Chicago. "I can't stand it no more," she wrote, "please, Aunty, send me a ticket." She walked in the dark across the dirt road to a neighbor's house where she got an envelope and put the letter and a nickel in her rural mailbox. This was a Wednesday. Tuesday the tickets arrived. Then she told her husband she wanted to take their three youngest children and go. If she found no job in two weeks she would return. He listened quietly and said, "OK, baby."

So Alice Perkins joined the silent tide that goes by car, by bus, and still by that old reliable carrier of the cotton Negro, the Illinois Central Railroad.

On the platforms of the South they are there every day. The toothless old Negro woman in men's trousers, rubbers over slippers, a ragged coat, scarf over her head, a cardboard box tied with twine, the last tenacious root of a family gone earlier.

The neatly dressed woman in her 30's comforting her weeping teen-age daughter, "Don't cry, baby. Take care of Daddy and the kids and I'll be back when I find a place."

The young woman in her 20's, so like Alice Perkins, with three wide-eyed preschool children, hugging older people on the platform and then, as the locomotive sounds its mournful southern cry, mounting the steps with her children, her eyes moist.

The old Negro porter watches the flat countryside stream monotonously by, as he has for 32 years on this run.

"It started in 1947. This train went through the delta, and there was nothing but black faces, for years and years and years. I used to wonder, 'Where are they coming from? How can there be anybody left? My God, they must be coming right out of the ground. They got to stop sometime.'

"Well, couple of years ago it seemed to slack off. You begin to see some whites now. Used to be twenty-thirty Negroes for every white on this train. Now it's more like three-to-one."

But there are still Negroes. At Durant, the station stop nearest the heart of the delta, more country people get on with boxes and old suitcases. As the train pulls out, it leaves others behind. Through the rain-splattered window you see the lonely Negro shack with three tiny children frozen in place, one boy hanging clothes on a line, his hand stopped in the act as he stares, another boy with a water pail in his hand, and at the pump a skinny-legged girl, her arm high on the motionless pump handle as the water shrivels to a trickle—all watching the speeding per-

*Fires, like this one near Merigold, Miss., symbolize the flight of Negroes to the North: When a sharecropper goes, his shack is often burned.*

simmon-and-brown cars with the big picture windows bearing dry, warm people holding passports.

The passport is a yellow ticket one-and-a-half-inches long that reads, "Illinois Central R.R. Co., coach ticket, Durant, Miss., to CHICAGO, ILL. Good in coaches only, for one passage. . . ." It costs $23.65 for adults, $11.83 for young children, and for the people who got on in Durant with a typical family, if they earned average Negro wages, it took every cent they earned for six weeks. To collect that much money, when food is scarce, and to decide to migrate is a decision that has torn millions of families in this generation.

Alice Perkins took that other mode of the Underground Railroad—the bus. On a Wednesday before the Christmas holidays, Harry Perkins got a letter from Alice in Chicago. He had to quit school in the fifth grade and can't read (Alice went through ninth grade), so he paid a neighbor 50 cents to drive him the two miles to his mother-in-law's house where she read the letter. Tickets for him and the two older children were inside. The next day the children turned in their school books. Saturday morning Harry went to work as usual. That night he got his week's pay, $36 minus $10 taken out toward his debts. By now it was dark. He walked home, pulled out a footlocker he had quietly bought in Clarksdale for $7.95 two weeks ago, put in two bedspreads, one quilt, two sheets, three pairs of pants, two shirts and three hats for the children. He paid the neighbor 50 cents again to drive him and the children to his mother-in-law's, where her son drove them to the 9:30 night bus from Clarksdale.

The children had never been to Clarksdale (population, 21,000), and when they saw it Harry Jr., 6, said, "Daddy, is this Chicago?"

On the bus was a man named Willie, brother of a friend, returning after a visit. Willie lived in Chicago and worked in a barrel factory where he thought there was an opening. Three days later Harry Perkins was stacking steel rings for $1.55 an hour, and three days after that he was running an automatic welder. He now makes $2.00 an hour with six or seven hours' overtime for about $100 a week.

Harry Perkins is a boyish, handsome, open-faced man who can't read but knows letters and remembers street signs and bus routes. At Christmas time he used the holiday tape to make letters on the wall over the double bed where he and his wife and their new infant sleep: ALICE.

Both of them insist on an unrelieved list of advantages Chicago has over their old life: Now they eat together at the same table because they have enough dinner plates; they have milk and fresh fruits and meats they never ate before; instead of a cold-water tub and washboard she gets the week's laundry delivered for $9; the school doctor and dentist examine their children regularly; instead of paying a neighbor $1 to take them shopping she can walk to a local market or take the rapid transit for 30 cents downtown; there the children often stayed out of school for lack of clothes but never here; down there Christmas meant at best a piece of simple clothing for each child, but here they have turkey and fur-lined jackets and guitars for the children.

"Look," Harry Perkins said as he sat in his tiny blue-and-pink kitchen, "for the first time in my life I own an innerspring mattress, three of them, a gas oven, a dinette, a TV, a stereo set. They treat me like a grown man. Down there the police killed colored men, two I knew just in the last couple of years we were there."

Alice Perkins shook her head slowly. "There ain't nothing I miss down there."

He nodded, "That goes for me."

Did that mean they would be happy to continue just as they are?

Alice Perkins looked surprised and said, "No, of course not."

And then she and her husband began a new recital that told the story of why families who move hopefully into the big cities then turn bitter and apathetic. Compared to the desperate poverty and endemic violence of the rural South, the city is obviously better in pay, in food, in material goods. But as the years go by, it becomes plain that the city makes demands the family never before had to meet: more education to get ahead, better clothes to enter the better world, participation in the vague and remote territory outside the ghetto in order to succeed. Food and a tight roof are no longer the focus of life. Simple survival is no longer enough; they must meet the requirements of high-speed urban life. Typically, the families enter eager and striving and then in three or four years get stalled. The Perkinses were still ambitious.

Now, the children want a bicycle, a piano, some new clothes like the ones they see on TV in *American Bandstand*. Harry Perkins would like to get a car. Mrs. Perkins has fallen in love with sectional couches. But she then described what they want more than anything else. With her husband's solemn nod of approval, she said softly, "A better house with no rats, in a better neighborhood, you know, some space for the kids to play in their own yard, with some grass in the back and in the front."

A nice house in a nice neighborhood is the conventional American family dream, but it has a special meaning in the ghetto, where most families are enclosed in a triple prison. The first is their own home. Slum-tenement doors are locked. The knock is answered, if at all, by a voice, "Who's there? What you want?" Unless the voice is familiar and the message safe, that may be the last communication from the other side. Young children are forbidden to go out alone, and hundreds of thousands of them spend all their time, except for a few hours a week, locked inside their rooms, often with the harshest discipline to quell their restlessness. Only when they go to school is there freedom. When the three Perkins schoolchildren go, they run like rabbits released from cages. The fear is real, for outside there is the second prison: the neighborhood.

The range of movement of most slum dwellers is measured in yards and, at most, a few blocks. The density is enormous, the possibilities for play and relaxation almost nil. A 50-by-100-foot playground operated by the Marillac settlement house near the Perkinses' flat is the only one available to 4,000 children. One result of this merciless compaction is the teen-age gang, which follows a territorial imperative that includes murder of teen-agers who intrude from other neighborhoods. For all of them are trapped in the larger prison, the ghetto itself.

In Chicago the ghetto is divided in two territories, the West Side, with more than 300,000 Negroes, and the South Side, with more than 600,000. Each is a vast black island surrounded by whites. In 1950 there were only 500,000 Negroes in the city, in about five smaller islands interspersed among white neighborhoods. But now the spaces between the islands have been abandoned by whites who moved to the suburbs. So now the West Side is almost 9 square miles of black territory, the South Side, 30 square miles. On the South Side there remain a few white ethnic neighborhoods, resentful and belligerent, and some middle- and even upper-income blocks. But the mass is black and poor, the former rows of white homes partitioned and bringing in as much as 200 per cent of their old rents. In 1950 it was possible in any given ghetto to walk five blocks to a white neighborhood; now on the South Side a man can walk ten miles almost in a straight line, and never pass a home occupied by whites.

Inside the ghetto the schools are wretched, the unemployment rate three times the outside rate, the municipal services minimal, the landscape demoralizing. The uneducated parents get stalled in their climb up the work ladder, trapped in their ghetto. They produce new generations of the defeated.

So Alice Perkins, her large brown eyes longing, says, "I want a house of my own. Out in the suburbs. Like Maywood. A friend of mine drove me out there once and, oh, I want to move to a place like Maywood."

Maywood is about nine miles out on the expressway that goes by the Perkinses' flat, an "industrial suburb" in the metropolitan sprawl. It has its own character, a pleasant place of 27,000 working-class people with small one-family houses with small lawns front and back, children on swings in the yard or skipping rope on the side walks. There are 5,000 Negroes in Maywood, and they average $1,500 a year more than Negroes in the central city.

What are the odds of the Perkinses, or any ghetto family, making it out to a Maywood? About 1-in-11. In 1960 Chicago had 813,000 Negroes in its central city, the ghetto, and only 77,000 in the suburbs. In 1950 the ratio was about the same.

## III

Elijah is a child of migrants, a child of the ghetto. He is Negro, thin, 126 pounds, five-foot-four, narrow-headed with slicked-down black hair, and he walks slightly stooped. If you didn't look closely you wouldn't pay attention to him in a group of six. But he is now 18, and has shot a few people. He has been involved in more burglaries and robberies than is wise to recall, and has had two personal friends murdered and countless others badly wounded. He

has recently emerged from jail, where he was sent for shooting another boy in the stomach.

Elijah isn't his real name, though he insisted that his real name be used.

"Listen, I want people to understand, I want people to believe that these things happen, really, man, not just to a few oddballs but every kid I knew, every kid I grew up with on the South Side of Chicago. I don't mean they all went to jail. Two kids I knew well got killed. But some never went to jail, even. But this is what they grew up with. I want to help my people, and I want other people to know what's going on."

But it would be unfair to him, to his family and to his pregnant girlfriend to use real names. They are all struggling to repair their lives.

His parents came from Mississippi in 1952, but his mother came briefly to Chicago in 1949 for Elijah to be born. So since the age of three he has been in the ghetto. His training ground has been the tenement and the massive public-housing project.

The tenements are typified by one building in the ghetto, a grimy red-brick three-story place with three carved granite archways that tell you this was once a respectable neighborhood. Today there are 18 families in the building, and except for one that arrived last year from Texas, all have been in Chicago seven years or more. There are large signs all over the outside of the building, ordering trash to be thrown in barrels. Under the signs are glaciers and foothills of garbage that harbor huge rats. The children play among them with easy familiarity. (Landlords, by law, are required to provide private trash collections, but few of them ever bother; if an intense campaign by tenants and the settlement houses puts pressure on them, some will bribe city trash crews to collect the accumulation.) The tenement hallways are uriniferous, the walls covered with badly spelled obscenities ("thomas muther is a hoe"). In one corridor there is loose garbage, some feces in a corner and a raw egg broken on the floor. Out of one flat come two children less than four years old, one wearing only a dirty diaper, the other only a tiny T-shirt. Behind them comes a very old woman flailing at them with a leather strap. The children laugh and run down the corridor, one stepping in the egg, the other in the feces.

Ten of the 18 families are on welfare. Only five of the 18 families have a man as head of the household. There are 123 human beings who live in the old wreck of a building, of whom 98 are dependent children, 73 of them without a father at home. Eight of the households, despite great poverty, illness and other difficulties, have a tidy flat and a complete family. The landlord is considered better than average; the building has a market value of $25,000, and his gross rents are $24,000 a year.

Elijah spent the first part of his life growing up in such a building, and the rest in the other kind of ghetto dwelling, the large public-housing project. For most tenement residents, the project is a highly desired escape from what they have. Rents are lower—in Chicago they run from $40 to $90 a month for modern, well-equipped flats, with space enough to avoid having children of different sexes sleeping in the same beds and the same rooms. There are no rats. So just as the old tenements are better than the leaky three-room shacks of the South, "the projects" are deliverance from the chaos and squalor of the tenements. But after a few years in the projects their tenants begin to suffer their drawbacks, and many pray harder than ever for deliverance to the suburbs, or any place that is clean and airy and not packed with an incredible density of human beings.

Cities like Chicago turned to high-rise projects to house as many families as cheaply as possible as quickly as possible and, in many cases, to keep Negroes within the bounds of the ghetto. On a strip of land two blocks wide and less than four miles long, the Chicago Public Housing Authority built 65 buildings, 38 of them 16 stories or higher. In these buildings, in less than half a square mile, live 42,800 people. Little was done in surrounding areas to provide for the cliff-dwellers when they came out of the project. Boredom and noise are constant. In the summer the young who are still innocent wait for the event of the night—the turning on of the outside lights of the stairwells, and as each building does it a great soft wind seems to blow through the projects as thousands of watching children go, "Ah."

It is not surprising that territorial warfare and delinquency grow in such places. One wonders what would happen if a place of the same population, like Rapid City, S. Dak., instead of having its slightly more than 42,000 citizens spread over its present 16 square miles, had them all—including the sturdy, hard-working, middle-class folk—jammed into one quarter of a square mile. The people of Rapid City live 2,701 to the square mile; the project dwellers in Chicago's South Side live 170,000 to the square mile.

Elijah is the unhappy product, first of the horizontal and then of the vertical ghetto.

He is the oldest of 10 children, and he remembers that when his family came from Mississippi his father worked in the stockyards. The children kept coming, but work at the stockyards got scarcer. First there was no more lunch money, then no breakfasts. His father spent more days at home, then began to drink. When Elijah was 7, his father disappeared.

At the age of 11, Elijah joined the Cobras, a street gang that dominated his neighborhood. They fought rival gangs who intruded in their territory, or tried to date their girls, or uttered real or imagined insults. Avenging honor and protecting territory were the motivations for gang fights, the justifications for maiming and murder. Looking back and explaining it, Elijah often uses the word, "recognition."

"The poor people were the dumbest people because they didn't have any backing, they didn't push, nobody gave them any recognition. So most of us started gang fighting because of that. With the knowledge I've acquired since then it seems like I would never dream of going back to a life like that. But before I got the knowledge, it seemed fine, it seemed right, it was an art. The things you did you didn't mind telling about because you were trying to get more recognition with the bunch. You would meet girls, girls you never could have otherwise, the ones who dressed nice and looked nice. When your name was mentioned, everyone's eyes and ears opened."

After he joined the gang he began skipping school, attending parties in empty flats, drinking wine, having girls, smoking marijuana. He thinks his father's absence made a difference. "When your father is there, there are things you wouldn't dare bring into the house because your father would give you a whipping. I could do lots of things I could get by with, things my father would know about because he's a man and I'm a man, stealing, drinking, girls, smoking reefers."

As he moved into his teens, Elijah became more violent. "I could see I wasn't going to become anybody. All this was hitting me at the same time as the gang fighting, and it made me even harder because I knew this, I knew I wasn't going to become anybody, and I hated the whole world then.

"I began to use the gun more frequently, and in a gang fight I'd be the first to swing, the first to shoot. I hated conditions. I hated everything. I hated people around me because they had more than I had. I hated it when the kids were supposed to go to school and only had torn or dirty pants, and after you got to school there wasn't any lunch money, and you stood outside and got laughed at, and when you got home there was hardly anything to eat there, either."

Three things made a difference in Elijah's life. He went to jail for shooting a boy and read a book whose dust jacket in the prison library caught his eye: "I Dare You to Explore the Powers of Your Mind." With the help of a prison worker he began to read and to look into his own emotions.

He got five years' probation and came out to discover that his father had returned home, dried out, and was working at a good job in construction.

And he met Jim Taylor, a Y.M.C.A. street-gang worker who lives and works with teen-agers in the tougher neighborhoods, a schoolteacher who realized he wasn't reaching his students and quit to go where they lived. With Taylor's help Elijah signed up for a Y.M.C.A. study program where he works half a day and goes to school, combining the last years of high school and the first two years of college.

This will take until 1971. His work during that time will be with street gangs. "You've got to have something for these kids to do," Elijah said. "You've got to have someone who cares about them. Not just spending a few hours like most schoolteachers and then, zip, out of the neighborhood. But really caring, man.

"And you need new prizes, new rewards. Now it's the kid who fights the hardest, drinks the most, has the most girls, kills best. I'd like to make the big man, the one who's top of his class, and give him a special prize, a real good prize that would make people open up their eyes and ears. It would help. I know it would."

Elijah speaks with a combination of the soft Mississippi accent of his parents and the hip talk of the ghetto. He has studied and thought a great deal lately about the Negro American in the ghetto.

"When the Negro is born in the South, he grows up with hatred for the white man, but in the South they kill him if he shows it. So he comes to Chicago, and he lives here on the South Side, and he takes out his hatred on other Negroes. You get born with hatred because you see the white man in his Cadillac, and you see your father walking. The hate is in you, and when someone attacks you, the hate is going to come out, no matter if it comes out against your own people."

Elijah and his fellow migrants are mysteries. In the face of endless defeat, first on the farms and now in the ghetto, they have recurring hope. It is often expressed in riots and demonstrations, but it is there. The newest arrivals continue to work hard at the lowest pay in the expectation that it will lead to something better. The history books claim that the American genius has been to collect ethnic minorities at the bottom and then let them disperse up through the surrounding society. But the American Negro continues to be more densely packed, more hemmed in, and more confined to the bottom than any other migrant minority. And yet he continues to hope.

Elijah had been standing at a window through which I could hear the level roar of boisterous children, their sounds echoing between the 16-story buildings. He turned around, his brow wrinkled with concentration, and said with passion:

"The thing is that you grow up and, you *know*, you *know*, man . . . " He paused and said slowly and quietly, "*No-body cares!* Mothers are screaming at babies, there's no father, teachers are screaming at the students, and when the bell rings they leave the building before the kids do. And when you're dropping out of school, you know very well that they're really glad to see you go. You're glad to go, too, but you remember afterward that they were glad to see you go."

Elijah sat down, and after a time he spoke again.

"Nobody cares. Nobody. That's what you grow up with. The people on the outside, they have their own immediate problems, so they got no time for our problems. The ones here who get anywhere, they don't care about anybody else once they get up on their pedestal. They look down on their own people, and they say, 'They're fools' and then go on about their business."

And then the incredible hope and resilience:

"My kids, someday, are going to finish school—a *good* school. They're going to have a set of goals, to think ahead, to make sense. But most of all, they got to have environment."

Environment?

"Live in a good house in a nice neighborhood with a real school. Out of . . ." and he pointed out the window to the tenements, the projects, the street with the squeal of the police siren receding. "Out of here. Period." □

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RURAL PROBLEMS

# Farm Labor Organizing 1905-1967

## *A Brief History*

1-61

# The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

# THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

# AND

# CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January, 1961

This report was prepared by the staff and reviewed by the officers of the Southern Regional Council. In its preparation, the Council was assisted by advice and suggestions from some forty persons notably qualified by their study and experience in this field.

A special debt of gratitude is due Daniel H. Pollitt, Associate Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, for preliminary legal research and analysis.

There are areas of social policy, such as welfare and farm programs, which basically affect race relations but do not directly raise questions of civil rights. These areas are not discussed.

Also omitted from discussion are personal as distinguished from official activities of the President. Their importance is in no degree minimized. Since the Presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans. This is one of the fringe attributes of the office.

Presidential authority greatly exceeds constitutional or legal definition; much of it springs from the high personal regard and even affection in which the Chief Executive is held. Therefore, a President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements.

## THE PROPOSALS


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I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Internal Policies and Organization

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. ..... 1 - 5

B. National Leadership

2. National unity will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities. ..... 5 - 8

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4. The effort of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor. ..... 11 - 12

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B. Federal Employment

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential. ..... 12 - 15

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals. 15 - 16

C. Education

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process. ..... 16 - 20

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing. ..... 20 - 21

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12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.... 27 - 28

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18. A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them. ..... 36 - 47

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## I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

### A. Internal Organization and Policies

The President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable. These powers should be examined and responsibly used.

As with many ideas that are much discussed, the words "Presidential leadership" sometime appear to be an abstraction, unhung from the life of the office and the man who must occupy it. We think that leadership in race relations means a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfillment of his search for a good life.

Race relations is America's oldest unsolved problem. The problem is now at a stage of crisis, though certainly not for the first time. Crises of the past were resolved, by compromise, by war, and, during the long years from 1877 to 1933, by national avoidance of responsibility. The present crisis will be, somehow, overcome. What is important is that the nation dedicate itself this time to solutions that will endure, and that will not breed future conflict. This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for a decisive resolution. It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down.

Negroes are not the only disadvantaged minority, and the South is not the only locus of discrimination against Negroes. The racial problems of the South are, however, now and throughout our history the acute test of

American ideals of liberty and equality. There is little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve unless recognized as the nation's failure, and properly subject therefore to national policy.

Because ours is a government under a Constitution, Negroes have secured through court action the enforcement of many of their rights. The judicial process is not, however, a valid substitute for political leadership. The courts can only guardedly look beyond the case at bar, and their decrees have limited application. Negro Americans, whose resources have been taxed severely in financing and manning what is in truth a defense of everybody's constitutional principles, have a just claim that the President and his administration give invigorating guidance toward real equality. The nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of Presidential concern and activity. The free peoples of the world, who value the reputation of the United States, wait to see us act with fairness toward our own citizens.

Presidential action should not be so emphasized that it will blunt the drive for much needed remedial legislation. But the existing powers of the office should be used, and every governmental program ought to be administered in such ways as to move expeditiously to end discrimination and to open all careers to talent.

A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise. Clarity of policy at the beginning is essential. But racial relations are human relations, and the government needs to equip itself, both organizationally and, more importantly, with inward commitment, to a steady alert, to a sensitivity for people, to a readiness for

imaginative action. More is required, therefore, than broad policy decisions; there must also be solid organizational planning.

The federal government, besides being the country's largest employer, administers many programs affected by, and influencing, racial relations. In the preceding three administrations, various committees and advisers have been employed to represent and enforce the government's interest in non-discrimination. The committees, such as the President's Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee, have been understaffed and have had a disjointed status in the administrative structure; moreover, their enforcement authority has been meagre. The race relations advisers employed by several agencies have appeared to be concessions intended to allay pressures rather than integral figures in policy making and implementation. The time has come for the government to organize itself to do a necessary task. The principal elements of the problem seem to be the following:

Internal Consistency

The federal government's own operations need to be a model of just race relations, or else the credentials of the government to lead others are weak. This means that the government must hire, fire, and promote with obvious regard for racial equity; must eradicate segregation in its offices; must administer its vast affairs in scrupulous accord with its published statements of belief. It follows that every appointee to high office, whether or not he may personally endorse the goal of immediate non-discrimination, should be informed that in his official acts he is committed to that aim.

## Staff Assistance

The President should seriously consider his need for a staff adviser. These are days of tension in the South. The President will from time to time have to react to specific developments, such as a school or a sit-in controversy. He may want to interpret these events to the country and he may want to assert the national viewpoint regarding them. He ought to have an aide whose judgment and experience he trusts. Moreover, in the normal course of his duties the President will on numerous other occasions meet questions where staff help will be beneficial. He will require assistance in the framing and supervision of Executive Orders.

## Coordination

Both the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice are engaged in investigations of deprival of rights by state and local governments. Even though the aim of the Commission is reporting, and that of the Division is law enforcement, there should be intimate coordination between the two. To effect this could be another duty of the President's adviser.

## Administrative Supervision

There is the unavoidable task of policing. This is a function unlike and apart from policy planning and coordination. The President should seriously consider creation of a single office to supervise and investigate the execution of all programs, including federal and contractor employment, which have consequences for race relations. The office would require an adequate staff or else it would not be effective; its director would need to be a person of stature sufficient to deal with departmental and agency heads; he should have access to the President.

The general function of the office would be as a watchdog over federal programs. It should be empowered to receive reports and to prescribe their nature; to receive complaints and to investigate them; and to counsel with the agencies. The clear responsibility for enforcement of non-discriminatory policies should remain with the agencies. There are practical difficulties in the establishment of such an office, but perhaps they are no greater than have been overcome in other cases. Conceivably, the staff could be on loan from other agencies, or could be located in some agency, such as the Bureau of the Budget (as President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights recommended). The usefulness of the office would be great enough to justify the administrative ingenuity needed for its formation. Equalization of citizenship is a paramount goal which justifies an extraordinary administrative tool, for use in behalf of that decisive resolution which an old dilemma requires.

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and the expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

B. National Leadership

To discuss federal policies for race relations without acknowledging

the political vicissitudes surrounding energetic action is unrealistic. A declining but still formidable section of political strength, applied at both national and state levels, exists to combat any assertion of the national interest in civil rights. There are thousands of white Southerners who have shown a willingness, which may be expected to continue, to use their physical and economic strength to frustrate reform. There will be no advance without controversy, intense and sometimes bitter.

We believe we speak with knowledge of the South when we say that controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the beliefs and intentions of the Chief Executive, when heated strife is followed by only slight and ambiguous victories for civil rights, or when the federal government and its agencies proclaim policies which are not enforced.

The President is and should be President of all the people. He has no higher duty than the maintenance and perfection of national unity. He is the representative of white men and Negroes, Northerners and Southerners, believers in equality and believers in segregation. He and his office are the focal point of the wills of all these, and it is no part of his Constitutional obligation to attack any legitimate group, interest, or body of opinion.

Yet the President of the United States in the 1960's ought carefully to decide what are the necessary conditions of national unity. We think they do not reside in the perpetuation of sectionalism. The white population of eleven Southern states is roughly 20% of the nation's total. These are people who, besides being numerous, have been a seed bed throughout our history of able statesmen, treasured writers, and valorous military men. They are not a people to be contemned or shunned. And there could be no

greater mistake than to assume that this 20% is a monolith. A large proportion would welcome, or at least have no objection to, a broadening of civil rights because, more keenly than do persons in other regions, they want to be emancipated from the heavy, age-old weight. There are state governments which have given clear indication, in the language of political maneuver, of their willingness to be silent followers of a national consensus. There is, in short, within the ranks of white Southerners practical, effective support for reform which ought not to be undervalued.

Ours is a federal government under a Constitution of limited powers. That this is so is a great national inheritance. There is no reason, however, why we should continue to struggle over long overthrown political theories and long repudiated Constitutional principles.

The South should be informed where the President stands. Statements ought to be more, and not less, frequent than in the past and ought to be genuinely helpful to public understanding. That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible. At the same time, an earnest, informed, and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist a maximum of Southern good will and cooperation. The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership. The economic and political leaders of the South who feel they need authoritative backing in order to act as their reason and self-interest tell them they should--and there are many in this position--would welcome Presidential support.

2. <u>National unity will be served best if the President speaks forth-</u>

rightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities.

## II. THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

### A. Broad Policy

Since slaves were first brought to our shores, and since 1865 when slavery was outlawed, Negro Americans have progressed far in material things and in social and legal status. This is not, however, the pertinent fact. What is relevant to our day is that Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave. By American standards, the typical Negro is born without adequate prenatal care, of undereducated parents, who dwell in an unstable neighborhood permeated and surrounded by cultural and economic poverty. He is reared amid deprivation and discrimination. His schools are inferior. His contacts with influences which stimulate ambition and civility are few and infrequent. He learns early the handicaps of his color and his incentives are fashioned to fit the bleak reality. If he lives in the South he will work either in jobs white men disdain or within the limited range of the Negro community; if he lives in the North he will have to display superior skills in order to work at the same level with white men. He will be subject to slights, inequities, and ofttimes intimidation or violence. He will endure all his life the ignominy of having to wheedle, bargain, negotiate, or campaign for his elemental rights.

Unless we are recklessly to reject the findings of scientists, we must acknowledge to ourselves that these conditions are intolerable. The authoritative testimony of science is that there is no evidence of innate racial differences in intelligence; that unstable environments are an extravagance for the public economy and a menace to the public peace; that

talents are not the hereditary property of racial groups, but individual capacities nourished by education and security and incentive; that destructive internal resentments and anxieties are the predictable lot of both the systematic oppressor and oppressed.

America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent which, in our Negro population, is going to waste. We need manpower and we leave it untrained. We need brains and talents and we allow them to lie fallow. We need to restore the social health of our cities and we do little to prevent their greater infection with the virus of disorganization and spiritual deadness. We need to deepen our sense of purpose and our confidence in our country and its cause, and we allow prejudice to be institutionalized and our national values to be layered with hypocrisy. We need the friendship of the non-white peoples of Africa and Asia, and we subject our own non-white citizens to indignity.

Moreover, unless we are heedlessly to ignore the ministry offered by the near unanimous voice of our Christian and Jewish religious leaders, we must acknowledge the enormous wrong involved in our present racial relations.

The President speaks the moral tone of America. He has an imcomparable position from which to define the problems of our polity and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done.

There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantages of race, and a pledge that the federal government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way. The ensuing sections of this memorandum will suggest some of the specific

things which the executive department can do toward this end.

3. The President, by public statement, should set as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources, and should pledge a painstaking effort by all federal departments and agencies to administer their programs in such ways as to hasten the end of discriminations.

When a question has been before the country as long as this one of Negro discrimination, it is entitled to be treated with candor and open dealing. These same qualities should inspire our information work abroad. No one wants to "sell America short," but there is a practical value in being believed when you speak. The U. S. Information Agency should, of course, tell the story of Negro Americans' progress. But it and other officials who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with honesty, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement. The peoples of Africa and Asia can understand our problems, which are very close to their own experience. We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them. There are African and Asian countries struggling to erase caste discriminations, tribal antagonisms, and religious distrust. There are analogies here which ought to make it possible for them to understand our situation, but only if the government of the United States--far from being an agent of oppression--is and can be depicted as being the friend of equality and Negro advance.

Foreign Service officers when in Washington might well be instructed in the complexities of our racial relations and familiarized with the

President's policies, in order that they can better explain developments abroad.

4. The effort of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor.

B. Federal Employment

The Third (and most recent) Report of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy states that discrimination in federal employment unquestionably exists and that the practice is often deeply entrenched. There is little need to add to this official finding in order to conclude that the 1949 amendment to the Civil Service Act (5 U.S.C.A. sec. 1074), expressly prohibiting racial discrimination, is still being flouted. The *bona fides* of the federal government should not be left in doubt.

The President's Committee has operated with a hopelessly small staff. The procedures outlined by Executive Order 10590 require the filing of complaints by individuals and the investigation of these by the accused agency itself. The Committee has seen its primary task to be long range education rather than immediate compliance.

We have already stated our opinion that the Committee could well be one of the units replaced by a single office to oversee all the functions of the federal government.

While channels for receiving and investigating complaints are needful, the main enforcement effort ought to be shifted from the processing of

complaints and focused on a continuing review of agency practices. Reports from the agencies, prescribed in detail, plus adequate investigators in the office designated to oversee federal practice (see above pages 4-5), would permit a firm check on the disposition of Civil Service Commission referrals and the upgrading of employees.

With all respect for the values of education, the government could, nevertheless, take instruction from its own policy in regard to the armed services, where compliance was the order of the day,and experience with non-discrimination provided its own educational results.

Another concern of the President's watchdog office would be the prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices. Local custom cannot regulate federal conduct.

Beyond the policing role of enforcing non-discrimination, the federal government can, if it so wills, make positive contributions toward equal employment opportunities. One would be programs of positive recruitment of qualified Negroes by personnel officers of the agencies. Those agencies, for example, which recruit on college campuses should give full coverage to the Negro colleges. Another would be the development of new techniques for the evaluation of job candidates.

Some have said that federal hiring should be "color-blind." Others have argued that the nation owes a debt to an oppressed minority, and that the government, therefore, should take to itself a considerable part of the task of quick advancement of Negroes through a deliberate program of projecting Negroes into our public life; having been systematically excluded, Negroes should, from this point of view, be systematically included.

There are several things to be said regarding these differing premises. First, we do not believe that Negroes should be favored over better

qualified white persons. Negroes do not want it; governmental efficiency would be harmed; favoritism toward any group has disturbing implications for our democracy. Because they have been the victims of exclusion, Negroes do, however, have a right that there be a systematic opening-up of opportunities for them to learn and develop skills which will enable them to compete fairly. If the powers of the federal government are squarely behind school integration and if the government is administering its educational programs with the objective of encouraging integration and equal opportunity, then the government will be doing its part.

Secondly, however, there is a considerable enough body of research by now for the employment officers of the government to take cognizance of the finding that the potential of persons from disadvantaged groups is not accurately measured by aptitude and achievement criteria derived solely from the experience of the majority groups within our society. This does not necessarily suggest that Negro applicants for federal jobs should be given, for example, a "10 point preference." But it does suggest that federal employment officers could set a valuable example for private employers by studying, in consultation with outside testing specialists, the best known means of estimating potential, and by careful trial of individuals--white and Negro--select for hire or promotion on the basis of estimated potential rather than solely past record.

Thirdly, there are certain offices which are involved closely in questions of race relations. Because of this, it is essential that they have the trust of Negro citizens. There would be good reason, therefore, to make a special effort to recruit qualified Negroes for their staffs. These offices include the U. S. Attorneys, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U. S. Marshalls, the Civil Rights Division, the Commission

on Civil Rights, and the housing agencies.

5. <u>There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential.</u>

Federal service includes both the merit system and appointive positions. In regard to the latter there is real justification for a policy by the President and other appointing officers of deliberately choosing competent Negroes. There would be nothing novel in such a practice. It has always been understood that the higher level posts of any administration will reflect a geographic, an occupational, even a religious distribution. The first administration to sprinkle the higher government positions with able Negroes will establish a practice taken for granted by subsequent administrations, and self-consciousness about such appointments will quickly end. The appointment of some Negroes to top regional or district positions in the South would not only be an important symbolic act, but would help establish patterns of deepened respect. To project Negroes into public office will be good for the race, because it will strengthen morale and sense of identification with America and will sharpen Negro incentive. It will be good for the South, which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition. It will be good for the nation's world reputation.

There is the special situation of the Negro as American representative abroad. Negroes in diplomatic or consular positions in Africa and Asia are excellent representatives of our democracy. We believe that American prestige in these continents would be far more enhanced if Negroes are also regularly sent to European and western hemisphere countries. Basically, what is to be desired is the appointment of Negroes to the Foreign Service, and their routine assignment and progression through the ranks.

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals.

C. Education

Pre-eminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration. Here federal orders have been laid down and issues joined. Respect for law and federal authority requires a prompt resolution.

Six years after the Supreme Court's historic decision there are fewer than 800 Negro children in classes with whites in the states of the old Confederacy, outside of west Texas. There has been no desegregation at all in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and in Louisiana the enrollment of four Negroes has been greeted with hysterical and virtually insurrectionary resistance. The Supreme Court declared a Constitutional right: yet throughout most of the South the entire burden of exercising that right has fallen on Negroes, while the public treasuries of Southern states are put at the service of denying it; it is an uneven

fight. The basic problem is two-fold: to re-establish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to segregated public education.

The United States has a sovereign interest that there be obedience to its laws. Informed legal opinion suggests that there are valid precedents* for the United States, without asserting any pecuniary or statutory interest, either to initiate action or intervene in private actions in order to take care that its laws are observed; and that the government may also intervene in school desegregation cases under 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316, which authorizes the Attorney-General to send any officer of his Department to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending" in any court, federal or state. Resistance to the Supreme Court's decision is an assault on the Constitution, and the federal executive should take all authorized measures to bring it to an end.

On the other hand, there is wisdom in counting one's blessings. After numerous law suits and painful self-struggle, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have given grudging and minimal acquiescence to the law. Crisis is past and these three states have, at least, shown their capacity for orderly adjustment. In whatever states or localities there is now or emerges in the future a willingness to acknowledge Constitutional rights, there is an immense opportunity for the President and his administration to offer quiet, tactful urging and persuasion in behalf of whole-hearted acceptance of the principle of integration.

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*see In re Debs (158 US 564); S.E.C.v.U.S. Realty Improvement Co. (310 US 434).

The President should always be mindful of the probability that firm statements by him in advance of an initial desegregation might prevent or lessen such convulsions as those of Little Rock or New Orleans. His staff adviser could be of invaluable help in anticipating occasions when disorder threatens and Presidential influence would be useful.

The administration should also be aware that an advance in civil rights in any area tends to assist the cause of school integration. Every move which demonstrates determination to establish the principle of equality in other areas increases the feeling of inevitability of compliance with the Supreme Court's school order. Every move in recognition of Negro competence enhances in Southern eyes the acceptability of Negro children as schoolmates. While government cannot address itself directly to the erasure of the racial prejudice which exists in the hearts and minds of people, it can by its own example and efforts greatly reduce overt discrimination. The resulting respect for the law of the land will be more effective than anything else in helping us to outgrow our prejudices.

Fundamentally, school integration ought not be thought of primarily as a question of civil rights. We need to look at it in another framework as well. The nation needs better schools with higher standards, that will give every American child a training corresponding to the challenge of our times. This is a matter of vital national interest. This is the problem which the country must face, and in doing so think of the impediment of segregated schools. If the country has an interest that every one of its youth be educated to the limits of his

potential, segregated schools are an indulgence which cannot be afforded, on grounds of educational practice, social values, or economy.

Consequently, there is an opportunity and, we think, an obligation for the U. S. Office of Education to provide information and counsel to school administrators and teachers engaged in the desegregation process. Attorneys before federal courts in desegregation cases need sources of professional advice. There ought to be analyses, widely disseminated, of the plans adopted in various places, and their success; factual studies of the academic effects of integration; and professional discussion of the technical problems of school administrations during the integration process. Such a publications program would not be unlike fact-finding and advisory services already performed by the Office. In particular, there would seem to be ample authorization in the Cooperative Research in Education Act, 20 U.S.C. secs. 331, 332; activities under this law would have the added advantage of involving universities and state educational agencies.

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process.

Educational discrimination against Negroes is cumulative, and this affects with particular hardship the ability of Negroes to earn a living. The federal government has grant-in-aid programs for vocational (including agricultural) education, training in distributive occupations, and vocational rehabilitation; these are administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The question of federal support for unequal and segregated education is raised by these programs in a form different from that of financial aid under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 for federally affected schools, where the government is, in a sense, assuming the burdens of a tax-payer. The vocational programs must satisfy federal criteria in order to be aided, and are subject to federal regulation. The Department could appropriately require, as it does with the rehabilitation program, that benefits be without racial favoritism, and where classes are a part of the program that they be non-segregated in order to qualify for federal aid.

There is a special question involved in on-base and off-base schooling for children of military personnel. All on-base schools are now officially integrated, even though operated by state and local school authorities; the elementary school at Fort Benning (Ga.), for example, has been integrated for more than six years. A number of on-base schools are, however, all white because there are no Negro children in residence. Usually reliable sources have reported that "gentlemen's

agreements" exist in some localities whereby Negro personnel are transferred or housed off-base when their children reach school age; there also are instances of the deeding or leasing of land for school sites to local school boards.

The federal government cannot be a party to evasion of the Constitution. Where off-base schools instruct none, or almost none, but children of military personnel the government has a special interest in seeing that they are non-segregated. In Pulaski County (Ark.), this interest was conscientiously served, even to the point of a Defense Department plan to condemn the school property and annex it to the base. The approach taken by the government in Pulaski County, and the arrangement finally worked out, set a pattern which the government can follow in similar situations.

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing.

The executive department administers large grants to schools of higher education for research; the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Science Foundation are probably the largest grantors. In addition, sizeable grants and loans for general support and capital development are made. Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution that applies and is eligible under the statute, it

has been argued that the executive department should not, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But with the huge sums distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and grants the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument but that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

9. An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the federal government to any institution of higher learning (or its faculty), public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. Security of Person and Property

Discussions of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment often give little attention to the word "protection." There are good historical grounds for believing that this was a key concept in the thinking of the framers of the Amendment, and that their intent was to provide federal protection to individual Negroes of the South against inimical acts, official or officially tolerated.* Broadened to include all persons, this is still a high ideal.

*"First, despite differences of opinion concerning the scope of congressional power..., a majority of the members of the Thirty-ninth, Forty-second, and Forty-third Congresses...believed that the equal protection clause did more than condemn official or state action. They believed that it vested Congress at the very least with a primary power to set aside unequal state laws and a secondary power to afford protection to all persons in their enjoyment of constitutional rights when the states failed in their primary responsibility to do so

(cont'd next page)

Law enforcement questions are of two general types. First, there are the traditional questions of unjust police, court, or mob treatment of individual Negroes charged with crime. Instances are, happily, declining. To cope with those which still occur, we know of no remedy available to the executive department other than strict enforcement of, with all their shortcomings, secs. 241 and 242, 18 U.S.C. - the last remnants of the Civil Rights Acts passed in the 1860's and 70's for the protection of persons, and especially Negroes, against deprivation of civil rights.

Security of person and property have their severest present threat in the second problem area, which has to do with the violence, reprisals, and intimidations surrounding school desegregation and sit-in controversies, and Negro voting. There have been bombings and threats of bombings, riots, organized harassment, and threats to personal safety. Accompanying all, there has been for five or more years

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either by neglecting to enact laws or by refusal or impotence to enforce them...

"Second, a majority...regarded Congress as the primary organ for the implementation... This does not mean that the Radical Republicans intended to preclude judicial action...; they did not. ...

"A third principle that emerges from these debates is that the equal protection clause means absolute or perfect equality before the law and condemns every discrimination perpetrated by unequal laws, partial or maladministration of existing laws by courts or executives, or discriminations by quasi-public businesses or agencies possessing a peculiar status or privilege under the law, such as inns, public conveyances, and the like. With respect to whether the equal protection clause of its own force condemned antimiscegenation laws and segregation laws and customs, the evidence is inconclusive." R. J. Harris, The Quest for Equality. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. pp. 53-56.

encouragement of resistance to federal authority, delivered by high officials, the Citizens Councils, and their allies.

The number of Southerners who will resort to violence is small, but their mark is heavy on the region and the nation. When a school in the South is bombed the whole free world suffers. Congress has legislated, by Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, to put federal resources into the endeavor to prevent or punish bombings. The enforcement difficulties are obviously great, and appear so even to an outside agency. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has a larger range within which to act for the suppression of violence.

There is value also in linking the Department closely with the states in a concerted effort. The Attorney-General might appropriately convene a conference of the attorneys-general of the Southern states for the planning of mutual programs; one desirable result of the conference might be the establishment of regular liaison between the enforcement agents of the federal and state governments.

Underlying all policies and practices must be an awareness that the Negro Southerners' campaign for equality is a revolutionary movement. It must be, and can be, contained in non-violence. To this end, a staff adviser to the President, in close touch with events and working closely with the Civil Rights Division, would be invaluable in coordination of federal action to preserve the public peace.

The suggestion has been made that the United States could intervene in, or even initiate, school desegregation cases on the principle of the old Debs case (158 US 564). That case sustained an injunction issued by a federal court, without specific reference to any statute,

against acts held to constitute a threat to the general welfare. Whether or not Debs affords a basis for federal intervention generally, the government might carefully consider, even to the point of taking a test case, the use of it as a precedent for the particular problem of threatened or actual violence. The signs of the times are not so difficult to read that an alert government could not anticipate the likelihood of disorder in a school desegregation controversy and be armed in advance to forestall it.

Similarly, the reaction to sit-ins has led to serious breakdowns in the public peace. The Department of Justice should observe local situations with the utmost vigilance for evidence of unlawful arrest, violations of Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, and deprivations of First Amendment liberties.

10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest.

E. Voting

Twice in three years, Congress has legislated to protect voting rights. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 have to date been the basis of six suits* brought by the Department of Justice, one of which

* Against Terrell County (Ga.), Macon County (Ala.), Bienville and Washington Parishes (La.), and Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.). Two separate actions have been filed in each of the Tennessee Counties; technically, therefore, eight suits have been brought.

has been carried to the Supreme Court, and disposed of there. Acting under sec. 303 of the Act of 1960, the Department has also required from 17 counties* the production of voting records.

We think much more could be done. Since the Acts of 1957 and 1960 do not permit broad, sweeping attacks on discrimination, suits are confined to local situations. There must be, therefore, numerous investigations and, where justified, prosecutions.

In another respect, however, it is to be hoped that the new Attorney-General will continue a policy of his predecessor. The suits brought under sec. 131 against private persons and institutions in Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.) show a sophisticated awareness, and a zeal for the actualization of rights, which are commendable.

The Acts of 1957 and 1960 can be enforced no more vigorously than the staffing of the Department's Civil Rights Division permits. In addition to giving immediate attention to the strengthening of this Division, the Attorney-General should look closely into the working relations between it and the U. S. District Attorneys, to the end that there be the fullest cooperation between them and the Division.

When all this has been said, there is much to add on another side. The fact is that throughout large areas of the South, registration and voting are as free as elsewhere in the country. In general, discrimination is today found mainly in the rural sections of the old Black Belt, and not everywhere there. This does not mean that the problem

*Wilcox, Montgomery, and Sumter (Ala.); Union (Fla.); Webster, Early, Fayette, and Gwinnett (Ga.); East Carroll, Ouachita, and East Feliciana (La.); McCormick, Clarendon, and Hampton (S.C.); Bolivar, LeFlore, and Forrest (Miss.).

is not serious. It does mean that it is less a regional problem, and more one local to a particular cultural area within the region. The nation ought not to be misled by loud talk: the majority of Southerners will not oppose free access to the ballot. There will consequently be minimal popular resistance to federal actions in this field.

In regard to voting, as with schools, there are values other than civil rights at stake. Our democratic faith requires that there be full and responsible exercise of the franchise. Our record is not good. In the South, about 25% of Negroes of voting age are all that are registered; but only some 60% of whites of voting age are, and though the discrepancy is great the white standard itself is low. The Bureau of the Census has estimated that 107 million Americans are of voting age; yet only about 68 million, or less than 65%, voted in the Presidential election of 1960, and this was a record turn-out.

The government might well undertake a national campaign to educate people in their voting rights and to encourage them to vote. If this were done with vigor and sustained attention, a side result would almost certainly be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South, as well as a clear revelation of those areas where the cause of non-voting by Negroes is intimidation, either private or official. There are counties of the South where Negroes will not seek to register and vote unless assured in advance and unmistakably that their temerity will go unpunished. There are, and probably not only in the South, many people--white and Negro--who need education in their voting rights and responsibilities. To help them would seem as much the proper role of the federal government as is the offering

of instruction about jobs, baby care, crop management, and a thousand other matters dealt with in government publications.

A registration drive, spurred by the prestige of the President and sustained by his subordinates, would have civic worth, especially if coupled with the printing of leaflets, disseminated through local Post Offices, on the qualifications and procedures for voting in every state.

11. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys of first quality, and the Division's working relationships with the U. S. District Attorneys should be so defined as to permit widespread enforcement of the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.

F. Armed Services

Since the issuance in 1948 of Executive Order 8891, segregation in the armed services has been virtually eradicated. This has been an advance in civil rights comparable in importance to the outlawing of the white primary and public school segregation, and has been carried through to a satisfactory conclusion by the same force which originated it; i.e., Presidential authority.

The President can in the same way end discrimination in the National Guard, and the logic for doing so is compelling. The Guard

is a part of the United States Army, and composition and organization of its units are required to be "the same as those prescribed for the Army" (32 U.S.C. sec. 104b). The state units are financed almost entirely by federal funds. Service in the Guard is a statutory substitute for service in the Army under the Selective Service Act. The President prescribes the regulations of the Guard, violations of which automatically forfeit federal support (32 U.S.C. secs. 108, 110).

National Guard units in the South are all-white. Thus, an important part of the Army is still segregated. Negro Southerners are denied an option which white Southerners have--to enlist in the Guard rather than be drafted. And, as the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has said, "In times of racial tension, if the Guard should be called out, it would be reassuring to Negro citizens to observe that members of their own race were on duty. Thereby would be implanted the justified conviction that the sole duty of the Guard is to uphold the law."

The President is authorized to make a number of appointments of cadets and midshipmen to the service academies. As most appointments are in the keeping of Congressmen, and it is a matter of common knowledge that at least a third of the members, representing areas of high Negro population, do not appoint Negroes, the President can justifiably give special attention in his own selection to the merits of Negro candidates. According to the latest reports, there are seven Negroes enrolled at Annapolis, eight at West Point, and three at the Air Force Academy.

The President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise terminate them. There would seem to be no legitimate grounds for operating an ROTC at universities, public or private, which refuse admission on racial grounds.

13. <u>The National Guard in Southern states is the remnant of segregation in the armed services;</u>

segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and midshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

G. Health, Recreation

The federal government administers many and large health programs, involving hospital operation and medical research. It provides grants-in-aid to the states for mental health programs, maternal and child health service, aid to crippled children and the blind, and control of tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, and venereal disease; and for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Veterans' Administration are the responsible agencies.

It may seem disproportionate to link recreation and health in the same discussion, except that the uses of leisure time becomes an increasingly urgent concern, with genuine effects on the well-being of the nation. The federal government provides some of the most valuable recreational opportunities people have, through the national parks, national forests, federal reservoir areas, and federal beach erosion projects. These are administered by the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Most of the health and recreational activities are covered by seemingly adequate regulations against racial discrimination, although there have been instances of lack of enforcement. This is not true of the

grant-in-aid programs, and especially not of the huge Hill-Burton hospital construction program which, by statutory authorization, approves separate-but-equal facilities (42 U.S.C. sec. 291e); the statute was enacted in 1946. The federal beach erosion projects carry no specific prohibitions on discrimination but, in a most interesting proceeding, the Department of Justice has brought suit against officials of Biloxi (Miss.) on grounds that discrimination is contrary to the legal requirement of "public use."

14. Health and recreational programs, both of which bring the government into close personal touch with people, need to be constantly audited for discriminatory effects. Continued observance of the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton Act is Constitutionally dubious, and should be authoritatively examined.

H. Transportation

Through federal court action, heartening reforms have occurred since 1941 in interstate and intra-state travel. More recently, the independent regulatory agencies have added their force to the removal of discriminations affecting the dignity and convenience of Negro passengers; the Federal Aviation Agency has refused financial aid for construction of airports which will practice segregation. The chief remaining hardship is the condition of bus, train, and air line terminals, their waiting rooms, eating arrangements, and rest rooms. A problem so near solution is ripe for a decisive push. The President could communicate this opinion to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics

Board, and the Federal Aviation Agency; and could instruct the Attorney-General to follow through on the conference held by the Department of Justice in 1956 with U. S. Attorneys in the Southern states to consider action against discrimination by common carriers.

15. Interstate travel is a field in which a final federal effort could decisively end segregation. The clearly established unconstitutionality of segregation in common carriers operated intrastate invites serious study by the Department of Justice of means to require observance of the Constitutional principle.

I. Contractor Employment

In the absence of Congressional enactment of a fair employment law, the grounds for executive imposition of an anti-discrimination clause in government contracts is the buyer's normal privilege of choosing his suppliers.

There are two fields--contractor employment and federal housing policy--where the executive department faces issues of unusual magnitude and difficulty. One aspect of the dilemma--for it is such--is that employment and housing are of basic importance, not only to Negro welfare but to American success in living up to principle; their effects ramify into every other problem of civil rights. Consequently, no fields are deserving of more imaginative, more constant attention. Another aspect, however, is that the task of opening up employment and housing consists of hard, practical difficulties so great as to make innocuous any governmental action that is not thorough and undertaken

with firm resolve. A third aspect is that the stakes are so large, and the effects of decisive governmental action would be so directly felt by the people, that strong policies would almost certainly produce sharp political and popular controversies.

The Government Contract Committee and its predecessor seem to have accomplished little to arrest discrimination in employment. The Committee has devoted a good deal of its effort to education, and has processed complaints. Some educational activity is perhaps desirable, but the government needs to remember that performance and example are its best educational means.

President Truman's Committee on Government Contract Compliance made certain recommendations prior to leaving office. These included disqualification from future contracting of suppliers whose employment practices are found discriminatory; termination of contracts upon finding of discrimination; the use of a liquidated damages clause in contracts; and provisions for injunctive relief and arbitration. These are drastic remedies. Some of them, at least, could be used without further legislation, but reliance on any or all of them would require a considerable enlargement of staff and would probably result in litigations both numerous and vexing.

Yet the present posture of the government is intolerable. Every government contract and many sub-contracts contain an anti-discrimination clause, the text of which is posted in suppliers' shops and offices. The clause is, in effect, an oath. It has become another of the non-enforced declarations of principle and policy. We think there is real danger to public morals in this practice. The people need to know that the government takes its words seriously. For the government to

lay down laws and orders which it does not intend, or is not prepared, to enforce is a practice which encourages social and individual indifference.

In the absence of a fair employment act, the executive department might well give serious exploration to other means as well as punitive sanctions for preventing discrimination. The approach described in the next two paragraphs is not intended as a blueprint or even a recommendation of a specific plan. Rather it is a suggestion intended to invite the government's consideration toward policies administratively simpler than punitive sanctions, and yet equally productive of results.

First, if there is to be any effective action the executive department must commit itself to definite and firm policies. Secondly, the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. Thirdly, the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by the new office proposed above on pages 4-5, that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all of its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

As was stressed before, the above suggestion is not tendered as a finished proposal, but as a basis for study within the administration along the lines of non-punitive but nevertheless effective action. Another device worth evaluation is the use of an award, such as the war-time Navy "E", given to contractors whose employment practices meet governmental approval; the symbol could be displayed by the company in its advertising and elsewhere, as an indication that it is cooperating with the government in developing and utilizing our manpower resources.

Whatever methods are used, there would seem to be no reason why they should not apply both to contractors and to companies licensed to use government-held patents.

16. There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; an appropriate means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

Where the federal government's scope of action is narrow, it can still deny its services to others who discriminate. The Bureau of Apprenticeship could, upon advice from an office designated by the President, withdraw from participation in any apprenticeship program, whether under state or private auspices, which does not admit all applicants on an equal footing, and could withhold registration from apprentices in such programs. Similarly, the U. S. Employment Service could make refusal to process racially restricted job orders a condition for federal approval of a state program and financial assistance.

17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

J. Housing

Rapid population growth, plus a steady population shift to the cities, plus an advancing standard of living have combined to keep high the demand for new housing. The movement of middle and upper income families out of the central cities and into suburban neighborhoods, together with the emphasis of the past several decades on home building in subdivisions, have accentuated the degree of racial segregation in

American cities; this is especially pronounced in the South, where residential segregation was formerly less customary than in other regions.

The role of the federal government in relation to the spread of housing segregation has been succinctly described by the Commission on Race and Housing:

> The policies and actions of government agencies and public officials must be counted among the principal influences sustaining racial segregation in housing....
>
> The federal government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing, and slum clearance programs, has come to exercise a large measure of control over housing. Both directly and indirectly, the federal housing programs have strongly influenced the racial patterns of residence, mainly in the direction of increasing racial segregation. During the first dozen years of its existence, the Federal Housing Administration operated explicitly on the real estate doctrine that mingling of racial groups in residence areas was socially undesirable and a threat to the financial stability of neighborhoods. Its appraisal manuals stressed the importance of protecting neighborhoods against invasion by "incompatible racial and social groups." For "surest protection" against such an eventuality, FHA recommended blanketing all land in the vicinity of a mortgage-insured housing development

with race-restrictive covenants, particularly in undeveloped or partly developed areas. It is a fair judgment that FHA's influence contributed largely to the spread of race-restrictive covenants (subsequently declared unenforceable by the Supreme Court) and hence to the exclusion of minority groups from wide areas.

...The agency now officially encourages open occupancy in housing developments, but it does not attempt to control the discriminatory practices of private builders or lenders.

The public housing program has always insisted, and in the main successfully, on minority groups' receiving an equitable share of publicly subsidized dwellings. With respect to the racial pattern, federal policy has been to leave the decision for open or segregated occupancy to local housing authorities. The latter, in all sections of the country, elected initially for segregation, with one or two notable exceptions. In the South, compulsory segregation remains, but in the North and West, many local authorities have shifted to policies of open occupancy, some by their own decision, others under court order.... Notwithstanding open occupancy policies, however, the recent trend has been running strongly toward concentration of minority groups in public housing.

Among the major factors contributing to this trend are the frequent location of projects in areas mainly occupied by minorities, the wider opportunities of whites than of non-whites to obtain housing in the private market, and statutory preference in tenant selection to families, largely minority, displaced by slum clearance operations. ...the conclusion seems justified that public housing has served, on the whole, to sustain and probably intensify racial segregation.

Beginning during World War II, the federal government has become increasingly sensitive to the housing disadvantage and needs of the minority groups. It has moved to assist these groups to obtain housing but has tried to do so without interfering with the segregation practices of the private housing industry. .... Special credit assistance has been provided through the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program.... A high proportion of all postwar new dwellings built for minority use has been financed by mortgages purchased by the FNMA, that is, by government credit. These new houses have been built, with few exceptions, in segregated projects. The special assistance measures, ...like public housing, have been both a source of housing and a force for segregation.

> Indirectly, federal policies have stimulated segregation in two important ways. The changes in the housing industry which have so largely increased the power of private builders to determine community patterns, as described above, have been made possible by the federal mortgage insurance systems....
>
> The other indirect federal support of segregation has been the moral sanction given to the racial discrimination practices of private business.... Government, as an expression of the public will, is one of the sources of moral as well as legal authority. If the government sees nothing wrong in racial discrimination, how can private persons be censured for practicing it? ...In the housing field, the federal government, in recent years, has withdrawn from any explicit endorsement of housing segregation. Federal agencies, however, aside from verbal pronouncements for equality, continue to tolerate the discriminatory practices of those who distribute federal benefits.

Present housing trends are injurious not only to the dwellers in the vast city areas which it becomes increasingly accurate to call ghettoes. The harm is felt in at least two other ways as well. Too many middle class white families are separated from normal contacts with persons of other races and economic station. Municipal government and the cultural life of the cities are being weakened by shrinkage of revenue base and population imbalance.

A problem so largely the result of federal programs is a direct and pressing federal responsibility. It should be dealt with not specifically as a Negro, or a race relations, question, but as a task of helping disadvantaged citizens to become productive members of society and of restoring or guarding the health of our cities.

The question for the federal government to face is that of how it will direct the tremendous influence which it has through its huge involvement in the housing market. Will it use this influence, as it has in the past and as it still largely does, to strengthen and spread housing segregation?

The Supreme Court in Brown v. Topeka took judicial note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of segregation. We believe the President could well do likewise in an Executive Order which stated that the national housing policy is to encourage integration. This would be the strongest possible directive to the several housing agencies to examine meticulously the laws which they administer for opportunities to reverse present trends.

FHA policy now, as expressed through its regulations and practices, is to insure no mortgages on property whose deeds contain restrictive covenants; to rent or sell re-possessed housing on a non-segregated basis; to encourage "open occupancy" through private conferences with builders and others; and to refuse its services to any builder or developer found in violation of a state anti-discrimination law. The last could be an effective measure, except that it applies only to individuals or firms formally held against in a state proceeding--and this is extremely rare--, and it applies only in states with anti-discrimination laws and not in the others where the majority of the nation's Negroes live.

Similar orders have been issued applicable to land purchasers under urban renewal programs, and to builders under Veterans' Administration benefits. The VA has also strict regulations against restrictive covenants. Apparently no attention is given to questions of discrimination by the Army in selling or leasing utilities to housing developments in the vicinity of bases; nor by the Federal Highway Administration in the purchase of land necessitating relocation of families. The policies of PHA and FNMA are sufficiently indicated by the above quotation from the Commission on Race and Housing.

The administration of the housing and urban renewal laws is intricate and the mass of detail involved in framing and enforcing regulations affecting thousands of purchasers, builders, lending institutions, and municipal governments almost overwhelms the attempt to suggest realistic and effective methods of curbing racial inequities and segregation. The Commission on Race and Housing has made possible a better public understanding of the difficulties and the opportunities by its series of studies, and we commend them to the administration. In particular, we call attention to the Commission's Report (titled Where Shall We Live?) and the policy recommendations contained therein.

Certain general ideas have emerged from the literature on housing problems which we believe deserve sympathetic study by the administration. These are:

a) The practice of "scattering" projects. Especially with reference to public housing, this means the construction of several small projects rather than one large one, and their location in bi-racial or all-white neighborhoods, rather than in Negro or transition sections.

b) The policy of "benign quotas." We have anxious reservations about quotas in either public or private housing, from the standpoint of both good race relations and democratic values. Men live, nevertheless, in the real, and not the ideal, world. It is a fact that open occupancy frequently means, or comes to mean, Negro occupancy, and the project is an addition to segregated housing. To date, a system of "benign quotas" is virtually the only realistic suggestion made by responsible sources for combatting this condition. The housing agencies might well initiate discussions with developers, representatives of Negro organizations, and intergroup relations specialists for a thorough airing of the problem and of means for solving it.

c) The employment of Negroes on the staff of housing agencies. This, of course, is already being done, but to only a limited extent. It is not particularly important whether whites or Negroes occupy the positions of race relations advisers (if those positions are continued). What is important is that Negroes are taken on the regular staffs, and this would be especially desirable in the South. In this occupational field there is no scarcity of experienced Negro specialists, men trained in Urban League work or in Negro real estate or lending circles. To use them in the government would be to tap their insights, to leaven the thinking and attitudes of their colleagues, and to improve public confidence in the agencies.

d) A systematic analysis of the housing laws to determine what inducements are available to encourage real open occupancy housing. Here as elsewhere, preferments are better than sanctions. There undoubtedly are ways by which, for example, FHA and FNMA can give priorities to developers (including 221 developers) whose management will accord with the government's aim of integration.

e) Principal attention to the large builder. In view of the numerous home owners availing themselves of FHA or FNMA benefits, the job of enforcing a clause against discrimination in re-sale would be staggering. On the other hand, FHA could, with comparative ease, come to workable and sound agreements regarding open occupancy with large sub-dividers or apartment sponsors, prior to commitment.

Of all actions the executive department can take, the simplest administratively is the realization of open occupancy in public housing projects. This would be unquestionably desirable. Yet there is a danger in moving sternly in low-income housing, unless policies of equivalent sternness are applied across the board. There is no advantage to anyone in furthering the already existent suspicion, that integration is for the poor folks.

In 1954 and 1955, there was little realization throughout the country of the intensity of feeling in the South, and the degree to which the South would resist Court orders in the school cases. Neither the country nor its government was prepared for what followed. The

President when developing policy has an obligation far greater than that of the courts when declaring rights to be prepared to react to the consequences. A strict non-discriminatory order for FHA (including 221) and PHA housing, with obvious intent to enforce, will in all likelihood lead to a diminution of starts in the South, at least for a time, and could hamper or halt urban renewal. This would not be a completely unfortunate happening, for it would at least slow the present trend toward firmer segregated patterns. Nevertheless, the basic interest of the country is to have a well housed people. Another almost certain consequence in the South would be ingenious methods of evasion. Another possible consequence which cannot be discounted is violence.

The probability of Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Federal policy must be the same throughout the country, and must be enforced everywhere with equal firmness. If housing starts in the South are reduced, there is every reason to believe they will not be for long: the benefits of participation in federal programs have a powerful attraction.

Administrative firmness can, however, be helpfully supplemented by another approach. There have been many calls in recent years for the President to exert "moral leadership." This implies that the President should make clear where he stands, what he believes, and how he believes that America must act to be true to itself. We think such leadership to be an indispensable part of a firm housing policy, every bit as essential as the definition of such a policy itself. We would go further and suggest that here is an occasion for a sustained exercise of Presidential leadership through persuasion, carried on

publicly or privately as seems best, both by the President and his subordinates.

The appointment of advisory committees is sometimes a substitute for acceptance of responsibility, but can also be a means for grounding new policies on strong, authoritative support. This would seem to be an occasion for utilizing a committee, composed of well-known figures representing the public and financial, building, and real estate circles; Negroes from these categories would, of course, be included. The function of the committee would be to review periodically the success of the housing programs in ameliorating the residential conditions of the disadvantaged minority of our citizens, and to report their findings to the President.

Finally, it should go without saying that the housing agencies should be headed by persons who believe in the value of integrated neighborhoods.

When all this is said, there remains the probable fact that the federal executive alone cannot reach some of the questions of land, appraisal, taxation, city and regional planning, credit, and others basic to the urban problems of the country. It would be unfortunate if executive actions or statements were to create a different impression.

The opportunities are, nevertheless, tremendous. The housing laws can be, and ought to be, administered to curb segregation. No exercise of Presidential discretion would be more beneficial.

18. <u>A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because</u>

the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them.

## III. CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to indicate and analyze actions which the executive department can take to secure civil rights and to help in the full realization of the nation's human resources. Six premises have run through our discussion. We would like to state them again, in conclusion.

Civil rights and liberties are the dignities of free men and the essential condition of a free country. In working for their enlargement, the government and we as a people do that which is closest to the core of our national purpose.

We have disadvantaged people in this country. Both fair play and national self-interest dictate that they be helped to become useful, and that their potential for talent be put at society's service.

National unity is a primary political value, and the views of the South should be part of the national consensus. There are, however, vast and largely untapped reservoirs of popular agreement and support in the South for national leadership that would ease from the South an ancient and uncomfortable burden.

Honest dealing by the government and the public toward our non-white citizens would strengthen immeasurably the international prestige of the United States; continued discrimination will just as surely weaken our standing abroad.

The Presidency is the center of American energy. What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations.

Racial relations is our oldest domestic trouble. It has the claim of age and priority for thorough, decisive action now.

SCHOOL DESEG.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, M

# Southern Regional Panel Backs Education Office on Guidelines

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times 12/19/66

ATLANTA, Dec. 18—The Southern Regional Council issued today a sharply worded report defending the Federal Office of Education against criticism that it has pushed Southern school desegregation too fast this year.

"Far from having been overzealous," the council said, "this agency has—if the law has any meaning at all—so far failed to achieve what the law demanded."

The council, an influential private agency devoted to racial equality, called for tougher school guidelines by the education office, not softer ones as demanded by many Southern officeholders and school officials.

The organization said "low-grade terror" was continuing against Negro students and their parents who insisted on desegregating schools in recalcitrant areas of the Deep South. The council said the terror was enough "to suggest a new national scandal brewing out of the South."

The report made public today is a 46-page study of the education office's school desegregation efforts this year. The office has taken on the major enforcement of school desegregation since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in any program receiving Federal aid.

### Desegregation Doubled

The education office announced last week that the number of Negroes in school with whites in the South had doubled since last year. On the average, it estimated, in the 11 states of the Confederacy 12.5 per cent of the Negro students were in desegregated schools this fall. The figure last year was about 6 per cent.

The council said its own figures—obtained with difficulty because of the reluctance of school officials to divulge them—showed slightly smaller gains in Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana than the education office reported.

Over-all, the council did not challenge the Federal agency's Southwide figures. However, it said some civil rights proponents had begun to question the use of percentages in measuring desegregation progress.

"By building gradualism into its guidelines by the use of minimum percentages, the U.S.O.E. perhaps unwittingly allowed attention to shift from the illegitimacy of dual schools and the need to end them," the council said. "Instead, Southern officials haggle over whether '10 per cent is too much,' while continuing segregated patterns."

The education office's guidelines, which Southern Congressmen, Governors, and school officials have condemned roundly this year, have contributed to this gradualism, the council said.

"The guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools," it said.

It said some civil rights leaders had suggested countering that notion by requiring all schools in districts that have any Negro population to have half Negro teachers and half white. That might also stop whites from fleeing transitional neighborhoods to escape Negroes, the council said.

The guidelines have been nullified in some areas by harassment of Negro students and parents, the council said.

"In one rural Alabama county, Negro children, beaten by whites on the first day of school, refused to get off a school bus until school authorities granted them protection," the council related. "Denied this protection, they remained on the bus and were suspended for staging a sit-in demonstration."

In another rural district, it said, whites have used this scheme: The school has a rule that any person involved in a fight, regardless of who starts it, is suspended. Four suspensions constitute expulsion. Four white students agree to start fights with one Negro, taking their three-day suspensions in rotation. After the fourth fight, the Negro is expelled.

### Lack of Money Noted

The council said that Congress had refused to provide enough money and staff for full enforcement of the guidelines. It said the education office itself had at times seemed to give in to political pressure from Southern officials.

"But even if they had been allowed to operate fully as planned," the council said, "the guidelines tolerate practices which are far short of the intent of the law."

It suggested tighter enforcement and tighter guidelines—"perhaps a single guideline, the abolishment of dual systems."

"If this should even ultimately bring the South to a political victory that overturns the law of the land—if the rest of the nation is that weak or that far-gone in its backlash versions of racism—then so be it," the council concluded. "Even that would be preferable to the continued flouting of the Constitution and the law in the schools where children learn their lessons of citizenship and contemporary history."

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### Burroughs to Build Center

DETROIT, Dec. 17 (AP)—Plans for an $18-million world eadquarters building center ere have been announced by he Burroughs Corporation. Construction is to begin early next year. The five-story center will have more than 600,000 square feet of floor space and house all of the Burroughs executive offices and administrative activities now in several buildings in the area.

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REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

## MOST DECLINE COMMENT

# Southern Officials Waiting for Guides

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 1/2/67

By The Associated Press

Southern officials, awaiting receipt of new federal school desegregation guidelines, generally were tight-lipped Sunday. But one governor challenged the validity of the regulations.

"We do not believe the so-called guidelines have the force and effect of law," said Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina. "We have taken the position from the beginning that the school districts of this state not only are required to, but should attempt to, comply with the law.

"We are opposed to the setting of arbitrary quotas and percentages that are forbidden by the federal act itself."

Most officials contacted in an Associated Press survey were reluctant to comment until they had received the 1967 guidelines issued Saturday night by the U.S. Office of Education. The guidelines, designed to show local districts how to remain eligible for federal aid, are being mailed to school superintendents now to give them time to prepare for the next school term.

At a news conference, John W. Gardner, secretary of health, education and welfare, said Saturday night his agency considered its guidelines fully upheld by a Thursday decision of a federal appeals court.

In its 2-1 decision, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals accepted the guidelines and ordered schools in the seven districts involved in the litigation to desegregate all grades including kindergarten by next fall.

Gov. Dan Moore of North Carolina said, "We still believe in the freedom of choice plan." Under this system, pupils are allowed to choose their schools, rather than the school authorities themselves planning steps for integration.

Dr. Harry M. Sparks, superintendent of Kentucky schools, said that while he has not seen the new guidelines, "I do not anticipate any problems in the state of Kentucky."

Sparks said his only complaint was the use of schools to compel desegregation. "They ought to use the Justice Department instead of the Office of Education," he said.

Georgia's school superintendent, Dr. Jack B. Nix, said he would withhold comment until he has read the new guidelines. But his top aide, Associate Supt. Dr. Allen Smith, said Thursday that most of the state's schools already were planning for desegregation of all grades next fall.

Still unavailable for comment on the court decision and the announced new guidelines was Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who has long been opposed to federal control over schools and pushed to enactment last year a state anti-guidelines law.

Officials in several states, including Georgia and Florida, said after the court decision that the ruling was of no significant import. Gardner said the 1967 guidelines would be virtually the same as those issued last March.



# Federal Programs Are Eyed

FED. POLICY

AC 1/2/67

## Mansfield Seeks Legislation Review

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—Mike Mansfield, the Senate majority leader, has urged the 17 committee chairmen in the Senate to initiate a "top-to-bottom" re-evaluation of the major federal programs, both new and old.

Mike Mansfield

President Johnson

He said this should be the preoccupation of the 90th Congress, which convenes Jan. 10.

In a letter to the chairmen, the Montana Democrat said, "The time seems to me to be very ripe" for "a concentrated re-examination of major legislative structures by which the federal government is enabled to play its role in the current life and affairs of the nation and the world."

**ROUGH EDGES**

Much of the great domestic legislation enacted during the last three or four years has "rough edges, over-extensions and overlaps and, perhaps, even significant gaps," he wrote.

Older programs such as agricultural subsidies, foreign aid, income taxes and the military draft have not had a "thorough-going, second look for many years," Mansfield added.

"A complete restudy by the Senate," he said, "could provide not only a basis for adjustments of legislation, as necessary to the current needs of the nation but also a check on the equity and efficacy of the administrative interpretations and practices which have developed."

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**SIMILAR SUGGESTION**

Mansfield made a similar suggestion a year ago for the second session of the 89th Congress. He said then that so many Great Society programs had been enacted so hurriedly in 1965 that Congress in 1966 could well spend its time refining and correcting those programs.

But President Lyndon B. Johnson continued to recommend major new legislation, which kept Congress preoccupied most of the year.

Now, however, both the membership of Congress and the political climate have changed. The Republicans gained 47 seats in the House of Representatives and in the process Johnson lost the margin of support by which much of his Great Society legislation was enacted.

**CRITICISM MOUNTS**

There has been mounting criticism of the administration of many new federal programs, by both liberals and conservatives. Administration leaders in Congress concede that much of the legislation was hastily and improperly drawn.

"It occurs to me," Mansfield said in his letter to chairmen, "that the next Congress will see the convergence of a unique opportunity with a great need for a concentrated Senate exercise of the oversight function."

Mansfield said he did not anticipate "requests for sweeping new legislative approaches in the 90th Congress."

**HOPES TO SEE**

"I would hope to see, in the first session of the 90th Congress, the beginning of a major re-examination of what we have done in legislation during the past few years," he said.

Mansfield listed as examples medical care for the aged, ex panded health research, civ rights, conservation and beaut fication, programs against ai and water pollution, renewal o urban and rural areas.

"In short, what is suggested i that the committee chairmen consult with members of thei committees to determine with respect to matters within their committee jurisdiction what, in their judgment, might be most usefully subjected to a thoroughgoing oversight at this time," Mansfield said.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE

# RIGHTS UNIT PLANS NEW SCHOOL SUITS

NYT 1/3/67

## Wants Courts to Adhere to Designation Guidelines

Civil rights lawyers are planning a broad campaign in the coming year to speed racial desegregation of schools in Southern communities that have been under court orders to integrate for as long as 12 years.

The legal effort will be made by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the fund, said that a major goal in 1967 would be the reopening of most of the 175 school desegregation lawsuits in which the organization had been successful in winning court orders against Southern school districts.

Mr. Greenberg explained that while every major city in the South and many small towns and rural areas were under court orders to integrate their schools the orders were not strong enough to satisfy civil rights proponents.

### Exemption Opposed

The court orders, he said, generally require less classroom integration than is prescribed by the guidelines of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The guidelines must be followed by school districts that wish to obtain Federal aid to education.

But, Mr. Greenberg pointed out, the guidelines include a provision that no school board will be asked to integrate further than required by a court order entered against the board.

The Legal Defense Fund is urging an end to this exemption for school boards that have been ordered by a court to desegregate. But the fund also proposes to go back to most of the courts from which the orders were obtained and to ask that the orders be brought up to the standards of desegregation prescribed by the guidelines.

The legal wedge for this attack, Mr. Greenberg said, is a decision handed down last week in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The decision, in a series of seven lawsuits considered pivotal by the civil rights movement, held that desegregation plans ordered by lower Federal courts must measure up to the Department of Health Education and Welfare guidelines.

### Death Penalty Opposed

Mr. Greenberg said that the Legal Defense Fund would be active in a number of other cases involving the securing of equal rights in such areas as hospital admissions, employment and housing. He said the fund would also continue a campaign to persuade the courts to outlaw capital punishment for rape in Southern states where the penalty had been applied exclusively or predominantly to Negroes.

The largest number of lawsuits initiated by the fund deal with school, hospital and employment issues, Mr. Greenberg said. But redress in cases in these areas will be sought first through administrative action —for example, by taking employment discrimination complaints to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

As for housing discrimination, Mr. Greenberg said that the fund would go to court for the first time this year against local housing authorities found to discriminate against Negroes in connection with relocation for urban renewal projects.

The Legal Defense Fund hopes also to win a final decision this year on a suit that seeks anti-trust action against real estate brokers who refuse to sell to Negroes in a particular neighborhood. If successful, the suit would affirm that the real estate business is in interstate commerce. Civil-rights proponents believe this would remove a major obstacle to enactment of Federal fair housing legislation.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION


# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

*For 99 Years The South's Standard Newspaper*

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

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# *Tokenism's Last Tick*

There's life in those old school guidelines yet.

A few months ago it looked as though a conservative swing in the 1966 elections, combined with criticism in Congress, would cut the ground from under the guidelines. Federal court rulings were even cited as "proof" that the guidelines went further than the courts.

But a federal panel in New Orleans slammed the door on that argument. "The clock has ticked to the last 'tick' for tokenism and delay in the name of deliberate speed," Judge Minor Wisdom said in a 57-page opinion.

Within a week, the Office of Education published its 1967 guidelines, which retreat not a step, and special assistant Peter Libassi announced that "very substantial progress" would be expected in desegregation in the coming year.

The proposed guidelines had lain on President Johnson's desk for some weeks while he mulled over their political effects. Apparently the New Orleans decision convinced the President to approve the tough version.

Judge Wisdom's decision was far-ranging. It specifically reversed an earlier dictum that the 1954 decision for bade enforced segregation but did not require positive steps to ward integration.

Instead, the new ruling lays down strict standards: All grades, including kindergarten, must be open to all by next fall. School officials must move immediately to raise the quality of formerly all-Negro schools or else close them. Schools must take "affirmative action" to integrate students, faculties, facilities and activities. School systems must inform parents of transfer rights, guard the names of those who exercise those rights, and protect the children after they have transferred.

"HEW's standards are substantially the same as this court's . . .," the opinion stated. "We shall not permit the courts to be used to destroy or dilute the effectiveness of the congressional policy . . . There shall be no foot-dragging."

An entire school generation has passed since the U.S. Supreme Court illegalized segregation. It is indeed time for evasion to end and for schools to get down to the business of providing nondiscriminatory education for all children.

LEGISLATION



1967

# McCormack Has 'Lost Touch,' Liberal House Democrats Say

## They Blame Speaker, 75, for Party's Defeats Last Week by Conservative Coalition

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—Badly routed by a strong conservative coalition, liberal House Democrats have reviewed the opening week of Congress and come to two conclusions:

First, the conservative coalition is in firm control, not in any formal sense of the word, but because a majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats think alike and are thus fairly certain to vote alike.

And, second, the Democratic House leadership proved to be weak and ineffective when the going got rough.

The Democratic leadership suffered four humiliating defeats on the floor that many Congressional strategists think could have been avoided by astute backstage negotiations.

### Four Defeats Listed

The informal coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats first succeeded in heading off a leadership move to seat Representative Adam Clayton Powell, the controversial Democrat from Manhattan. Then, with its muscle still showing, the coalition succeeded in stripping Mr. Powell of his seat pending an investigation.

The same coalition, on two succeeding votes, also killed the 21-day rule, used by the leadership in the past to keep the Rules Committee from blocking Administration bills.

By nightfall on opening day last Tuesday, Administration Democrats were in disarray, and the Democratic leadership looked shaken.

Critics of the performance of the Democratic leadership place the blame squarely at the door of House Speaker John W. McCormack, the still spry but aging gentleman from Massachusetts.

### Out of Touch

Now 75 years old, Mr. McCormack is one of just a handful of Congressmen who were born in the last century. The average age of House members is slightly over 50. Many are in their 30s and mid-40s. A few are in theirs 20s.

"The speaker is out of touch with this younger crowd," one Democrat observed. "He's still smart, but he's lost touch."

Another Democrat complained that the Speaker had misread the mood of the country and the House on the Powell issue.

"We tried to tell him things were serious, but he brushed us off at first," the Democrat said.

The New York Times

**House Speaker John W. McCormack is blamed by liberal Democrats for what they call party weakness in first week of Congress.**

last fall and has not regained his full strength. Doctors have advised him to slow down for at least a year.

The Democratic whip, Hale Boggs of Louisiana, has been suffering severe gall bladder attacks and plans to enter the hospital for an operation within a week or so. This will keep him out of commission for a month or more.

The chief deputy Democratic whip, John E. Moss of California, also has been ordered by his doctors to slow down his pace to avoid heart strain.

The general feeling on Capitol Hill is that, barring some unforeseen change, Administration forces will continue to be in complete disarray in the months ahead.

Some Administration stalwarts of previous years strayed from the leadership fold last week and joined, at least temporarily, the conservative coali-

# CUTS PREDICTED IN GREAT SOCIETY

## Drive in Congress Signaled by Ford, Long and Dirksen

By NEIL SHEEHAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—Congressional leaders from both parties indicated today that President Johnson's Great Society programs were likely to encounter more effective opposition this year from Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans.

Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, the Senate Democratic whip, who is chairman of the influential Finance Committee, said in a television appearance this afternoon that Mr. Johnson faced definite reductions in his Great Society proposals for the 90th Congress.

The House minority leader, Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan, served notice on another television program that the conservative Republican leadership in the House would renew its efforts this year to cut back Mr. Johnson's programs.

Mr. Ford was relatively unsuccessful in opposing the President's Great Society legislation in the 89th Congress.

### Opposition Gains

However, two factors are expected to make his opposition more significant this year: A gain of 47 House seats by the Republicans in the November elections and the likelihood that many of the Southern Democrats in the House and in the Senate will behave as fiscal conservatives in a time of economic difficulties.

Senator Long's remarks on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Face the Nation" program were cited by Congressional observers as evidence of this prospect.

Both Mr. Long and Mr. Ford predicted that the President would probably find it difficult to obtain Congressional approval of his proposal for a 6 per cent surcharge on income tax payments.

Senator Long asserted that "there are going to be reductions, no matter what the President recommends, with regard to domestic spending."

### Dirksen Asks Space Cuts

Meanwhile, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, suggested a reduction in the space effort.

The Senate minority leader, who appeared on the American Broadcasting Company's "Issues and Answers" program, said he thought such a reduction could be achieved by a "stretch-out" in the space program, which would in effect abandon the United States goal of landing a man on the moon by 1970.

"Does it really make a great

United Press International

**OPPOSES PRESIDENT: Representative Gerald R. Ford, Michigan Republican, the House minority leader.**

spending by pressing for a reduction in the number of United States troops in Europe.

The United States now has six divisions and support elements totaling about 225,000 men in Europe.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has said repeatedly that this force should be reduced, and Senator Long asserted today that "the unanimous majority of the Democrats and the leadership in the Senate" believed the number of American troops in Europe was "excessive."

Only after it has first sought to reduce foreign and domestic spending as much as possible, Mr. Long said, will Congress consider a tax increase.

Even after such cutbacks have been made, he said. "My guess is that the Congress is not going to look favorably upon a tax increase."

In his appearance on WTTG, a Washington television station, Mr. Ford said he thought that, among other items, the antipoverty program should be "redirected."

"It can be tightened up and money can be saved," he said.

### Highway Plan Attacked

Mr. Ford said cutbacks in spending could also be made in the program to beautify the nation's highways and parks and in public works projects of the Bureau of Reclamation.

He did not make it clear exactly what he meant in regard to the highway beautification program.

He contended that spending under the program would total about $100-million, but other Congressional observers said they believed that the program did not amout to that much money.

"I think we should adopt what is called a 'no new start program,'" Mr. Ford said. He explained that this would mean

seat pending an investigation.

The same coalition, on two succeeding votes, also killed the 21-day rule, used by the leadership in the past to keep the Rules Committee from blocking Administration bills.

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"The speaker is out of touch with this younger crowd," one Democrat observed. "He's still smart, but he's lost touch."

Another Democrat complained that the Speaker had misread the mood of the country and the House on the Powell issue.

"We tried to tell him things were serious, but he brushed us off at first," the Democrat said.

Only when the lines had already hardened and a majority of members on both sides of the aisle had determined to bar Mr. Powell from his seat did Speaker McCormack attempt to hammer out a compromise to allow the seating and then investigate.

"He should have done that weeks before," one Democrat said. "That's what leadership means, sniffing out how things are shaping up and then heading off a bruising showdown with some good footwork behind the scenes."

Another Democrat said:

"It was incredible to all of us that the Speaker would show up in Washington, scarcely days before the session, without any real plans on this Powell issue."

"If we only had Mr. Sam back, you can bet this wouldn't happen," said another, referring to the late Sam Rayburn of Texas. The former Speaker's uncanny skill for leadership and for sensing when to give and when not to give made him a legend in his time.

Another young Democrat, a leader of liberal forces, scoffed at the suggestion that Mr. Rayburn could have salvaged key Administration programs in the months ahead.

"Even if we had Mr. Sam back, we'd still be in trouble," he said. "The only thing he could have done was keep our defeats from being so damn apparent, as they were the other day."

The effectiveness of the Democratic leadership that so successfully steered through President Johnson's major Great Society programs in the last two years has also been impaired by illness.

The usually peppy majority leader, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, suffered a heart attack last fall and has not regained his full strength. Doctors have advised him to slow down for at least a year.

The New York Times

**House Speaker John W. McCormack is blamed by liberal Democrats for what they call party weakness in first week of Congress.**

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The general feeling on Capitol Hill is that, barring some unforeseen change, Administration forces will continue to be in complete disarray in the months ahead.

Some Administration stalwarts of previous years strayed from the leadership fold last week and joined, at least temporarily, the conservative coalition on those early crucial votes.

The outlook, as of now, is that Administration programs will be severely curtailed this year. Some programs are considered in danger of extinction.

One Congressional strategist views the Democratic leadership job in the months ahead as one of carefully devised compromises, behind the scenes, to salvage as much of the Administration programs as possible.

"It's going to be ticklish, and I'm wondering if the leadership is up to the job," the strategist said.

Despite the dismay of some Democrats, there is no talk, not even in the privacy of the Democratic cloakroom — the somewhat shabby room where Democrats go to exchange gossip or sneak a quick nap — of ousting the Democratic leadership.

As one Democrat put it: "McCormack is too well liked, personally, to even think of trying to dump him. When he is good, he is very, very good. I think he's up to it."

## U.S. to Help Adults Obtain Eighth-Grade Education

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14 (UPI) — The Office of Education announced Saturday $26-million in grants to the states for programs to give all adults a chance to reach an eighth-grade educational level.

The grants support basic education classes to help people overcome English-language limitations and prepare for occupational training.

Each state's share is based on the estimated number of persons over 18 years old who have not completed six years of school.

New York received the largest amount, $2,415,744, followed by Texas with $2,041,667.

pected to make his opposition more significant this year: A gain of 47 House seats by the Republicans in the November elections and the likelihood that many of the Southern Democrats in the House and in the Senate will behave as fiscal conservatives in a time of economic difficulties.

Senator Long's remarks on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Face the Nation" program were cited by Congressional observers as evidence of this prospect.

Both Mr. Long and Mr. Ford predicted that the President would probably find it difficult to obtain Congressional approval of his proposal for a 6 per cent surcharge on income tax payments.

Senator Long asserted that "there are going to be reductions, no matter what the President recommends, with regard to domestic spending."

### Dirksen Asks Space Cuts

Meanwhile, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, suggested a reduction in the space effort.

The Senate minority leader, who appeared on the American Broadcasting Company's "Issues and Answers" program, said he thought such a reduction could be achieved by a "stretch-out" in the space program, which would in effect abandon the United States goal of landing a man on the moon by 1970.

"Does it really make a great deal of difference whether we get to the moon this year or next year, or the following year?" Mr. Dirksen asked.

"I doubt very much whether it makes a great deal of difference," he said. "And if we reconcile ourselves to that thesis, then, of course, there is the place where we can made a very substantial cut."

Senator Long said he foresaw reductions in the rent supplement program and "certain parts of the poverty program." He did not elaborate.

He said he felt Congress would also seek to cut military

mous majority of the Democrats and the leadership in the Senate" believed the number of American troops in Europe was "excessive."

Only after it has first sought to reduce foreign and domestic spending as much as possible, Mr. Long said, will Congress consider a tax increase.

Even after such cutbacks have been made, he said. "My guess is that the Congress is not going to look favorably upon a tax increase."

In his appearance on WTTG, a Washington television station, Mr. Ford said he thought that, among other items, the antipoverty program should be "redirected."

"It can be tightened up and money can be saved," he said.

### Highway Plan Attacked

Mr. Ford said cutbacks in spending could also be made in the program to beautify the nation's highways and parks and in public works projects of the Bureau of Reclamation.

He did not make it clear exactly what he meant in regard to the highway beautification program.

He contended that spending under the program would total about $100-million, but other Congressional observers said they believed that the program did not amout to that much money.

"I think we should adopt what is called a 'no new start program,'" Mr. Ford said. He explained that this would mean a freeze on Federal projects that had been authorized but were not yet under way.

Mr. Ford reiterated his opposition to a tax increase and said Mr. Johnson's surcharge proposal, made in his State of the Union Message, might fail to receive Congressional approval.

"I have grave doubts," Mr. Ford said, "that the Congress is going to pass this new Johnson income tax."

He said he felt that the President's proposal, if enacted, "could be a depressant which could trigger a very serious economic recession."

AC - 1/18/67

# State School Aides Map Guides Appeal

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Georgia school board officials, apparently encouraged Tuesday after a luncheon meeting with the state's congressional delegation, have decided to ask the prestigious National School Board Association to support their stand on desegregation guidelines.

Sixteen members of the Georgia School Board Association aired their complaints about the guidelines before the congressmen and talked over suggestions the state group plans to present before an upcoming NSBA convention.

Included among the suggestions was a plea to preserve the so-called "freedom of choice" plans for desegregation. The U.S. Office of Education has hinted it may discontinue them next year.

The officials also want federal officials to apply the guidelines uniformly both to Northern and Southern school systems and to urge compliance officers to adhere strictly to Washington policy.

Many Southern superintendents have complained that temporary compliance officers sent to their states have exceeded Washington policies.

Ninth District Rep. Phil M. Landrum, dean of the delegation, said the luncheon meeting was "candid and constructive." He said it involved a full discussion of compliance efforts.

Landrum said the board members, led by GSBA President Jack Acree, asked for no action from the delegation, but simply to discuss the issues.

The congressmen gave "no commitments" to Acree's group, Landrum said.

Tuesday's meeting was attended by all members of the Georfgia delegation except Reps. Robret G. Stephens and John W. Davis, who were ill at home.

Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D.-Ga., also participated in the meeting. Sen. Russell did not. He sent word that he sympathized with the schoolmen's problems.

# WIFE OF WALLACE SWORN INTO OFFICE

ALABAMA

## Governor Pledges to Push Husband's Fight Against 'Federal Bureaucracy'

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 16 —Mrs. George C. Wallace became Alabama's first woman Governor today and immediately announced that she would carry on her husband's fight against racial integration and "Federal bureaucracy" while he sought the Presidency.

"The principles of self-government," she said after a six-hour, 10-mile-long inaugural parade, "will not be suppressed by force—force from China, from Russia, from Cuba or from Washington, D.C."

[In nearby Tuskegee, Lucius D. Amerson, a Negro, was sworn in as sheriff in a quiet ceremony. He is the first Negro to hold the office in a Southern county in this century.]

Mr. Wallace, the outgoing Governor, stood by her side as she took the oath of office at the same spot where Jefferson Davis assumed the presidency of the Confederate States of America.

The symbolism was not lost on the thousands who crowded onto the Capitol grounds. They waved Confederate flags and cheered as she accused Federal judges and the Johnson Administration of undermining the United States Constitution.

"Even now," she said, "a Federal agency attempts to tell us the schools our children shall attend, to regulate the contents of their textbooks, who shall teach them, and with whom our children shall associate.

"This is an effort to gain con-

Continued on Page 17, Column 1



# WIFE OF WALLACE TAKES HER OATH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

trol of the hearts and minds of our children. I resent it. As your Governor and as a mother, I shall resist it."

Estimates of the size of the crowd that lined Montgomery streets to watch the parade ranged as high as 100,000. About a quarter of the throng moved onto the Capitol grounds to witness the syearing in.

Midway in her speech, Mrs. Wallace, a blonde, 40-year-old a word for her husband, who is planning to seek the Presidency in 1968, possibly as a third-party candidate.

"I entered the race for Governor," she said, "for the purpose of permitting my husband to take our fight to the final court of appeal — the people of the United States in whom rest the ultimate sovereign power of this nation."

Mr. Wallace, in an address that immediately preceded his wife's, also touched on his Presidential aspirations.

"We see no reason," he said, "why a man from Alabama would not make just as good a President as a man from New York or California — or maybe even from Texas."

Barred by Alabama's Constitution from succeeding himself as Governor, Mr. Wallace entered his wife, Lurleen, as a stand-in candidate in the Democratic gubernatorial primary last spring. She won easily over nine Democratic opponents and then went on, under her husband's slogan — "Stand up for Alabama"—to defeat a Republican and an independent in the November general election.

Today, blue and white pennants with the legend "Stand up for Alabama" fluttered from dozens of light poles along Dexter Avenue, Montgomery's principal thoroughfare.

Among those present for the ceremonies were some of the South's leading segregationists: Leander Perez, the Democratic leader of Plaquemines Parish in Louisiana; United States Representative John Rarrick of Louisiana and former Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., of Mississippi, who ran as a segregationist and later moderated his stance on race, and former Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida were also seated on the inaugural stand.

Although the day officially belonged to Mrs. Wallace, it was dominated by her husband. Wearing a black cashmere suit and pillbox hat, she stood quietly and waved at the parade units while Mr. Wallace blew kisses to drum majorettes and beauty queens and shouted his thanks to county political leaders who marched past the reviewing stand.

"You're doing a good job," Mr. Wallace shouted as one float

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ng stand.
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Wallace shouted as one float passed with a Wallace for President banner.

There were floats that praised "Alabama's beautiful women," floats that compared Mr. Wallace with George Washington and Mrs. Wallace with the Statue of Liberty and one proclaimed:

"Uncle Sam is sick. The Wallace program will cure Uncle Sam."

Another float, sponsored by the Daughters of the Confederacy, bore the huge legend "Lest We Forget."

There was no need for the Daughters to have worried. No fewer than 21 bands played "Dixie" as they strode past the inaugural stand, and a group of boys 9 or 10 years old, all of them dressed in Confederate gray, marched up to the Governor's stand, saluted and knelt before the new Governor and her husband.

But gray uniforms and "Dixie" were shunned today by Negro bands—which were not allowed to participate in Mr. Wallace's inaugural parade in 1963 or the parade for his predecessor, Gov. John Patterson.

Most of the Negro bands played patriotic tunes such as "Stars and Stripes Forever." But one—a small high school band from Butler County—played "Batman" as it passed Mr. Wallace.

However, the greatest contrast from the inauguration of four years ago—when Mr. Wallace shouted "Segregation forever"—was supplied by two drill teams from a high school in Huntsville. Both groups—one of boys and one of girls—were racially integrated.

Hucksters passed through the inaugural crowd selling "Wallace for President" hats and buttons that said, "Alabama's Own Lurleen Our Governor—Let's Make George President."

At the city's hotels and motels, which had sold out their rooms long in advance, a long-playing recording of speeches by the husband-wife political team was selling briskly at up to $5 a copy.

And when the moment came for Mrs. Wallace to step on the bronze star that marks the spot on the Capitol steps where Jefferson Davis formally became the President of the Confederacy, state troopers had to fight to keep the crowds back.

In taking the oath, Mrs. Wallace became the third woman to become a state Governor. Miriam (Ma) Ferguson of Texas and Nellie Taylor Ross of Wyoming were both inaugurated as Governors in 1924.

Mrs. Wallace's speech emphasized again and again that her administration would be a continuation of that of her husband, who built his reputation in Alabama by his militant opposition to Federal desegregation orders.

However, she indicated that she plans to bring a woman's touch into the Capitol.

"As a wife and mother, as well as your Governor," she said, "I shall be inclined to examine programs of each of our departments from the standpoint of how they affect the family."

# Johnson Will Adapt Program to Court South's Democrats

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—Administration strategy in the months ahead is likely to rest heavily on tailoring legislation to fit the Southern Democratic bloc in the House.

Southern Democrats hold the balance of power in Congress, and no one is more aware of this than a man who grew up in that lively school of politics, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Without Southern Democratic votes, the Administration cannot hope to salvage many Great Society programs. Without Southern Democratic votes, too, Republican efforts to block or alter drastically Administration programs will be futile.

It is all a matter of arithmetic.

There are 246 Democrats and

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

# JOHNSON TO ADAPT PROGRAM TO SOUTH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

187 Republicans in the House. The Administration can count solidly on from 140 to 170 Democratic votes, depending on the issue. It might also win 10 to 35 liberal or moderate Republican votes, again depending on the issue.

In either case, without substantial Southern Democratic support, the Administration will fall short of the necessary 216 majority, if all members are present and voting.

Republicans, too, cannot act alone. Some liberal Republicans have voted more often with the Democrats than with their own party. But even assuming there are no Republican defections, at least 30 Democratic votes will be needed to trim or alter Administration programs.

Until recent days, it was generally assumed that most of the 83 Southern Democrats, more in tune with the thinking of Republicans than with liberals of their own party, would automatically vote with the Republicans on most domestic issues.

But many Southern Democrats are showing signs of growing resentment over repeated statements by Republican leaders that they will not actively court Southern Democratic votes in the House.

The reasoning of Republican leaders is that they want to carve a picture of their own on the national level, particularly in the South, where they have picked up Congressional seats and other political offices in recent years.

Hoping to make further inroads in the South, Republican leaders say they would be giving Southern Democrats a "free ride" by forming an open coalition with them.

As one Republican leader put it:

"Southern Democrats could keep right on saying, 'Why elect a Republican? I vote just as conservatively as any Republican.'"

Most Southern Democrats are conservative, some far more so than many Northern and Western Republicans. Too, there is general hostility to President Johnson and his Great Society throughout much of the South.

But the Southern Democrats are an independent lot, unwilling to be taken for granted by Republicans, and are casting around for the best bargaining position.

"There will be times when the Administration and the Republicans will be damn glad to have votes from us," said Representative Joe D. Waggoner Jr. of Louisiana, one of the most conservative of the Southern Democrats.

There is no consensus yet among the Southerners as to how best to make their influence felt.

There has been talk of creating a loosely knit organization, with staff and researchers, patterned somewhat along the lines of the Democratic Study Group, composed of about 140 House Democratic liberals.

"We need a readily available group of like-minded people, but not too organized," Mr. Waggoner said. "We'd have to be flexible and operate on a basis of issue by issue."

Representative Alton Lennon, Democrat of North Carolina, favors an even more organized conservative organization, open not only to Southern Democrats but also to other Democratic conservatives, largely from Border states.

### Little Favor So Far

So far, the idea of setting up an organization, either formally or loosely, has met with little favor among Southern Democrats.

"I don't want anybody telling me how to vote," said Representative Basil L. Whitener, Democrat of North Carolina, also extremely conservative.

Representative Omar Burleson, Democrat of Texas, one of the most popular of the Southern conservatives, is also opposed to such an organization.

"This might tend to lock us in," he said. "I'm not for that."

Other influential Southern Democrats are also opposed to organizing. Some say they have not even been approached on the idea.

# Educators Seeking Guideline Equality

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 1/22/67

By the Associated Press

Educators in 12 Southern states are seeking support of national educators in efforts to get school desegregation policies applied equally throughout the nation, a Georgia educator said Saturday.

The Georgia School Board Association at its convention beginning Sunday will be the first of 12 state associations to be asked to act on a resolution directed at the National Association of School Boards.

"We hope the national association will take some initiative in systematizing school desegregation policies," Jack Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia association said.

**ACREE**, who attended a meeting with the state's congressional delegation in Washington earlier this week, said a major problem is that the U.S. Office of Education's guidelines are being administered by unqualified people.

"The School Board Association has a positive, constructive position," Acree said in an interview. "We will not tolerate any evasiveness of the Civil Rights Act. School desegregation is the law of the land and it must be accomplished."

He said, however, that unqualified administrators of the Health, Education and Welfare Deepartment policies are costing Georgia in bond issues, public confidence, teachers and citizens who are refusing to serve on local school boards.

"It is resulting in the downgrading of our school systems, which is exactly the opposite of what Congress intended," he declared.

He said representatives of school board associations in the 12 states already have considered the resolution to go before the Georgia association at its convention Monday. Other state associations will be asked to vote on it later.

Acree said the resolution would ask the national association to take the initiative in trying to get all school desegregation policies administered equally by qualified people.

**OTHER ASSOCIATIONS** to consider the resolution are from Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida.

"The HEW people are not talking defacto segregation," he said. "We contend that defacto segregation is just as much segregation as that which we have in the South. We feel that when the Supreme Court says desegregate, it means desegregate.

"The key word with us, when we talk about desegregation outside of the South, is 'local control'," he added. "We feel that HEW is encroaching on local control, but that desegregation policies should be carried out in the same manner everywhere."

Acree emphasized that his association stands behind the Civil Rights Act, but that provisions of the law are not applied the same everywhere.

"These interpretation should be spelled out in policies, statements, guidelines, or other means to all school systems," he said.

# School Officials Query U.S. Aides

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 1/24/67

By FRANK WELLS

School board officials from all over Georgia put U.S. Office of Education officials on the spot Monday with face-to-face questions about school guidelines.

The confrontation took place at the second general session of the 15th annual Georgia School Boards Association meeting at the Biltmore Hotel.

Answering the sometimes rather angry questions were David Seeley, Deputy U.C. commissioner of education, and Dr. J. C. Martin, John R. Hodgdon and Dr. Hugh Brimm, all of the U.S. Office of Education.

**MOST OF TIME**

One question took more time than nearly all the others put together. The school board members wanted to know if guidelines were going to be enforced in Northern communities where there is de facto segregation as well as in the South where the segregation formely was a question of law.

Seeley answered this by saying that so far the guidelines had been designed to "help" those school systems desegregate that were formerly "dual" systems—with one set of schools for whites and another for Negroes. He said the guidelines had not so far been applied to schools with a unitary system—even if there were de facto segregation there.

"It is our constitutional duty to dis-establish the dual system," Seeley said. "That is the job we have been given to do by Congress."

**GRADUAL COMPLIANCE**

He said in answer to later questions that the guidelines were an effort to effect gradual compliance of Southern school systems with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and that forced compliance — advocated by some congressmen—could be immediate and complete under the law.

Gov. Lester Maddox later spoke to the school board members at a banquet at the Biltmore.

He said that during his campaign he visited practically every county and individual school district.

"The people have told me what they want," the governor said.

"They want a public school system equal to or better than

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

# Educators, U.S. Aides Toss Barbs

Continued from Page 1

any in the nation . . . and they want every child regardless of his station or where he lives to be prepared to take his or her place on an equal basis with every other child in the country."

Gov. Maddox told of the budget plans of his administration for $1 billion for public and higher education in the state over the next two years.

In the panel discussion, the school board members were not satisfied with some of Seeley's answers, and asked the same questions again and again in trying to get clarification. These questions concerned the "freedom of choice" plan and reconciliation of this plan with guidelines percentages of Negro attendance at formerly all-white schools.

**A CHOICE**

Seeley said that he considered "freedom of choice" plans as compliance with the law. At this answer, one of the school board members asked him to reconcile that answer with the definite instructions his board had received to get a higher percentage of Negroes into formerly all-white schools.

The panel of questioners included E. Jean Wise of the Americus City Board of Education; Ed Cole of the Newnan City Board of Education; W. L. Robinson of the Fulton County Board of Education; and A. D. Clifton of the Candler County Schools.

FED. POLICY

# Senators to Help Wallace Fight $95 Million Cutoff

AC 1/26/69

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A sympathetic Senate Finance committee volunteered Wednesday to pressure federal officials not to cut off $95.8 million in Alabama welfare funds Feb. 28 as scheduled.

Chairman Russell B. Long, D.-La., said he thought Alabama had a "strong case" in the controversy after hearing testimony from former Gov. George C. Wallace and other state spokesmen.

Long said he would send a record of the testimony to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and ask Secretary John W. Gardner to defend his decision to approve the cutoff.

Wallace, speaking as "special assistant" to the present governor, his wife Lurleen, told the committee Wednesday that Gardner's action was "arbitrary and beyond the law."

Wallace spoke before four sympathetic southerners including Georgia Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, who helped him occasionally with pointed questions.

"Alabama is in full compliance with the law," Wallace insisted at the hearing. "All we have refused to do is to sign a little piece of paper which we think is beyond the law."

The paper is a promise to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, required of all southern states seeking HEW funds. Alabama is the only state which has not signed the pledge.

Wallace contented that the compliance promise, as well as federal desegregation guidelines for welfare facilities, are not authorized by the civil rights act.

"We'll abide by any regulations which the courts say are legal," Wallace told the commit-

Continued on Page 10, Column 5

# Senators to Help Wallace on Funds

Continued from Page 1

tee. "We say these regulations are illegal."

During questioning, Talmadge said he thought the cutoff would have the most drastic effect on "the sick, lame and blind persons" who normally depend on Alabama's welfare services.

"I can't understand how anyone can feel he ought to punish 200,000 people simply because some state officials didn't sign a piece of paper," Talmadge said.

"It doesn't relate to discrimination in any way, shape or form."

Earlier, Wallace had made a similar plea: "If someone violates the law," he said, "punish him, punish me but don't punish all those poor people."

**DENIES CHARGES**

Wallace told the committee that contrary to Gardner's charges, there is no racial discrimination in Alabama's welfare facilities.

"We wouldn't want to discriminate even if there wasn't any law," Wallace said, "and we have not discriminated."

He said HEW officials were trying to force the state to be a "third party" in compelling private physicians to desegregate their waiting rooms and forcing nursing homes to admit everyone.

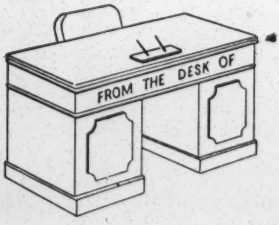
"We don't think that any state agency should be required to tell a doctor what kind of waiting room he should have," Wallace said.

Asked later why only seven per cent of the state's nursing home patients are Negro, Wallace said: "I think it's a credit to the Negro race that when their people get old they want to keep them at home with them instead of sending them off somewhere."

The only challenge to Wallace and the string of Alabama congressmen appearing with him came from Sen. Vance Hartke, D-Ind., who charged Alabama was trying to get away with as little compliance as possible.

Wallace admitted that there was still some segregation in Alabama, but told Hartke, "there's just as much in Indiana."

Federal compliance officers are expected to appear Thursday at a second session of hearings. The Finance Committee has no actual power to reverse HEW's decision.




MARVIN CAPLAN

SCHOOL DESEG.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMPLIANCE AND ENFORCEMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Present: Charles Wittenstein (American Jewish Committee), Connie Curry (American Friends), Charles Morgan (ACLU), Samuel Ethridge (NEA), Rev. L.A. Harper (United Church of Christ), Arnold Aronson (Secretary, LCCR), Joseph L. Rauh (LCCR), David Brody (ADL), David Cohen (ADA), Frank Pohlhaus (NAACP-LCCR), Olga Corey (LCCR), Marvin Caplan (LCCR).

With attendance reduced by the blizzard, those present directed their discussion principally to one issue: whether the school desegregation guidelines should be abolished or strengthened and if strengthened, how.

There was general agreement that responsibilities under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 call for abolition of the dual school system. There was recognition of the need for some sort of standard to measure the extent to which progress was being made toward this objective and the following criteria were agreed upon:

1. The burden for compliance must be placed on the local school boards, not on HEW or the parents. The local boards must show through affirmative action that they are attempting to desegregate their schools and abolish the dual system.

2. Assignment of pupils should be made on a geographic basis and freedom of choice should operate only within a framework of geographic assignments for the purpose of accelerating progress toward the elimination of dual school systems.

3. Within a given school district the presence of all-Negro or all-white schools would require the board to justify the situation or be held in non-compliance.

4. Where, under a geographic assignment policy, there is a substantial variation from a percentage (yet to be determined) in the ratio of Negro to white students in a school or Negro to white teachers on a faculty, the school board would, again, have to justify this or be held in non-compliance.

5. Site selection for new schools must be carried on with a view to seeing that it furthers desegregation and the abolition of the dual school system.

6. In selecting school districts to proceed against, the Office of Education should not confine itself to the most flagrant violators. It should consider moving also against larger areas where education is highly valued, such as De Kalb County, Georgia, areas that are looked up to as leaders in education within a state. Although these districts may violate the law less openly than other areas of the South, they violate it nevertheless and when they get away with it, smaller districts take heart and follow their example.

7. Attempts should be made to require desegregation in athletics, particularly at the university level. The children of the South need heroes and oustanding performances by Negro athlates in integrated athletics would go far toward creating a better climate for desegregation.

8. The Attorney General should be urged to eliminate exemptions for districts under court order; such districts should be required to meet the highest standards of compliance set by the guidelines.

9. We should push for a statement of public policy by Secretary Gardner or the President that would demonstrate to the nation that the federal government means to enforce compliance with the law.

10. The guidelines should be amended now to at least conform to the standards set by the Fifth Circuit Court decision.

11. It was also generally agreed that a document showing how the government perpetuates segregated schools might be helpful in fighting the attacks on the school guidelines.

It was suggested that James Hamilton, Chairman of the Committee, be asked to convene a meeting at some later date to discuss the school guidelines and Northern schools.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

NYT 2/10/67

## COURT WILL REVIEW RULING ON SCHOOLS

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 9 (AP)—The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit agreed today to review its controversial decision ordering public schools to desegregate all grades this fall.

The review by the full 12-judge court has been sought by school boards in Louisiana and Alabama.

The appeals court's ruling last Dec. 29 was a sweeping decision that, if allowed to stand, will affect public schools throughout the South. The review was sought by four school boards in Louisiana and three in Alabama.

The 2-to-1 decision was by a three-judge panel of the 12-judge court. In asking for a review, the defendant school boards argued that the decision setting such far-ranging legal precedent should be made by the full 12-judge court.

"In view of the importance of these cases the petitions for a rehearing en blanc are granted," the appeals court said "The cases will be submitted in briefs only."

Three of the judges said oral arguments should be allowed, but the majority voted to limit the hearing to briefs.

The court directed the school boards to submit their briefs within two weeks. Plaintiffs in the case were given an additional seven days to file their answers.

## Chronic Backaches Laid To the Strain of Standing

NEW ORLEANS (UPI)—As if still being penalized by nature for daring to get up off all fours, mankind's most common chronic ailments are backaches and neck pains caused by constant strain on vertebral ligaments.

This is the view of an expert on spinal problems, Dr. Richard S. Koch of Olympia, Wash.

Addressing the American Osteopathic College of Sclerotherapy here, Dr. Koch attributed most recurrent neck and back pains to poor posture and and skeletal defects.

He said the way many people habitually sit, stand and walk often puts undue stress on spinal ligaments that eventually weaken and, in turn, produce pain.

SCHOOL DESEG

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1967.

# New Approach to de Facto Segregation in North Is Tested

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—The Federal Government is making a quiet but potentially significant effort to ease the hitherto intractable problem of de facto segregation in the North.

The effort is modest in dollar terms, involving only $20-million, less than 1 per cent of the expenditures during the first two years of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

But some Federal officials—including those at the Office of Education—believe that the new approach is capable of expansion, and they are actively promoting it in school districts across the nation.

The thrust of the effort is to get local communities to attack de facto segregation — caused not by official policy but by residential patterns—with funds from Title I and Title III of the act.

Title I provides school aid for disadvantaged children. Title III provides grants to help establish supplementary education centers and encourages other innovative techniques.

Other approaches to de facto segregation in the North have not been successful. Efforts to invoke Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in federally assisted programs, have failed because Title VI outlaws only segregation through separate school systems for whites and Negroes.

The Government has found it very difficult to show conclusively that segregated schools in the North have been caused by anything other than residential patterns.

The use of Title I and Title III funds to overcome de facto segregation is set forth in some detail in supplementary testimony submitted by the Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, to the civil rights subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Howe appeared before the subcommittee in December and, at the subcommittee's request, later submitted data listing the local educational projects in the North that used Federal funds to combat segregated schools.

The testimony shows that under Title I, 17 localities are receiving about $16,340,000 to provide education help for mixed groups of white and Negro children. Most of this is funneled to New York, where $14,559,839 is being used to "promote quality integrated education" for 289,419 impoverished children.

According to the testimony, the New York program is aimed at providing transportation of children from predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican schools to other schools. Mr. Howe insisted however, that the Office of Education funds were used not primarily for busing of students, but for improved instruction and administrative expenses.

Under Title III, 28 school districts—including four receiving Title I funds—are receiving $3,013,925 for a wide variety of experimental programs, including special language centers for Spanish-speaking children and innovative curriculum planning for minority group children.

The largest single grant under Title III was awarded last week to Los Angeles. With $474,488 in Federal funds, Los Angeles will begin a program aimed at improving five high schools and four junior high schools in and near the Watts ghetto to the point where they will become attractive to students, including whites, from other parts of the city.

### Upgrading Schools

The Los Angeles project provides perhaps the most dramatic example of the potential uses of title III funds to overcome de facto segregation, but other communities have also seized upon the idea of upgrading existing schools, or creating whole new "educational parks" to attract both white and Negro students.

Planning grants to study the feasibility of educational parks have been awarded to Berkeley, Calif., San Jose, Calif., Syracuse, N.Y., East Orange, N.J., and Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia.

Mr. Howe emphasized that the uses to which Federal funds were put were not controlled from Washington. He said that all the Title I and III programs used to promote racial balance in Northern schools were provided in response to "local option, without requirement and because these communities wished to do this kind of thing."

He acknowledged, however, that the Office of Education was "trying very hard to persuade school districts which have problems of de facto segregation to make use of our various programs to have some useful influence on these problems."

## 2 Named to Academy Board

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 (AP)—President Johnson announced today the appointment of Jess Larson, president of the Air Force Association, as a member of the board of visitors to the United States Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. Mr. Johnson also reappointed Houston H. Harte, president of the Express Publishing Company, San Antonio, Tex.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1967.

# Suit Seeks to Widen Basic Racial Law

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12—An aggressive legal attack on de facto discrimination against Negroes and the poor in the public schools of the District of Columbia is nearing a conclusion here. Its effect could be felt in every large city and suburb in the land.

Seven months of argument ended last week in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. A ruling is expected soon, and the appeal—considered a certainty no matter what the outcome—will then go to the United States Supreme Court.

The decision there, lawyers here believe, could greatly enlarge the current law against racial discrimination in cities, particularly in large Northern cities with growing Negro populations.

The long and complex case—it has already accumulated 7,000 pages of transcript and 500 exhibits—is an attempt to break through the settled boundaries of the basic ruling on school desegregation handed down 13 years ago by the Supreme Court.

The objective of the Negro plaintiffs is to bring de facto segregation—that is, discrimination through economic and social behavior, such as the flight of middle class white families to the suburbs—under the same constitutional prohibitions as those placed on de jure segregation, or discrimination by law.

### Economics a Factor

An element of economic class in the suit was believed to be unusual. For the first time in such a civil rights suit, according to lawyers here, poor families of all races are also the plaintiffs. The suit contends that de facto discrimination is directed at low-income neighborhood schools generally, regardless of race.

The case is regarded as important because it seeks a sweeping extension of judicial authority.

Julius Hobson, a militant Negro civil rights spokesman here who is the chief plaintiff in the suit, has sought to limit the scope of the case to the District of Columbia alone.

He wants the court to enjoin further use of Washington's controversial track system, which groups students according to ability, and he wants a court order requiring an equal distribution to all schools of funds, teachers and equipment.

### 'You Can't Do It'

Mr. Hobson insisted in an interview yesterday that he was interested in "quality education for Negroes, not in racial balance in a city where 93 per cent of the students are Negroes, because I do not believe that is possible."

For the court to try to enforce racial balance under these circumstances, Mr. Hobson said, "would be throwing the baby out with the bath—you can't do it."

But the issues and circumstances of the suit are nonetheless controversial because, should the plaintiffs win a favorable decision, the judicial remedies proposed by their attorneys are regarded as novel, if not drastic.

In final briefs, filed this week with Judge J. Skelly Wright of the Federal Appeals Court here, the plaintiffs propose that the court appoint a receiver or special administrator for the city school system to carry out the reforms the court may order.

The plaintiffs' brief suggests that the court could direct the imposition of additional tax support for the city schools, including a city payroll tax that would hit hardest at suburban commuters.

It also raises anew a controversial suggestion, that Judge Wright could conceivably order a merger, under a Federal receiver's direction, of the city and suburban school systems.

### Judge's Views Recalled

All the suburban school systems have more money, better teachers, newer buildings, and only a small number of Negro students. In the Washington area, the suburban schools are in two separate state jurisdictions, those of Maryland and Virginia.

The significance of this proposal has been heightened by the fact that in February, 1965, Judge Wright delivered a lecture at the New York University Law School in which he declared that the Federal courts would ultimately require urban-suburban school mergers to achieve an area-wide racial balance in metropolitan centers.

"In his lecture, Judge Wright called it "inconceivable that the Supreme Court will long sit idly by watching Negro children crowded into inferior slum schools while whites flee to the suburbs to place their children in vastly superior, predominantly white schools."

Judge Wright's views on this question were regarded as so clear that lawyers for the city moved early in the trial to disqualify him, a motion he denied.

This week Judge Wright made another statement which, it is believed, further clarified his views. In a vigorous dissent from the majority opinion of Judges Charles Fahy and Wilbur K. Miller, Judge Wright upheld Mr. Hobson's contention in a separate part of the same suit, that the school board here is acting unconstitutionally because it is appointed by the judges of the United States District Court rather than elected.

Thus, although the Negro plaintiffs lost that point of their suit, they obtained strong support from Judge Wright, who is hearing the de facto discrimination issues of the suit separately and alone.

2/15/67

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

SCHOOL DESEG.

# Fire Guideline Aide, Rep. Landrum Urges

## U.S. Civil Rights Officer Called Unfit by Georgian

By WAYNE KELLEY
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15—Rep. Phil Landrum, D-Ga., Wednesday called for dismissal of the U.S. Office of Education's top civil rights compliance officer in the wake of a bitter dispute involving Georgia school officials.

Rep. Landrum, dean of the Georgia delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives, charged that David S. Seeley, assistant commissioner for equal educational opportunities, "is not fit for the post he holds."

The 9th District congressman made his blunt statement after Mr. Seeley released the text of a scathing letter he had written to Jack Acree, executive director of the Georgia School Boards Association (GSBA).

The GSBA has been feuding with Mr. Seeley for more than a year over federal enforcement of public desegregation guidelines.

**IN HIS LETTER**, dated Feb. 8, Mr. Seeley repeated a charge he made at a GSBA convention in Atlanta on Jan. 23 that there is "a major campaign in Georgia to dissuade school systems from complying with the guidelines."

The GSBA passed a resolution denying the charge, expressing its resentment of the allegation, and calling upon Mr. Seeley "to either retract his statement or to support same with irrefutable evidence."

Mr. Seeley's reply last week blasted the "actions and statements" of some Georgia educational and political leaders concerning the desegregation issue.

The Office of Education official wrote that in 100 of Georgia's 196 school districts there is still "complete segregation of their regular classroom teaching staffs."

He added that "more than 50 districts have 98 per cent or more of their Negro students still attending segregated all-Negro schools.

**"IN TALKING** with school superintendents and school board members throughout Georgia, there is no question in our minds but that one of the major reasons why so little action has been taken to desegregate the schools is that local resistance to

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## HE CAUGHT 40 RATTLERS IN ROUNDUP

MOULTRIE, Ga., Feb. 15 (AP) — One man caught 40 rattlesnakes, more than anyone else, in the fourth annual rattlesnake roundup here last weekend.

He was Q. L. Bridges, whose catch was almost one-third of the total 121 snakes caught. Largest captured was a 10-pound rattler, snared by Jack Adams of the Berlin community.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ing staffs.

He added that "more than 50 districts have 98 per cent or more of their Negro students still attending segregated all-Negro schools.

"IN TALKING with school superintendents and school board members throughout Georgia, there is no question in our minds but that one of the major reasons why so little action has been taken to desegregate the schools is that local resistance to desegregation has received strong support from the various actions and statements of educational and other leaders in the state," Mr. Seeley said.

The Office of Education official cited newspaper accounts of statements and actions by various state and educational officials to back up his charges.

Mr. Seeley did not name individuals, but claimed published accounts showed:

—The president of the GSBA and a member of the state Board of Education joined a committee to fight the guidelines.

—"A high state school official charged publicly . . . that the Office of Education was violating the law."

—Several "Georgia lawmakers" accused the federal government of exercising "unjustified and tyrannical use of power."

—A "high Georgia legal official" advised school superintendents not to file assurances of compliance required of districts operating under desegregation plans.

MR. ACREE and the GSBA have been openly critical of the guidelines and of the activities of compliance officers in Georgia.

An elected official close to Georgia educators said Wednesday that the GSBA had done little to ease the desegregation situation in the state.

"Jack Acree and some of those people are just inflexible," the official stated.

But if Mr. Acree was "inflexible," the actions of Mr. Seeley struck Rep. Landrum as "intolerable."

The congressman is a highly respected Southern moderate. President Johnson even stopped off in Rep. Landrum's home district in 1964 to put in a plug for his re-election.

The Georgia congressman has been privately critical for some time of Mr. Seeley's attitude on guideline compliance. The Seeley letter released Tuesday afternoon was apparently the last straw.

"SEELEY is just wholly unreasonable," Rep. Landrum asserted. "He and his kind (compliance lawyers) don't give a darn for education. They are interested in integration and not schools."

The congressman said he felt John W. Gardner, secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Education Commissioner Harold Howe II should replace Mr. Seeley and other compliance officers with experienced educators.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

# U.S. Compliance Chief Turns Fire on Georgia Educators

AC 2/15/67

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Georgia's educators have done more to stir up resentment and mislead the public over the federal school guidelines than those in any other Southern state, a U.S. Office of Education official has charged.

Assistant commissioner David S. Seeley said the Georgians' statements have had the effect of "arousing hostility . . . misleading the public . . . and discouraging assumption of local responsibility" for desegregation.

Seeley, the nation's chief school compliance officer, made the statement in a Feb. 8 letter to Jack Acree, president of the Georgia School Boards Association. (GSBA)

The letter, released Tuesday by the Office of Education, was a direct reply to last month's GSBA resolution demanding that Seeley either prove or retract an earlier attack on Georgia school compliance.

In a speech at GSBA's annual convention Jan. 23, Seeley had charged there is "a major campaign in Georgia to dissuade school systems from complying with the guidelines."

The two-and-a-half page letter, latest in a series of clashes between Seeley and the GSBA, was a sharply worded answer to the organization's demand that Seeley support his Jan. 23 statement "with irrefutable evidence."

The assistant commissioner listed five separate incidents and statements to document his earlier charges—including some by officers of the GSBA.

Seeley pointed out that GSBA officers were directly involved in a committee formed in March, 1966, expressly "to fight" the just-issued federal desegregation guidelines.

Three months later, Seeley said, "a high state school of-

Continued on Page 14, Column 2

# U.S. Compliance Chief Hits Georgia Educators

Continued from Page 1

ficial charged publicly . . . that the Office of Education was violating the law, and indicated that local school superintendents should not comply . . ."

Seeley said these and other public statements appeared to be "clearly part of the campaign to encourage resistance to compliance throughout the state.

"In fact, in our experience," Seeley said, "leading educational officials in Georgia have been more active in this kind of activity than those in other states, including Alabama and Mississippi . . ."

The Office of Education official said that after talking with school administrators throughout Georgia he was convinced that local educators were responsible for the large number of school districts not in compliance.

"There is no question in our minds but that one of the major reasons why so little action has been taken . . . is that local resistance to desegregation has received strong support from the various actions and statements of educational and other leaders in the state," he said.

Seeley said that next to Alabama and Mississippi, Georgia has more school districts which have been cited for non-compliance than any other state.

Almost 100 Georgia districts —more than half the total number — still maintain segregated faculties, Seeley said, and more than 50 districts have 98 per cent of Negro pupils attending separate schools.

Seeley said his earlier remarks "were not intended to offend anyone" but that he made the statements only "because I believe Georgians interested in education would want to think about it."

The letter was the first such sharp attack Seeley has made against a state school board association.

An Office of Education spokesman said the assistant commissioner had felt it necessary to reply to this one, "because he has never been nailed to the wall this badly before."

# Howe Backs Aide's Blast At Georgia Educators

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By ART PINE

Constitution Washington Bureau AC 2/17/67

WASHINGTON — U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe Thursday fully endorsed an assistant's charge that Georgia educators have stirred up hostility over federal school guidelines.

However, he emphasized that the remarks contained in a letter written by Assistant Commission David S. Seeley were not meant to apply to every educator in Georgia.

Harold Howe

Howe said he thought Seeley made "relatively a valid judgment" when he charged that Georgia educators had done more than those in other states to support resistance to school desegregation.

"But," he said, "if I had written the letter, I might have added that we're not trying to say that there has been no cooperation at all."

The letter, which Seeley sent to Jack Acree, president of the Georgia School Board's Association, to back up his earlier criticisms, drew sharp reaction this week from several of the state's congressmen.

Howe cited Georgia State Superintendent Jack Nix as an example of a "public official who has shown willingness to cooperate constructively in trying to work out a solution to compliance problems."

Just the same, the commissioner said, "I would have to agree there has been considerable public criticism of the guidelines on the part of some Georgia educators and officials.

"A voluntary leadership plan can't operate without positive spirit on the part of public officials," Howe said.

DAY

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

February 21, 1967

Mr. Joshua B. Zatman, Director
Resources & Materials Center
Equal Educational Opportunities Program, OEO
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Mr. Zatman:

Thank you for the thoughtfulness and sending the material on the 16th. It is being passed on to our Research Department.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

2/16/67

TO Paul Anthony

from the desk of Joshua B. Zatman
Director
Resources & Materials Center
Equal Educational Opportunities Program, OE
Washington, D.C. 20202

Area Code: 202 - 962-6281
Gov't Code: 13 - 26281

## Arkansas

The Searcy Independent School District, approximately 50 miles North of Little Rock, has achieved complete desegregation. The school system has absorbed all its 168 Negro students into schools attended by 2,000 white students. In the 1965-66 school year, Searcy had less than a third of its Negro students in school on a desegregated basis. In the 1964-65 school year, Searcy was fully segregated. Superintendent, James W. Ahlf.

The Jonesboro Independent School District has desegregated 64 percent of the Negro students in the current school year, up from 6.7 percent the previous year, involving some massive changes in historical enrollment patterns. Superintendent, C. H. Geis.

## Georgia

On August, 29, 1966, the Baker County School District was notified that a Federal hearing examiner had recommended termination of its Federal assistance because of racial discrimination. The school administration then moved to admit 99 Negro students into predominantly white schools, immediately creating serious tension in the white and Negro communities.

The Atlanta Daily World published a news article on October 6, 1966, which stated that Negro parents were threatending to boycott all Baker County School "if nothing is done to halt harassment and inequities directed at Negro students."

The article said the sheriff had done nothing about white youths who pointed pistols at Negro students. Several Negro students said they had been attacked at school, and subjected to insults by teachers, principals, and bus drivers.

On November 1, the Baker County Board of Education passed a forcefully-worded resolution which was distributed to all students, teachers, and school staff, and which brought an end to much of the mistreatment. Three weeks later the Federal assistance was restored for Baker County. The positive and well-publicized commitment of the school board to desegregation is credited by NSOF staff for the relative success accomplished in Baker in the face of fierce community opposition. Superintendent, H. E. Hall.

In Floyd County, Ga., the school district abandoned a freedom of choice plan in favor of geographic zoning, and full desegregated its student body. This year, the Floyd County schools have 618 Negro students in formerly all white schools, ending a harsh discriminatory system that had involved transportation of almost all of the Negro children in the county system to Negro schools in Rome, Ga. In addition, Floyd County made a better beginning in faculty desegregation than many other Georgia district. Superintendent, H. A. Lindsey.

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## Florida

Okeechobee County is a rural area which had operated a dual school system prior to the 1965-66 school year. The usual dire predictions of racial violence preceded efforts of the school district to desegregate successfully under a freedom of choice plan. At the beginning of the 1965-66 school year, all but about eight Negro high school students elected to enter the white high school. As a result, the former Negro high school was closed and all students assigned to other schools. Okeechobee is perhaps most noteworthy because freedom of choice worked. After it desegregated, the community went about its business in relative peace. The school system this year is almost fully desegregated. Superintendent, Carl T. Durrance.

Osceola County, Fla., moved from 21.3 percent desegregation of its Negro students in 1965-66 to 60 percent in the current school year. About 640 of the 4300 students in Osceola are Negro. Superintendent, William D. Stephens.

Manatee County, Fla., provides an excellent example of success under capable school leadership. Manatee has enrolled 500 of its 3800 Negro students in school with white children (approximately 15 percent). Partly responsible for Manatee's progress is a newsletter issued by the school superintendent, which said:

"We believe we are dealing with more than the force of the Federal government. We are facing the consciences of a public which increasingly believes that the racial injustices of the past century must at long last be corrected. The pressures of the times--not the rioting on the streets, but the convictions of decent and thoughtful people across the country--demand that we no longer maintain a first and second class of citizenship."

The newsletter, issued February 1, 1967, is signed by J. Hartley Blackburn, Manatee superintendent. (See copy of front page, attached). In addition to student desegregation, Manatee has assigned 25 fulltime teachers "across racial lines."

## North Carolina

Moore County, N.C., attributes part of its success in desegregation to a project funded by Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, preparing school personnel for problems growing out of desegregation. The school system has desegregated 62.5 percent of its Negro students. Thirteen of its 15 schools are desegregated, and 16 Negro teachers are in schools attended predominantly by white students. Superintendent, R. E. Lee.

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## North Carolina

Cabarrus County, N.C., with a total of 9,200 students, has assigned all its 1100 Negro students to school on a desegregated basis by switching from freedom of choice plan to geographic attendance areas. Cabarrus, which had achieved 18.5 percent desegregation of its schools under freedom of choice in 1965-66, no longer has an all-Negro school. In addition, desegregated faculty and bus transportation. The county formerly bussed Negro to a city school while white students attended school in their neighborhood. Superintendent, J. H. Robinson.

## Texas

Sherman Independent School District, said to be the locale of the last Negro lynching in Texas 30 years ago, is in the Eastern part of the State with the same population makeup that is found in Northern Louisiana. The school districtchas 710 Negro students, 3,918 white students. It has enrolled 589 Negro students in schools on a desegregated basis. In addition, considerable progress is being accomplished in other East Texas areas--Paris and Tyler among them. Superintendent, Byron Davis. Excellent source and contact to open doors in the area is C. P. (Cap) Landolt, former Sherman school superintendent who is now a regional compliance officer for Equal Educational Opportunities Program. Landolt is in the Dallas regional office.

## Virginia

Amherst County exemplifies a rural county's dual-personality approach to ending the dual school system. The school district has approximately 5100 students, of which about one-third are Negro. Some 10 percent of the Negro students are now in formerly white schools, largely because of leadership of the school superintendent, Tyler Fulcher. While the school district is making progress in desegregation, it is also the locale of a newly-established private school which serves as an escape hatch for white students running from segregation. (See clipping of news story by Peter A. Janssen of Newhouse Newspapers).

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

# Wallace Sketches Plan To Defy U.S. Court Order

AC 3/22/67

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP)—Former Gov. George Wallace outlined to Alabama legislators Tuesday a bold new plan to defy a federal court order for statewide school desegregation.

It is based on the contention that the state's police power is greater than the authority of a three-judge court which handed down the school decision last week.

Wallace, speaking for his wife, Gov. Lurleen Wallace, called the legislators in groups and discussed with them what Mrs. Wallace might say in her speech to the House and Senate Thursday night.

The address will be broadcast statewide by radio and television.

One legislator said the plan outlined by the former governor seeks to put the schools under control of the chief executive and say to the federal court, in effect, that it has violated state law.

Details are still being worked out, the legislator said, but it could lead to another major federal-state showdown and perhaps a challenge to the courts to put a woman governor in jail for contempt.

Each member of the legislature was given a copy of the bulky federal court decree during the conference with Wallace and urged to study it carefully.

Wallace reportedly told the legislators there is no question of the state seizing control of the schools from the city and county boards. He was quoted as saying the federal court has already done that.


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# Speed Desegregation, HEW Official Warns

SCHOOL DESEG.

3/30/67 AJ

## Maddox Attacks Court Ruling Affecting Schools in 6 States

By WAYNE KELLEY and JOHN ASKINS

A majority of some 200 Southern school districts operating under federal court orders must do more to desegregate under a 5th Circuit Court of Appeals decision, an official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) said Thursday.

But Peter Libassi, special assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for civil rights matters, warned school officials not to interpret the 5th Circuit ruling as an order covering every district in six Southern states.

"The decision says that districts in the 5th Circuit operating under court orders must now be brought up to the standards of the ruling," Mr. Libassi stated.

These "standards" set forth by the 5th Circuit are essentially the same as the controversial HEW guidelines which require faculty desegregation and substantial progress in student integration.

**GEORGIA CURRENTLY** has 11 school districts which are operating under federal court orders. They are the Atlanta city schools, Moultrie city schools, and the county systems of Bibb, Colquitt, Dougherty, Glynn, Houston, Muscogee, Chatham, Richmond and Taliaferro.

An informed source in Washington said that some of the Georgia districts under court orders were actually doing more to desegregate than was required by the 5th Circuit ruling.

No information was immedi-

**Turn to Page 10, Column 2**

# INTEGRATE

Continued from Page 1

ately available on whether any of the Georgia districts would be required to do more.

The status of school districts not under a federal court order remains unchanged, Mr. Libassi said. The HEW official stated that local school officials would be "grossly misled" if they thought otherwise.

"Any district that does not want federal funds does not have to comply with the HEW guidelines," Mr. Libassi added.

**HOWEVER, HE** pointed out, the Justice Department, acting on the complaint of any resident of a school district, may initiate legal action resulting in court-ordered desegregation.

Gov. Lester Maddox called the court decision "sad and unbelievable . . . ungodly and criminal."

"This is another blow at local control of education and another blow at education," Gov. Maddox said.

"It's an insult to the children, both white and Negro, the parents and the faculty to have to conform to this encroachment on liberty. The federal government is placing integration ahead of education and the welfare of the people."

Maddox said the people indicated in the Nov. 8 general election that "they are sick of this federal encroachment striking at the heart and soul of liberty and freedom."

**DR. SMITH** said he didn't foresee much impact in Georgia of the ruling even when it applies to the state.

"All systems in Georgia now have on paper all grades desegregated," he said. "I don't know of any systems whose freedom of choice plans don't include all grades."

The 5th Circuit ruling applies only to the states within its jurisdiction — Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas.

Approximately 200 school systems in the six southern states are currently under court order to desegregate their public schools.

**"I WOULD** say a majority of the existing court orders do not meet the letter of the 5th Circuit court decision," Mr. Libassi said.

Any southern school district faced with a loss of federal funds could qualify for approval "within a week," the HEW civil rights official commented.

In Atlanta, School Superintendent John Letson said the ruling will have little effect on his system.

"We have been fully desegregated for some time," he said. "At least, all grades have."

He conceded there are schools in the city attended by many more Negroes than whites, but he said the Negro students have an option to go to predominantly white schools.

**REGARDING FACULTY** assignments, he said, "We have made a beginning, even before we were required to do so. We are attempting to proceed in accordance with desirable personnel practices.

"There are many teachers of good will interested in taking a different assignment racially.

# Negro Phase-Out In Teaching Seen

SCHOOL DESEG

AJ 3/30/67

By DON WINTER

Mergers between Southern white and Negro teacher groups should be carefully considered since they often mean "the phasing out of the Negro," the Georgia Teachers and Education Association has been warned.

Combining of white and Negro associations in border states has resulted in the disappearance of the Negro organization's name, buildings, assets, staff and program, said John Kermit Haynes, executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association.

In short, Mr. Haynes said, "integration has been a unilateral process."

**MR. HAYNES'** Wednesday night speech to the opening banquet of the three-day GTEA convention was given a standing ovation. GTEA Executive Secretary H. E. Tate commended it to the local unit leaders, reminding them that merger between GTEA and the white Georgia Education Association is in the works.

Committees appointed by both groups last year will submit plans to the National Education Association in May. If the NEA approves, the plans will be voted on by GTEA and GEA conventions in 1968.

However, Mr. Haynes addressed himself to more than the fate of GTEA. He made it clear that the South has experienced a "good amount of desegregation, but no degree of integration."

Specifically, he said, Southern-style integration places "the burden on Negroes . . . And in nearly every case, the Negro administrator and teacher can expect to lose."

**HE POINTED** out that in Kentucky, where almost complete desegregation has been effected, the number of Negro principals has declined from a segregated 75 to an integrated three.

In another border state, he said, a friend of his had served as principal of a Negro high school for many years. Then, with integration, his school was changed to a junior high school, and the counselor of the formerly white high school was made principal. The Negro administrator was demoted to assistant principal at the integrated high school.

The final insult, Mr. Haynes said, was the changing of the former Negro school's name. In honor of long service, the building had been named for its Negro principal. "But they said it couldn't have that name if whites were to attend," Mr. Haynes said.

Mr. Haynes also noted that once "integration" comes, Negro students must transfer to white schools and Negro schools are sometimes closed down, or receive no new white pupils.

Even more "devastating," he said, was the treatment of Negro teachers. If the system is integrated, it relies heavily on white teachers. He pointed to Charlotte, N.C., which hired 600 teachers last year, 14 of them Negroes.

**HE URGED GTEA** members to protest against the trend. He said they must be active in the "Negro community" and try to recapture the "position of respectability we once occupied."

Teachers must be leaders, he said, even in the civil rights movement. "I must say with Adam Clayton Powell, 'Keep the faith, baby!' " Mr. Haynes admonished his audience.

Mr. Haynes tied his plea for leadership by teachers to his assessment of the public's opinion of Negro teachers.

A subtle current even in Negro communities seeks to discredit Negro teachers as inferior in training and performance, he said, yet, the evaluation is made by laymen, who "90 per cent of the time . . . would not know a well-run classroom from an outdoor privy."

Others who will speak during the GTEA convention include Georgia Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, 3 p.m. Thursday, and Dr. Martin Luther King at the closing Friday night session.

SCHOOL DESEGR.

**Eugene Patterson**

AC 3/3/67

# One Child, One School

"Sad, unbelievable, unGodly, criminal." Such words have to be discounted, coming from Gov. Lester Maddox, because he has used them so much. He applies them this time to the federal court of appeals finding that the guidelines are legal. What a governor does is more important than what he says, however.

And Gov. Maddox is not interfering with efforts by Georgia school districts to comply with the school desegregation guidelines. Indeed, he feels the schools and the children could be hurt more by defiance than by compliance. By thus negatively reducing the issue to a lesser of two evils conclusion, the governor is enabled to back resolutely into the future while volleying words to the winds.

In the more positive act of stamping the Office of Education guidelines with court sanction, the 5th Circuit Court reminded the South that percentages and racial balances and freedom of choice options are not the goal; they are means to an end which the law requires—dismantling of two school systems based on race, and emergence of one school system in which race is not a factor.

This ultimately will save Georgians a lot of money, among other things, while they raise the level of education for all children, not just white ones.

* * *

The court specified that freedom of choice plans are not enough, if they are failing to move school systems progressively toward the conversion of dual systems into single systems.

This conversion was what the law of 1964 required. The Office of Education guidelines simply took the liberty of making the conversion gradual instead of demanding instant, total change. But the goal which the law requires remains the same—disestablishment of dual schools—and if freedom of choice plans alone cannot achieve progress toward that goal, the court made clear that it is up to the school systems to devise other means of getting there.

For instance, a large number of Georgia school districts where freedom of choice has failed are already making administrative decisions of their own volition to merge their two school systems by other means. Most prevalent is the practice of transferring entire grades.

Superintendents and boards are noting, for example, that it makes good sense, economically and educationally, to move an unusually small grade out of a Negro school entirely and merge it into a large class in the white school—an administrative assignment that makes freedom of choice beside the point. The relatively small number of Negroes being absorbed into a large white class under such conditions makes the level of integration incidental. And the progressive merging of such grades contributes materially to the disassembly of the dual system. This is the kind of action, thought out locally, that the guidelines encourage to achieve the goal that the law demands.

# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

*For 99 Years The South's Standard Newspaper*

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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SCHOOL DESEG.

# The Tortoise Race Is Over

School segregation was sentenced to death in 1954, but its execution has been a long and painful one.

The reason for its longevity was the "deliberate speed" doctrine of 1955. The year before, the court had only stated a principle. It then heard further arguments before deciding how to implement the ruling.

"Deliberate speed" was one of the fairly rare cases in which the court said that a right existed but might not necessarily be exercised right away. Some found it questionable law, but few could argue that the court and the nation faced an enormous practical problem of implementation.

Thirteen years have passed since the 1954 milestone and 12 since the "deliberate speed" ruling. Children not even in school when the first decision was rendered are graduating from high school this spring—many hundreds of thousands of them in segregated schools.

Congress, the most timid branch of government in this matter, finally acted on school segregation in 1964. The Civil Rights Act of that year forbade giving federal funds to school districts failing to make good-faith steps toward elimination of segregation.

The law left the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with its own implementation problem. As guides to what constituted good-faith compliance, it suggested certain minimum standards. These now call for ending the dual system this fall. Some Southern officials have fought HEW as bitterly as they once did the courts. Their favorite argument has been that HEW is asking more than Congress or the courts.

The full Fifth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals has laid that argument to rest. By an 8-4 vote, the appellate court in effect confirmed the general outline of the guidelines. It is not enough to give a child freedom of choice to transfer from a segregated school to an integrated one, the court said; the dual system itself must be abolished. Faculties and facilities as well as students must be integrated.

The Fifth Circuit's ruling technically applies only to some 200 school districts operating under federal court integration orders. But it clearly stands as precedent for any other.

Thus as far as HEW is concerned, a school system may ignore the guidelines if it is willing to give up its federal funds. But as far as the courts are concerned, evasion is at an end. So the dual system is legally dead now, whether a school takes federal funds or not.

The Fifth Circuit's ruling does not touch the difficult problem of *de facto* segregation resulting from city ghetto patterns, North and South. But it does declare an end to the tortoise race which "deliberate speed" had become.

ATLANTA, GA., 30302, FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1967 64 PAGES, 3 SECTIONS ★★★★★ Ten Cents

# Lurleen Requests Right To Seize Public Schools

## Legislature Asked to Defy Court

By REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Gov. Lurleen Wallace asked the Legislature Wednesday night for power to take over Alabama's public schools to defy a federal court integration order.

And, referring to the court which handed down the mandate eight days ago, she said defiantly:

"They have made their decree. Now let them enforce it."

In a speech to the cheering legislators, broadcast throughout the state by radio and television, Mrs. Wallace sought to invoke the police power of the state government to override the court order.

She urged the legislature to "issue a cease and desist order" to the court which last week ordered statewide integration.

**CONSIDER JOBS**

And she asked the House and Senate to consider the employment of additional state troopers "in order that the children of our state be protected."

She told the legislators the court decree must be resisted "in every way possible." And promised solemnly:

"Whatever need be done will be done."

Mrs. Wallace told the jointly assembled House and Senate that the court order — which she said would force the closing of all Negro colleges as well as compel faculty as well as pupil integration of public schools — "is calculated to destroy the school system of Alabama."

Then she added, solemnly: "I am serving notice that whatever power I possess under the constitution of Alabama as governor shall be used to prevent the destruction of our public school system."

And, she added, "those who are responsible" for the court order "had better understand what the people of Alabama mean."

**POLICE POWER**

The governor said the state, by its police power, has the right to "take whatever action which may be necessary to protect the morals, health and welfare of its citizens — the peace and tranquility of its people."

And, she declared, that police power exceeds the authority of the three-judge federal court.

"We must if necessary invoke the police power of this state," she warned.

If a stay is not granted or if an appeal to the Supreme Court fails, Mrs. Wallace said the legislature should give her "all powers heretofore vested in the state superintendent of education, including, but not limited to, supervisory control with re-

Continued on Page 8, Column 1



## Gov. Wallace Asks Control of Schools

Continued from Page 1

gard to our various local boards of education."

She said the local boards and the state's higher institutions "were judged without their day in court," a reference to the fact that only one board, the one in Macon County, was a party to the suit which brought last week's ruling.

In that decision, the court ordered State Supt. Ernest Stone to assume the responsibility for seeing that the integration mandate is carried out.

"Alabama is not the battlefield," Mrs. Wallace declared. "The entire nation is the battlefield. Alabama must win this fight, for if she loses, America loses."

"This (court) order," the governor said, "forces white children to go to all-Negro schools and Negro students to go to predominantly white schools."

**JAIL PARENTS**

However, she continued, "the only way to force students to attend elementary and junior high school is to put their parents in jail."

And, she promised defiantly, "We in Alabama will not put parents in jail for this reason — and we cannot and will not deprive our Negro children and college students of an education by closing all Negro schools.

"If they are closed, the federal courts will close them."

She charged that the court order "was rendered in malice and animosity—malice against a free people who would exercise their sovereign power—animosity against a leadership expressed by Alabamians — through my husband — which begins to bring to this nation a moment of truth."

The governor, paraphrasing the words of President Andrew Jackson to Chief Justice John Marshall, threw down this challenge to the court:

"They have made their decree. Now let them enforce it."

Mrs. Wallace told the legislators that as the mother of four children, "my heart is filled with compassion for all the children of our state. As a mother, I can understand as do other mothers of theis state what they are attempting to do to our children."

"This," she declared, "is the final step toward a complete takeover of their hearts and minds. This is what Hitler did in Germany."

The governor's challenging words were reminiscent of those of her husband, former Gov. George C. Wallace, during his four years as Alabama's chief executive.

Wallace, whose term as governor ended last Jan. 16, the day his wife took office, is known as a symbol of segregationist resistance and a self-styled champion of states rights and what he calls constitutional government.

**EYES WHITE HOUSE**

And he is an almost certain candidate for president in next year's election. He ran in presidential primaries in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland in 1964 and received a surprisingly strong vote, then withdrew after former Sen. Barry Goldwater won the Republican presidential nomination.

A year earlier, Wallace had made a widely publicized stand in the doorway of the University of Alabama in an unsuccessful attempt to block the admittance of two Negro students and in an effort to dramatize the clash between state and federal authority.

The present governor's resistance, and that of her husband, was intensified on the eve of her appearance before the legislature when the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that six Southern states, including Alabama, must integrate their schools at the start of the fall term this year.

# Georgians Urge House Halt Office of Education Funds

School Deseg

AC 4/17/67

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In what appears to be a new twist, Georgia's 10 congressmen have asked the House to cut off appropriations to the U.S. Office of Education for violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Georgians contend the agency is violating the law by requiring school districts to reassign teachers and pupils to form integrated classes where free choice plans do not work out.

As "proof" they point to a clause in the act that specifies that desegregation shall not mean "assignment of students —so as to overcome racial imbalance."

And they have asked appropriations subcommittee Chairman Daniel Flood to see that his panel does not approve funds that the Office of Education will use "for continuation of such policies."

The request was contained in a letter to Flood circulated this week among a large number of Southerners and conservatives in the House.

All 10 Georgians signed the letter, it was reliably reported.

The group also asked Flood to make certain that school districts which did no more than assign students "without regard to race" as specified in the Civil Rights Act were given access to all federal aid.

In effect, the letter asked the House not to permit the Office of Education to require schools to go beyond their free choice plans in order to insure that Negroes and whites attend together.

A Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision earlier this month said school districts must take other steps to desegregate their facilities if Negro students do not take advantage of the freedom of choice plans.

The letter charged that Office of Education policies had "promoted the Atomic Energy Commission" to refuse to send educational films to schools which met the letter of the civil rights law.

Also, the letter charged, the agency had "caused the Department of Defense to threaten to deny research contracts to institutions which refused to recruit students and faculty based on race."

The letter charged the Office of Education with trying to "exercise direction, supervision and control over school personnel, including faculty assignments, in violation of the intent" of federal regulations.


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The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW" 4/24/67

# 43 School Units Facing Fund Loss

## State's Stake $8.5 Million In U.S. Guideline Hassle

By WAYNE KELLEY
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, April 24—Forty-three Georgia school districts face a possible loss of more than $8.5 million in federal aid funds because of desegregation compliance problems, a survey shows.

The districts, all relatively small and many with pressing financial difficulties, have been cited by the U.S. Office of Education for failure to comply with federal desegregation guidelines.

Six Georgia school systems have already lost approximately $1 million as the result of final termination orders from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

**THESE FIGURES** are compiled from preliminary allocations of 1967 federal funds under two acts, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the National Defense Education Act.

The $8.5 million estimate for the 43 systems currently at odds with the federal guidelines is low since it does not include all sources of federal aid.

Federal funds for the school lunch and school milk programs, vocational education programs and aid to federally affected areas are not included.

Spokesmen for the U.S. Office of Education said they had no record of total federal aid received by each school system. Attorneys working with the HEW in compliance cases once asked for the information but never received it, a reliable source said.

**ALLOCATIONS** available to school systems under Title I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Title III and V of the National Defense Education Act, provide

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## CASEY JONES COLLEAGUE DIES AT 93

MEMPHIS, April 24 (AP) — Avery Warner, engineer of the "Cannonball Express" that took Casey Jones on his death ride, has died here. He was 93.

Warner brought the Illinois Central train into the Memphis station 67 years ago and turned the throttle over to John Luther (Casey) Jones. Jones died that same night and became part of American folklore when his locomotive crashed into a freight train at Vaughan, Miss.

Warner started railroading as a fireman in 1895 and became an engineer three years later.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# Suits on Guidelines Hinted by Maddox

Gov. Lester Maddox says federal decrees are threatening

as a fireman in 1895 and became an engineer three years later.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# Suits on Guidelines Hinted by Maddox

Gov. Lester Maddox says federal decrees are threatening to destroy Georgia's progress in education and he indicated he will fight federal desegregation guidelines in court.

In a speech delivered to the Dykes High School Parent-Teacher Association Sunday, the governor said he will do everything in his power "to assure that control of our schools remains in the hand of local officials."

Gov. Maddox recently returned from a governors' conference in Montgomery, where he joined Alabama Gov. Lurleen Wallace, Louisiana Gov. John McKeithen and Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson in issuing a statement promising to fight federal guidelines in the courts.

He told the Dykes PTA Sunday that he advocates "what I believe is an orderly path—and that is through the courts.

"This is the American system. "None of us wants lawlessness and disorder in the streets."

**THE GOVERNOR** also had a good deal to say about the progress of education in Georgia.

"The State of Georgia must open the door of progress to all children and young people within its borders," he said. "We will do this only if we provide them the best possible education our state government can afford."

Gov. Maddox said his administration has shown its interest in education by passing the largest budget for education in the state's history and by providing record salary increases for teachers.

**THESE FIGURES** are compiled from preliminary allocations of 1967 federal funds under two acts, the Elementary and

Spokesmen for the U.S. Office of Education said they had no record of total federal aid received by each school system. Attorneys working with the HEW in compliance cases once asked for the information but never received it, a reliable source said.

**ALLOCATIONS** available to school systems under Title I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Title III and V of the National Defense Education Act, provide the bulk of the money which would be lost by most systems, however.

The six Georgia school districts which have lost all federal financial assistance would have drawn more than $981,030 under the two acts for 1967 and, it is assumed, a comparable amount next year.

The cutoff will mean as much as $78 per pupil for the 566 children in Glascock public schools and $55 per pupil for the 2,537 youngsters in the Toombs County System. Other systems losing all funds are Camden, Seminole, Randolph, and Terrell.

The Office of Education has initiated formal compliance proceedings against 31 other Georgia school systems. The federal money at stake here exceeds $6,198,210.

Deferrals of funds have been lifted from six other school districts, but the Office of Education may still institute proceedings against them. The money involved here totals more than $1,384,173.

**IN ADDITION** to the 43 Georgia systems listed in noncompliance by the Office of Education, others are expected to run into compliance trouble. Fulton County, with approximately $750,000 in federal aid at stake, is negotiating with federal compliance officials.

Furthermore, some Office of Education officials point out that "freedom of choice" plans used by a number of Georgia counties are producing fewer Negro transfers to desegregated classrooms than last year.

**SCHOOL SYSTEMS** currently listed as failing to comply with the OE guidelines include: Americus, Appling, Atkinson, Ben Hill, Brooks, Burke, Calhoun, Decatur, Dooly, Early, Elbert, Echols, Effingham, Evans, Hart, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lamar, Lee, McDuffie, Miller, Montgomery, Morgan, Newnan, Oglethorpe, Screven, Stewart, Sumter, Tattnall, and Vidalia.

Deferrals have been listed, but proceedings continued, against Jefferson, Mitchell, Newton, Taylor, Turner, and Warren.

# Dolive Heads Funds Drive On Arthritis

Earl Dolive, executive vice president of Genuine Parts Co. in Atlanta, will head the 1967 fund - raising campaign of the Georgia chapter of the Arthritis Foundation, which opens here on May 1.

Earl Dolive

A special kickoff luncheon for campaign workers is scheduled at 12:15 Thursday at the Biltmore Hotel.

Mr. Dolive, who said the goal for 1967 is $75,000, pointed out that "the Arthritis Foundation does not conduct house-to-house solicitations, but depends largely on contacts with business firms and individuals to provide the vital research work."

Serving in this year's campaign with Mr. Dolive are Brannon Morris, vice chairman; P. T. McCutchen, Cody Laird and David Stallings, business and industry; James V. Carmichael, special gifts; Lamar B. Peacock, M.D., physicians; Robert McMartin, dentists; McIver Evans, Realtors; James E. Thomas, attorneys; Beaty Smith, insurance; Barnard Murphy, stockbrokers; Robert E. Harkrider, pharmacists; Ray Crim, accountants; John E. Smith II, automobile dealers; Hugh Inman, printing industry; Bob Watson, savings and loans; Dean George Griffin, schools and colleges; Mrs. Joe High Williams, women's special committee; David N. Meyer, distilled spirits dealers; Champney McNair, banking, and John B. Ellis, foundations.

# Convicted Pilot Asks New Trial

A motion for a new trial for a College Park airline pilot convicted of involuntary manslaughter in the Oct. 23 slaying of his wife has been taken under advisement by Superior Court Judge Samuel Boykin.

Judge Boykin heard the motion Monday.

The pilot, Lawrence J. Stevens, was sentenced to a maximum of five years in prison. He has been free on $10,000 bond pending appeal since his Jan. 12 conviction.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

# Many Negroes Seek Return To Segregated Classrooms

AC 4/24/67

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Scores of Negro pupils who transferred to white schools under "freedom-of-choice" plans in 1966 are asking to be returned to segregated schools schools next September, reports here show.

Dixie enrollment figures filed with the U.S. Office of Education indicate there will be a startling number of "free-choice" districts with less desegregation next fall than they had in 1966.

In five of 30 Georgia districts tabulated so far, local officials said they expect fewer Negroes in white schools next fall because so many are asking for transfer back to Negro schools.

And although it's still to early to predict percentages, statisticians here point out, reports from other states show the same trends is becoming apparent throughout the Deep South.

To Southern school officials, the figures are likely to come as sure proof of what they have been insisting all along: That Negro pupils themselves "don't want to" go to school with white children.

They will be able to say that the Negro pupils requesting the re-transfers have had a year's experience in desegregated classrooms and apparently—for one reason or another—didn't like it.

But to federal compliance officers, who still have hold of the government purse-strings, the statistics tell a different story: Local officials aren't doing enough to make free-choice plans work.

Compliance officers who have interviewed some of the pupils requesting re-transfer say there are two reasons so many Negro youngsters "just didn't

Continued on Page 8, Column 4

# Negroes Seek Return to Segregated Schools

Continued from Page 1

like it" in white classrooms last year:

1. In many newly desegregated districts, Negro pupils have suffered considerable harassment from other students, teachers and parents, they have told federal officials.

2. Transferring from traditionally inferior schools, the Negro pupils have found the new desegregated classes much harder academically — and white teachers have done little to help them adjust.

**NOT EASY**

"It hasn't been easy for many of these kids," says regional compliance officer Richard Fairley. "Often, they've been hit with erasers, spat upon or beaten. Other times, they've been ignored."

Testimony from witnesses at recent official compliance hearings would seem to back up Fairley's contention. A few samples:

—In Georgia, a Negro pupil was beaten by white classmates and left unconscious outside a classroom. But the principal of the newly-desegregated school said there was nothing he could do to help.

—In South Carolina, a Negro couple's home was shot at and finally burned to the ground after their child enrolled in a previously all-white school.

—In one Deep South district, Negro pupils reported they could not get white teachers to help them with problems after school—or even answer their questions in class.

**TOTAL TO DROP**

Whatever the causes, however, the overall number of Negroes attending previously white schools will be lower this September than in fall 1966.

And the result is that for the first time schoolmen may find themselves worrying more over how Negro pupils are reacting to desegregation than how white pupils are—if they want to keep federal funds.

"Under the guidelines, some progress is expected from local districts every year," says compliance chief David L. Seeley, commenting on the re-transfers. "This is just backsliding."

The consensus here is that the Office of Education may soon press backsliding districts to take more "positive steps" to make sure their free-choice plans produce integrated classrooms.

Federal courts already have upheld requirements that school officials help clamp down on pupil harassment and also institute remedial programs to help Negro youngsters catch up academically.

But the real thrust as far as free-choice districts are concerned may be in faculty desegregation—especially in assigning Negro teachers to formerly white schools.

"We've found that Negro children are more ilkely to feel at home in schools with desegregated faculties," says Fairley, who has talked at length with many pupils.

In fact, he points out, almost all the requests for re-transfer have been from Negro pupils attending schools in which all the teachers are white.

SRC SCHOOL DESEG.

REPORT OF THE SPRING WORKSHOP OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, HELD AT WINTER PARK ON MAY 6th, 1967.

PERSONS PARTICIPATING:

(Resource) Miss Nancy Adams - NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Miami.
(Resource) Mr. Dewey Dodds - Equal Education Opportunities Program, Office of Education, HEW, Washington, D. C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mrs. F. Layton Berquist | - | Lakeland Council |
| Mr. Carl Sangree | - | Winter Park |
| Mr. David Eddy | - | Winter Park |
| Mrs. James Olson | - | Lakeland |
| Miss Nettie Y. Jones | - | Cocoa |
| Miss Marjorie Fowler | - | Winter Park |
| Mr. W. G. WWhite | - | Zephyr Hills |
| Mrs. W. G. White | - | Zephyr Hills |
| Miss Barbara Gantt | - | Daytona Beach |
| Mr. George H. Bost | - | Stuart |
| Dr. H. F. Williams | - | Miami |
| Mr. James Alfred | - | Gainesville |
| Mrs. Kate Brewington | - | Winter Park |

Summary of Morning Session of Workshop

Mr. Dewey Dodds opened the Workshop with a presentation of equal educational progress in Florida since 1954. He noted that little progress was made from 1954 to 1964 and that practically all progress came from the force of the U. S. Civil Rights Act of that year. He stated that Florida was leading the old South in school desegragation despite being well below the U. S. Guidelines requirements, generally. That the greatest progress was achieved in South Florida counties such as Dade, Hamilton, Gaston, Hillsborough, and a few others. Mr. Dodds, as chief compliance officer for the State of Florida, explained the roles his office of the Federal Government plays, and stated that dual school systems should be eliminated by the Fall of 1967. He concluded his talk with recommendation of the steps that local Councils should take to expedite and assist their school systems towards the national goal of complete desegregation:

a. Urge county school boards to take the initiative in preparing their communities for school desegregation. This action is vital and where it has been taken (Dade, Hamilton, Gaston, etc.) the transition was easily and quietly successful.
b. Support the superintendent and school board publicly (letters, press releases, resolutions, etc.) where they show willingness and initiative.
c. Counsel with law enforcement officers and urge them to give protection of the law to students, parents, teachers involved in school desegregation.
d. Counsel with parents, teachers and students and assure them they will not lose jobs, or be molested when they cross educational lines. Advise them that law enforcement agencies, at all levels, your Council, NAACP and the Federal Government stand behind them.

Miss Nancy Adams then spoke to the Workshop group regarding the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the general picture of education in Florida. She noted the increasing estrangement of Negroes discouraged over their inability to exercise their civil educational rights despite the Civil Rights Act. She felt that the U.S. Guidelines were inadequate for school desegregation and that the percentages of school integration were unrealistic because of the way they were arrived at (Example: 5 Negroes in a school with 500 whites integrated 555 students). Believed the only way to get a correct indicate was to total number of Negro students of the total of all Negro students who were in an integrated educational situation. Miss Adams also stated that another true indicate was whether the dual system of schools existed or not. She then made the following telling observations:

a. Free choice method is not working because it places the responsibility solely on the Negro. It could be successful if 100% of the Negroes exercised free choice, but it works out to only tokenism in Florida. She ruefully noted that at the present time this is all there is, and that somehow we have to make it work.

b. Negroes do not apply for admission to white schools because:

(1) They are fearful of pressure on parents (job loss, etc.) and they are reluctant to change to a school that requires a harder scholastic effort for them; obvious lack of acceptance and loss of some earned credits.

(2) Negro teachers will lose their jobs. For years these undertrained, overloaded teachers in the inferior Negro schools could not, and cannot now meet teaching standards of white schools. They oppose desegregation on that score because of the jeopardy of personal situations. This fact splits Negro leadership with some against - some for - free choice. Solution is to somehow make it work.

(3) Urban situations have created de-facto segregation, by and large. Inner circle or level of cities highly segregated by housing patterns. Second circle or level going through re-segregation processes while the third (semi--suburbia) is mostly white. The fourth, or suburban level is all white.

(4) State Board of Education controls the de-segregation process through suggesting new school sites to local school systems. If local system does not follow their suggestions they will withhold state funds for the new schools. Officially, they are color-blind; however, they create de-facto situations, as in the case of Hillsborough County where they proposed a large high and vocational school in the fourth (all-white suburbia) level.

Miss Adams, in a question and answer period noted that the "nearest school" guideline precept continues to segregate ghetto schools. That a vast remedial program is necessary in most areas to bring Negro children up. Federal programs for remedial work should be encouraged and supported locally. The question-answer period finished, the Workshop adjourned for lunch.

Summary of Afternoon Session of Workshop

After some general discussion it was decided that the group seek ways and means to set up local programs for councils to put into effect for the purpose of assisting and expediting the desegregation of the schools in their areas or counties. The chairman proposed the following basic actions in order to have an effective and active program. Each action was discussed after presentation.

a. Form a local committee on education. Become fully knowledgeable of the present and future status of educational desegregation in your school system.

b. Obtain a copy of the "Assurance of Compliance" plan submitted by the school system to the Federal Government (1967-68 school year). Same can be obtained from School Board or HEW if not available. In counties under court ordered decree, obtain their plan of compliance from School Board or Federal Court concerned.

c. Study plan - compare with guidelines or court requirements. Accept facts and figures only after verification - where they are suspect. If plan is distorted, untrue, erroneous or not adhered to, make known and protest through Council resolution, letters, etc., to School Board. Send copy of same to State Council Office for information (and action where indicated).

d. Take follow-up action after start of school year in Fall of '67 to see plan is being carried out. Take remedial actions where necessary.

e. Co-ordinate council educational activities with other sympathetic and interested agencies or groups in your locale; i.e., NAACP, YWCA, League of Women Voters, Ministerial groups-alliances, Urban League, FEA and local teachers associations. Enlist their aid and support.

f. Inquire into egual educational opportunities admission policies of the private or denominational schools in your community. If not open for all students regardless of race, creed or color, try to counsel or conciliate and effect an open door admission policy.

g. In all of the above, write letters of encouragement, suggestion, protest or praise (as case may be) to School Board members, school superintendent, Mayor, councils, commissioners, ministerial groups, etc., supporting progressive attitudes-actions, and pointing out errors, omissions and improprieties where they are known. Encourage local law-enforcement agency to extend protection of the law in tight situations. Use the resolution method of the Council to make known Council position on equal education at all times. The power of a single letter of concern or protest has been demonstrated to be invaluable. When in doubt as to what to do, write a letter!

The workshop adjourned at approximately 3:45 p.m. and the undersigned summarized the above to the general membership.

Respectfully submitted

John E. Shelley

John E. Shelley
Chairman
State Educational Committee

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1967

# Guidelines at Stake

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

## Mechanism for Integrating Schools Faces a Serious Test in Congress

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 12 — At stake in the struggle over the school desegregation guidelines is the fate of the Government's most effective mechanism for carrying out the desegregation of Southern schools that was ordered 13 years ago by the Supreme Court. Since the Court outlawed the dual school system in 1954, the percentage of Negroes attending classes with whites in the 11 Southern states has jumped from about zero to 12.5 per cent. But almost all of this has been accomplished since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids discrimination in Federally assisted programs and which gave birth to the guidelines.

News Analysis

The central role of the guidelines helps explain much of the behavior in recent days among the lawmakers on Capitol Hill and the policymakers in the Administration.

In Congress, the Southerners are using every parliamentary tactic at their command to remove the teeth from the guidelines—rules that require annual percentage increases in the number of Negroes at formerly all-white schools. The elimination of this requirement would seriously cripple the Administration's desegregation strategy.

The Administration, meanwhile, has given the appearance of retreating. Yet, it is a tactical retreat, composed of a series of minor and essentially symbolic concessions designed to divert Southern ire from the main target: the guidelines themselves.

### A Case in Point

A case in point was the decision announced Wednesday by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner to remove civil rights enforcement powers from his constituent agencies — including the Office of Education, which enforced the guidelines—and centralize them in his own office.

Nobody in Mr. Gardner's agency was happy about the move, on the grounds that enforcement is weakened when it is separated from the agencies that distribute the money and know how the programs work.

But the step was necessary, in part, because Congress had asked Mr. Gardner to centralize enforcement powers a year ago, and in part, because any further delay would simply have irritated the Southerners and complicated the larger strategy of saving the guidelines and acquiring more money and personnel to enforce them.

The Administration has requested $5.4-million for enforcement, up $2-million from last year, and 131 additional enforcement personnel.

Two other recent events may be explained in similar terms. One was the announcement this week that the cabinet department would hire Southern educators with demonstrated skill in desegregating schools to help carry out compliance in hard-core school districts. The other was the resignation two weeks ago of David Seeley, the Office of Education's chief compliance officer, who accepted a high education post under Mayor Lindsay in New York.

Neither the announcement nor Mr. Seeley's resignation came as a surprise. Mr. Seeley, whose tough interpretation of the guidelines angered the South but won admiration in the North, had, in fact, been seeking a change for three months.

### Outcome Is in Doubt

But both events have given the Southerners in Congress further opportunities to say that they are forcing the Administration to back down. To the extent that this helps insulate the guidelines and other programs, the Administration is perfectly willing to let them do so.

Whether the strategy will succeed is, at the moment, an open question. One beneficiary may be the Administration's school aid bill, which the Republicans are trying to re-write by eliminating specific aid programs and replacing them with so-called "block grants," which the states could use as they saw fit.

To woo Southern support away from the Republican bill—and the Republicans have acknowledged that they cannot succeed without it—would be an important victory in Administration terms. But there is no similar assurance that the Southerners can also be diverted from their long-range effort to destroy the effectiveness of the guidelines.

For the fact remains that Congress represents the South's last hope to repeal the guidelines and, in effect, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Southern efforts to persuade the President and Mr. Gardner to soften enforcement of the guidelines by executive action have failed. Attempts to have the rules overturned in the courts have likewise been frustrated.

### Seriousness of the Struggle

The seriousness of the present struggle is not lost on the Administration either. Abolition of the percentage requirements —under which school districts are expected, if possible, to place between 15 to 18 per cent of their Negro children in white schools by next fall—would remove the one yardstick available for judging whether a school district is making genuine efforts to abolish the dual school system and, thus, qualify for Federal aid.

It would, in effect, make the guidelines meaningless. It would remove real authority for desegregation from the executive branch and give it back to the courts, where plaintiffs would have to rely for redress on the laborous process of individual suits.

And it was precisely the failure of this process to achieve substantial desegregation that forced the Congress, in 1964, to bring the guidelines into being.

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### $24,040 in Jewelry Stolen

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Larkin of the King Ranch in Kingsville, Tex., have reported the loss of three pieces of jewelry valued at $24,040 from a suite in the St. Regis-Sheraton Hotel, 2 East 55th Street. They told the police that they had left their two-room suite on the 16th floor at 6 P.M. Tuesday for dinner. Upon returning at 9:30 P.M. they discovered the loss.

...ing dropped into the river where it will be ... salvage. This picture was taken the instant the two charges went off.

# Dixie Solons Back Guide Changes

SCHOOL DESEG

AS 5/17/67

By WAYNE KELLEY
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Southern strategists in the House education bill battle have decided to back school guidelines amendments drafted by Rep. Edith Green, D-Ore., it was learned Wednesday.

Rep. Green, ranking Democrat on the House Education and Labor Committee and a staunch civil rights supporter, will offer her amendments next week when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act comes to the House floor.

Her package of proposals would have the effect of restricting the use of desegregation quotas for schools and applying the controversial federal guidelines to all 50 states.

Rep. Green was chairman of a special House education subcommittee which held hearings on the guidelines in Atlanta last December. She said at the time that she felt the U.S. Office of Education was going beyond the law in some of its desegregation requirements.

THE AMENDMENTS to the administration bill to be offered or supported by Rep. Green include:

—Enforcement of the guidelines uniformly among the 50 states rather than only in the South.

—Citation of statutory authority for every desegregation demand in the guidelines before it is enforced.

—Deletion from the act of authority for the commissioner of education to fix courses to be taught by members of the teacher corps.

—Assurances that school desegregation guidelines will not amount to assignment of pupils so as to correct racial imbalance in school districts.

THE REQUIREMENT that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare cite statutory authority for all guideline requirements is seen as an attack on the quotas used in negotiating with Southern school districts.

Application of the guidelines to all states would press the argument advanced by Southerners that de facto segregation in Northern states is just as vulnerable to the 1964 Civil Rights Act as the de jure segregation which existed in the South.

"These amendments are going to have a profound effect on politics throughout the country," said one Southern congressman.

The Green amendments reportedly will have no opposition from Rep. Carl Perkins, D-Ky., chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. The majority of the committee is expected to oppose them.

House Republicans are backing amendments offered by Rep. Albert Quie, R - Minn., which provide block grants to states with a minimum of federal controls.

The fate of the amendments drafted by Rep. Green could well depend on how Republicans choose to vote when the administration school aid bill hits the floor next week.

## Henry Gets Post With Paper Firm

RICEBORO, Ga. (AP)—Grady W. Henry has been named Interstate Paper Corporation's area wood procurement superintendent for Southeast Georgia.

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SCHOOL DESEG.

IMES, THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1967

NYT 5/18/67

# In The Nation: A Guide to the Guidelines

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, May 17—There is an old story about the American tourist who was taken by a smiling Soviet guide to see a station of the antiseptically clean, beautifully decorated, brilliantly lighted new Moscow subway. The American noticed only one thing wrong.

"Where are the trains?" he asked.

The smiling guide, as the story goes, stopped smiling and snarled: "Well, what about Little Rock?"

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This technique of avoiding an answer by raising another subject is not unknown in American politics. It is being seen right now in the House of Representatives, where Southern members are making two powerful arguments against the school desegregation guidelines of the Office of Education.

The only trouble with these arguments is that they are directed against aims and effects of the guidelines that do not really exist.

The first of these Southern arguments is that the guidelines only reach segregation in the South and are not aimed at the massive *de facto* segregation in the Northern cities. This is true enough but also irrelevant.

Neither the guidelines nor any other official Government policy is directed at *de facto* school segregation—that form of all-Negro or all-white schools which results from residential patterns. Busing students from one part of town to another is much discussed and is even being tried here and there; but it is strongly resisted by many parents and students of both races and it is of dubious educational and social validity in any case.

The only way ultimately to break down this kind of *de facto* segregation is to break down the residential patterns that produce it—to break up both the ghetto and the all-white neighborhood, and no one opposes this more consistently than Southern members of Congress.

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The other pseudo-argument against the existing guidelines is that, although based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, they actually violate that act. It states clearly that its provisions "shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools to overcome racial imbalance." Yet the guidelines establish on a percentage basis the extent of desegregation Southern school systems are expected to achieve in a given year; the required percentages increase annually.

Again the Southern argument sounds persuasive and means little. The guidelines are not designed to overcome "racial imbalance" and they are not aimed at producing any real racial "balance" in the schools of the South or anywhere else.

The guidelines, in fact, are aimed like an arrow at dual school systems—the old scheme of so-called "separate but equal" systems, one for Negroes and one for whites. Since most such dual systems were and are in the South, the guidelines do have their primary practical effect there.

It is because of the existence of dual school systems, moreover, that the percentage of yardstick is necessary. Most if not all Southern school districts have sought to proclaim the end of dual schools by putting a few Negroes into formerly all-white schools. This tokenism obviously does not eleminate the dual system.

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Even the so-called "freedom of choice" plan, permitting any student to choose his school, is not sufficient if a lack of effort by school officials or discriminatory pressures in a community result in only a few Negroes choosing formerly white schools. The reality is still a dual system, and a dual system is precisely what the Supreme Court has ruled discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional. And discrimination is what Title VI of the Civil Rights Act says cannot be supported by Federal funds.

*De facto* segregation, deplorable as it is, is another matter, since it does not result from discrimination in pupil assignment. In fact, in one Mississippi case, the Office of Education did not enforce its own guidelines because it found that *de facto* segregation and not deliberate discrimination was the problem (a large railroad yard lay between the school in question and the homes of most Negro children, making access impractical.

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On the other hand, when Cairo, Illinois, was found to be operating, in effect, a dual system, the Office of Education forced in two years a reorganization that has required a new consolidated high school to be built. Few Southern communities have been pushed that hard.

The percentage yardstick of the guidelines does create practical problems for the South, which now seeks to eliminate or soften this provision. This is not because the guidelines seek racial balance or ignore *de facto* segregation but because they are aimed at the dual school systems many in the South still hope to preserve.

# HOUSE BACKS SHIFT ON DESEGREGATION

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

## School Guidelines Plan for All States Stirs Dispute on Intent and Effect

5/24/67

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23 — The House tentatively approved today a proposal that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare said would invite "evasion and delay" in school desegregation.

The proposal, adopted by a voice vote, was in the form of an amendment to the Administration's bill authorizing $3.5-billion for elementary and secondary education for the school year beginning July 1.

The amendment, offered by Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, would require that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and guidelines prescribed under it, be enforced uniformly throughout the nation.

Title VI is intended to prohibit racial discrimination in any federally assisted program. The Office of Education has been applying it to schools only in the South and border states, where there is a history of a dual school system.

Representatives also approved 116 to 62, an amendment by L. H. Fountain, Democrat of North Carolina, that would prevent deferral of school funds to any district that practices segregation until after the district has been given a public hearing. This action, by standing vote, was interpreted as further erosion of enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The House then took up the Republican amendment to the bill, offered by Albert H. Quie of Minnesota, which would sub-

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

# GUIDELINES SHIFT BACKED IN HOUSE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

titute block grants to the tates for education in place of grants for specific programs, as provided in the present law. The controversial Quie amendment was designed to remove some of the Federal controls over Federal funds for education.

A vote on the Quie amendment is expected tomorrow after protracted debate. Votes on all amendments are being taken in the committee of the whole House and are thus subject to change on final passage.

The House was in an unroar most of the afternoon over the intent of the amendment offered by Mrs. Green, a civil rights supporter who in recen months has spent considerabe time scolding the Office of Education for what she called excessive interference with local school affairs.

Shortly before the vote, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, sent a letter to House Speaker John W. McCormack, Massachusetts Democrat, saying that the danger in Mrs. Green's amendment was its vagueness. It would, Mr. Gardner said, "invite evasion and delay."

"Indeed," he continued, "I fear that the civil rights amendments would encourage some districts to ignore the Constitution of the United States and the Congressional mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

The Civil Rights Leadership Conference, an affiliation of more than 100 organizations that support Civil Rights legislation, has also said the amendment would weaken the 1964 act.

But after three hours of debate, highlighted by contradictory statements as to the intent of the amendment, Mr. Gardner's chief civil rights enforcement officer, F. Peter Libassi, said he believed the "legislative history" made on the floor would leave the department's Southern desegragation campaign intact.

### Fears Other Amendment

He referred to the fact that several Northern liberals who at first opposed the amendment later supported it in the belief that it required the department to start attacking de facto segregation in the North.

Mr. Libissi said he was much more concerned about the effect of the Fountain amendment on the department's desegregation efforts in the South.

He said the immediate effect of the Fountain amendment would be to require the department to release funds immediately to 60 school districts that the department believes to be in violation of Title VI and that have been denied funds pending hearings.

The furor stirred up by Mrs. Green's amendment could be understood only against the background of controversy that has swirled around the Office of Education since it began desegregation of Southern schools in 1965.

Although Title VI is directed against discrimination generally, the Office of Education has made no serious attempt to apply it anywhere except in 17 Southern and border states that in the recent past had laws requiring segregated schools.

The Office of Education issued guidelines that were designed to permit these school districts to come into compliance gradually. The office achieved at least token desegregation in most districts.

But Southern officials have charged that the office exceeded the law by arbitrary regulations and by requiring districts to increase their percentage of Negroes in former white schools.

In the meantime, a number of Northern schools remained segregated under neighborhood school patterns, and the Administration said that Title VI did not give it authority to move against discrimination found to exist in predominantly Negro schools that had no history of dualism.

### Portland Bias Opposed

Mrs. Green, who has made a study of the situation, has expressed sympathy with Southern officials, and she came onto the floor today with the backing of Southerners and conservatives. She said the office had been applying "a different set of standards against the South and when discrimination occurs in Portland, Ore., I want that ended just as much as in Richmond, Va."

But a number of liberal Democrats opposed the amendment out of belief that if the office were required to use the same standards everywhere it would drop its Southern campaign rather than extend its efforts to all 50 states.

Mrs. Green, sitting demurely in a green dress with a pained expression on her face, was bombarded by questions from all sides on what she was trying to accomplish. Her answers were important because in interpreting a law the administrative agencies and the courts rely heavily on what its sponsors say it means.

She stuck by her contention that her amendment would not weaken enforcement in the South and that standards adopted under the law would have to apply nationally. But she would not say that the Office of Education would be required to move against defacto segregation in the North.

### Some Change Minds

Carl D. Perkins, Democrat of Kentucky, who is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee and was managing the bill on the floor, accepted the amendment as innocuous.

"This amendment has nothing to do with guidelines as such," he said.

James G. O'Hara, Democrat o Michigan, said the amendment was "either meaningless or mischievous."

John Conyers Jr., Democrat of Detroit, a Negro, decided it was mischievous and spoke against it. But after listening to further debate he returned to the microphone and said he had decided to support it after all because he thought it might force the Administration to mov against segregation outside the South.

Other liberals did the same. After the debate Mr. O'Hara co cluded that "different things now seem to be clear" to different members.

Paul C. Jones, Democrat of Missouri, said, "Those who changed their minds are trying to befuddle the issue."

Mr. Libassi, who witnessed t debate, concluded that liberals had seized the advantage and possibly succeeded in changing the meaning of the amendment.

The Fountain amendment, to stop deferral of funds without a hearing, was passed by the House last year but the Senate succeeded in changing it to permit deferral for 90 days before a hearing is required.

The pending bill is still subject to Senate approval, but the amendment is considered much more likely to survive this year. The Office of Education does not allocate new funds to a Southern or border state district that it believes is violating the civil rights law.

The office withholds the funds until the district meets the requirements set down in the guidelines or until noncompliance is established in a hearing held within 90 days of the deferral date.

Under the Fountain amendment, the office would be required to disperse all new funds immediately after they become available and cutoff would come only after noncompliance was established in a hearing.

Mr. Labissi said he believed the amendment would be "very damaging" to the department's desegregation efforts.

# Fulton's Compliance Needs Are Minor, Thompson Feels

SCHOOL DESEG.

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. Fletcher Thompson, R-Ga., said Monday he is convinced that federal compliance officers will approve Fulton County's proposed 1967-68 school desegregation plan if local officials agree to make "minor modifications."

Thompson made his statement after meeting with compliance chief F. Peter Libassi to discuss the apparent deadlock that has developed between Fulton school men and officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"I think HEW has a desire to work out some kind of agreement," Thompson said after the conference. "I don't feel that Mr. Libassi will be so adamant that he would not accept the Fulton plan with some small modifications."

The U.S. Office of Education already has indicated it thinks the Fulton plan is inadequate. A HEW field team is scheduled to meet with officials in Fulton County on July 5 to talk over their differences.

Thompson said that Fulton school officials seemed eager to negotiate an agreement when he talked with them by telephone late Monday, but there were indications that some school board members wanted to make the district a test case.

MEETS WITH LIBASSI
Rep. Thompson

The Atlanta congressman said the school board members, whom he declined to name, wanted to challenge HEW's contention that the county's "freedom of choice" transfer plan is not valid unless it results in actual desegregation.

"I just don't think it would be a good idea to try to make it a test case," Thompson continued.

The HEW contention already has been upheld by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Thompson also conceded he might have erred early last week when he accused HEW's Libassi of requiring more from Fulton schools than he has from other districts.

At that time, Thompson cited testimony Libassi gave before a House Appropriations subcommittee saying that HEW was only taking legal action against districts with less than 2 or 3 per cent desegregation.

Fulton County, the congressman said, now has 4.4 per cent of its 12 per cent Negro population desegregated—just slightly above Libassi's figures.

Monday, however, Thompson said Libassi told him his testimony referred to HEW's policy during 1966, and that this year the agency would require more from all school districts.

"I don't think he is guilty, as I construed him to be, of telling two different stories," Thompson said of Libassi.

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# uspension Enrollment ...pted Quietly

SCHOOL DESEG

By M. A. FARBER

The suspension next fall of most of the Board of Education's Open Enrollment program, the board's key effort at integration since 1960, has brought no protest from civil rights organizations or the Negro and Puerto Rican communities.

Substantial curtailment of the program, and the passive reaction to the move, illustrate both the difficulties in achieving improved racial balance and the growing emphasis by the board and minority groups on "quality," rather than integrated, education.

The program, in which 40,000 Negro and Puerto Rican students have voluntarily transferred to schools having a majority of white pupils, has been halted, with some exceptions, for September at all city high schools and at the elementary and junior high schools in Manhattan and the Bronx.

The purpose of Open En-

Continued on Page 9, Column 1



# City's Suspension of Open Enrollment Accepted Qui...

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

rollment, as originally stated by the board, was to provide "greater opportunity" for minority group students "to join educationally with the rest of our population" by switching from schools with Negro and Puerto Rican registrations of more than 85 per cent.

However, fewer than 5 per cent of the eligible students have sought transfers under the program—a process that they and their parents have had to initiate. And, since the program began, the proportion of minority group pupils in the school system has risen from 37 to 51 per cent.

### Assessments Vary

Assessments of the program's worth after seven years vary. Students who have taken part generally express approval and discount the inconvenience of long subway and bus rides, while their parents seem more divided over the relative merits of a neighborhood vs. a distant school, whatever the change in integration.

Most teachers and administrators who have participated in the program appear to favor its continuation, although many are concerned over heightened disciplinary problems and inadequate remedial and guidance services to aid Open Enrollment students.

The immediate impetus for the program was a threatened school boycott in 1960 led by the Rev. Milton A. Galamison of Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn.

Mr. Galamison, who headed citywide demonstrations in 1964 and a sit-in at board headquarters last December, attributed the "lack of outcry" over the Open Enrollment cutback to "nationalistic voices in the black community" that "have more or less prevailed."

The principal of Riverdale Junior High School, Saul Sigelschiffer, feels the Open Enrollment youngster who attends the Riverdale school for several years "is entirely different when he comes out than when he came in," the principal said.

The youths gain "substantially" in reading, he said, and their "attention in class, work habits, quality of notebooks and attitudes improve—for example the kids used to wear hats in the halls and cafeteria but they don't do that anymore."

Mr. Sigelschiffer, whose highly regarded school in an upper middle-class section of the West Bronx had an almost completely white register before Open Enrollment, said that the achievement of his white students had not declined "at all" as the proportion of Negroes at Riverdale rose to its current 15 per cent.

"When you have a small percentage of Open Enrollment pupils," he pointed out, "they will fall into the pattern of the school and the program presents no serious problem. However the character of the school would change if the proportion grew to 25 to 40 per cent or more."

The principal said that the program was "a fraud" if it encouraged the idea that minority group children could not do as well "wherever they went to school." That, he said, "would be an injustice to the Negro people. The real secret is a good school administration, a fairly stable faculty and neighborhood support."

### Cessation Lamented

The planned cessation of Open Enrollment at Riverdale, which has 1,576 students in a building rated for 1,400, was lamented by Mrs. Faye Fein, a guidance teacher who has worked closely with the Negro youngsters.

"Negro children will be missing out," the young, blond teacher said, "and so will white children. This area is too white and the white children should know the city they live in."

Greater skepticism of Open Enrollment was expressed by the mother of a 15-year-old Negro girl in the program at the school, which is on West 237th Street at Independence Avenue.

The mother, who asked not to be identified, said she had sent her daughter to Riverdale—a 45-minute ride from her home on the western edge of Harlem—on the advice of the girl's elementary school teacher.

"I firmly believe that we have just as good schools in our neighborhood," she remarked, asserting that "there's no real integration anyway" as a result of Open Enrollment.

"It doesn't do any good to push the Negro and white children together during the school day," she said. "My daughter leaves her neighborhood in the morning and returns in the afternoon and so do the white

# d Quietly, Illustrating Shift in Goals of Rights Leaders

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kids. Only the neighborhoods aren't the same."

Far more enthusiastic about Open Enrollment was an East Bronx parent, Mrs. Lillian Henderson. "I love the idea of my son going out of the neighborhood and mixing with other children of all standards of life," she said.

"Going to Riverdale has changed his way of acting, thinking and speaking — it's changed him a lot for the better," she concluded.

Whatever the effects of Open Enrollment they will now be felt by considerably fewer than in the past.

When the school administration disclosed partial suspension of the program for next fall on May 22, it said there was "no space available to justify thousands" of students applying for new transfers to predominantly white city high schools and to similar elementary and junior high schools in Manhattan and the Bronx.

But it announced that students already in the Open Enrollment program could stay at the "receiving" schools they were attending and that, as long as they remained, their younger brothers and sisters could join them in the elementary and junior high schools.

The administration said, too, that where "a few seats" were vacant, individual variances "to improve integration" would be arranged.

Despite the stress on overcrowding, however, interviews with school officials reveal that curtailment of Open Enrollment was also related to two other factors: the increasing preponderance of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the school system and the distance and traffic conditions between schools with large concentrations of white or minority group children.

In the last school year, 2,500 students destined to start predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican high schools—themselves overcrowded — transferred under Open Enrollment to 19 schools with large white enrollments in Brooklyn and Queens.

But of the 19 receiving high schools, 11 are operating at more than 130 per cent of capacity and the over-utilization is expected to jump next fall, even without Open Enrollment.

And in the least crowded of the 19 schools—such as John Jay H. S. (103 per cent utilization, 54 per cent white)—the proportion of minority group students cannot be increased very much without destroying the aim of Open Enrollment, according to school officials.

"It's a question of exercising judgment," said Frederick H. Williams, a Negro who is assistant superintendent in charge of the office of integration. "In the last few years the number of seats for Open Enrollment has been shrinking and, as the white population moves toward the fringes of the city, the distance between 'sending' and 'receiving' schools widens."

### 6,760 Switched Schools

At the elementary and junior high school levels in the last year, 6,760 students switched schools under Open Enrollment and the board provided buses for the elementary grade children.

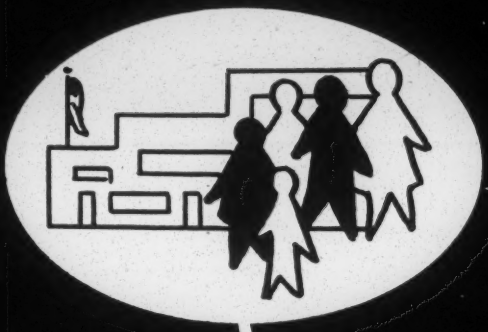
Open enrollment in the elementary schools was evaluated last year by a research team led by Dr. David J. Fox, an associate professor at the City College School of Education. And a study of the junior highs was headed by Dr. Robert L. Thorndike, professor of psychology and education at Columbia University's Teachers College.

Both reports for the school board, financed by Federal funds, were made under contract to the Center for Urban Education here. And together they comprise the only completed formal analyses of the program.

### 6,000 Children Studied

Dr. Fox's 61-page study, which surveyed 6,000 white and minority group children in 38 schools, found that 90 per cent of the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the program favored Open Enrollment as did two-thirds of the schools, teachers and administrators. But half of the teachers felt that the general achievement level at their schools had fallen since the introduction of the program and a majority of staff cited increased disciplinary problems.

The Fox study found, by matching 212 Open Enrollment students with 212 youngsters at the same previous reading level who remained in ghetto schools, that the transfer had yielded "no benefit in terms of reading achievement" over an eight-month period in 1966.



# Schools Can Be Desegregated

CCR Clearinghouse Publication No. 8
June 1967

## U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

# SCHOOLS CAN BE DESEGREGATED

For the first time in the history of American education, school desegregation is a matter of urgent concern in communities throughout the Nation. While some communities are still enmeshed in controversy over the issue, other communities are developing plans in an effort to desegregate their schools and improve the quality of education for all children.

This pamphlet identifies some of the elements of successful desegregation and explains some of the techniques communities have used or are planning to use to desegregate their schools.

The information in this pamphlet is based on a major study of Racial Isolation in the Public Schools which the Commission did at the request of President Johnson. The report was issued in February 1967.

In its study, the Commission found that remedies are available which will desegregate schools and provide a better education for all American children.

The major findings of fact which emerged from the study are:

- Racial isolation in the public schools is intense and is growing worse.
- Negro children suffer serious harm when they are educated in racially segregated schools, whatever the origin of that segregation. They do not achieve as well as other children; their aspirations are more restricted than those of other children; and they do not have as much confidence that they can influence their own futures.
- White children educated in all-white schools also are harmed and frequently are ill-prepared to live in a world of people from diverse social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.
- Compensatory efforts to improve education for children within racially and socially isolated schools have not been markedly successful.
- School desegregation remedies have been devised which will improve the quality of education for all children.

There is a definite need for remedial programs and other forms of academic assistance to improve the quality of American education for all students, the Commission found. The Commission's study suggests that remedial programs are most likely to be successful in schools which are not segregated by race and social class.

## PLANNING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The techniques for desegregating schools vary, since they are contingent upon such factors as size of the city, the number of schools, the size of the Negro community, and the residential patterns of the city. Some cities have successfully desegregated their schools and others have developed promising plans for school desegregation. In those cities where there has been progress in school desegregation, the following elements generally have been present:

LEADERSHIP: School officials, at both the State and local levels, have been committed to the goal of desegregation. Their initiative in developing and implementing a feasible plan, and gaining community support for it has been essential to success.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: The plan has affected the total community. Where many schools and children have been included in the desegregation plan, parents have felt that they shared equally the responsibility for school desegregation. The involvement of community groups has made desegregation a rewarding experience for white and Negro families.

QUALITY EDUCATION: A variety of efforts has been made to improve the quality of education for *all* children. In these instances school programs have provided for the needs of individual children, including those who require remedial assistance or special enrichment. Consolidated school facilities often have provided greater opportunity for sharing specialized staff and expensive equipment than has been possible in smaller schools.

MINIMIZING INTERRACIAL FRICTION: School administrators and teachers have created conditions under which Negro and white students can learn to understand and accept each other. Teachers, parents, and children have been prepared for the new experience so that racial tensions have not arisen or have been effectively resolved. Additional helpful steps have included the introduction of multiracial teaching materials into the curriculum and the assignment of Negro teachers to faculties of previously all-white schools.

CLASSROOM DESEGREGATION: Successful desegregation of schools has included desegregation of classrooms. Classes have been organized so that students can progress at their own speed at the same time as they work with and learn from children of different backgrounds.

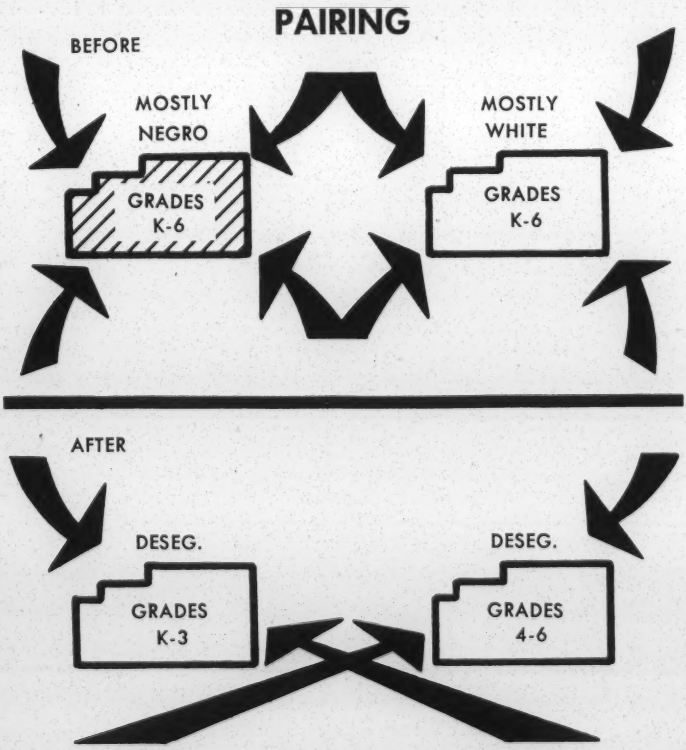
ENLARGED ATTENDANCE AREAS: Attendance areas have been made large enough so that schools serve a balanced racial and social class population and can remain balanced even if residential patterns should change.

## DESEGREGATION TECHNIQUES

The most frequently used plans for desegregating schools include: school pairing, central schools, school closing, magnet schools and supplementary centers, education complexes, and education parks. Each plan may have drawbacks as well as advantages, depending upon the particular situation. An essential element common to each plan, however, is the enlargement of attendance zones.

PAIRING — School desegregation by pairing is achieved when the attendance areas of two or more nearby schools are merged so that each school serves different grade levels for a new, larger attendance area. For example, the attendance zones of a predominantly white and a predominantly Negro school, each serving grades 1-6, would be merged so that all children in grades 1-3 in the new attendance area would attend one

school, and all children in grades 4-6 in the new attendance area would attend the other school. In small cities, pairing might create one attendance zone for the entire city. In some cities, pairing might entail a reorganization of the grade structure of several schools. Thus, a system with four elementary schools (grades 1-6) and two junior high schools (grades 7-8) might convert three schools to accommodate grades 1-4 and the remaining three schools to intermediate schools, grades 5 - 8. Most appropriate for desegregating schools in small cities, pairing has been used successfully in such communities as Princeton, N.J., Greenburgh, N.Y., and Coatesville, Pa.

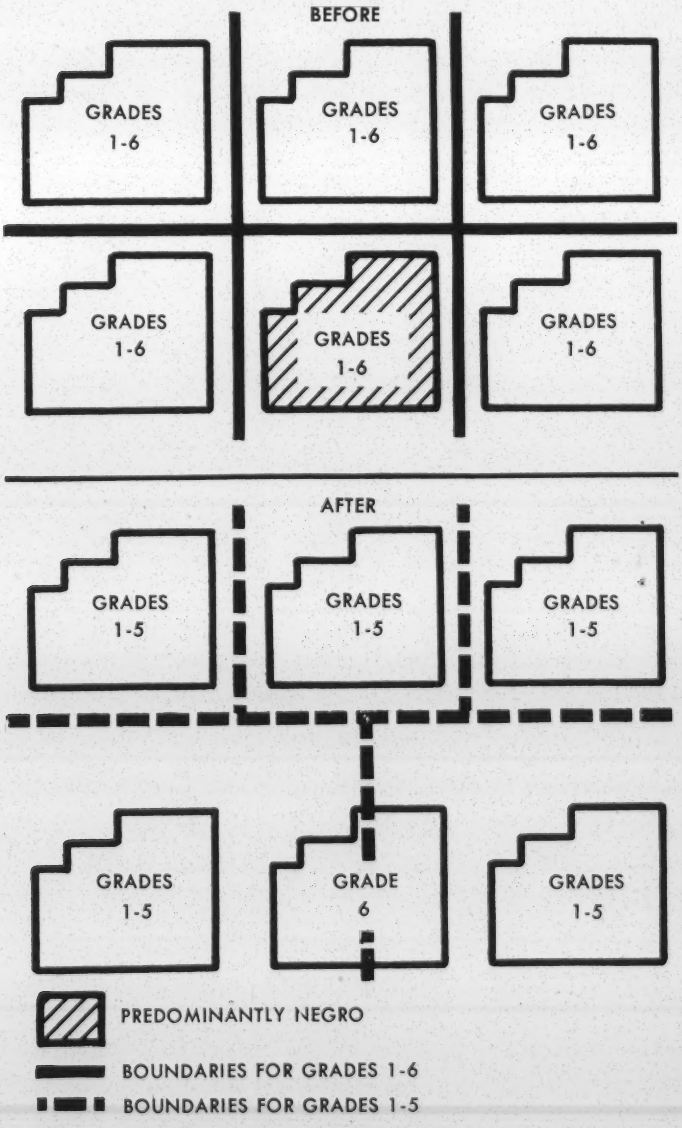



BEFORE PAIRING, STUDENTS ENROLL ACCORDING TO EACH SCHOOL'S ATTENDANCE AREA. AFTER PAIRING, STUDENTS OF BOTH ATTENDANCE AREAS ENROLL IN THE TWO SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO GRADE.

CENTRAL SCHOOLS–Some cities have desegregated schools by converting one or more schools into central facilities for a single grade to serve the entire city or a large part of the city. When a central school is created, attendance areas for the remaining schools can be enlarged. For example, a predominantly Negro elementary school could be converted into a school for all 6th grade

children in the city. The remaining elementary schools, instead of serving six grades, would then serve only five grades, but would cover larger geographical areas. The central school plan is most effective in cities — or areas within cities — in which, because of residential patterns, existing small neighborhood schools can be used to achieve school desegregation. Cities which have used this type of plan include Englewood, N.J., Berkeley, Calif., and Teaneck, N.J.

## CENTRAL SCHOOLS

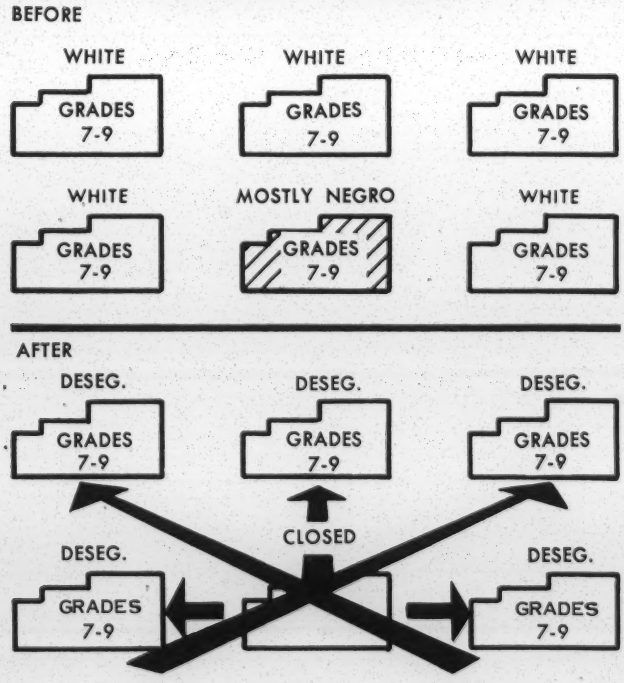



SCHOOL CLOSING—The closing of a segregated or racially imbalanced school and assigning its students to other schools in the system is a technique similar to the establishment of central schools. Closed schools often

have been utilized for other purposes such as a nursery school or a laboratory school. This was effectively done in Xenia, Ohio, where a formerly all-Negro school has been converted into a demonstration school which utilizes new educational techniques and is attended by a cross-section of students in the community. The superintendent of schools in Xenia said the plan would not fail because this previously all-Negro school "is the city's prestige school."

In addition to Xenia, the school closing technique has been used by Syracuse and White Plains, N.Y. and Evanston, Ill.

## SCHOOL CLOSING

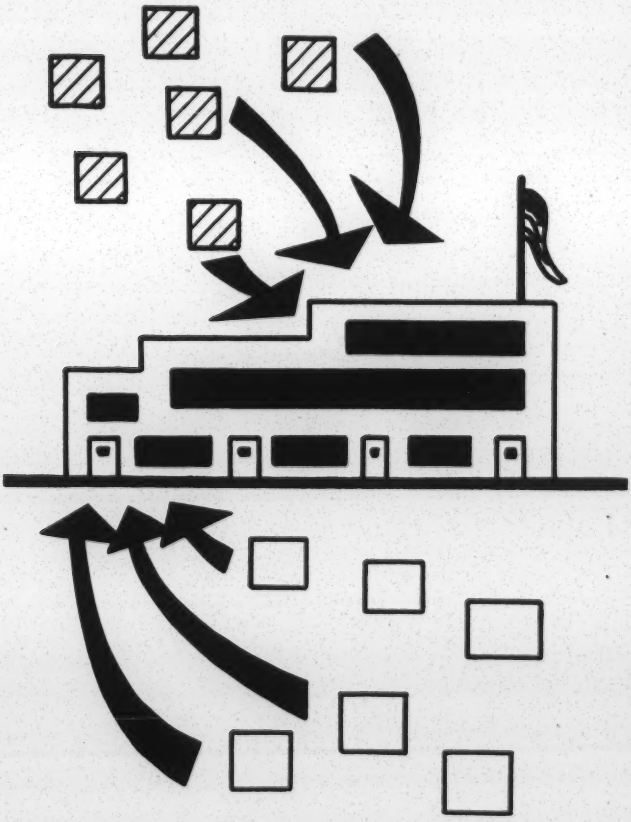



THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IS CLOSED AND THE STUDENTS ARE BUSED TO OTHER SCHOOLS.

MAGNET SCHOOLS AND SUPPLEMENTARY CENTERS—Schools offering special curricula can attract children from a wide geographical area. This desegregation technique ranges from full-time schools with special academic programs to centers with programs which supplement the basic academic skills taught in the neighborhood school. For instance, a supplementary center might offer

a special science or humanities program. Children from several schools would attend the center together for 8 to 10 hours a week. The magnet school and supplementary center technique frequently has been advanced as a means of achieving partial school desegregation in large cities with large Negro enrollments. Plans for such schools have been developed in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., Cleveland, Ohio, Philadelphia, Pa., and Los Angeles, Calif.

## MAGNET SCHOOLS



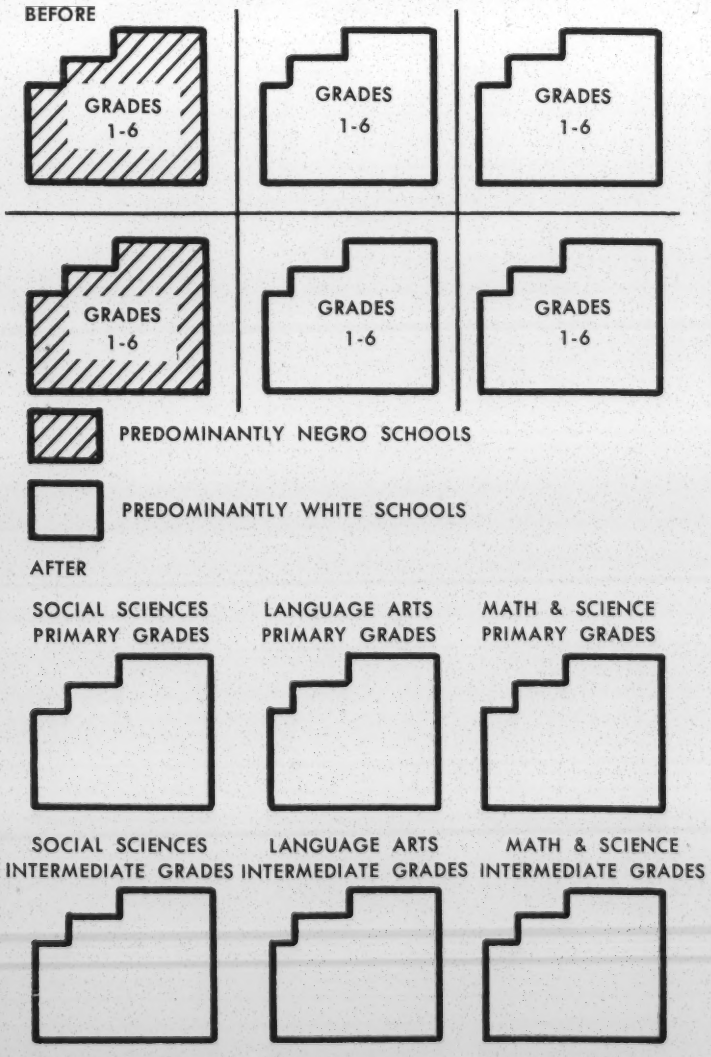
PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS

EDUCATION COMPLEXES—This technique broadens attendance areas by grouping existing schools and consolidating their attendance zones. For example, six elementary schools in one area of a city could be grouped and their students reassigned among the six schools. This would permit economies in

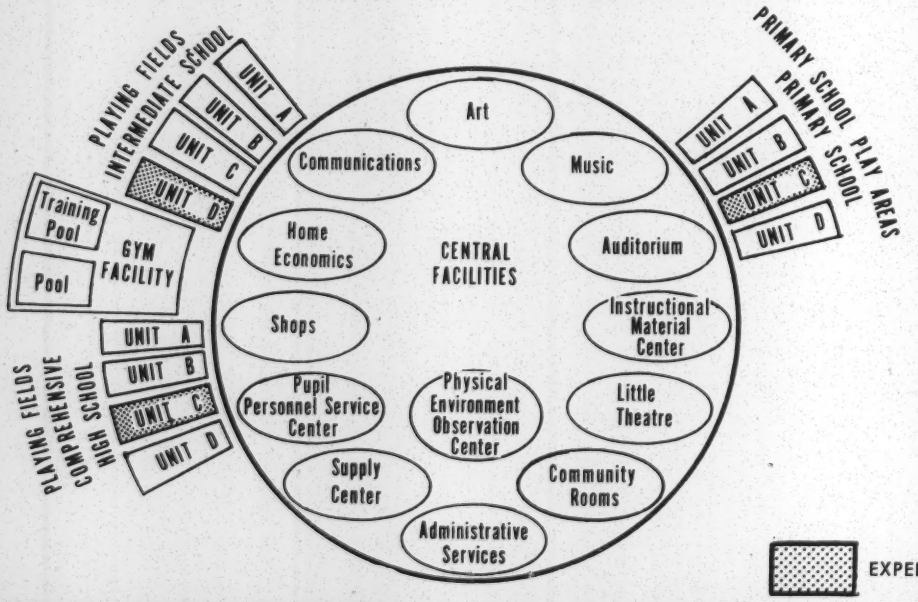
operation and improvements in the academic program, such as the establishment of a library center to serve the entire complex or the provision of specialists on the faculty who would be available to larger numbers of students. Each school in the complex might develop a specialty in one curriculum area. All resources and facilities for that curriculum area would then be concentrated in one building which would serve all children in the complex. This type of plan, similar to school pairing in smaller communities, is most applicable to cities or to areas within cities with adjoining ethnic neighborhoods. Proposals for education complexes have been developed for New York City and Rochester, N. Y.

## EDUCATION COMPLEXES




EDUCATION PARK—This proposed plan would create clusters of new school facilities large enough to serve thousands of children

# NEW YORK EDUCATION PARK PLAN




PLAN FOR NEW YORK'S NEW EDUCATION PARK PROVIDES FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS FOR 2,800 PUPILS, INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS FOR 3,600, AND A COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL FOR 4,000. STUDENTS WILL BE GROUPED IN UNITS OF 700 EACH IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 900 IN THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS, AND 1,000 IN THE HIGH SCHOOL. THE CENTRAL UNIT WILL OFFER COMMON FACILITIES FOR ALL SCHOOLS IN THE COMPLEX.*

* DIAGRAM ADAPTED FROM **SATURDAY REVIEW**, NOVEMBER, 1966 AT 93.

EXPERIMENTAL

on a single site. The combined resources of an education park would afford greater opportunity for effective administration and meaningful community participation in school activities. An education park may provide innovations and facilities (such as laboratories and computer-assisted teaching) which are too costly for individual small schools. The facilities would be designed so that children could be grouped according to their differing needs and talents. A larger teaching staff would enable the education park to provide more specialists and teachers with diverse training and interests to meet the individual needs of children. Bringing together teachers with similar training might allow them more opportunity to develop specialized subject matter skills. The education park also could provide a laboratory where student teachers could observe a greater variety of teaching skills than is possible in smaller schools.

The education park technique can be adapted to almost any city. Proposals for education parks for small cities call for one facility to serve the entire city; proposals for larger cities suggest several parks, each serving a segment of the city or particular grade levels. Some educators believe that education parks are the most feasible means for desegregating school districts in metropolitan areas since they could be located to attract students from the city and adjacent suburban areas. Cities planning or considering education parks include Syracuse, N.Y., East Orange, N.J., Berkeley and Sausalito, Calif., New York, N.Y., Pittsburgh, Pa., St. Paul, Minn., Philadelphia, Pa., and Albuquerque, N.M.

## EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

Parents often wonder how desegregation will affect the quality of education in their schools. Administrators of school systems which have desegregated report that the quality of education has been maintained and

often improved for all students.

Practical experience in some communities demonstrates that desegregation has been accompanied by the maintenance of educational standards. In White Plains, N.Y., where some white parents feared that desegregation would cause their children to fall behind in their studies, Carroll Johnson, the superintendent, reported that there was no interruption in the academic progress of white students. Other school districts — Syracuse, N.Y. and Riverside, Calif. — which have desegregated also report continued progress in academic achievement.

What can communities do to assure that educational quality is maintained and improved when schools are desegregated? Neil Sullivan, Superintendent of Schools at Berkeley, has written: "Desegregation must be combined with a general program of educational improvement . . . [large] segments of our communities, unconvinced of the educational necessity for integration, must be shown that the new program is in the best interests of all children." Berkeley, Calif. desegregated three junior high schools and reduced the pupil-teacher ratio in each of them. Teaneck and Englewood, N.J. instituted tutoring programs, and Greenburgh and White Plains, N.Y. instituted extensive programs of compensatory education for white and Negro students.

Similar questions have been raised about the maintenance of educational standards in larger cities, where proposals for the education parks are in the planning stages. Will such large schools, with thousands of pupils in attendance, contribute to a lowering of academic standards?

Educators who are planning such schools, and those who have evaluated these plans, have concluded that larger, desegregated school facilities are likely to have just the opposite effect. Far from lowering educational standards, education parks would provide substantial improvements in the quality of education. These educators believe that the education parks would provide better quality facilities and school programs, and would permit teachers to give greater attention to the needs of individual children. Dr. John H. Fischer, President of Teachers College, Columbia University, has written: "The

pupil population [in school parks] would be large enough to justify full-time staffs of specialists and the necessary physical facilities to furnish medical, psychological, and counseling services at a level of quality that is now rarely possible."

The experience of the Nova School in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. — the only education park presently in operation — supports these views. This school has consolidated attendance zones, and concentrated educational resources; it provides academic programs and facilities of a substantially higher quality than were previously offered, and school administrators there have reported that it has substantially improved students' learning.

Thus, the experience and judgment of educators suggest that American education will achieve new distinction when larger, desegregated schools make possible the specialization, flexibility, and utilization of resources which are now difficult to achieve in smaller schools.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## DESEGREGATION TECHNIQUES

The publications listed describe various techniques in use by city school systems or planned by them for future use to achieve desegregation.

DESEGREGATING CITY SCHOOLS. John H. Fischer. *The PTA Magazine.* Dec. 1964. 4 pp. Reprint available from Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. 10¢. Fischer discusses procedures which city school systems might follow to achieve school desegregation.

DESEGREGATION OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: *Special Report to the Board of Education.* City School District, 13 Fitzhugh Street South, Rochester, N.Y. 14614. Feb. 1, 1967. 75 pp. This report presents four plans to achieve elementary school desegregation. One plan deals with construction of several education parks or city-owned parkgrounds. The other three plans deal with reorganization of existing school facilities.

EDUCATION PARK. James E. Mauch. *The American School Board Journal.* March 1965. 2 pp. The purposes and potential advantages of an education park which would serve thousands of children on one campus are discussed.

NEW CONCEPT IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATION: THE CHILDREN'S ACADEMY. Board of Education, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550. 23 pp. This brochure describes Mt. Vernon's plan for a supplementary center which will provide a special education program to augment the regular curriculum. Elementary children will attend the center on a desegregated basis for a part of each day.

RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D. C. 20425, 1967. Chapter IV. 70 pp. Discusses various remedies for racial isolation adopted by school systems across the Nation.

THE CAMPUS SCHOOL. Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center, 515 Larned Building, 114 South Warren Street, Syracuse, N.Y. 13202. 10 pp. Describes a plan for four education parks to serve all public school students in Syracuse.

THE COMPUTER HELPS DESEGREGATE SCHOOLS. Ernest H. Wakefield. School District 65, 1314 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Ill. 6 pp. The use of a computer in redistricting the Evanston schools to eliminate racial imbalance is described.

THE EAST ORANGE EDUCATION PLAZA. East Orange Board of Education, 21 Winans Street, East Orange, N.J. 12 pp. Describes a plan for an education park to serve children from kindergarten through junior college.

THE EDUCATIONAL COMPLEX STUDY PROJECT. Robert A. Dentler, *et. al. Integrated Education.* June-July 1965. 9 pp. The article discusses a plan for grouping several existing schools to achieve both school desegregation and improved quality education.

THE QUEST FOR RACIAL EQUALITY IN THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Board of Education, Pittsburgh, Pa., 15213, Sept. 1965. 52 pp. Includes a discussion of steps already taken by the Pittsburgh schools toward eliminating racial isolation and a discussion of the planned education park system.

THE WHITE PLAINS RACIAL BALANCE PLAN. White Plains Public Schools, 5 Homeside Lane, White Plains, N.Y. 10605 May 9, 1965. The desegregation plan of this New York community is described.

## COMMUNITY ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The publications listed describe ways in which community groups can gain support for school desegregation.

A PORTRAIT OF EXODUS. Dan Woods. Harvard Graduate School of Education. Exodus Research Staff. Cambridge, Mass. 02138. 10 pp. Describes the successful efforts of a group of parents from Boston's predominantly Negro Roxbury section to bus their children to predominantly white schools in the city.

DAY-TO-DAY PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION. Aaron Lipton. *Integrated Education,* Vol. 3, No. 3. June-July 1965. 12 pp. The principal of a Hartsdale, N.Y. school discusses community support for desegregation and the role of civil rights groups in it.

HOW BERKELEY CAME TO GRIPS WITH DE FACTO SEGREGATION. Daniel K. Freudenthal. *Phi Delta Kappa,* Vol. 46, No. 4. Dec. 1964. 4 pp. An administrative assistant in the Berkeley schools describes community and school board movement toward recognition of de facto problems.

PHILADELPHIA WORKS FOR INTEGRATION. Sylvia Meek. *Integrated Education,* Vol. 2, No. 2 April-May, 1964. 5 pp. Recounts the role of the Coordinating Council on School Integration in coordinating the efforts of civil rights and community groups to move the Board of Education toward desegregation.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION. Dan W. Dodson. *Second National NEA-PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education,* May 10-11, 1965. Washington, D.C. National Education Association, Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20220, 1965. 2 pp. Dodson identifies 10 crucial issues in

the conflict between school boards and civil rights interests.

TOWARD EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. Civil Rights Committee of the American Federation of Teachers Executive Council, 716 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill. 60611. 24 pp. Essential steps are outlined to move the community to desegregate its schools.

## DESEGREGATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION

The publications listed discuss desegregation as a way to improve the quality of education for all children.

CLASSROOM GROUPING AND INTEGRATION. Aaron Lipton. *Integrated Education*. Feb.-March, 1964. 6 pp. A Hartsdale, N.Y. principal explains grouping procedures in his school system. Classroom groups reflect complete representation of the racial, ethnic, and socio-economic groups in the community.

EQUALITY THROUGH INTEGRATION. A REPORT ON GREENBURGH SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 8. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016. 1965. 70 pp. $1.50. The story of successful desegregation in Greenburgh School District No. 8, Hartsdale, N.Y. The report discusses changes in the educational program as well as the desegregation plan itself.

INTEGRATION: THE KEY TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL. Frank Riessman. *School Integration*. Proceedings of a Symposium on School Integration at Michigan State University. Bureau of Educational Research, Michigan State University, 252 Erickson Hall, East Lansing, Mich. 48824. 26 pp. This discussion centers on the role of education in the quest for human rights in light of the resistance found in both the community and the schools.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVANCEMENT SCHOOL. North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27101. 8 pp. Describes an integrated demonstration school established to serve underachieving junior high school students from all parts of the State.

SCHOOL OUTLOOK. School District 65, 1314 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Ill. Aug. 1966. 4 pp. The Evanston Laboratory School is described and some of the educational innovations to be included in the program are outlined.

## PERIODICALS

The two periodicals listed provide a continuing source of information about the status of school desegregation in the United States as well as articles on the various educational problems associated with school desegregation.

INTEGRATED EDUCATION. Integrated Education Association. 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60604. $4 per year (bi-monthly).

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION. Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20201. $5 per year (quarterly).

## LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION

Upon request, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. 20425, will furnish information about the legal aspects of school desegregation as well as about existing State laws and regulations related to school desegregation.

---

For additional information about school desegregation techniques write:

Office of Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Office for Civil Rights
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O—268-410

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIR.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

11

WRB

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

# "OPERATION REVIEW"

Post Office Box 694
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

September 10, 1967

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

It's kind National leaders like you that respond to special educational request letters, even in these busy days. This request has to do with a proposed "Legislative Action Project," for the U.S. Southern displaced, demoted, and disadvantaged teachers.

Would you be kind enough to read the enclosed project and send us your expert evaluative comments ? We are also sending this idea to a few selected U.S. Congressmen and Civic leaders.

Thank you so very much for any assistance, and we shall hope to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,
Malsenia Armstrong
(Miss) Malsenia Armstrong
and
The Southern Displaced Teachers

Enclosures

"Things don't happen. They are made to happen. And in the field of education, they are made to happen by you and your members."

– John Fitzgerald Kennedy

NEW PROJECT TITLE: "OPERATION REVIEW"

?

SUBMITTED TO: _____
(Funding Source)

SUBMITTED BY: The U.S. Southern Displaced, Demoted, & Disadvantaged Teachers From the Seventeen Southern States Covered by the "1965 NEA Task Force Committee" ..... ..... And those of 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, etc.

SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE: Malzenia Armstrong

Address: P.O. Box 694, Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Home Telephone: 523-3381 - Area Code 404
University Plaza Apartments

AMOUNT OF FUNDS REQUESTED: $ 980.00 (A small amount for such a big task !)

MAJOR PROJECT OBJECTIVES: We hope to specifically encourage and assist our United States Congressmen in the following areas and or activities:

-To make a critical REVIEW of currently operating Federal Educational Improvement Programs, and the various Equal Educational Opportunity Programs with the specific aim of observing the unintended omission of "LAWFUL Program Support" for the U.S. Southern displaced and demoted educationally disadvantaged teachers.

For Example:

(1) We have "Head Start" for the U.S. PreSchool Youth-

(2) Public Law 89-10 for the Elementary & Secondary level disadvantaged youth-

(3) UPWARD BOUND for the College bound disadvantaged youth-

What about the different educationally disadvantaged professional youth over thirty ??????????

MAJOR PROJECT OBJECTIVES: (Continuing from page 1)

- To REVIEW the present direction of the "1967-68 School Desegregation Guidelines," with the specific aim of evaluating the following sections:

  181.15 Unequal Educational Program & Facilities
  (see enclosed Guide Sheet)

  181.13 Faculty and Staff
  a. Desegregation of Staff
  b. Dismissals

- To STRUCTURE and PROPOSE the appropriate (specific) Legislation, which would serve as a "positive step" in the direction of "closing the present deep seated educational gap" between the Southern displaced, demoted, and disadvantaged teachers and other Foreign and American educators. This program should also enable the Southern displaced teachers to "compete and perform" on an EQUAL LEVEL.
  For Example: A large percentage of our Southern displaced teachers lack the two invariable necessities of a good scholar.....(1) Quality Early Childhood Education, and (2) Equal Means of Educational Livelihood... permitting the proper motivation and time for scholarly study, etc.

ELIGIBILITY AND JUSTIFICATION FOR PROJECT:

Our Suggested "Legislative Action Project" will do for the U.S. Southern displaced, demoted, and disadvantaged school teachers what the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT has been doing for the displaced, unemployed, and poorly skilled workers of the Defense Department, the displaced & disadvantaged Cuban Refugee teachers and other professional groups, the Indians, and many other NEEDED groups for several years. Thus, we are not asking for SPECIAL or TOP treatment, only EQUAL TREATMENT.

SCHEDULE:

Since all of the work on this project will be done on a "voluntary" basis, the proposed tentative time schedule shall consist of the present U.S. Congressional Session.

EXPECTED OUTCOMES (EVALUATION): A number of expected gains are hoped for. They include the following:

1st- The "Appropriate U.S. Congressional Law," (originating from the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education or the U.S. House Education and Labor Committee), with all or some of the following provisions:

- Specific Equal Educational Opportunity Grants, for the U.S. teachers - (inorder to improve their qualifications and assist them in meeting requirements to practice their profession anywhere in the United States, etc.)
- Financial Assistance in relocating Southern displaced school teachers from the South to jobs elsewhere in the United States.
- A National Defense Teacher (Southern) Loan Program

2nd- The Appointment of a "Special Southern Advisory Committee on Educational Affairs," (Created under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare - Regional Office in Atlanta, Ga.). This Advisory Committee should consist of such outstanding and knowledgeable Southern Leaders as: (1) Dr. Benjamin E. Mays (2) Dr. Robert L. Cousins; (3) Dr. Horace Mann Bond, and (3) Mr. Ralph McGill. (there are many more, etc.)

TENTATIVE BUDGET: $ 980.00

a. Communications-including cost of mailing letters to each U.S. Congressman, paper, etc. which are directly necessary for the implementation of this project.
b. Travel - (to Washington, D.C., etc.)

A FEW IMPORTANT RESOURCES AND HELP:

a. 5th District Congressman Fletcher Thompson's Washington, D.C. "Hot Line" - (Also, Mr. Charles Clark & the Office Staff in Atlanta)
b. The Enclosed "Guide Sheets"
c. The Courage, Philosophy, and "Educational Attitude" of the Late President John F. Kennedy.
d. The Respectful, kind, & helpful attitude of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays President Emeritus - Morehouse College
e. The Danforth Chapel, Morehouse College Campus

# HOW?

## OE PROGRAM FACT SHEET

Legislation: P.L. 87-510, Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962

Program: Cuban Teacher Training

Purpose: To assist Cuban refugee teachers, physicians, and other professional personnel in improving their qualifications and in meeting requirements to practice their profession in the United States.

| | | Allocations |
|---|---|---|
| FY 1965 | Funds transferred | $467,788 |
| 1966 | from Welfare | 220,142 |
| 1967 | Admin., HEW | |
| 1968 | | |
| 1969 | | |

Organizational Assignment: Division of Educational Personnel Training, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education

Program Officer: Dr. James Spillane, ext. 21926

Authority to Approve: Associate Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education

Basis for Award: Determination on a project basis

Federal Contribution: 100 %

Awards Made To: Institutions of higher education

Application Process: Institution of higher education submits proposal to Division which reviews and makes recommendation to Associate Commissioner.

Committee Involvement: None

SOURCE: "Fact Book: Office of Education Programs" - 1967
- Page 64 -

COMMENT: Please help us "structure" a Congressional Bill with the "scope" of this one.....

THE SOUTHERN DISPLACED
U.S. TEACHERS

# WHY?

## Operation For Fired Negro Teachers Starts

Opening ceremonies for the current school year's Operation Reclaim program for 43 displaced Negro teachers from the South were held on Thursday (September 29) in the library of the Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, Room 210, from 10 a. m. to noon. The ceremonies will be followed by a reception to be given by the Committee for United Negro Relief.

Operation Reclaim was initiated last year by Executive Deputy Superintendent Dr. John B. King to utilize in the New York City schools the talents of Southern teachers displaced as a result of desegregation of their schools. It is financed by a Federal grant, and is conducted by the New York City Board of Education with the cooperation of four local colleges — Long Island University, Yeshiva University, Fordham University and Bank Street College. They help prepare the Southern teachers for the New York City teachers' license examinations. Specialists from the New York City school staff cooperate in the venture.

The displaced teachers enrolled in the institute this fall are from Alabama Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Texas. South Carolina leads the states by having 17 participants.

Carl Erdberg Director of Operation Reclaim, said each participant is being assigned to observe a New York school.

At Thursday's ceremonies, teachers participating in the program will meet key figures in the City school system as well as community leaders. Invited guests will include:

Hon. Lloyd K. Garrison, President, Board of Education; Hon Alfred A. Giardino, Vice President, Board of Education; Dr. Clarence Senior, Member, Board of Education; Mrs. Rose Shapiro, Member, Board of Education; Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, Superintendent of Schools; Dr. John B. King, Executive Deputy Superintendent of Schools and originator of the Operation Reclaim Program; Prof. Mary Delcuve, Long Island University; Dr. Adelaide Jablonsky, Yeshiva University; Dr. Madelon Stent, City University; Albert Shanker, President, United Federation of Teachers; Assistant Superintendent Daniel Schreiber, Assistant Superintendens Frederick H. Williams; William Wessels, Director, Urban League of Greater New York Skills Bank and

NOTE: The funding source for "Operation Reclaim" was the Disadvantaged Youth Section of N.D.E.A., Title II.

COMMENT: Do you think we should "take" funds from our Youth, (Disadvantaged) inorder to fund programs for our U.S. Displaced and disadvantaged teachers ?

? ? ? ? ?

Source: "The Atlanta Daily World"

GUIDE SHEET # 1

WHY?

# REVISED STATEMENT OF POLICIES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

**December 1966**

**As Amended for the School Year 1967–68**

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE**
**Office of Education**

**§ 181.15 Unequal Educational Programs and Facilities**

In addition to the changes made in student assignment practices under its desegregation plan, each school system is responsible for removing all other forms of discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin. For example, some school systems still maintain small, inadequate schools that were originally established for students of a particular race and are still used primarily or exclusively for the education of students of such race. If the facilities, teaching materials, or educational program available to students in such a school are inferior to those generally available in the schools of the system, the school authorities will normally be required immediately to assign such students to other schools in order to discontinue the use of the inferior school. ***

*** What about the TEACHERS ? Title I of The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act will help the CHILDREN of these schools. MANY of the TEACHERS have been CONDITIONED by their INFERIOR school environment, etc.... Our present Federal NDEA and Higher Education Programs ARE NOT designed to meet their (teachers from inferior segregated schools) general and specific needs.

**§ 181.13 Faculty and Staff**

(a) *Desegregation of Staff.* The racial composition of the professional staff of a school system, and of the schools in the system, must be considered in determining whether students are subjected to discrimination in educational programs. Each school system is responsible for correcting the effects of all past discriminatory practices in the assignment of teachers and other professional staff.

(c) *Dismissals.* Teachers and other professional staff may not be dismissed, demoted, or passed over for retention, promotion, or rehiring, on the ground of race, color, or national origin. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff members are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the school system may be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless the school officials can show that no such displaced staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy. If as a result of desegregation, there is to be a reduction in the total professional staff of the school system, the qualifications of all staff members in the system must be evaluated in selecting the staff members to be released.

* Please check page 10 of our proposal, etc.

When? When?

? ? ? ? ? ? ?

# Refresher Training And Employment Aid For Teachers Displaced By Integration

**WASHINGTON, D.C. — Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, warning that the number of unemployed teachers may increase substantially as integration progresses, urged State Employment Agencies to make a maximum effort to provide employment assistance and refresher training opportunities for these teachers.**

The Secretary said that those teachers displaced from their jobs because of school integration who wish to remain in the teaching profession may need to relocate to other areas which may have different standards for teacher certification. In many cases these teachers will not need employment assistance in finding new jobs, but may also require refresher training courses to enable them to qualify for teaching jobs in new area.

Mr. Wirtz said such refresher training can and should be provided under the Manpower Development and Training Act. He also advised public employment offices to investigate training opportunities available under other legislation. Specificially, he called attention to the High Education Act and the National Defense Education Act, both of which have programs available which are appropriate for the training of professional workers.

He pointed out that training under MDTA may not be established to obtain an academic degree, and that persons without the necessary degree requirements are not eligible for such training under MDTA. However, courses can be designed to offer refresher training to provide additional qualifications needed for certification.

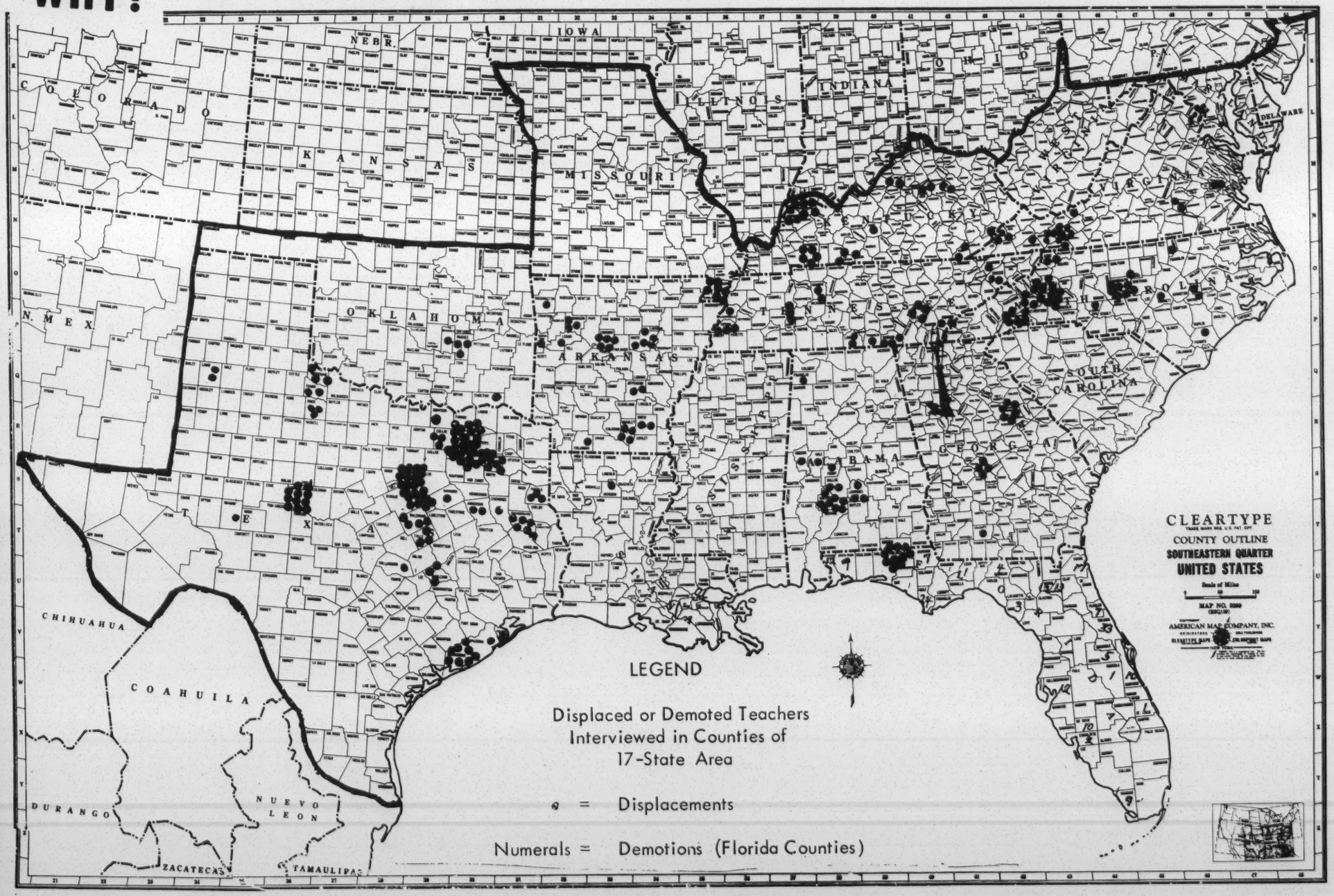
State agencies wll consult wth State vocatonal education officials, boards of education, and college officials to determine training needs and select appropriate training courses. The States are also requested to explore employment opportunities in related fields which can be entered without additional training by those teachers who do not wish to continue teaching.

When?

When? "1980?"

# WHY?

MAP OF DISPLACED AND DEMOTED U.S. TEACHERS IN 1965 - WHAT ABOUT 1967 ? ?




SOURCE: Report of The NEA Task Force Committee - December 1965... Sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, etc.

SCHOOL DESEG.

The Atlanta Journal

*"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"*

*Since 1883*

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor



# This Is the End of 'All Deliberate Speed'

THE SCHOOL desegregation ruling on Wednesday by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals probably is the most important event in this continuing story since the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in 1954 and followed a year later with some specifics of how the transition must be accomplished.

The decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court. Few can doubt that it will be upheld.

It will deeply affect the six states, including Georgia, to which it directly applies, and will do so immediately, calling for top-to-bottom true elimination of segregation by next fall.

One import of the ruling is to more than back up the legality of the U.S. Office of Education's application of the desegregation guidelines. The court has swept aside political contentions that the office is going beyond the law and beyond what the federal courts themselves require.

In fact, the decision strongly supports those who have argued that the guidelines themselves have not been sufficiently demanding and that they have not been enforced with enough insistence.

* * *

THE GUIDELINES WERE, after all, fashioned in large part according to the Office of Education's study of *past* court decisions on school desegregation, many of them made by the Fifth Circuit Court.

That in itself built in a lag, because since 1954 the courts have generally made school desegregation a progressive process rather than an instant process. Thus an executive decision in the Office of Education based upon last year's court rulings is bound to be outdated; under the progressive approach, this year's court rulings logically would require more, and next year's more than that.

The Supreme Court's most quoted words during these years, "all deliberate speed," set the stage for this stage-by-stage progression.

WHAT THE FIFTH Circuit Court now affirms is that the time for "all deliberate speed" has passed and the time for mandatory completion of the task is at hand.

This means more than token desegregation, which was the first phase; and more than substantial desegregation, which was the next phase. It means we are through with phases, and there can be no more "Negro schools" and "white schools."

One of the most obvious ramifications for a city such as Atlanta is that white and Negro faculty members must be distributed throughout the city. There no longer can be merely assignment of a few Negro teachers to "white schools."

* * *

IN ANOTHER ASPECT, the decision upholds the Office of Education's contention that the "freedom of choice" of any local system is insufficient if it does not lead to the breakdown of the walls of school segregation built in the past. Even a quick glance reveals that separate white and Negro schools may exist almost side by side even with a freedom-of-choice plan.

Such separation was established unconstitutionally, the court says. The onus therefore is upon school officials—not Negro children and Negro parents—to eliminate an old unconstitutional practice.

* * *

THIS PART OF THE decision may not clearly settle questions about the elimination of de facto segregation in cities where segregated residential patterns prevail; some of those questions will continue to be adjudicated. Must Atlanta, for instance, not only assign faculty members but also draw school district lines in such a way that even its "inner city" "Negro schools" are integrated, and if so how?

But the decision will serve to eliminate many confusions about what pace of desegregation is acceptable. It will move us closer to the end of a tiresome and difficult transition.

# Total School Integration Ordered by Appeals Court

SCHOOL DESEG

By WILLIAM K. CARNEY

NEW ORLEANS (UPI) — The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals Wednesday ordered total, top-to-bottom desegregation of all public schools in the Deep South by next fall.

The ruling, if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, will put an end to the 13-year-old "deliberate speed" ruling handed down by the Supreme Court when it ruled segregated schools "inherently unequal" in 1954.

The district court ruling affects 1,760,900 Negro students in the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. Of these 283,000 are currently attending integrated schools.

The 12-judge court ordered by an 8 to 4 vote "a unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools, but just schools.

"School segregation is 'inherently unequal' by any name and wherever located."

Lester Maddox, Georgia's governor, said he was "very disappointed," with the ruling.

"It's another attack on local control by local people of local education," Maddox said.

The ruling came on an appeal by four Louisiana and three Alabama school boards to a Dec. 29, 1966, decision handed down by a three-judge panel of the court.

Cases before the appeals court normally are decided by three-judge panels.

The 12 judges agreed to jointly reconsider the panel's 2 to 1 decision, and held a rare en banc (full court) sitting at Jacksonville, Fla., March 10. They heard arguments from the Justice department, Negro plaintiffs and from the seven school boards.

SCHOOL DESEG.

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THE "ONE GUIDELINE" APPROACH TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The most appropriate position in 1967 for private civil right agencies is advocacy of the "one guideline" approach to school desegregation. The "one guideline" is this: dismantle the dual system by next September.

The present policy of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare gives lip-service to the goal of integrating all grades in the South during the school year of 1967-8. The prospect that the goal will be achieved using the existing approach is so small that, if it were expressed in terms of money, a beggar in Bombay would spurn it.

One of the major reasons for the lack of substantial progress in deep South states is that "freedom of choice" plans have, as both their purpose and effect, maintenance of the status-quo. Of these plans, Judge Wisdom of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit recently said,

> "...(they are) better suited than any other to preserve the essentials of the dual system while giving paper compliance with the duty to desegregate." U.S. v Jefferson County Board of Education, et al.

"Freedom of choice" may be an adequate desegregation device in some border areas, but in the deep South subtle and not so subtle pressures keep people "in their place."

Under the "one guideline" approach it would be the duty of school officials to integrate their system. If this result could be achieved through the operation of a "freedom of choice" plan, well and good. If not, then other means must be devised by local educators. "The only school desegregation plan that meets constitutional standards is one that works" -- U.S. v Jefferson County Board of Education.

The implication of this is that HEW can get out of the business of reviewing desegregation plans. Don't send us your plans, the Department should say, just show us your performance. The effort currently expended examining paper plans would then be transferred to evaluating results.

Much criticism has been heaped on HEW for playing the numbers game and for trying to tell local school districts how to manage their affairs. Under this approach, those complaints would be eliminated. All HEW would say is we don't care what plan you use, and we don't want to know how you are going to do it -- just do it. (Of course, technical assistance would still be available on request.)

Another explanation for the snail's pace progress is the "credibility gap" in enforcement. When Federal officials say they mean business and will demand compliance, local authorities simply don't believe it. They don't believe it because there is, under the existing administration of the guidelines, an official tolerance of tokenism. The superintendent believes he can beat the house because he has done it in the past. Generally speaking, he will do what is required (but no more) rather than lose Federal funds, provided that it is required. To bring about social change in the South, it is essential that the change appear to be inevitable.

The law requires nothing less than that the formerly de jure dual school system be completely dismantled ("lock, stock and barrel"), and HEW cannot accept less. The law was clearly stated by Judge Wisdom in the Jefferson County case when he wrote:

> "As Brown dictates, the decree places responsibility on school authorities to take affirmative action to bring about a unitary, non-racial system. As the Constitution dictates, the proof of the pudding is in the eating: the proof of a school board's compliance with constitutional standards is the result -- the performance. Has the operation of the promised plan actually eliminated segregated and token-segregated schools and achieved substantial integration?"

The view that school administrators have the non-transferable duty to undo segregation has also been taken by the Sixth and Eighth Circuits (Bradley v. School Board of City of Richmond, 345 F2d 310, 322 and Northcross v. Board of Education, 302 F2d 818). "Affirmative action means more than telling (Negroes) 'You now have a choice'" -- Bradley, supra.

It may well be that local school authorities will have to review the placement of every pupil and the assignment of every teacher in their system in order to discharge their affirmative obligation. Every such placement or assignment must be based on sound educational considerations unrelated to race. Any placement not so supported requires notice of non-compliance.

We do not minimize the difficulties of administration. But if the law is as Judge Wisdom states it, then it is up to HEW to devise appropriate administrative procedures for its enforcement; and private agencies should call upon the Department to do so.

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While we recognize that the prevailing political climate is not conducive to the immediate acceptance of the "one guideline" approach by the administration, it is nevertheless desirable for the private agencies to advocate it:

(1) We ought to be out in front of the consensus;

(2) The position is legally sound and responsive to the opportunity afforded by the opinion of the Fifth Circuit;

(3) It takes the burden of desegregation off Negro children and parents and puts it where it should be -- on school administrators;

(4) Ultimately, HEW will have to adopt this position, or one very close to it;

(5) The approach is dramatic, simple and easily understood, whereas the present guidelines are complicated, easily misunderstood and frequently misinterpreted;

(6) By creating pressure for more rigorous enforcement, we counteract pressure for little or no enforcement, thereby rendering the administrators of present policy more effective until an advanced position is adopted.

Henry Aaronson - The Fifth Circuit decision was "probably the most important decision since Brown vs Topeka."

Did not do away "freedom of choice" plans, but did recognize right to actually desegregated (non-dual) system. The Negro child has a right to more than a freedom to choose to go to a "white" school.

The court attached an order (decree) to the opinion requiring all districts to comply with requirements of the court - or a plan equally strong. HEW guidelines are minimal.

NAACP, Inc Fund is reopening all suits.

All students must exercise their freedom of choice. Other requirements - conspicuous ads, letters to parents, choice period etc. - are roughly the same as those of the guidelines. Anyone may get choice forms and copy of the notice. Once made, choice is binding for the entire year. (Must guard against thoughtless "choice.") In the event of overcrowding, assignment on basis of proximity. (Inc Fund will contend that the standard of overcrowding is the most crowded school in the system.) Transportation - must be given t. to nearest "white" school.

School officials responsible for protection of students exercising choice. New construction must be planned so as to effect desegregation. (Planned construction should be watched!) Re. faculty - language is general, but calls for steps to undo what has been done by reassigning teachers, and new teachers must be assigned without regard to race.

(over)

Districts must keep records by race for purposes of reporting performance.

Any student who is 15 or in 9th grade may exercise his own choice, which must be honored unless withdrawn by parent.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

| STATES | TOTAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS | NO. CITED FOR HEARING | NO. UNDER COURT ORDER | NO. DESEG. Review | NO. DESEG. Inadeq. | NO. TERMINATED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 68 118 | 4 64 | 7 19 | 66 30 | 3 5 | 2 |
| ARKANSAS | 405 | 11 | 9 | 140 | 0 | 5 |
| FLORIDA | 67 | 2 | 14 | 34 | 17 | 0 |
| GEORGIA | 196 | 34 | 9 | 64 | 84 | 5 |
| LOUISIANA | 67 | 3 | 45 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| KENTUCKY | 200 | 0 | 5 | 187 | 8 | 0 |
| MARYLAND | 24 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 1 | 0 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 149 | 62 | 43 | 8 | 27 | 9 |
| N. CAROLINA | 169 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 70 | 1 |
| OKLAHOMA | 996 | 0 | 1 | 92 | 0 | 0 |
| S. CAROLINA | 108 | 16 | 6 | 15 | 70 | 1 |
| TENNESSEE | 151 | 7 | 18 | 126 | 0 | 0 |
| TEXAS | 1,303 | 2 | 15 | 532 | 2 | 0 |
| VIRGINIA | 135 | 9 | 17 | 99 | 10 | 0 |
| W. VIRGINIA | 55 | 0 | 2 | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| | 4,143 | 214 | 209 | 1421 | 296 | 39 |

1965 School Districts Requested to Submit Plans -- 2,034

1067 School Districts Requested to Submit Plans -- 1,695

METHODS

1. Free Choice
2. Zoning
3. Combination
4. Reorganization

NEGOTIATION AND TERMINATION

Review of 7001-02

1. Student
2. Faculty
3. Review Files
4. Investigate Complaints
5. Review Facilities
6. Mailing of Notices
7. Publication of Notices
8. Affirmative Activities of School Officials
9. Letters of Notice for Inadequate Progress or Adequate

TERMINATION

1. Worst District
   a. Student
   b. Faculty
2. Low Negro %
3. High Number Negroes but Approximately 1/3 Negro % (Large Schl. Dis)
4. District History of Harassment and Combination of Difficulties
5. Unequal Educational Opportunities
   a. Coleman Report
   b. Civil Rights Commission Report
6. Small Inadequate Schools
7. Loss or Failure to Progress

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

1. Special Schools
2. Private Schools
3. State Dept. of Education
4. Teacher Firings
5. Colleges and Universities
6. Athletic Program
7. Symphony Orchestra and Theater
8. Centers (TAP) Technical Assistance Programs

CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Hearings

A. Committee on Inter-governmental Relations
B. Rules
C. Judiciary
D. Briefing
E. Conferences

STATE RELATIONS

1. Proposed Increase in Desegregation Assignments
2. Congress and State in District Regulations
3. State of Alabama

5th Circuit _____

Jefferson County Ruling

Decentralization

1. Office of Assistant Commissioner
2. Office of Administration
3. Office of Resources and Materials
4. Office of Grants and Industries
5. Program Development and Evaluation
6. Office of Training Division
7. Office of Field Service

DECENTRALIZATION (cont'd)

8. Regional Offices

   a. Charlottesville
   b. Atlanta
   c. Dallas

Staffing Fy 67

Staffing Fy 68

# Session to Tax Political Stamina

1/8/67

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, Jan. 7—The South Carolina General Assembly, trying to adjust for the first time to a two-party operation, meets Tuesday with a raft of hot potato issues on the agenda.

The issues themselves — regulation of liquor, highway safety legislation, reapportionment of the Senate and proposed election law changes—are enough to test the political stamina of the strongest legislator.

But now the Democratic majority must face these issues with one eye on the fledgling Republican minority. The 23 Republicans (there are 141 Democrats) have already displayed their determination to function as an organized minority. They have elected a floor leader and a whip and have demanded proportionate representation on all committees.

Sharp division between the two parties is expected, for though the GOP can pass nothing without Democratic aid, it will be trying to "make a record" for future campaign use.

**FIRST BUSINESS** Tuesday is organization, this being a new assembly.

Officially, there is no holdover structure, but there is little doubt that the older members who have held important posts in the past will cling to them. Certainly the organization will follow the lines laid down by the Democratic majority.

Sol Blatt will be reelected speaker and Rex Carter speaker pro-tem, the latter, if Blatt has his way, to be given more remuneration, and an expense account, something he had not had before.

President Pro-tem Edgar

SOUTH CAROLINA

A. Brown will preside in the Senate until the new lieutenant governor, former Sen. John C. West, is sworn in. The job has been vacant since Robert E. McNair was elevated to the post of chief executive in 1965.

**SENATE** committees run according to seniority, and are handled by caucus. In the House, the speaker has full authority to name committees, and Blatt says he will do so without regard to party, recognizing previous service of Republicans who defected to the GOP, and also a member's fitness for a particular committee, such as a lawyer on the judiciary.

There won't be much regular business transacted during the first week and as a matter of fact during the following week either, since the inauguration of Gov. McNair and the swearing-in of other state officers Jan. 18, and the attendant festivities, will pretty well shove all other business into the background.

Already there is talk of a short session, or at least a shorter one that has been the case in recent years. Speaker Blatt wants a speeded-up schedule but every year there is a cry for early adjournment, and plans to bring it about, but usually it is late April or May when sine die comes, and this no doubt will be the case again this year.

# Atlanta Rushes to National Role

Mills B. Lane Jr. heads Citizens & Southern National Bank

## Many Consider City a Business Mecca for the South

L.E. 11-16-64

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA—"The city of Atlanta," Mills B. Lane Jr. asserts, "is a commercial venture."

Mr. Lane, who charges about this city with the unabashed power of a bulldozer, is a bald, chunky banker who knows what he's talking about. He serves as President of the Citizens & Southern National Bank, the biggest bank in Georgia.

He is a third-generation Georgia banker who was graduated from Yale in 1934. He owns 50 vintage automobiles and he wears a tie bearing the slogan, "It's a wonderful world."

But setting aside a flair for the unusual, Mr. Mills and other Atlanta executives are deadly serious about the role of this city, the home of Coca-Cola and "Gone With the Wind," in the business world.

When they talk about Atlanta, some local businessmen refer to it as "Mecca." It has the reputation of a congenial place to live, and one pretty research analyst who came South to con-

Continued on Page 50, Column 1

# ATLANTA RUSHING TO NATIONAL ROLE

Continued From Page 49

duct a company study for her Wall Street firm went home to report, "It's the friendliest city I've ever, ever seen."

Today Atlanta is scrambling to become "a national city."

In typically aggressive fashion, the city is building an $18-million sports stadium in an effort to obtain the baseball franchise of the Milwaukee Braves.

This move has set the beer homeland to foaming, but Atlanta's leading citizens are confident of their ultimate triumph.

"Just think!" exclaims an advertising man. "The world series in Atlanta!"

An equally impressive building was constructed much earlier here at more modest expense. This is the state capitol, completed in 1889 at a cost of $1 million and modeled after the capitol in Washington.

Today the spirit of business is the spirit that moves Atlanta and the tell-tale sounds abound.

For one thing, a surprising number of business leaders drink martinis instead of bourbon. One political figure is partial to a Scotch mist with a twist of lemon peel at lunch time.

But Coca-Cola is still known locally as "Georgia champagne" and some people in Atlanta drink it for breakfast.

It is significant that the man now serving his first term as mayor—Ivan Allen Jr.—has a business background in running a family-owned office supply company.

Atlanta has been fortunate over the last three decades in the leadership provided by its bankers who are friendly to business. The First National Bank, second largest in the city, is preparing to put up a 41-story skyscraper. It will add luster to Atlanta's growing skyline and loom as the tallest building in the southeast.

The Trust Company of Georgia, sometimes known as "the Coca-Cola Bank," also has played an active role in the city's rapid growth. Thanks to these and other banks, as well as a complex of insurance and financial institutions, Atlanta regards itself as "the Wall Street of the South."

### And Other Things

One businessman paid the ultimate compliment to Charlotte, N.C. by describing it as "a little Atlanta."

But when you bite below the skin of the peach, there are other things to be found. Some informed persons, for example, will acknowledge the deep-rooted rivalry between Atlanta and the small towns and rural areas of Georgia. "There is a tremendous jealousy here," declares one leading citizen. "The plain fact is that Atlanta has got to quit looking down its nose at the rest of the state if all of Georgia is going to prosper."

This rivalry is basically both economic and political. For decades, Atlanta has been the shopping Mecca for well-heeled Georgians and the most promising youngsters have left such places as Americus, the seat of Sumter County, for the big city of Atlanta.

The political rift stems from Georgia's county unit system, which, until recently outlawed, meant that the rural parts of the state could dominate Atlanta despite the vast gap in population.

Finally, Atlanta today is the most liberal city in the Southeast in its attitude toward the Negro. The basis for Atlanta's behavior reflects the hard-headed awareness of its business community. But this comparatively liberal attitude for the South has served only to whet the animosity of much of rural Georgia toward Atlanta.

Just what did Atlanta have at the start?

First, it had location. This brought the first railroad crossing here in the mid-19th century and transportation has been booming ever since.

Second, it had as one leader frankly puts it, "no bugs." This meant that its altitude kept the town free from yellow fever dangers.

What has Atlanta go at the present time? The local Chamber of Commerce unblushingly begins its description as follows: "Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, is the commercial, industrial and financial dynamo of the Southeast."

A Chamber of Commerce, of course, tends to emphasize the good points of any given area while omitting the fact that, say, a city is built on the lip of a smouldering volcano.

But the key to the Chamber of Commerce in Atlanta is its domination by the city's most aggressive business leaders.

One brokerage office manager who has worked in the East describes his schedule as follows:

### An 11-Hour Day

"My friends in New York City think it just great that I can drive from home to the office in 20 minutes. What they don't realize, however, is that I'm apt to get into town at 6:30 A.M. for some civic committee meeting and then go to another meeting for breakfast. At night I usually attend a fundraising meeting or another session of some kind before I drive home. Portal to portal, it's an 11-hour day."

Atlanta-based companies range from Scripto, makers of ballpoint pens, to Rich's, a department store that is approximately Nieman-Marcus, Macy's and Lord & Taylor all rolled into one. There is also Oxford Manufacturing, Atlantic Steel, and the Southern Company.

There is manufacturing done in Atlanta, but this is characteristically a city that puts together parts rather than producing parts. The assembly plants of General Motors and Ford serve as examples.

But Atlanta has gained a mix in its economy that is lacking, for example, in a city such as Birmingham, which is so heavily dependent upon its iron and steel complex.

One 9-year-old boy who grew up in New England until the second grade sums up his main reaction to Atlanta as follows: "It's got space."

A Government economist takes a somewhat more sophisticated view. "The economics of conglomeration are at work here," he explained. "The fact that Atlanta is already a center for regional offices will attract similar offices from other companies."

# A Rockefeller Plan for Arkansas

## Winthrop Has Hope for Industry Gains in Adopted State

11-23-64

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK—"If there's any industry I can bring to Arkansas, I'll be glad to do so."

This comment came recently from Winthrop Rockefeller, who in recent years has done more to attract out-of-state companies to Arkansas, where he has lived for the last decade, than any single man.

The main channel for his leadership was the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission (known locally as the A. I. D. C.), created by the Legislature to bring new industry to the Land of Opportunity, as it is called, and to encourage the expansion of existing plants.

Today, the A. I. D. C., minus the Rockefeller leadership, stands at a crossroads. Its advocates hope that the commission has gained enough momentum since its organization in 1955 to keep it running effectively.

Earlier this month, Mr. Rockefeller lost a bitterly-fought campaign for the Governorship to the Democrat incumbent, Orval E. Faubus, who was elected to his sixth straight term in a job that pays $10,000 a year.

Mr. Rockefeller, who threw his straw-colored cowboy hat into the ring on April 4, only three days after he resigned as A. I. D. C. chairman, intends to run for Governor again on the Republican ticket in 1966.

Winthrop Rockefeller

He makes it clear that he is committed to the progress and prosperity of Arkansas, his adopted state.

"On the other hand," he said in an interview, "I feel no great debt to Mr. Faubus or the A. I. D. C."

Mr. Rockefeller is a compelling figure. He stands 6 feet 5 inches in cowboy boots ("I haven't worn regular shoes for years," he says) and in a fast-striding campaign he ran a

## Development Group Faces Crossroads in Its Program

surprisingly good race, often gobbling his favorite snack of peanut-butter sandwiches on the run.

This race, in a sense, struck a chord common to the entire South where people are talking more and more about such things as "economic acceleration."

Part of this acceleration can come from within any given state, but a lot of the speed-up depends upon attracting new industry. As a result, Southern states are scrambling against each other as they scout the East and other corporate empires.

As inducements, Southern states offer a varying mix of low construction costs, tax benefits, water supply, abundant labor, plant-financing plans and even such heart-warming appeals to executives as "drive home for lunch with the family."

For a number of years, however, Arkansas enjoyed a distinction that no other plant-hunting state could claim. This was Winthrop Rockefeller, now 52, the next-to-youngest of the five Rockefeller brothers and the grandson of a man whose income amounted to $30 million a year before the era of the Federal income tax.

In 1955, as Governor Faubus

Continued on Page 61, Column 1

NY Times

11-23-64

# ARKANSAS AIDED BY ROCKEFELLER

Continued From Page 59

was starting his first term, he appointed Mr. Rockefeller to the newly organized A. I. D. C. and the other six members promptly picked him as chairman. It was an obvious choice and just about everybody in Arkansas appeared delighted.

Two years later, Governor Faubus was to sign a legislative resolution commending Mr. Rockefeller for his leadership at the A. I. D. C. But by last year, months before the formal resignation, a break between the two men was clearly in the offing.

Political pressures were being exerted by this time and Mr. Rockefeller says that he would have resigned even if he did not run for Governor. "The role of the A. I. D. C is to bring industry to the state and not benefit any specific community," he said.

His opening statement as a gubernatorial candidate criticized what he called the long domination of "a one-party government."

### He Gets the Credit

Local business leaders give Mr. Rockefeller credit for his accomplishments. "The Rockefeller name had great pulling power among business executives," one banker observed. "It opened a lot of doors."

But there was some grumbling about the professional talent brought into Arkansas in top A. I. D. C. posts. Ultimately, this widened the rift between Messrs. Rockefeller and Faubus.

When he stepped down as commission chairman after serving more than eight years, Mr. Rockefeller could point to the following record compiled with the guidance of the A. I. D. C.:

¶The creation of some 90,000 new jobs in the state.

¶An annual payroll amounting to around $270 million as a result of these additional jobs.

¶More than 600 new plants scattered throughout Arkansas in a deliberate effort to bring industry to all parts of the state.

¶The expenditure of an estimated $100 million in capital construction.

### A Magic Password

It is true that a great deal along these lines would have been accomplished under any able chairman. But the Rockefeller name proved a magic password in permitting Arkansas plant hunters to tell their story to out-of-state executives.

And when the plant hunters came to New York City, Mr. Rockefeller instructed them to stay at the St. Regis Hotel on the simple theory such an address would induce more return telephone calls from New York executives than a commercial hotel. The technique worked excellently.

New industry is important to any Southern state, but it held a special significance for Arkansas. Still fresh in the minds of local citizens is the fact that for five years after the Little Rock High School in 1957 not a single new plant came to this capital city.

A movie marquee last month put the slogan, "Little Rock Loves Industry," in lights below a Doris Day film.

### Plants Listed

As for the state generally, its new plants in recent years include the Daisy Manufacturing Company (maker of air guns) at Rogers, Seiberling Rubber Company at Batesville, American Greeting Corporation at Osceola, and the Norge division of Borg-Warner at Fort Smith.

Named as Mr. Rockefeller's successor to head the A. I. D. C. was C. Hamilton Moses, the highly respected, retired chairman of the Arkansas Power & Light Co. But Mr. Moses, who is 77, is regarded as an interim appointment. He is a law partner of Senator John L. McClellan.

# South's income goes up

Wages and salaries paid to workers in commerce, industry, government and the professions in the Southern states in 1963 amounted to $49,250,000,000 or 66 per cent of a total of $74,-360,000,000 received in personal income. The remainder was made up of proprietors' income, property income, transfer payments and other labor income. Gains of 6.7 per cent in wages and salaries received and 5.9 per cent in total personal income were recorded in 1963 over 1962, according to the Atlanta field office of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Announcing results of a study of data compiled by the Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics in Washington on sources of income in 1963, the Atlanta office said the income in wages and salaries in the 12 state area included $5,348,-000,000 paid to residents of Georgia, $7,199,000,000 in Florida, $3,745,000,000 in Alabama, $1,-858,000,000 in Mississippi, $3,-982,000,0000 in Louisiana, $1,-744,000,000 in Arkansas, $6,620,-000,000 in Virginia, $2,242,000,-000 in West Virginia, $3,547,000,-000 in Kentucky, $4,454,000,000 in Tennessee, $5,753,000,000 in North Carolina and $2,758,000,-000 in South Carolina.

Daniel M. Paul, director of the Atlanta field office, said that 52 per cent of all persoanl income received by residents of the southern states last year came from wages and salaries paid in manufacturing plants, by government agencies (including federal, state and local governments and the military forces), and to persons engaged in wholesaling, retailing and the service trades, including professional services. He said 78 per cent of all wages and salaries paid to workers also came from manufacturing, government activity, retailing, wholesaling and the service trades.

In the field of manufacturing in the region, wages and salaries increased 6.6 per cent in 1963 over 1962; in government service, 7.0 per cent; wholesale and retail trade, 6.4 per cent; finance, insurance and real estate, 7.5 per cent; transportation, 4.5 per cent; communications and public utilities, 4.5 per cent; and the service trades, 7.8 per cent.

In addition to income received in the form of wages and salaries, proprietors' income (including both farm and nonfarm rose from $9,358,000,000 in 1962 to $9,816,000,000 in 1963 for an increase of 4.9 per cent and property income went from $8,163,-000,000 to $8,806,000,000 for an inrcease of 7.9 per cent.

Florida led the 12 Southern states in total personal income in 1963 with $11.9 billion followed by Virginia with $8.9; North Carolina, $8.6; Georgia, $7.7; Tennessee, $6.5; Louisiana, $6 billion; Kentucky and Alabama, $5.5; South Carolina, $3.9; West Virginia, $3.3; Mississippi, $3.1; and Arkansas, $2.9 billion.

In percentage gain in total personal income in 1963 over 1962, Mississippi was at the top with an increase of 9.5 per cent followed by Georgia with an 8 per cent rise. Arkansas was in third place with a gain of 7.3 per cent, Alabama fourth with 7.2 per cent, Louisiana fifth with 6.7 per cent, Tennessee sixth with 6.5 per cent, and Florida seventh with an increase of 6.4 per cent. Following in order were Virginia, 6.1 per cent; South Carolina, 5.3 per cent; North Carolina, 5.2 per cent; Kentucky, 5.0 per cent; and West Virginia, 3.9 per cent.

These figures were compiled from the August, 1964, issue of Survey of Current Business, official monthly publication of the Office of Business Economics. Copies are available at the Atlanta field office of the U.S. Department of Commerce, 400 Home Savings Bldg., 75 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta.

RALPH 9/17

# McGILL

## *Federal Money In Mississippi*

Mississippi's dolorous Democrats, alienated from party loyalty for more than a decade, have met and agreed to permit the name of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey to appear on the ballot. They consented to the Democratic label only after Governor Johnson had spoken for Mr. Goldwater's election and said the plan would make it easier to defeat the Democratic ticket in Mississippi. Angry, and seemingly in vindictive mood, they displayed hostile banners and pledged to vote GOP.

In 1948 the Mississippi Democrats walked out to support South Carolina's Strom Thurmond, hero of the Dixiecrat party. In 1960 they cast their electoral votes for Virginia's Senator Byrd.

Nowhere in the South has there been more consistent criticism of "federal expenditures" than in Mississippi. Each year a state business group, also hostile to "Washington," issues a statement giving Mississippi's federal tax payments—but failing to print the total of federal expenditures in the state. Newspapers in the capital city, and elsewhere, carefully nurse this misrepresentation.

### *Various Stages*

The Southern states are in various stages of development from the underdeveloped status that is the fate of every region or country that has long depended on an agricultural economy. All profit more from federal spending than do other states.

But Mississippi is the best cared for of all. No other state has so massive a stake in federal spending. If Washington were to "save" as a reaction to the constant Mississippi criti-

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But Mississippi is the best cared for of all. No other state has so massive a stake in federal spending. If Washington were to "save" as a reaction to the constant Mississippi criticism of "government spending" and cut off aid from the federal government, the result would be disaster for the Magnolia State.

Mississippi's taxpayers furnish the smallest share of federal expenditures. In 1962 federal tax collections in Mississippi were $270,793,000, of which $219,380,000 was income tax. But during the year 1962 federal expenditures in the state amounted to $644,617,217. This meant that for every $3 paid in federal taxes the federal government spent $6.50 in support of the economy of Mississippi.

Yet, there goes on in Mississippi, day in and day out, a continual attack on undefined federal spending, federal waste, federal extravagance. The fact is that federal spending is the major support of the state's economy.

It might be well, for a year, to respond to the demands of Mississippi's politicians and public voices for reduction of spending to save more than $600 million by simply withholding the federal spending from the state. That, of course, is not what they want. They want to have it both ways—to damn the federal government as a spender and yet draw heavily on federal funds to keep their economy going.

## *Price Supports*

Mississippi fervently supports, as do other cotton states, the generous price support loans on cotton. But only in Mississippi are efforts by Democrats and Republicans to reduce these loans attacked by congressmen and newspapers as the efforts of "left-wing Democrats." (They do not seem to have noticed that Senator Goldwater is pledged to end price supports.) The fact that Senator Harry Byrd once led such an attempt apparently escaped them. Mississippi's economy also receives enormous boosts from capital that comes into the state for flood control and soil conservation work. This is not regarded as "socialistic."

No region has so much to gain from existing federal policies and the natural resources development acts now proposed as "the South"—and the old cotton states in particular.

Mississippi merely illustrates how many Southerners are willing to handicap themselves, their state, and their children by an overriding obsession with race.

# SOUTHEAST GAIN SETS NEW MARKS

## Business Confident as Area Again Outpaces Nation

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA—The economy of the Southeast, spurred by a capital spending boom and a vigorous recovery in its cotton textile industry, outpaced the nation again in 1964.

And the region's business and political leaders alike are confident that 1965 will bring a repeat performance.

Few subscribe to the view that the second half of this year will see a diminution of growth rates across the nation.

Nor is enthusiasm dampened by the awareness that racial problems may erupt again. Despite outbreaks of racial violence in 1964, few disruptive repercussions could be found in the region's economy.

Of far greater concern to executives here are such potential national perils as inflation and Great Britain's monetary crisis.

Another concern is White House attention to selective steel price increases.

Late last year, the Citizens & Southern National Bank — the largest in Georgia and second largest in the South—tried to initiate a nationwide increase in the prime rate and ran into White House opposition.

Mills B. Lane Jr., the bank's president, yielded wryly:

"Three weeks ago, I saw nothing but optimism [regarding the nation's economic outlook]. Now I'm confused. When the Federal Reserve chairman and the President say a change of one-quarter of one per cent in the prime rate could endanger the economy, we must be in a very delicate balance."

Meanwhile, most businesses and states in the Southeast are reporting robust growth, current and prospective, with spending leading the way.

Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, asserting that his state's economic growth rate in 1964 was twice that of the nation's, said industrial capital spending there for the first nine months had surged to $247.5 million last year from $184.7 million in 1963.

South Carolina announced that investments in new and expanded industry edged up to $267 million last year from the previous high of $264 million in 1963.

The Georgia State Chamber of Commerce said capital outlays for new and expanded plants more than doubled during 1964, reaching nearly $208 million compared with little more than $85 million in 1963 and the former record of $156 million in 1958.

Alabama reported $666 million of industrial capital spending for the last two years, exceeding the total for the four preceding years. Included, last year alone, were several large new paper, chemical and textile plants, and major steel mill expansions.

Reliable estimates indicate that nearly all other states in the region must have shared in the gains and will record still more in 1965.

Adding a major contribution to this year's economic growth, especially in the Carolinas and Georgia, will be the long-dormant textile industry, which was reinvigorated last April by Congressional passage of the one-price cotton bill.

Mill operators look and sound truly happy for the first time since the Korean War. The industry's prospects and plans are indicated by a recent poll showing that 35 representative cotton mills in Georgia have scheduled capital additions totaling $30 million for 1965 as compared with $24 million last year.

And employment in the industry has been advancing steadily for months to the highest level in some five years.

As for economic growth generally, the Southeast is maintaining a more rapid growth rate than the nation as a whole by almost any measure one could choose.

Personal income is among the most widely compared.

Final 1964 figures are not yet in, but according to the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank the region's seasonally adjusted annual rate of total personal income for the first 10 months was up 6.9 per cent, while the nation's was up 5.9 per cent.

Over-all economic trends in the area persist much in the pattern of the last 10 years or so, with a continuing shift of population to the cities and little or no new economic development in the rural areas.

In farming, the last two years are described as exceptionally good ones.

Looking ahead, executives of major retail stores and chains serving the Southeast say they are budgeting for first-half sales increases of some 5 per cent.

But many are keeping their fingers crossed as the April 15 income tax deadline approaches.

Top officials of food, furniture and department stores say they are cautious because of possible impact of spring business of consumers having to pay unexpectedly large tax settlements.



# Cost of Real Estate Continue to Grow in California

## TEXAS IS HITCHING WAGON TO SPACE

### Oil Industry Falters Under Impact of Imports

By CARL FREUND
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS—The dawn of a new era of discovery and exploration is changing the face of Texas.

King Cotton, long the ruler of the Texas economy, was forced to abdicate by oil. Now —though it remains an important factor—oil finds its dominant position threatened by industries associated with the Space Age.

The home of the multimillion-dollar manned space center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Houston can boast that it is "the space capital of the nation."

Engineers at the Texas Instruments plant near Dallas design delicate equipment to receive and analyze data transmitted by missiles hurtling through space.

Workers in the windowless General Dynamics plant on the west edge of Fort Worth are building the supersonic TFX fighter-bomber—also known as the F-111—under a contract that became an issue in the Presidential campaign.

Gov. John Connally and other state officials envision Texas as the western anchor of an aerospace industrial and research complex that will curve around the Gulf Coast to the Cape Kennedy area.

Foreign imports have crippled the Texas oil industry. The effect has been especially great in such cities as Midland, Odessa, Big Spring and Wichita Falls, which depend heavily on oil production and exploration. Newspapers carry notices each week of bankruptcy sales as drilling and servicing concerns go out of business.

However, most business leaders were optimistic as 1965 began. They predicted more and more industry would come to Texas.

"We have found ourselves caught up in an industrial and technological revolution which affects every aspect of our lives," Governor Connally said at a Dallas conference sponsored by the Texas Manufacturers Association. "Last year we ranked second only to New York in the number of new plant locations. It had 325 to our 317."

Chambers of Commerce in metropolitan cities and small hamlets try unceasingly to attract industry, and many have been successful.

The Eastman Kodak plant at Longview and a heavy-equipment manufacturing plant there helped cushion the impact of oil imports. Budweiser is building a brewery in Houston and Schlitz has announced plans for one in East Texas. The Carling plant in Fort Worth bottled its first beer late this year. The first soup cans came off the production line of a Campbell's plant in the northeast Texas city of Paris. And Dresser Industries of Dallas opened a $1 million sand-stripping plant near the Kosse community in east-central Texas.

The Dresser plant employs 350 persons. This isn't many, but the effect on the economy can be seen by checking 1960 census figures.

The figures show the average annual family income in Kosse was only $2,597.

Statistics compiled by the Texas Industrial Commission showed land was selected for 251 new manufacturing plants in the 12-month period ended Oct. 31. In this period, the commission said, 369 existing plants announced expansion programs.

An October study showed only 3.2 per cent of the Dallas labor force was unemployed.

The past year saw a boom in the construction of apartment buildings in cities. This has tapered off somewhat in Dallas, where many apartments are vacant, but is still going strong in Fort Worth.

Tarrant County voters approved a bond issue to finance a convention center in a run-down section of downtown Fort Worth. The approval came only after officials had emphasized that urban renewal was not involved.

Refineries and chemical plants are operating around the clock in the Houston area. Some carpenters there work beneath floodlights at night to keep pace with the demand for houses.

With new uses being found for plastics and chemicals turned out by the plants, the future is as bright as the flares seen near the refineries.

Still, bankers and economists agree there are some blemishes on the bright picture.

Many Texas families, especially those in which breadwinners lack high school educations, still have substandard incomes. There are still tenant farmers trying to scratch out a living in the sandy soil of East Texas. And some cities—Fort Worth and San Antonio are examples—still depend heavily on military and defense spending.

ATLANTA NEXT?

# Columbus Celebrates the New Inland Port

By JACK SPALDING

ON FRIDAY the port of Columbus will be reopened. The event will be properly celebrated. There will be reaction throughout the Chattahoochee Valley, for we are a mobile and an interlocking society.

Reliable navigation to Columbus will bring new industries to that stretch of the river. There are industries which demand water transportation and now they will find Columbus and the lower valley more to their liking.

This should remind Atlanta that this city will be a lot better off when navigation is brought this far upstream.

The Atlanta project was declared feasible from an engineering point of view nearly 100 years ago. The problem now is to have it endorsed as economically feasible.

Surveys have suggested that bringing barges to Atlanta should be economic by the year 2000.

Well-informed and properly patriotic Atlantans think this errs on the conservative side. Atlanta consistently confounds its prophets. The city grows faster than it is supposed to grow.

The current argument against bringing barges up to Bolton is that there is not enough demand for water transportation to justify the cost of the project.

The answer of all proper Atlantans is bring up your barges. We'll fill them then with the products of new industries attracted by navigable waterways. Furthermore there are other plus factors in our favor such as recreation.

The rededication of the port of Columbus shows how this can be done. The remaking of the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee from the Gulf to Columbus was not just a matter of a survey.

**REBORN**

It took organization. It took years of work. It took the help of politicians. It had to be backed by the people of the area.

In Columbus they had all that. They had something else, the fervor of one man. He was the late Jim Woodruff Sr., and he made the river and the reopening of the port of Columbus his charge.

He lived to see the project far enough along to guarantee its completion. His son and namesake took up where he left off. On Friday this splendid concept of the Woodruffs, father and son, will be celebrated.

Columbus was a port at the beginning. In 1828 when the city was founded, steamers brought goods and settlers. The river there was clear and deep before the hills were planted to cotton.

Columbus remained something of a port up to the beginnings of World War II, though railroads, and the silting up of the channel ended the golden age of steamboating around the turn of the century.

Before then there was passenger and freight service to Apalachicola with connections to other Gulf points. The river carried supplies to the plantations along the valley and cotton was brought to the mills in Columbus or taken to Apalachicola for export.

Now the port of Columbus is back in business, thanks to the drive and energy of its people and the leadership of the Woodruffs.

Three dams below the city made it possible. The big Buford dam above Atlanta helped.

**WHAT NEXT?**

The three downstream dams plus some dredging brought Columbus a nine-foot channel. Buford dam helps regulate the flow of the stream.

Plans are in the making for another giant of a dam in the West Point area. This will help control stream flow at Columbus.

It also brings the barges that much closer to Atlanta.

The river now is navigable from Columbus to the Gulf.

The building of the West Point dam will leave two stretches of the river to be improved.

One is the relatively simple stretch above the West Point pool.

The other is the difficult, but not impossible Fall Line between Columbus and West Point. Here the river drops from the Piedmont plateau to the Coastal Plain. Here are a series of power dams which must be radically altered.

Can it be done? Sure. How? In the same fashion and manner in which it was done in Columbus, through leadership, organization and help from the people who represent us in Washington.

# FARMERS FACING A DIFFICULT TIME

## 1964 Net Income Expected to Sink to Postwar Low

By J. H. CARMICAL

The nation's farmers may be facing a difficult period.

Prices of farm products are at the lowest level in nine years and yields are generally smaller than last year. As a result, net farm income for 1964 is expected to drop to the lowest level since World War II.

The increased prices that farmers have had to pay for goods and services in the production of crops this year have further added to their difficulties. Further, farmers in many areas have been plagued by unfavorable weather.

Despite an increase in Government payments, which this year are expected to top the $1.7 billion of 1963 by about 25 per cent, total net income of the nation's farmers may fall slightly below $12 billion. This would compare with $12.5 billion last year, $12.6 billion in 1962 and the postwar high of $17.3 billion in 1947.

Based on the monthly report of the Agriculture Department, the nation's farmers in mid-August were receiving 4 per cent less for their crops and livestock than a year earlier. The department's index in mid-August stood at 232 per cent of the 1910-14 average, the lowest for mid-August since

Continued on Page 11, Column 2

### Crop Is Larger

This year's wheat crop is somewhat larger than the 1963 crop, but the carryover from previous crops of 900 million bushels on July 1 was about one-fourth lower than the 1,195,000,000 on July 1, 1963. The 1964 crop is placed at 1,289,982,000 bushels, compared with 1,137,641,000 in 1963.

Domestic consumption of wheat and exports for this season are expected to be slightly more than the yield from the crop. Because of a moderate increase in the use of wheat for feed, domestic consumption is predicted at 625 million bushels. Exports are estimated by the Department of Agriculture at 675 million bushels. This would be substantially below the 860 million bushels exported last season, but would be in line with that of other recent years.

Wheat exports got off to good start in the new crop year. From July 1 through Aug. 31, shipments exceeded 100 million bushels, or some 2.5 million mo than a year earlier. Big cash sales to Japan and large food-for-peace shipments abroad, mainly to India, helped increase the figure.

This year's wheat crop is being marketed under substantially different conditions than in any recent year. The price support rate has dropped to $1.30 a bushel, which is low enough to make wheat competitive with corn and other grains for livestock feed. Farmers cooperating with the Government are eligible for loans only at that low level.

### Export Certificates

The cooperating wheat grower, however, gets domestic marketing certificates worth 70 cents a bushel on 45 per cent of normal production. The money to pay these certificates is raised through an assessment of 70 cents a bushel on wheat used by domestic mills. This assessment, called a processing tax by some, has resulted in some instances in an increase in the price of bread despite the lower marketing price for wheat.

In addition, the cooperating grower gets export certificates with a value of 25 cents a bushel on 45 per cent of normal production. Further, this year's pro-

# FARMERS FACING A DIFFICULT TIME

Continued from Page 1

1955 and down from 242 per cent a year earlier.

If there had been a corresponding decline in prices farmers pay for goods and services, the situation would not be so troublesome. However, the index of these prices increased to 313 per cent of the 1910-14 average, up from 312 a year earlier. Increases in interest rates and taxes accounted for a large part of the rise.

Prices of farm products usually drop in the fall as harvesting steps up. If this is the case this year, the decline will start from the lowest point at this season in nine years. This would be in contrast to the recent trend in most non-farm commodities. Prices of such items, including copper, tin, lead and other metal have been advancing.

Although prices of some minor crops are holding rather firm, there have been sharp declines for major crops and for hogs and beef cattle, the two most important sources of income for the livestock branch.

### Prices Off Despite Boom

In a period in which a busines boom has been in full swing, prices that farmers receive for wheat, corn and cotton production have dropped sharply.

The Department of Agriculture estimated that in mid-August growers were receiving $1.33 bushel for wheat, down from $1.77 a year earlier, and $1.12 a bushel for corn, down from $1.19. Cotton farmers were receiving 30.57 cents a pound, down from 32.04 cents a year earlier. Hogs where sown to 15.6 cents a pound from 16.7 cents and beef cattle to 18.3 cents from 20.4 cents.

With output of most farm crops this year below that of 1963, a stronger market normally would have been expected. However, the lowering of support prices for some crops and prospects for a slight decline in exports have tended to keep prices weak. Livestock prices have been influenced by large supplies from domestic sources and high beef imports, particularly from Australia.

This year's corn crop, which has been plagued by drought and disease, promises to be the smallest in several years. The Department of Agriculture has estimated the crop as of Sept. 1, at 3,640,267,000 bushels. This is 441,733,000 bushels below the record of 4,082,000,000 harvested in 1963.

This year's corn crop will be below requirements, but there will be a surplus on Oct. 1, the start of the corn year, of more than 1.5 billion bushels from prior crops. This carryover will take care of any defirienry that may develop. Since the depressed livestock prices may result in a sharp cut in cattle feeding, the deficit may not prove to be so great as many in the trade expect. Virtually all the surplus corn is owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Government's price-support agency.

gram called for a land-diversion payment that has averaged about $6 an acre.

Though these various payments by the Government, the cooperating wheat grower this year will get almost as much from his crop as he did in 1963.

For next year's crop, the cooperating wheat farmer will get a support rate of $1.25 a bushel, or 5 cents less than this year, but he will get domestic marketing certificates worth 75 cents, or 5 cents more than this year's on 45 per cent of normal production. Export certificates worth 30 cents will be available, but on 35 per cent of normal production instead of 45 per cent. There will be no land-diversion payments. The net result will be that a grower will get about 6.5 cents a bushel less than in 1964.

This year's cotton crop is a bit smaller than that of 1963, but producers will get less per pound for it because of the lower support rate. The crop, estimated as of Sept. 1 at 14,945,000 bales, would compare with the 1963 yield of 15,300,000 bales.

The carryover of cotton on Aug. 1, in the United States amounted to 12,400,000 bales. Thus, the total supply—carryover plus production —for this crop year will be 27,345,000 bales, the highest for any season since 1956-57.

### Small Addition Possible

Domestic consumption and exports for this season are estimated by the Department of Agriculture at 14.8 million bales. This estimate is considered a bit high in the trade, but even if it should materialize there would be a small addition to stocks, already excessive, on Aug. 1, 1965.

Like wheat, this year's cotton crop is being produced on a different basis. The support rate is 30 cents a pound, or 2.47 cents less than in 1963. Farmers with allotments of 15 acres or less and those willing to reduce plantings to domestic needs will get a bonus of 3½ cents a pound on normal production.

Under the new act passed last spring, the two-price system for cotton, which previously made the fiber cheaper for export, was eliminated. In effect, the subsidy, which had previously applied to cotton sold for export, was extended to that consumed by domestic mills. The subsidy rate for this season, which started Aug. 1, has been set at 6½ cents a pound.

As a result of the changes, the domestic cotton textile industry will be able to get its cotton some 9 cents a pound cheaper than under the old program. Many, including the Agriculture Department, believe this will greatly stimulate domestic consumption.

Indications are that there will be another gain in foreign production of cotton this crop year. Despite the rising trend in consumption abroad, keener competition for United States cotton is expected in the international market.

11-14

...against 32,013 last year. | Continued on Page 42, Column 1 | Continued on Page 44, Column 8

N.Y. Times 11-14-67

# Southern Hospitality Blends With Stocks

## Informality Marks Security Dealings in the South

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—"Well, man, where you been? How are Louise and little Sandra Jean, now?"

Homely greetings like this are apt to ring inside brokerage offices in the South when a customer telephones his registered representative.

A survey of three Southern cities—Little Rock, Atlanta, and Jackson, Miss.—shows that the securities business there differs vastly from that of New York City.

"In the South," said one office manager, "the investor must primarily know his broker in person and have confidence in him."

### Social Contact

The securities salesman in a Southern city is likely to see his customers outside of the brokerage office. They may go to the same church, belong to the same club or work on the same fund-raising campaign.

In Wall Street, many salesmen go for years without seeing a client in person. It is a matter of mutual convenience to restrict contact to the telephone.

A tapewatcher in a Little Rock office gave this greeting recently to a salesman: "Understand you tore your britches the other day playing golf."

Fred Schwab for The New York Times

*"Understand you tore your britches playing golf."*

Setting aside this air of friendliness and informality, the Southerner is a different breed of investor from his counterpart in the East.

"People here usually are not looking for in-and-out trades in the stock market," one broker observed. "They're more apt to buy for the long term. When you call them up, you've got to give them reasons for buying a stock, other than it's active on the tape or some advisory service has recommended it."

Other aspects of the brokerage world in the South include:

¶A traditional orientation toward bonds and fixed-income securities on the part of many customers.

¶An active interest in local stocks, especially bank and life-insurance issues.

¶A lack of female registered representatives, reflecting a natural reluctance in this area to doing business with women.

Two generations ago, the wealthy Southerner bought mortgages. Today, his grandson buys tax-exempt municipals.

So oriented is the rich man in the South toward the fixed-income concept that many of

## Brokers Often Meet Their Clients on a Social Basis

them buy listed corporate bonds in addition to municipals.

As a result, relatively fewer Southerners have reaped mammoth capital gains in the stock market in the last 15 years.

"But don't go feeling sorry for the monied man here," warns a broker in Jackson. "You've got to realize that there are more investment opportunities than the stock market. A man will put his money into land or timber or cattle or hustle up an oil deal in this part of the country."

A number of member firms of the New York Stock Exchange operate chalk boards in the South, a tell-tale sign that clients are less anxious to spot up-to-the-second changes in the price of a stock.

Southerners tend to be fundamentalists rather than technicians in the stock market. "It doesn't mean anything for my clients to know about a secondary reaction in a primary bull market," a salesman says.

Thanks to the interest in local issues, many small securities firms operate successfully in the South even though they are not members of the New York Stock Exchange.

Typically, these houses will

Continued on Page 37, Column 3



# STOCKS BLENDED WITH HOSPITALITY

Continued From Page 35

belong to the National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., and often to the Midwest Stock Exchange also. They sell local stocks, municipal bonds and mutual funds. Banks and insurance companies in the area, as well as individual investors, give them business.

"We find that many of our new customers are people who first bought into local situations and then gradually worked into listed stocks," explains the office manager of a Big Board firm.

In Little Rock, the largest office of a Big Board house is run by Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc. It has nine registered representatives and each man is at his desk by 8:30 A.M., ready for the Wall Street opening.

After the market closes for the day, salesmen often go out to pay a personal visit to clients or prospects.

Two other Big Board firms—A. G. Edwards & Sons and Hornblower & Weeks — maintain offices in Little Rock.

Throughout the smaller cities and towns of the South, member firms may operate offices with one salesman and a secretary. The salesman keeps in touch with the market usually by a stock ticker or by a teletype message wire.

The closer a visitor gets to Atlanta, the more apt he is to hear about the by-passed opportunities of ancestors to invest in shares of the Coca-Cola Company.

One brown-eyed Southern belle sighed:

"Grand-daddy didn't buy the stock because he always claimed nobody would pay money for a soft drink."

In Jackson, there is a trend toward youth in brokerage offices. Many clients are men in their twenties and thirties who are more inclined o be venturesome in the market. The salesmen are younger men, too.

In some brokerage offices of the South, customers like to deal in commodity futures. "King Cotton" is dead, when compared with the old days. Wheat and soybeans are the present rulers.

In Little Rock, the local insurance issues include National Old Line Life, American Foundation Life, First Pyramid Life, and Southern Equitable Life.

Among the local bank stocks are the Worthen Bank and Trust Company, Union National Bank, and First National Bank.

There is considerable investor interest here in Arkansas Louisiana Gas, a company that provides natural gas to many Arkansas communities.

The 1962 census of shareowners conducted by the New York Stock Exchange showed a total of 61,000 stockholders in Mississippi. Jackson had 27 per cent of the state total.

The total for Arkansas was 58,000 with Little Rock accounting for 36 per cent. Georgia's shareowner population came to 170,000 and 52 per cent lived in metropolitan Atlanta.

New York City alone could point to 1,639,000 stockholders. But, of course, the South still has the friendliest salesmen.

Atomic Fills Post

157 PARK St., Marietta $48.05 WATCH

# What Will Loss of Base

By WILLIAM McCLURE
Atlanta Journal Business Editor

Take 6,235 jobs and a $27 million payroll out of a town and it's bound to leave an aching void.

Savannah is going to miss Hunter Air Force Base when it closes its doors in mid-1967. The cries of anguish coming from the coast bear testimony to the anticipated ache.

The base has kept 5,600 military people and 635 civilians busy, and the bulk of the $27 million they receive each year has found its way into the community's trade channels.

A look at the town's economy, however, would seem to indicate the wrench may not be as severe as it seemed at first.

This is not to underestimate Hunter's contribution to the Savannah economy over the past decade and a half. It has been considerable.

**BUT SAVANNAH** and Chatham County now comprise a community of 200,000 population, and an economy that has become more and more industrially diversified in recent years. Its port is being increasingly expanded, and increasingly used.

There is probably a solid basis for the statement of Jack Altman, president of the Savannah Chamber of Commerce, that the city that has survived wars and occupations and depressions since 1733 will survive this blow too.

"We're not going to fold up and die just because it (Hunter) is going," he said.

**IT IS,** of course, going to be hard to convince the small grocer or dry cleaning attendant whose business has been mostly military that closing the base isn't catastrophic.

For him it is. And many of these smaller, base-oriented retail establishments won't survive.

Real estate is another area of the local economy that will be hit.

Over 11,000 military people and dependents live off the base. They own approximately 600 homes and rent another 1,550.

This many empty houses will prove a drag on the city's real estate market for some time to come.

The Savannah - Chatham County school system is going to miss the $397,000 in "impact" money it now receives from the federal government to help it educate military children.

**AND THE** 635 civilian jobs that will go with the base will be missed.

But these 635 must be measured against a total Chatham County employment of 65,850 (the normal decline between mid-September and mid-October was almost as much—550—and nobody threw in the towel). Even the 5,600 military (who aren't included in the employment total, incidentally) doesn't represent a staggering percentage loss, and it will be tempered by 106 who will remain to man a radar installation.

The $5 to $6 million Hunter spends annually in the Savannah area for contractural services and supplies will go, and the firms doing a lot of Air Force business will feel it.

But here again this must be compared with an economy which last year generated total retail sales of $373,830,386, and which doubtless will go even higher for 1964.

**AS FOR THE** schools' impact money, the $397,000 loss will undoubtedly hurt, but it represents only slightly more than three per cent of the system's annual $11.25 million budget.

Real estate may prove to be the spot where the blow falls hardest. One of the city's major builders said houses for the military have been accounting for up to a third of the 100 houses he builds a year.

He has revised his 1965 projections, cutting them 40 per cent. He thinks it will be the end of 1966 before the city's real estate market gets back to anything like normal.

**BUT EVEN** the real estate people — both builders and renters—say it will be only the marginal operators who will be forced out of business. By and large, they figure on some tough months, but are retrenching and are confident the real estate market will eventually right itself.

There are factors which will tend to soften the blow of the base's leaving.

Principal among these is the fact that Hunter will be phased out gradually between now and June 30, 1967. The community will have a chance to make the necessary adjustments over the next two and a half years.

And the government has promised to help find jobs for civilian workers displaced.

**THIS IS THE** second stepdown for Hunter. From the base's peak of around 7,000 people in 1950 when there were two Strategic Air Command wings there, it dropped to 3,500 in 1962 when the present carrier wing came in.

There was considerable anxiety on the community's part that time too, but it found the loss wasn't as bad as expected. Retail sales dropped between five and six per cent.

AND NOW that the base is definitely going, community leaders are mobilizing to utilize the facilities for other purposes.

There are, for example, a brand new nine-hole golf course and a well-equipped hospital at the base which could prove an inducement to agencies of varying types.

And if city planners can locate several small but diversified industrial plants at the site, they could eventually prove a much stronger bulwark of the local economy than the air base ever was.

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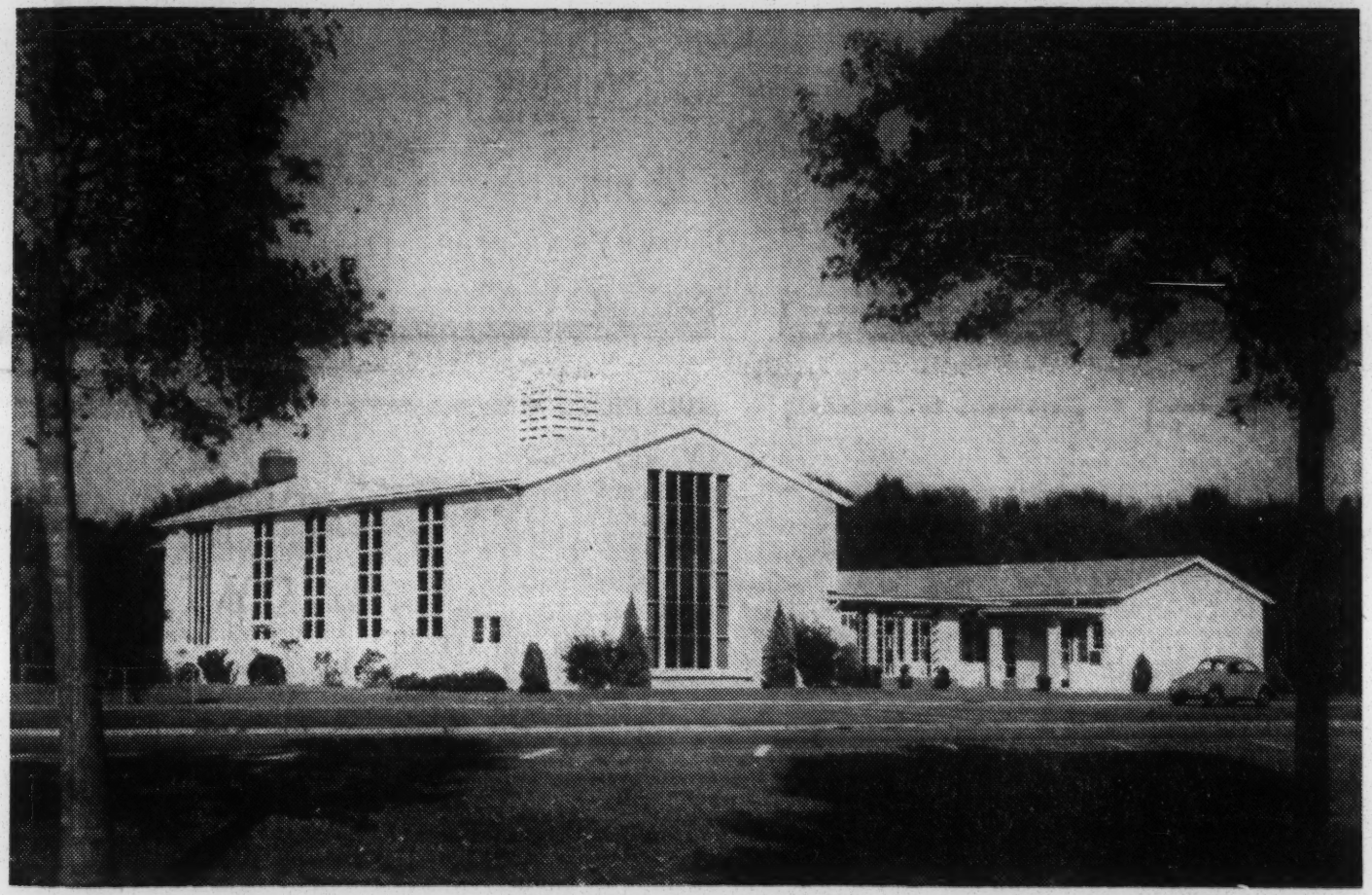

**HUNTER AIR FORCE BASE CHAPEL COULD BE MAINTAINED AS IS, OR PURCHASED BY CHURCH GROUP**

**Determination of Use of Many Base Facilities Will Be Made After It Is Phased Out in 1967**

agency SCLC

# NORTH & SOUTH

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Staff News, January 1967

## SCLC CHRISTMAS TALES

### The Orange Santa Claus

Debbie Frankle reports from Chicago: During the boycott of a shopping area, James Orange donned a Sata Claus suit and, along with four other hefty Freedom fighters, gave candy to the children and told them not to go in the stores. I understand some children were reduced to tears when their mothers tried to take them shopping, insisting they couldn't go in the stores 'cause Santa told them not to. Or were they reduced to tears at the sight of James Orange in a Santa suit?

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### An Ebony Christmas

Marian Willingham of our Finance Office went shopping in Atlanta for an ebony baby doll. She located a whole row of these dolls on a store counter, lined directly behind all the white dolls. Before selecting a gift, Marian moved each ebony doll in front of the white ones.

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### 'Tis More Blessed to Give

The children of Hosea Williams went downtown before Christmas and picked out gifts they would like to receive. On Christmas morning, the Williams family distributed these gifts to children in an impoverished neighborhood.

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### "Whit's" Christmas

Late in November, the family of William Whitsett, SCLC print shop foreman, was faced with a difficult Christmas. A fire in their apartment destroyed all furniture, clothes and personal items in a bedroom and damaged some possessions in other rooms. Four of the seven Whitsett children were at home and were rescued by neighbors. "Whit" was visiting his wife in the hospital. After the fire, the SCLC clerical staff's Benevolence Club took up a collection and Frances Sims, Club chairman, presented a check for $130.50 to "Whit."

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SCLC CHRISTMAS TALES (Contd.)

Sleeping Bunny

During the Holidays, the King and Abernathy children worked many hours rehearsing and finally staging a performance of "Sleeping Beauty" at the King home. The children conceived and produced the entire show by themselves. It was complete with programs, lighting, music, costumes, and splendid dancing and acting before and enchanted adult audience. The cast, in order of appearance; Yolanda King, Bernice King, Martin Luther King III, Juandalynn Abernathy, Donzaleigh Abernathy, Ralph David Abernathy III, and Dexter King. Bernice ("Bunny") played Slepping Beauty.

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The Secret Code

"S-C-L-C-double-0-7." All over Atlanta, children are passing this secret code. They got it from our 007, Rev. B. J. Johnson at the annual SCLC staff Christmas party for underprivileged children on December 17th. Gifts, refreshments, and entertainment for the 138 children were supplied by friends of SCLC. The party was planned and supervised by Carole Hoover, Anne Durrah, Lillie Hunter, Frances Sims, Gloria Fraction and Dora McDonald. Rev. Abernathy spoke to the children and pointed out that it was the staff, not executives, who did all the work on the party. Then B.J. (Bond, James) disclosed the code.

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JUNIUS GOES REPUBLICAN

Junius Griffin, Administrator and Director of Public Relations, analyzed the election results and, after 18 months with SCLC, joined the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee on Jan. 4. "Griff" is at Washington, D.C., but he's going to keep in touch with the Movement.

On Dec. 28, a farewell party for Junius was hosted by Claudette and Wesley Mathews. Unfortunately, Junius was stranded by snow in New York, so the staff at the party had no choice but to drown their sorrows.

SUNSHINE'S GARDENS

Where the Movement goes, often goes our own Mr. Ben "Sunshine" Owens. And Sunshine has got to have his greens. So, he makes sure by planting gardens and growing corn, watermelons, greens, cucumbers, asparagus, and spinach. He's also becoming famous for sending peanuts and pecans to our leaders. Sunshine has worked for SCLC in many places, including Crisp County, Ga. and Sumter, Perry and Greene Counties Ala. Your greens are mighty tasty, Sunshine, but how about some moonshine too?

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GREETINGS FROM YOUR FRIENDLY TAX COLLECTOR

Jim Harrison, SCLC Comptroller, asks that all salaried employees inform him where their W-2 income tax forms should be sent. Forms will be mailed by January 31st. Subsistence workers may have, by Feb. 10, statements of their subsistence payments in 1966 if they request it from Jim by Jan. 31.

PERSONALITIES

A New York Times reporter in Hanoi, North Vietnam, went to a bomb shelter during an air raid Dec. 27, and there he found--Diane Bevel!.....

Bob Fitch was in the hospital just before Christmas but he recovered in time for a Yule trip with wife Lynne to Chicago..

Featured by photos in the Dec. 24-25 Southern Courier was a class of Atlanta Children taught by the National Teacher Corps, including Jean (Mrs. Andy) Young...

Callers at Freedom House during the Holidays included Richard Smiley, from Midland School in Los Olivos, Calif.; Paul, Patty and Rebecca Bokulich from Selma; and Barbara Jean Williams, from American University in Washington, D. C.....

Other recent visitors in Atlanta: Mr. & Mrs. Toussaint L'Overture Harrison, Jim's parents from Stockton, Calif.; Lillie Hunter's son, John from Tennesse A & I State University in Nashville; Gloria Fraction's niece Denise, from Chicago; Frances Sims' siter Gwen, from Huntsville, Ala....

Ben Clarke and Willie Tabb are newly assigned to the Chicago voter project....

Note to Chicago staff: Get Ben to read you some Negro poetry....

And speaking of Ben, when Hosea was presented with a rather lavish Christmas give from his staff, he said: " I don't know if I should accept this, because if Ben Clarke had anything to do with financing it, I'll end up paying for it.".....

Freedom House had the world's biggest Christmas card with names of each staff member printed in large letters.....

Dorothy Cotton, CEP Director, addressed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at their annual Human Rights Day meeting in Philadelphia Dec. 10. Dorothy spoke to more than 400 people on the relationship between the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam.....

George Shinhoster's grandmother passed away in late December. The funeral was in Savannah. Our hearts go out to George and his family.

BLACK POLITICAL POWER MEETS FOR RALLY

On Jan. 5, Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, after a Chicago press conference with Hosea Williams, fired up a mass rally for the voter registration and political education campaign. Other speakers: Hosea, Negro Congressman John Conyers of Michigan, the newly elected Negro mayor of Springfield, Ill., and Lucius Amerson, the Negro sheriff for Tuskeegee, Ala.

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SCLC TRIUMPH!

The Chicago DEFENDER in a Dec. 28 editorial said that Government approval of SCLC's new housing project in Chicago "re-enforced public confidence" in Dr. King's leadership. The project will rehabilitate slum apartment buildings in three neighborhoods. The editorial praised our philosophy of constructive nonviolent programs and said: "Dr. King has reaffirmed the credo he has preached from the start of the stormy battles of the civil rights revolution."

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## MORE FAME FOR SCLC

We've been educating the country about Operation Breadbasket lately, and the press has been playing it up. Many Negro newspapers ran our full story, with pictures of Rev. Fred Bennette, National Director, and other Breadbasket leaders, JET had a big cover story and NEWSWEEK wrote a feature on the program. Our own Dave Wallace did a cover story in the Chicago Theological Seminary's magazine, REGISTER. Chicago businessmen who were helped by Breadbasket victories have been placing ads urging support for the program. P.S.: Thanks to Carol Griffin for helping N&S stay informed on Breadbasket in Chicago.

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## SCLC DEMANDS PROTECTION FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Dr. Bob Green recently went to Camden, Ala., to investigate situations in the Wilcox County integrated schools. He found, in long interviews with Negro pupils, that a pattern of physical mistreatment and constant abuse existed ever since the schools were integrated last September. Bob reported this in detail to the U.S. Justice Department and on behalf of SCLC he demanded a court injunction on school officials requiring them to provide protection for the students. He also suggested that federal funds should be cut off if the harrassment continues.

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## HAPPY NEW YEAR!

At 12:01 AM on Jan. 1, 1967 some SCLC staffers sang "WE Shall Overcome." We hope you did, too. Let's make this the best year for SCLC.

## MORE "QUIET WORK" OF SCLC

While major SCLC programs are making headlines, many smaller projects and movements related to SCLC are working effectively at the local level. For example:

SCLC's Roosevelt Barnett and the Montgomery Improvement Association recently won more than 180 new jobs for Negroes at stores in Montgomery. One store gave in after five weeks of picketing, and other businesses quickly fell in line after that.

George Rascoe, who works with Golden Frinks in Bertie County, N.C., Freedom Movement, was in Atlanta last month and reported on plans for a poor people's store and efforts to integrate Negro schools, now that white schools are integrated.

Mike Baum, Co-ordinator of the Greater Miami Chapter of SCLC, writes that this Affiliate is working with slum tenants to get improvements in housing. The Miami Movement keeps spirits up at mass rallies and demonstrations.

The Wilcox County SCLC is a sponsor of the new antipoverty program for seasonal farm workers, and SCLC is supplying staff for that project.

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## WHAT'S HAPPENING, BABY?

Do you know what's going on at some projects not mentioned in this issue of North and South?

We don't either, because we haven't heard from them. We can't make long distance calls to get the news. We depend on you to take a few minutes to write us. No news means no N&S. Please, please write: North and South, SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30312

## C. E. P. NEWS

Annell Ponder of the Citizenship Education Program and Ben Mack, Field Secretary of South Carolina, went to Washington, D. C., Dec. 8-10 to represent SCLC at a conference on Negro history. About 3,000 educators, community leaders and nationally prominent Negroes met to discuss the problems of racism in education and the lack of accurate information for school children on the Negro's contributions to history.

The conference, sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers, heard of textbooks which contain glaring omissions and untruths about the role of Negroes in history. Participants agreed that a concerted new effort must be made to improve the teaching of Negro history. They also strongly criticized the use of the American language to convey favorable interpretations of "whiteness" and offensive interpretations of "blackness."

One popular idea at the conference was that the term "Afro-American" should replace the term "Negro," since black people have a rich African heritage.

Annell and Ben were expecially interested in getting ideas and information for C. E. P. adult education classes.

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The next C. E. P. workshop will be Feb. 13-17 at the Dorchester Community Center in Liberty County, Georgia.

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Some C. E. P. staff members went to Annemanie, Ala., in mid-December to help teach adults in the new SCLC-sponsored anti-poverty project in Wilcox County.

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## GRENADA: HARRASSMENT, CHRISTMAS VOLUNTEERS, A NEWSPAPER

Negro citizens of Grenada have encountered more physical harrassment. Pickets have had to dodge deliberately reckless drivers. Three girls reported a shot was fired at them when they passed the Shell Station on Commerce Street.

Abuse and beatings continued at the integrated schools. For example, a high school boy suffered a fractured skull. A girl was chased by two white men on her way home from school. SCLC has repeatedly demanded protection for the children from local, state and federal authorities.

Hundreds of UCLA students pitched in $2 each and sent 11 students to spend Christmas vacation in the Grenada project. They tutored classes and brought programs of art, drama and Negro history to Grenada.

Commenting on the successful Christmas Blackout of Grenada, Pete Lowenburg, UCLA spokesman for the volunteers, said, "This Blackout Christmas is the best holiday being celebrated in this country. Christ would know us and feel at home."

Bruce Hartford has organized a Poor Peoples Committee to study welfare laws, and after confrontation with the Welfare Department, Committee members won the right to accompany welfare applicants during all hearings.

The Grenada Movement is publishing a mimeographed paper, "The Grenada Weekly Advocate." It includes up-to-date Movement news, Movement history, sermonettes, child-care advice, social announcements, and editorials. Jim Bullock is editor.

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Agency SCLC

# SCLC

332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

May, 1967

MEMO: To our Friends

FROM: The SCLC Staff

SUBJECT: SCLC Project Report

SCHOOL INTEGRATION One of the most shameful untold stories in the South is the day-to-day physical abuse and constant harassment endured by Negro children and their parents in integrating schools. This year, SCLC is fighting for elementary physical protection of Negro school children in two particularly vicious school systems - Wilcox County, Alabama and Grenada, Mississippi, where white schools were integrated in September. Beatings of children in and out of the schools took place every day. Some Negro parents, unable to watch their children being subject to torment and physical harm, finally pulled them out of the schools. Recognizing that this could be a disastrous setback to school integration and conscious of the deep willingness to take risks, SCLC staff members rallied the Negro community and 168 Negro students returned to the integrated schools. One day, history will adequately record the heroism of these parents and children. At this writing, the abuse in both Grenada and Wilcox has subsided.

SELF-HELP PROJECTS Among the largest and incontestably the most successful Negro-owned cooperative in the South is the silk screen plant established in Talieferro, Ga. Established by SCLC and others to give work to Negroes fired because of their civil rights activity, it has expanded into garment manufacturing. It is operating profitably in competitive trade channels and is already the largest industry in the town.

In Grenada, Miss., work is almost completed on the Negro-owned and managed cooperative supermarket which grew out of the boycott campaigns against the discrimination in white stores.

The poverty program which SCLC staff designed and launched in Wilcox County, Alabama, has been so successful it has burst over its banks. Planned for 200 families, response has been so phenomenal the project is running triple sessions at ten educational centers for over 500 families. (Wilcox County Negroes, in the midst of America's historic boom, earn $540 per capita annually.)

SCLC's strong Charleston, S.C. affiliate has formed a credit union, registered 3,000 new voters, sponsored a day care center and embarked on a job finding program.

A group of Chicago Negro business men, inspired and led by Dr. King, have furnished $50,000 as working capital to start rehabilitation of slum buildings. The Negro businessmen will receive no profit; they were motivated to use some of their savings to help others get a start in livable housing.

POLITICAL ACTION Registration and political education are beginning to pay off. The turning point was, of course, the emergence of a civil rights movement and enactment of the Voting Rights bill in 1965, a direct outgrowth of our Selma movement.

To be sure, there were serious setbacks last November. The Wallace victory in Alabama and Maddox in Georgia are consequences of both backlash and the inexperience of the young Negro political movement. We must not fail to see that in the primaries, the real elections, each of the segregationists faced an opponent who was distinguished and who asked publicly for the Negro vote, attended their meetings and submitted to their examinations. This alone is historic in Southern politics. Not to have won the first time out is neither a disgrace nor disheartening. Negroes are registered in large numbers and their ranks are increasing. Democracy can be won in the South. Hard work carried us this far and it cannot fail to take us to a victorious finish.

It is not so well known that a rapidly growing Negro vote in the South influenced many elections in 1966. This development follows intensive registration campaigns in the last year, many directed by SCLC.

The Negro vote in Georgia now has statewide impact, thanks partly to an SCLC-backed registration effort. Even more significant for the long run was the pleasantly astonishing coalition of whites and Negroes that turned Georgia's political scene into pandemonium last fall. It was a coalition unofficially but definitely inspired and led by SCLC people acting as individuals. Here you had an unheard-of-alliance of liberals, Negroes and even "crackers" - poor whites. Without much money or manpower, their write-in movement prevented the election of the top two segregationist contenders until Maddox was rescued by the courts, which permitted the old county-unit crowd to name a governor.

In Arkansas, the moderate Rockefeller defeated a segregationist by 45,000 votes, and a Negro turnout of more then 80,000 went better than 90% to Rockefeller for governor.

Negro voters in South Carolina, according to the respected research of the Southern Regional Council, "plainly provided the margin for a U.S. Senator and probably for a Governor." The Negro vote of 100,000 was overwhelmingly for a Democrat elected to the Senate by 12,000 votes and another Democrat winning the governorship by 72,000 votes.

The longer view is that registration and political education must continue. In 11 Southern states, Negro registration rose from 1.5 million in 1962 to 2.7 million today. Our goal was a doubling of the registered voters and despite handicaps we have come close to full success. But only about half of voting-age Negroes are registered in the South, compared to 70% for white adults.

OPERATION BREADBASKET National attention and admiration came to this five-year-old department of SCLC recently when Breadbasket in Chicago negotiated unprecedented concessions from large grocery chains.

Operation Breadbasket, throughout the South and in Chicago, has gained thousands of positions for Negroes at hundreds of companies. The value in annual income is many millions. In Chicago alone, during the last eight months, Breadbasket produced 900 new jobs worth $6 million per year. More gains in this program, directed by biracial groups of ministers, are steadily chalked up in the South. Some recently won jobs in the South: supervisors and stenographers at a state hospital in Dinwiddie County, Va.; cashiers, sales clerks and a manager at retail stores in Tallahassee, Fla., salesmen at two car dealerships in Atlanta, driver-salesmen at an Atlanta dairy. Under the auspices of Breadbasket a union was organized and then recognized as bargaining agent at a plant in Anniston, Alabama.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM At carefully planned and regularly scheduled workshops, the professional CEP staff has trained more than 3,000 Southern adults, most of them illiterates. These adults have returned home to instruct tens of thousands more in basic reading and writing, citizenship duties, voting rights, community development, consumer knowledge, legal processes, welfare laws and government programs.

AFFILIATES SCLC affiliate chapters - churches, civic and civil rights groups - quietly conduct their own programs, with the cooperation and advice of the national staff. Some typical recent activities of Affiliates: The Montgomery Improvement Assn. obtained more than 180 new retail jobs. Negroes established their own department store in rural Virginia. The Petersburg, Virginia, Improvement Assn. arranged an increase in local Negro telephone operators from zero to ten and this affiliate also spearheaded the election of a second Negro to the city council. In Miami, the SCLC chapter is organizing slum tenants.

URBAN RENEWAL In Chicago we are taking direct action against an attempt to wipe out Negro homes to replace them with commercial operations. Instead of genuine community renewal, this type of Government "renewal" projects frequently mean the transfer of displaced ghetto families into already overcrowded slums. In Chicago's Englewood area, 600 basically sound, Negro-owned homes have been threatened with destruction, to make way for a shopping mall and parking lots! The Freedom Movement has protested the project by encouraging customers to stop buying in the business district.

# SOME IMPORTANT FISCAL FACTS ABOUT SCLC

- Dr. King receives no salary nor any other compensation for his services. Most of our staff receive wages which are either below the poverty line or only slightly above it. This reflects not their ability or competence, but rather their dedication to the movement.
- SCLC is registered with various official state organizations supervising fund appeals.
- Our administrative costs are well below the ratio regarded as standard.
- Our books are audited by Jesse B. Blayton, C.P.A. Our financial statement is available to the public.
- Our fund raising is done in the most careful, economical fashion by our own staff and volunteers. We use no commercial fund raisers to insure that the largest possible portion of your contribution supports active programs.
- Each contributor is kept informed of our activities by periodic bulletins.

**IF YOU ALREADY ARE A CONTRIBUTOR TO SCLC...**

This mailing is being sent to a group of selected mailing lists other than our own. It has been proven by careful research that we save money by not attempting to eliminate duplication. These mailings, despite their occasional duplications, enable us to substantially enlarge the ranks of our supporters.

**YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO SCLC SUPPORTS:**

- Voter Registration (North & South).
- Action and education programs to end slums.
- Dialogue program for reconciliation of White and Negro.
- Citizenship Clinics and Work-shops on non-violence.
- Direct Action Programs to end segregation; to build self-help economic and political projects.
- Merit Employment Programs to end job discrimination.
- Legal Defense and bail for victims of racial injustice.

**SCLC**

A non-profit, non-sectarian agency

334 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

SOUTHERN COURIER

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 1 WEEKEND EDITION: DECEMBER 31, 1966-JANUARY 1, 1967 TEN CENTS

ROOSEVELT SCOTT FEEDS THE STOVE

# A Christmas Eve in Tent City-- 'It's Too Cold To Make a Cake'

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

TENT CITY--You don't have to live in a big brick house, fully decorated with Christmas lights or a fancy tree, in order to enjoy Christmas Eve.

Christmas Eve in a tent with no decorations--just the spirit of Christmas--can be just as much fun.

At least, it was for the Scott family, who spent their first Christmas Eve in Tent City last week. The Scotts and several other families were evicted from their old homes in Lowndes County after the adults registered to vote.

"I like it," said Roosevelt Scott, one of the four little boys who live in Tent City with their mother and father. "It's just like camping."

It is like camping, nearly every day of the year. But at this special time--Christmas Eve--it's also just like home. The things that made it seem like home were the cooking of the turkey and the Christmas tree put up by Roosevelt's brother, Odell.

Passing by on the highway, travelers couldn't see what went on in the tents this Christmas Eve.

But inside one of the tents, Mrs. Annie B. Scott and her husband sat watching a football game on their television set. Every once in a while, they would look into the pan at the turkey that was cooking, or add a piece of firewood to the stove. The turkey was sent to the Scotts for Thanksgiving. But it arrived too late, so they saved it for Christmas.

("We couldn't make any cakes this Christmas," said Mrs. Mandy Glover, a Tent City resident. "It's been too cold outside.")

Odell and Roosevelt Scott; a third brother, Cathy Lee; and their cousins, who were visiting them, played with some new toys inside another tent. "I wish I stayed out here," said one of the cousins, as he rolled a truck across the dirt floor.

A small Christmas tree sat on a table in the corner of the tent. "I made it," said Odell with a proud grin. "I did it at home."

The tree was a piece of pine sitting in a lard can filled with dirt. To decorate the tree, Odell had made pink, green, and red bulbs out of construction paper, and tied them to the leaves of the tree. A red ribbon made from a bologna wrapping held his Christmas tree in place.

Scattered on the ground outside the tents were toys that had been given to

MRS. MANDY GLOVER AND DAUGHTER

planning on moving out of Tent City just as soon as they finish the concrete-

move," they both said, "and leave these tents right here."

# Tuscaloosa Rights Group Gets OK for Head Start

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- Just a few weeks ago, Tuscaloosa was not going to have a Head Start program next summer, because no one was applying to run one. Then suddenly there were too many Head Start plans, as five groups scrambled to fill out two separate applications.

And surprisingly, an application naming a civil rights group to run Head Start won official approval--over an application naming the city board of education which ran the city's last Head Start program two years ago.

As the year drew to a close last week, the Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program (TOP)--the official anti-poverty agency--was rushing to meet a special extended deadline for work on the application filed by the civil rights group, the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (TCAC).

When TOP and the board of education announced last November that they were not applying for Head Start, TCAC made use of its equipment, saying this was "against school policy."

Rogers also said the application filed by TCAC and the other three groups is better, because it is "more broadly based," and because its centers will be located in "fringe areas," where the classes are more likely to be integrated.

Last year, the school board's application for Head Start was rejected largely because it didn't call for enough faculty desegregation. Some parents say the city board didn't apply for Head Start in November because it was still unwilling to follow the federal desegregation guidelines. But Nelson said the board knew what it was getting into when it made its application in December.

# Negro Injured After Arrest in Bullock

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--When Ivey Foster started home from his job on Christmas Eve, he was planning to spend the evening with his family.

Instead, he went to jail--and then to the hospital. He was treated for deep cuts and bruises all over his head

was I drunk? I said no." But the officers took him in the car and drove him over to the jail. Foster said Sheriff C. M. Blue and Garrett were there.

"I asked 'em about making a call, but they wouldn't let me," Foster said. "The white guy shoved me, and one of the officers said, 'If he gives you any

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When TOP and the board of education announced last November that they were not applying for Head Start, TCAC made a massive last-minute effort to put together an application. The group made the effort even though TOP Executive Director Jerry Griffin said it was "too late" to prepare the forms for the Dec. 15 deadline.

Three other groups--the all-Negro Community Interest Corps, the integrated Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations, and the Student Government Association of the University of Alabama--joined TCAC in preparing and sponsoring the Head Start application. More than 100 workers canvassed high schools throughout the city. And in mid-December, TOP's predominantly-Negro policy advisory committee tentatively approved the application.

Then the city board of education changed its mind about applying. The Rev. T. Y. Rogers, president of TCAC, said the school board was willing to let Tuscaloosa go without Head Start, but it wasn't willing to let anyone else run the program.

"If we got Head Start, the board of education wouldn't be able to run the program. This they couldn't stomach," said Rogers. "They'd rather have anything than have anyone know TCAC is the delegate agency.

"We'd be responsible for bringing a lot of money into Tuscaloosa--$60,000 to $70,000 in two weeks. This is power they don't want us to have, power they don't want poor people to have."

H. D. Nelson, superintendent of city schools, explained the board's switch differently. He said it was due "largely to the fact that some of these groups started asking for permission to use our buildings, school buses, and to rent facilities. We feel the community would hold us responsible for a program in our buildings. We cannot accept responsibility without authority to protect ourselves."

But TCAC's plan offered other choices for the Head Start centers, mostly in churches and on the University of Alabama campus. And when the school board learned that TCAC's application had been approved, it refused to allow

## *A Child*

More on Page Three

# Negro Injured After Arrest in Bullock

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--When Ivey Foster started home from his job on Christmas Eve, he was planning to spend the evening with his family.

Instead, he went to jail--and then to the hospital. He was treated for deep cuts and bruises all over his head.

Foster, a Negro, said Wayne Garrett, a white prisoner acting as a trusty, beat him up with a ring of jail keys. Garrett admitted hitting Foster with the keys. But, Garrett said, Foster hit him first.

Foster, 27, works for Union Springs Mayor Frank H. Anderson, who owns a downtown hardware store. On Christmas Eve, Foster said, Anderson gave his employees some Christmas whiskey before closing up around 6:30 p.m.

Foster said he left the store and walked across the street, past two city police officers sitting in a patrol car. "One of 'em called me over and asked, was I drunk? I said no." But the officers took him in the car and drove him over to the jail. Foster said Sheriff C. M. Blue and Garrett were there.

"I asked 'em about making a call, but they wouldn't let me," Foster said. "The white guy shoved me, and one of the officers said, 'If he gives you any trouble, knock the hell out of him.'"

Foster said Garrett locked him up, then came back and took him out of the cell. "I was ahead of him, just making the turn to go down the stairs, when he hit me on the back of the head with the keys.

"I fell. I tried to get up, but he hit me three or four more times. He kicked me in the face and chest. I passed out. Then someone was dragging me down the steps.

"I asked the sheriff to take me to a doctor but he said, 'Shut up, you ought to've been killed.' Someone else said, 'Niggers ain't supposed to live long nohow.' I passed out again. Next thing I knew, I saw Mr. Anderson and his son. Then I was in the hospital."

But Garrett, 21, a Dadeville man awaiting trial for burglary, remembered the incident differently. He said Foster "just kept a-cussin' me. . . 'cause he was drunk and mad. He hit me--that's when I hit him. I had the keys in my hand. . . . He wanted me to whup him, so I whupped him."

Mayor Anderson said he went to the jail because he heard Foster had been arrested. "He had been beaten," Anderson said. "He was bleeding all over his head." Anderson said he signed Foster's bond, had him taken to the hospital, and "called in the state investigators to see if they could ascertain what happened."

Union Springs Police Chief T. W. Tillery said he had no comment.

Sheriff Blue said he wasn't at the jail when Foster was beaten. "I was in my office--I heard a commotion and went on over."

# *Hospital, U.S. In CR Fight*

BY GLORIA GERMAN

MOBILE--In Mobile Infirmary, the largest hospital in the city, a new 100-bed wing is not being used. It was built for the old people who were expected to take advantage of Medicare.

But six months after Medicare began, Mobile Infirmary is still not certified for the program. The federal government says the hospital is not complying with the desegregation requirements of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Spokesmen for the hospital and the federal government this week blamed each other for the situation.

Morton Lebow of the U. S. Office of Equal Health Opportunity (in Washington) said that many doctors on the hospital staff are sending their white patients to Mobile Infirmary, while referring their Negro patients to other hospitals.

But, said the hospital's assistant administrator, John Tucker, "we have not heard of any specific number of Negroes that have to be admitted in order for us to get on the Medicare program."

Tucker said Negroes have been coming into the hospital at a rate of about 14 a day.

But according to Lebow, the government has explained the desegregation requirements to the hospital board--most recently, in a meeting last November. He said the federal agency is willing to explain its desegregation guidelines again, if they are still not clear.

Lebow said a government survey taken from Sept. 25 to Oct. 26 found that of 1,721 patients admitted to Mobile Infirmary, 1,701 were white and 20 were Negro. He claimed that the average number of Negroes coming in daily is much less than 14.

Tucker said the dispute over Medicare has started talk in the community about Mobile Infirmary. "The people are saying that something is wrong with our facilities in the hospital," but this is not so, he said.

# B'ham Speaker: 'We Did It'

BIRMINGHAM--"California couldn't do it," said Emory Jackson. "Illinois couldn't do it. But we did it. Alabama did it. We muffled the backlash."

Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, was speaking to members of the Alabama Christian Movement last Monday in St. James Baptist Church. He said he was disturbed at some slights being cast at Alabama's black leaders. "Of course we didn't have unity," he said. "We weren't after unity."

What were the leaders after? "Mainstream politics," said Jackson. "We wanted to see Negroes operating as Republicans and Democrats, just as electorates all over the country operate as Republicans and Democrats."

Birmingham Negroes have much to contend with, he said:

"We've got 38% of the population, and no percent of the firemen. And out at Samford University, we've still got a school that no Negro is good enough to attend."

the cousins, as he rolled a truck across the dirt floor.

A small Christmas tree sat on a table in the corner of the tent. "I made it," said Odell with a proud grin. "I did it at home."

The tree was a piece of pine sitting in a lard can filled with dirt. To decorate the tree, Odell had made pink, green, and red bulbs out of construction paper, and tied them to the leaves of the tree. A red ribbon made from a bologna wrapping held his Christmas tree in place.

Scattered on the ground outside the tents were toys that had been given to the children by some Tuskegee residents.

Mrs. Scott said she and her family are planning on moving out of Tent City just as soon as they finish the concrete-block house they're building nearby. So is Mrs. Glover, who is building a house in the same area. "We're going to move," they both said, "and leave these tents right here."

They may leave their tents behind, but they will never forget their Christmas Eve in Tent City.

MRS. MANDY GLOVER AND DAUGHTER

### *But a Giant from Dothan Steals the Show*

# BTW of Montgomery Takes First In Holiday Basketball Tourney

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

MONTGOMERY--High school teams came from all over South Alabama last Wednesday to take part in the ninth annual Holiday Basketball Tournament at Carver High School.

But in the end, there were two local squads--Carver and Booker T. Washington--fighting it out for the championship. BTW won, 59 to 53, in a wild and woolly contest that, at times, looked more like football than basketball.

The championship game was the eighth played during the marathon one-day tournament, which began at 9:30 a.m. and ended at 10 p.m.

For most spectators, the top attraction was Artis Gilmer, the 7' 1 1/2" center who led Carver of Dothan to third place in the tournament. In three games, Gilmer scored 39, 17, and 23 points. And he showed a fantastic shooting touch for such a big man--even sinking 63% of his foul shots.

Dothan coach James Hall said Gilmer, a senior, has been scouted by at least 20 colleges who want him to play for them.

In first-round games, Carver of Montgomery beat Alabama State High (Montgomery), 67 to 49; South Girard (Phenix City) got by St. Jude (Montgomery), 57 to 51; Carver of Dothan topped Hudson (Selma), 73 to 63; and BTW walloped Tuskegee Institute High, 96 to 77.

That narrowed the field to four teams. Led by Allen Belser with 20 points and John Oliver with 18, Carver of Montgomery beat South Girard, 69 to 61.

Then, in the closest game of the tournament, Booker T. edged Carver of Dothan, 74 to 70. Gilmer had four fouls before the first quarter was over, and couldn't play much after that. Arthur Roberts led the BTW scorers with 23 points.

But Carver of Dothan came back Wednesday evening to take the third-place trophy, by defeating South Girard, 79 to 72. South Girard pulled within four points, 74 to 70, late in the game, but Gilmer sank one basket and then passed to Richard Daniels all alone under the bucket to make it 78 to 70.

Two heads-up guards, Douglas Ramsey and Orlando Brown, made Dothan move even when Gilmer was on the bench. Ramsey led Dothan with 24 points, while Otis Ray, with 32, was high for South Girard.

The all-Montgomery final was not as close as the six-point margin made it look. BTW was always in control, sometimes leading by as much as 15 points. Near the end of the game, Carver of Montgomery closed the gap to 55 to 47, and appeared to be gaining. But Willie James of BTW hit two straight baskets to decide the issue.

Herbert Carter scored 17 points for BTW, and Oliver had 14 for Carver.

Booker T.'s Roberts--who tallied 52 points in three games--was named most valuable player.

DOTHAN'S ARTIS GILMER (32) REACHES SKYWARD

### *SORRY ABOUT THAT*

As our loyal readers may notice, The Southern Courier is a little thin this week--only four pages.

Because of the holidays, news was hard to find this week. Next week's paper, however, will be back to normal.

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 2 — WEEKEND EDITION: JANUARY 7-8, 1967 — TEN CENTS


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## Court Upholds School Guidelines

# 'Last Tick for Tokenism'

## Official Says Effect Slight

BIRMINGHAM--"Now I tell you," said Jefferson County Schools Superintendent Kermit Johnson, "whether we can move much faster with peace and harmony--well, I just don't know."

Johnson said he was uncertain about the county school board's future policy, in the light of last week's federal school-desegregation ruling.

Jefferson County and two other Birmingham-area school districts--Fairfield and Bessemer--were directly involved in the cases decided by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

"We're waiting to hear from our lawyers," said Johnson this week. "As I understand it, the court recommends the (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) guidelines as policy for school districts under court order. Whether or not the court laid down the guidelines as absolute law seems to me to be open to question."

But if the guidelines are now the law, what will be the effect on Jefferson County schools?

"Very slight," said Johnson. "It seems the court stipulates mandatory freedom of choice, but this shouldn't make much difference, because we have been accepting all applications for transfer, anyway."

Orzell Billingsley Jr., a Birmingham lawyer who helped present the cases in the appeals court, disagreed.

"Freedom of choice as it now operates," he said, "requires the parents' initiative. This considerably slows the rate of desegregation, as many parents are naturally reluctant to take such isolated initiative." Under the Fifth Circuit's ruling, desegregation will become more the responsibility of school officials.

Billingsley said the schools can handle increased desegregation without

## *Owls and Alligators*

NEW ORLEANS, La.--There are owls and alligators all over the office of U.S. Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom, the man who wrote last week's school decision.

But the animals aren't alive. They are pictures and statues that friends have given the judge, because he says those animals are symbols of his work.

The owls stand for wisdom--what a judge is supposed to have, and also the judge's last name. The alligators, he says, stand for the backlog of cases always snapping at him.

A lot of Southerners have also snapped at Judge Wisdom since he joined the circuit court bench in 1957. He has become known for his strong decisions in defense of civil rights.

But no one can call Wisdom a "carpet-bag" judge. He grew up in New Orleans, and comes from one of Louisiana's most respected families. He attended Washington and Lee University in Virginia, and graduated from Tulane Law School in New Orleans in 1929.

As a member of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Wisdom hears cases on appeal from lower courts in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and Texas. The only court that ranks above the Fifth Circuit is the U.S. Supreme Court.

Before last week's important ruling, Judge Wisdom had written the decision saying James Meredith had to be admitted to the University of Mississippi.

SCENES LIKE THIS MAY NOW BECOME MORE COMMON

## Integration Speeded Up

BY GAIL FALK

NEW ORLEANS, La.--When the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its original school desegregation decision in 1954, last year's high school seniors hadn't yet entered first grade.

At that time, many people thought that almost all beginning Negro students in the South would be going to integrated schools by the time they graduated.

But, said a panel of federal judges for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals last week, "For all but a handful of the Negro high school class of '66, this right (to a non-segregated education) has been 'of such stuff as dreams are made.'"

"Now, after 12 years of snail's pace progress towards desegregation," said the judges, it is time for integration to proceed with "more speed and less deliberation."

That statement was part of a decision handed down by Circuit Judges John Minor Wisdom and Homer Thornberry, with District Judge Harold Cox dissenting, after they had heard cases involving seven school districts in Alabama and Louisiana.

The decision, written by Judge Wisdom, did more than tell the seven school boards to desegregate. It also gave the court's approval to the federal government's 1966 school guidelines, and set up desegregation standards intended to cover all schools under court order in the Southeast.

The seven districts--Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, and Jackson parishes in Louisiana, and Jefferson County, Bes-

## *After a Year, Tuskegee Remembers*

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"Sammy Younge was an important part of this community," said Benny James, president of the Tuskegee Institute Council, the student government association. "We want to pay tribute to what he lived and died for."

That was Tuesday morning, one year from the day that Samuel L. Younge Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student, was shot and killed in downtown Tuskegee.

At that time, James said he planned to hold a memorial service in the downtown square.

But the only memorial service took place in Greenwood Cemetery shortly before 3 p.m. Tuesday afternoon, when James and four other students quietly laid a wreath on Younge's grave and stood for a moment of silent prayer.

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Billingsley said the schools can handle increased desegregation without endangering "peace and harmony."

"They could do it tomorrow if they wanted," he said.

# *Few Changes In '67 Guides*

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- The new 1967-68 school desegregation guidelines, mailed this week to school districts complying with this year's guidelines, reveal no major changes in federal policy.

The only substantial change in the 1967-68 guidelines is that school systems using a freedom-of-choice desegregation plan can schedule the 30-day choice period to begin right now, instead of waiting until March 1. This is intended "to give free-choice districts greater time to adjust to changes in enrollment patterns" before classes open in the fall.

The new guidelines use the same percentage "expectations" for desegregation as the present ones. This means that in most cases, school districts must at least double this year's degree of desegregation.

In districts with a "sizeable percentage" of Negroes, "if a significant percent of students, such as 8 or 9%, transferred from segregated schools for the 1966-67 school year, total transfers on the order of at least twice that would be expected," says the 1967-68 Statement of Policies of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

School districts where only 4 to 5% of the Negro students have transferred are "expected" to triple this figure, and districts with lower percentages of transfers are expected to show "proportionately greater" increases.

Districts that do not comply with the guidelines face loss of federal aid.

## A Face

*More on Page Three*

GRAVESIDE SERVICE FOR SAMUEL L. YOUNGE JR.

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

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But the only memorial service took place in Greenwood Cemetery shortly before 3 p.m. Tuesday afternoon, when James and four other students quietly laid a wreath on Younge's grave and stood for a moment of silent prayer.

What happened to the plans for a march downtown? James said only, "We decided it would be futile." But other students said that the college administration and Macon County Sheriff-elect Lucius D. Amerson joined the Tuskegee City Council in asking the students not to go downtown.

The city council issued its statement in response to James' request for a parade permit. The city "has no ordinance dealing with parades..." the council said.

But, the council added, during past demonstrations "law and order have not always been maintained.... The emotions of students and other citizens are such that we think any parade, demonstration, or similar activity would be ill-advised."

Tuskegee Institute President Luther H. Foster said the administration did not forbid the students to go downtown. "We have tried to give them all the facts as we knew them and encourage them to think for themselves," Foster said. "There is no question about its being dangerous to go downtown."

Amerson said he had surveyed the opinions of Macon County citizens, Negro and white. "A larger percent do not feel that demonstrations for no worthwhile purpose is going to serve any benefit to the county, morally and

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 2)

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That statement was part of a decision handed down by Circuit Judges John Minor Wisdom and Homer Thornberry, with District Judge Harold Cox dissenting, after they had heard cases involving seven school districts in Alabama and Louisiana.

The decision, written by Judge Wisdom, did more than tell the seven school boards to desegregate. It also gave the court's approval to the federal government's 1966 school guidelines, and set up desegregation standards intended to cover all schools under court order in the Southeast.

The seven districts--Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, and Jackson parishes in Louisiana, and Jefferson County, Bessemer, and Fairfield in Alabama--had argued that they shouldn't have to follow the desegregation guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

They claimed the guidelines were unconstitutional, and went farther than Congress meant to go in passing the 1964 Civil Rights Act. (This is one of the arguments the state of Alabama has been using in the big school suit now before a lower federal court in Montgomery.)

The school districts contended that they couldn't be forced to do any more than open the doors of the white schools to any Negro child who wanted to attend.

But the Fifth Circuit opinion said Congress had authorized the guidelines in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, because it wanted to make schools desegregate faster than they had done under court order alone. And that's just what the guidelines do, said the court.

Forcing the state to take responsibility for tearing down segregated school systems, as the guidelines do, is not unconstitutional, said Judge Wisdom's opinion, because the state set up the dual system up to begin with.

The circuit court went farther than saying HEW's guidelines were all right. It issued a decree almost identical to HEW's guidelines, that school boards under court order must now follow.

The Fifth Circuit has never before set comprehensive standards for desegregation. Most school systems under court order have had less strict standards than HEW requires, and almost every desegregation plan has been different.

The appeals court's decree calls for desegregation of all grades by 1967-68, under strict regulations to make sure that freedom-of-choice plans are really free. Any students who don't hand in choice forms must be assigned to the nearest school, regardless of whether it is white or Negro. All school activities, including sports and PTA's, must be open to everyone.

"Faculty integration is essential to student desegregation. . . .as long as a school has a Negro faculty it will always have a Negro student body," said the opinion. And desegregation means more than just one teacher of the minority race on a faculty, warned the opinion.

How strictly these standards are applied to court-order school systems will still depend on the district judge in each area. Now, however, school officials, Negro students, and the district judges all will know in advance what the Fifth Circuit is going to require in any case that comes to them.

Although the opinion said freedom-of-choice plans would still be accept-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

# Mrs. Jordan Integrates Laundry; Then--On to the Movie Theater!

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

EUFAULA--Mrs. Rosie Jordan integrated the Kwik Kleen Automatic Laundry on Broad St. in downtown Eufaula two Saturdays ago. And she liked it so well she went back again last Friday.

Mrs. Jordan said she didn't have civil rights in mind when she went off to do the family wash. "But the laundry uptown--where the colored go--was just so crowded, I decided to go to this other one instead. It's nearest to me anyway."

There wasn't anyone around when Mrs. Jordan entered the Kwik Kleen coin laundry for the first time. So she just plunked her clothes into the washing machines and sat down.

"Some people came in, looked, turned, and went out. But a few minutes later they came back. No one said anything to me."

But last Friday, Mrs. Jordan said, "I made me a couple of white friends."

She said one white lady started talking to her "about how many children we had--things like that." She said the lady asked her if she always had to do so many loads of wash.

"I told her this was a light week--only 11 loads. I said that since I had seven children, most weeks I filled 12 or 13 machines."

Another lady offered to help Mrs. Jordan fold her clothes when she took them out of the dryer. "I told her no, I had my son to help me. But she was real nice."

Mrs. Jordan said she was so encouraged by the way things went that she plans to take her washing to "two more laundries where the colored just don't go. And I'm trying to get all my friends to use the closest laundry to their homes without worrying about who else goes there."

She has some other ideas about making integration a fact of life in Eufaula. Although the local movie theater was officially desegregated two years ago, she said, Negroes still sit upstairs and whites sit downstairs.

The theater charges 75¢ for balcony seats and $1 for downstairs seats. When Mrs. Jordan went to see "The Ten Commandments" last month, she gave the ticket-seller four quarters.

"He picked up three of them and gave me an upstairs ticket. I handed him the extra quarter and said, 'No, I think I'll sit down here.' Then they tried to tell me I had the wrong ticket to sit downstairs, but I just went on in."

Mrs. Jordan said she went to the movie alone because she couldn't find anyone to sit downstairs with her. But from now on, she said, "whenever I go to the movie, that's where I'm going to sit."

She said she deliberately picked the showing of "The Ten Commandments" to move downstairs: "You know, that's about Moses leading his people out of slavery. It seemed to fit."

## *Without Really Being Arrested*

# How to Get Locked Up

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

FITZPATRICK--Mrs. Vinnie Ellis was in the back room ironing when Bullock County's only Negro deputy sheriff, Tom "Preacher" Tolliver, drove up to her gate one day last week.

"He blow on the horn," Mrs. Ellis said. "I told him, 'Come in,' but he said, 'Come out, girl--come in town and sign bond for Cora Blakely. She's in jail.'"

Mrs. Ellis said she didn't believe Tolliver. "I told him I had done heard he was comin' out here to pick me up. But he said no....All the way into town, he kept sayin', 'I'm gonna bring you right back, girl.' But when we got there, he put me in jail."

"I had to stay there all night," Mrs. Ellis said. "My five children was left here alone. I never stay from my children without getting grown people to stay with them, even in the daytime."

While Tolliver was talking to Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Blakely was in the county jail in Union Springs.

"He got me first," Mrs. Blakely said. "He come here, talk with me a little while, and said, 'The inspector man wants to see you.'"

Mrs. Blakely, who manages the Hilltop Inn (owned by Mrs. Ellis), said she already knew the inspector thought she was selling cooked food without a permit. But she didn't know whether any charges had been filed against her.

"I asked, was he taking me to jail? He said no. But when we got down the road a ways, he turned off, drove me into town, and took me to the jail."

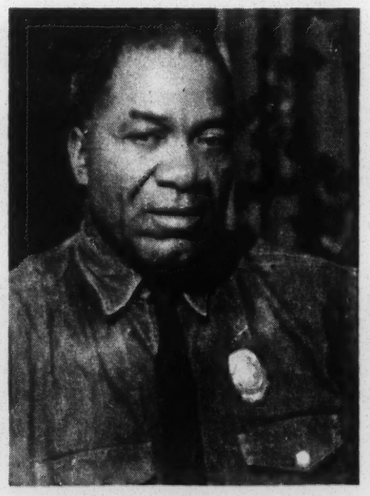
Mrs. Ellis--who was charged with assault after a quarrel with her husband--said she asked Tolliver to show her his warrant, but he refused.

"I didn't see it till I was in jail. The jailer stuck it through the bars. It was too dark to read. I didn't know what I was charged with till I was bonded the next day."

Tolliver, who has been working for Sheriff C.M. Blue Jr. for about four months, said he remembered carrying Mrs. Ellis and Mrs. Blakely to jail. But he said he didn't really arrest them.

"I would have arrested them if they hadn't of went with me," he explained.

He denied telling either lady that he wasn't taking her to jail: "They knowed



TOM "PREACHER" TOLLIVER

where they was going. They seed the warrants."

Tolliver, who wears a tin badge marked "private watchman," said he is nevertheless a regular deputy sheriff with the authority to arrest anyone who

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

SOUTHERN COURIER

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 3 WEEKEND EDITION: JANUARY 14-15, 1967 TEN CENTS

## Negro Killed In Greenville

BY HENRY CLAY MOORER

GREENVILLE --Charlie McCastle, father of five children, was shot to death last Saturday while he and a relative and friends were out hunting in the Butler Springs community.

Edmond Carter, a white land-owner, was later arrested and charged with second-degree murder in connection with the death of McCastle, a Negro from Pensacola, Fla.

Last Monday, C.B. McCastle Jr., 18, a witness to the shooting, talked about the death of his 32-year-old cousin. He sat in front of the fire in his old frame house, and 10 members of his family--mother, father, sisters, nephews, and nieces--listened to his account.

"Charlie got here at 6:30 a.m. Saturday morning from Pensacola," said C.B. McCastle Jr. "We had breakfast together, and my father went with him to find some dogs."

McCastle said he, Charlie, and two other men from Pensacola were walking on the land where the McCastle family lives when "Mr. Edmond Carter shot at us from his house."

When Carter approached the group of hunters, said McCastle, he "told Charlie to throw down his gun. Charlie said he wasn't throwing down anything." The witness said Carter shot once, and a bullet struck Charlie McCastle in the right temple. "Charlie fired one shot and stumbled backward," said C.B. McCastle Jr.

According to the witness, Carter shot again, and a bullet hit the victim "dead center of the forehead." "Charlie fired again," said C.B. McCastle Jr., "and fell to the ground."

The witness said one of Charlie McCastle's companions, identified as Raymond Gerier of Pensacola, signed a warrant against Carter. Butler County Sheriff Werth Thomas confirmed that a second-degree murder warrant had been issued, and said the case would probably go to the grand jury this spring.

Carter, who is free on $2,500 bond, could not be reached for comment.

## FARMERS LOSE LAND IN GREENE COUNTY

BY ROBIN REISIG

WEST GREENE--"They built the house and do the work and own a spot of land--but the other man's got the deeds," said the Rev. John Rice.

About 14 families in Rice's parish received eviction notices in November, ordering them off their spots of land by Jan. 1. (This made a total of 34 evictions in the area this winter.) Now some--like Jack Bizzell--are still in their homes, but they are only being allowed to stay until the weather gets warmer.

"You couldn't build in the cold," Bizzell explained. He said he convinced the "super-man (superintendent) to sell me my house." Although Bizzell built the house himself two years ago, he now must buy it for $150 from the landlord, who furnished part of the building materials, and then he must move it off the land.

"The notice come unexpected on us," Bizzell said. "I wasn't through with my crop."

## 'History' Made In Wetumpka

WETUMPKA--At mid-week, the grand-jury investigation of the James Earl Motley case was in the beginning stages. But last Monday

## Big W[illegible] in Congress, State Legislatures

## [illegible]n Out, [illegible]addox In, Wallace In / Out

EDWIN STANFIELD
SOUTHERN RESEARCH COUNCIL INC
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SCENE AT MADDOX INAUGURATION

### Washington

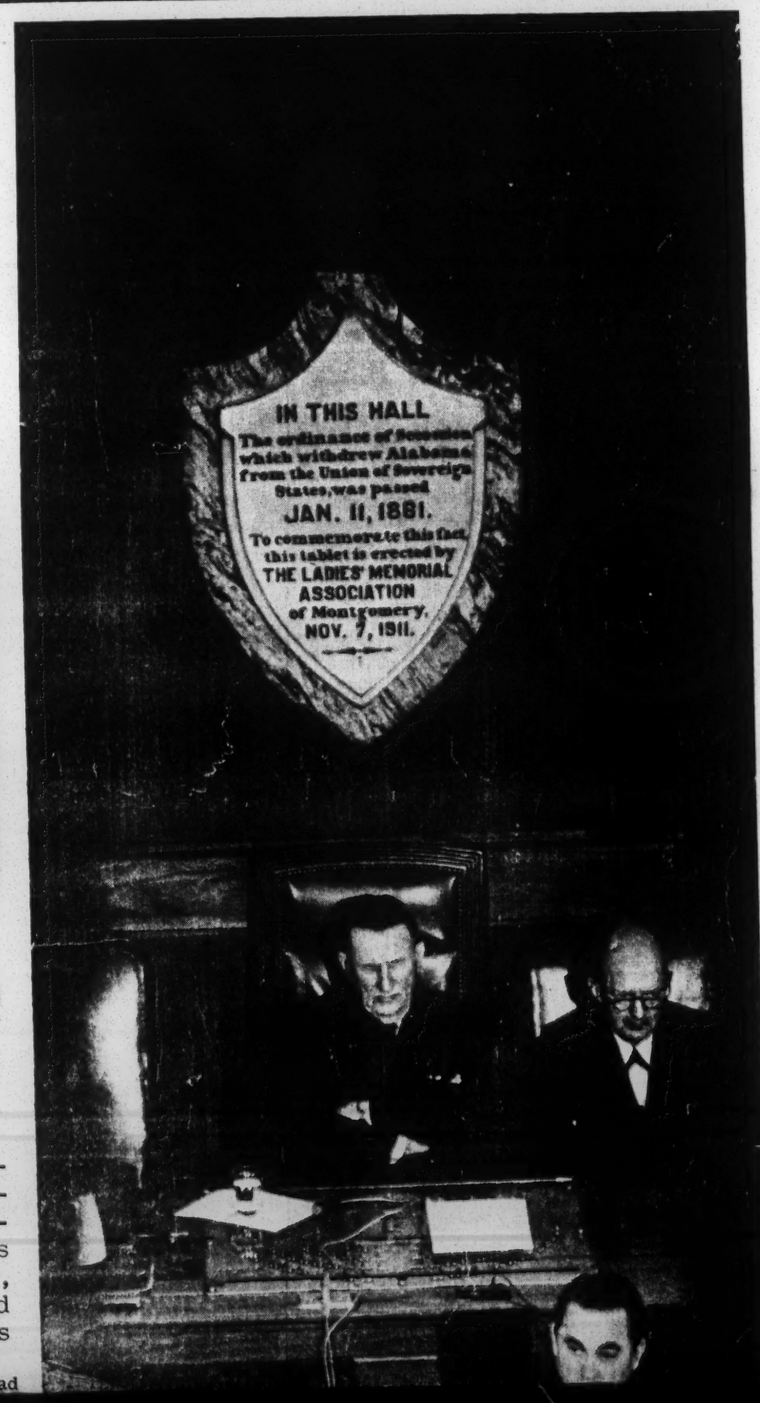
WASHINGTON, D. C.--Last Sunday, Adam Clayton Powell was the chairman of one of the most powerful committees in the U. S. House of Representatives -- the Education and Labor Committee. By Tuesday night,

### Atlanta

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--Segregationist Lester Maddox, a Democrat, took office last Wednesday as governor of Georgia, promising peace and prosperity during his term.

The day before, the legislature had



# IN GREENE COUNTY

BY ROBIN REISIG

WEST GREENE--"They built the house and do the work and own a spot of land--but the other man's got the deeds," said the Rev. John Rice.

About 14 families in Rice's parish received eviction notices in November, ordering them off their spots of land by Jan. 1. (This made a total of 34 evictions in the area this winter.) Now some--like Jack Bizzell--are still in their homes, but they are only being allowed to stay until the weather gets warmer.

"You couldn't build in the cold," Bizzell explained. He said he convinced the "super-man (superintendent) to sell me my house." Although Bizzell built the house himself two years ago, he now must buy it for $150 from the landlord, who furnished part of the building materials, and then he must move it off the land.

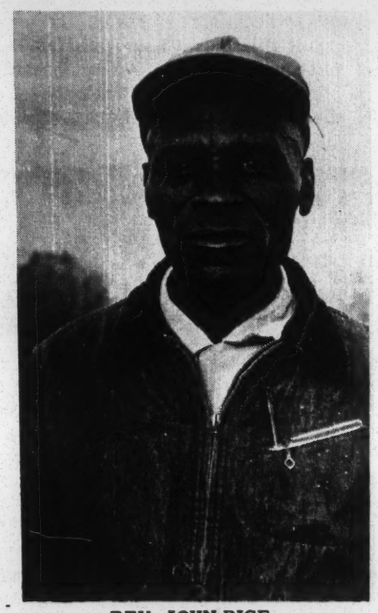
"The notice come unexpected on us," Bizzell said. "I wasn't through with my crop."

Yet Bizzell is much better off than most of the evicted families in Rice's parish, and elsewhere in the West Greene area. "The majority doesn't even have money to buy a lot," Rice said, "because all this money they made (from the year's cotton crop) they paid in debts and put on the rent of this land."

Most of the evicted families are staying in Greene County. But, said Bizzell, "some people's scared out now." He said his nephew, Walter Bizzell, "went up to the Northern states to work."

"All these people on all this land have been here all their lives," said Jack Bizzell. Now they must leave. Why?

"If there's any power in the vote, that's what it's about," said Rice, who owns his own land. "This county



REV. JOHN RICE

has a majority, 85%, of Negroes. Naturally, if there's anything they (the white people) can do to you, they do it."

The power of the vote matters very, very much in Greene County at the moment. While elections are over elsewhere in the state, Greene County still hasn't elected its sheriff and tax assessor.

Lawsuits are still pending that may put Negro candidates Thomas Gilmore and Percy McShan on the ballot. This would give the Negroes remaining in the county a chance to elect Alabama's second Negro sheriff in this century.

But there are other explanations for the eviction of the cotton farmers. Throughout the South, more profitable crops are replacing cotton. And throughout the nation, machines are replacing men.

Although the cotton fields are far from forests, Jack Bizzell said he was told that his land is going to become timber land for a paper mill.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 6)

## 'History' Made In Wetumpka

WETUMPKA--At mid-week, the grand-jury investigation of the James Earl Motley case was in the beginning stages. But last Monday in the Elmore County Courthouse, said Mrs. Annie Mae Williams, "we made a little history.

"We integrated the ladies' rest room."

Motley died in the Elmore County jail last Nov. 20, shortly after being arrested by sheriff's deputy Harvey Conner. More than 100 Negroes were at the courthouse when the grand jury met Monday.

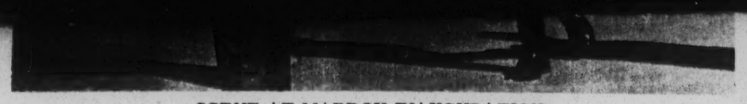
"They keep the ladies' rest room on the first floor locked," said Mrs. Williams. So she--along with Motley's mother, Mrs. Daisy Varner, and another woman--waited until a white courthouse employee appeared, and then asked to use her key.

"She kept telling us there was (a rest room) downstairs. We asked, 'For who?' but she wouldn't say," said Mrs. Williams. "Finally, she said her key was just for the employees." The employee told the ladies to get a key from the probate judge's office, Mrs. Williams said:

"We asked for the key there, and all the ladies looked at each other. They said the key was lost. But then another lady--who didn't know the key was supposed to be lost--came and asked for it."

After a long period of "waiting around," Mrs. Williams said, a janitor came out and unlocked the door.

"We didn't really have to use it," said Mrs. Williams. "We just wanted to know we could."



SCENE AT MADDOX INAUGURATION

## Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Last Sunday, Adam Clayton Powell was the chairman of one of the most powerful committees in the U. S. House of Representatives -- the Education and Labor Committee. By Tuesday night, he wasn't even a congressman any more.

On Monday, Powell's Democratic colleagues in the House voted to take away his chairmanship, even though House Speaker John W. McCormack asked them not to. The next day, the full House voted not to seat the New York congressman at all, at least until a special committee investigates his qualifications.

The double defeat came as a surprise to many people in Washington--even to some who wanted to see Powell punished.

For instance, Morris Udall of Arizona, who led the move to take away the Negro congressman's chairmanship, wound up arguing against Tuesday's action, saying it was "depriving" Powell's constituents of representation.

Several hundred constituents and other supporters of Powell--nearly all Negroes--demonstrated outside the Capitol on Tuesday.

"No taxation without representation!" was a popular cry after Powell was unseated. If it meant the people from Powell's Harlem district really weren't going to pay their taxes, the cry became even more relevant Tuesday night when President Johnson asked Congress for a 6% tax increase, to support the war in Viet Nam.

SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael blamed Johnson for Powell's troubles. "The main cat you focus on is Lyndon Johnson," he told the Powell support-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

## Atlanta

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--Segregationist Lester Maddox, a Democrat, took office last Wednesday as governor of Georgia, promising peace and prosperity during his term.

The day before, the legislature had elected him to the post by almost a 3 to 1 majority.

No one had much doubt about the outcome of the vote by the legislators--least of all Maddox, who sat in a side room of the Capitol building, writing his acceptance speech while the proceedings went on. The legislature is 89% Democratic, and most of the legislators come from districts where Maddox won.

Since neither Maddox nor Republican Howard "Bo" Callaway got a majority in the Nov. 8 election, the legislature was required to pick the governor.

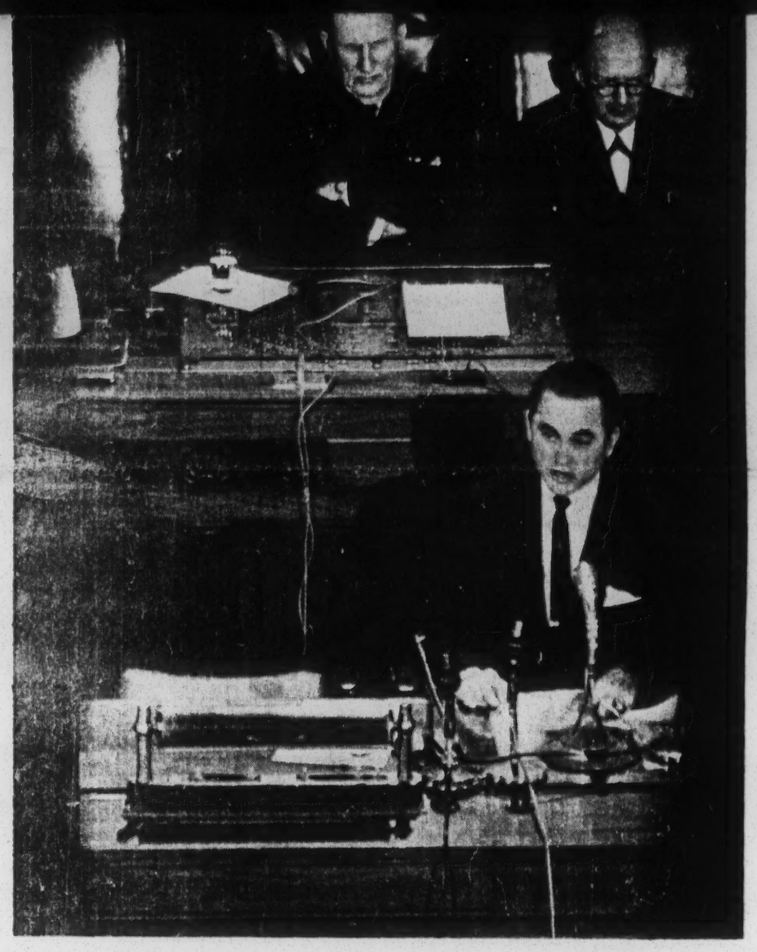
Lawsuits that threatened to spoil Maddox's chances by calling for a new election or a run-off were defeated in state and federal courts.

The last road-block between Maddox and the governor's chair was a well-publicized resolution offered by Representative Mac Pickard of Columbus, which called for a run-off. Any move to take the unpleasant job off the legislators' hands was expected to be popular. Quite a few law-makers were afraid of making enemies whichever way they voted.

There were more Democrats who didn't like the idea of a two-party system, though, as the resolution went down by a vote of 148 to 110.

So the roll was called to decide between Callaway and Maddox. The number of Maddox supporters suddenly ballooned to 182, while the Callaway supporters dwindled to 66.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)



GOV. WALLACE (BOTTOM) ADDRESSES JOINT SESSION

# Wallace Claims Nation Heading for 'Serfdom'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY -- The nation is heading for "totalitarian serfdom" unless the people of Alabama lead the way "to straighten out the mess in Washington."

That's what Governor George C. Wallace told the new state legislature at its opening session last Tuesday. But he didn't get to his main topic right away.

First, the governor told the standing-room-only crowd in the House chamber that his administration had given the people more highways, industry, employment, money, education, health, welfare, prisons, and state troopers than they ever had before.

Then he went on to talk about his "nation-wide movement to bind the federal executive by the rules of law."

"We have moved to the offensive," Wallace said. "The evidence piles up from day to day that the people are fed up with the bureaucrats telling them when to go to bed at night and when to get up in the morning . . . telling us we have not sense enough to run our schools."

"The people are disgusted by the spectacle of federal officials running around the country, encouraging 'peaceful' demonstrations in the streets . . . 'peaceful' riots . . . 'peaceful' assaults with rocks, guns, and Molotov cocktails," the governor shouted.

Under "an incompetent, unrestrained federal judiciary," Wallace said, "our constitutional rights have been dismembered with a broad sword . . . . The federal judiciary has set the torch to the rules of law of our Western culture."

"Never before have so few destroyed so much of so many in so short a period of time," he said.

The governor insisted that his "nation-wide movement" contained "nothing to give offense to persons of any race, creed, or color." But he also criticized "faceless, petty executives" for working toward "vague and ill-defined social ends."

Wallace steps down as governor next Monday, to be succeeded by his wife, Lurleen.

## 2,000 Ask Free Food For Lee County

OPELIKA--Nearly 2,000 people from all over Lee County have asked the county commissioners for surplus food to help the poor.

Representatives from different parts of the county presented a petition to the commissioners at their meeting last Monday. The Rev. G. R. Young Jr. of the Auburn Voters League said a county-wide survey showed there was "definite need" for the free-food program.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture will give the food away to poor people if the county will store and distribute it. In the past, Lee County officials have said they had no place to store the food. But this week they promised to consider the program.

Besides Young, the petitioners were Raymond Stubbs of Auburn, William Harper Jr. of Opelika, Albert Willis of Loachapoka, and Joe Vickerstaff of Waverly.

# 'It's Just White Power'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--"It's just white power," said James V. Poe, a Negro member of the Bullock-Pike-Coffee community action committee. "They've taken the poverty program out of our hands."

Poe was talking about what happened last week when the tri-county committee met in Troy to hear its screening sub-committee recommend a list of staff members.

Instead, Poe said, the sub-committee presented a resolution naming a white segregationist as director and giving him the power to hire the three other paid employees.

Poe said the 21 committee members present voted 11 to 10 in favor of the resolution. "Eight whites and three Negroes were for it," he said. "Ten Negroes were in opposition."

The man named director was Matt Colley of Troy, now deputy director of the state's anti-poverty office in Montgomery. Colley was appointed to his present job two years ago by Governor George C. Wallace.

The state office is currently being re-organized under pressure from the regional Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta, Ga. An OEO spokesman said this week that he did not know whether the deputy director's job would still exist after the re-organization.

"The office will merge with ATAC (the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation)," the OEO representative said. "Strict compliance with OEO guidelines will be required."

Although ATAC is integrated, the office where Colley works has never had a full-time Negro employee. "They've said they couldn't find qualified people," the OEO spokesman said, "but we're not satisfied with their explanations."

Colley attended the Bullock-Pike-Coffee meeting, where he was elected community action program director at a salary of $9,600 a year. Robert Harris of Midway, a Negro committee member, said Colley promised his new office would hire Negroes as well as whites.

But Colley this week refused to answer questions about his plans. On Tuesday, he said he was busy picking his staff and would have their names Wednesday morning. On Wednesday, his Montgomery office said he had been called out of town for the day.

Harris and Poe said they thought many Negroes on the tri-county community action committee were disturbed about the way Colley was appointed and the power he was given. But the committee chairman, Jackson W. Stokes, said he didn't know of any reason for the opposition.

"When you have 38 people, you're going to get 38 different opinions," Stokes said this week at his office in Elba. "I wouldn't exactly say the choice was unanimous, but if the split was racial, I didn't detect it."

Poe called the 11-10 vote the result of "politicking." "It's all a cooked-up bunch of junk," he said angrily. But Stokes said the vote was fair and open.

And the OEO office in Atlanta said the resolution does not violate OEO guidelines. "It is the policy of the agency to let the local committee make the decisions on how to hire its staff," the OEO spokesman said.

SOUTHERN COURIER

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 4 WEEKEND EDITION: JANUARY 21-22, 1967 TEN CENTS

JUDGE HORNSBY (RIGHT) ADMINISTERS THE OATH TO SHERIFF AMERSON (LEFT) AND DEPUTIES

## *Amerson Takes Over*

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"I've got a big job ahead," said Macon County Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson, climbing into a shiny black car with a white panel on the front door. "I'm ready to begin."

A few minutes earlier, shortly before 10 a.m. last Monday, Amerson had taken the oath that made him Alabama's first Negro sheriff since Reconstruction.

The 15-minute ceremony in the office of Probate Judge Preston Hornsby was closed to the public and the press. Only Amerson's three deputies, his family, his minister, and his lawyer were there to see him raise his right hand and swear to support the constitutions of the United States and the state of Alabama.

"I will faithfully and honestly discharge the duties of the office upon which I am about to enter, to the best of my ability. So help me God," said Amerson. His first act as sheriff was to swing one of his young sons up in his arms. Then he smiled, shook hands all

## Gomillion: Other Posts Matter

TUSKEGEE--The day after Macon County inaugurated its first Negro sheriff, a Negro leader suggested that another political victory was just as important.

Charles G. Gomillion, chairman of the Macon County Democratic Club (MCDC), told a precinct meeting that the election of six Negroes to the county's Democratic Executive Committee last November was a major step toward political equality.

"Good politics is starting at the level where success can be experienced," Gomillion said to the 15 voters from Rockefeller Hill who showed up at the Mt. Olive Baptist Church last Tuesday night. "Yet Negroes were elected to the Democratic executive committees in only three counties--Jefferson, Mobile, and Macon."

"Negroes could have been elected (to the committees) in half a dozen other counties if there had been any concern," Gomillion went on. "But people would rather shoot for sheriff--or governor--or judge on the supreme court. . . . We've been politically deprived for so long, we want to start at the top."

Gomillion also had an answer for the people who have complained that the MCDC moves too slowly and too quietly. "Noise doesn't get us very far," he said. "Threats don't help us much. Emotional reactions. . . can lead to dangerous action. . . . Our objective is to move forward with very little fanfare."

Gomillion said that the MCDC is designed for political education and political action. "This is not a welfare agency. It's partisan politics." He said the club will not sponsor "baby clinics or poverty programs ...or demonstrations. The only demonstrations will be at the ballot box."

## Sheffield Church Sad

### *In Elmore County Death*

# No Indictment

MISS EDNA MAE BOWMAN

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

WETUMPKA--No one was very surprised here last Tuesday when the Elmore County grand jury refused to indict anyone for the death of James Earl Motley.

There had been signs all the past week that nothing would be done about Motley, the 27-year-old Negro who died in the county jail last Nov. 20, hours after being arrested on the highway.

Mrs. Annie Mae Bowman saw such a sign on Jan. 5, when sheriff's deputy Harvey Conner came to her house with an order for her daughter, Edna Mae, to testify before the grand jury. Miss Bowman and other witnesses had said Conner beat Motley severely while arresting the victim shortly before his death.

Mrs. Bowman said Conner told her, "Make her (Edna Mae) tell the truth and won't nothing happen. If she tells it like Clark (Ruben Clark, another witness), won't nothing happen. You know I never hurt nobody."

Miss Bowman did not have an easy time with the grand jury when she testified on Jan. 11. "They kept asking me if I ever had a date with Earl," she said.

During her 30 minutes of testimony, she said, "I was saying 'Yes' and 'No' to them. A lady asked me if I knew how to say 'Yes, ma'am.' I said I didn't."

Miss Mary Ann Bowman, who accompanied her younger sister to the courthouse that day, said she saw another sign that something unusual was happening when Dr. Joseph R. Benson, Elmore County coroner, left the grand jury room.

"Dr. Benson was crying when he came out," said Miss Mary Ann Bowman. "Then they had to raise the window and take his coat off."

It turned out later that Benson had shown the jury the death certificate he filled out for Motley. The certificate listed the probable cause of death as "accidental."

Benson explained that while Motley may have been beaten, the victim also fell and struck his head while entering the jail, and then toppled out of his bunk on to the steel floor of his cell.

The coroner's ruling didn't surprise Motley's mother, Mrs. Daisy Varner, or the dead man's brother-in-law, Charlie Foster. They said Benson had told them the same thing weeks earlier.

But Benson's explanation was disputed by a Negro prisoner who was in the jail when Motley died. Although two other prisoners were called before the grand jury, this man was not.

The prisoner said Motley couldn't have stumbled outside the jail, because he wasn't even able to walk. "He was out when he got there, so how in the

## *Welfare Problem For Wallace(s)*

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"I will faithfully and honestly discharge the duties of the office upon which I am about to enter, to the best of my ability. So help me God," said Amerson. His first act as sheriff was to swing one of his young sons up in his arms. Then he smiled, shook hands all around, and went out to meet the public.

People had been following Amerson ever since he left his office in the Tuskegee Federal Credit Union building at 9:30 a.m. His two Negro deputies, Eddie M. Ivory and Joseph Merriwether, and his white deputy, Arthur L. Knowles, came along behind him.

Although the wind was cold, the sun was bright. Amerson wore his hat, his gun, his shiny badge, and sunglasses. But he left his dark green jacket in the car.

About 15 people were waiting on the sidewalk to congratulate Amerson. He stopped to shake their hands, while the televison cameramen got it all on film.

"I'm kicking off my campaign. I'm going to run for public office," said Amerson, grinning. The photographers laughed. He climbed into his new car and headed downtown toward the courthouse.

Another 15 or 20 people were waiting to see Amerson at the courthouse. But when Amerson and his three deputies marched up the courthouse steps and into the probate judge's chambers, Hornsby stuck his head out. "Get going," he snapped at the people crowding into the outer office.

"If that's the way he wants it, that's the way it's going to be," Amerson added. The people backed out the door. Then a lady employee pulled down the shade so no one could see inside.

Fifteen minutes later, Sheriff Amerson came out of Judge Hornsby's office. Somebody asked him how it felt to be Macon County's first Negro sheriff. "Feels fine," said Amerson, smiling.

Over at the sheriff's office in the county jail, former Sheriff Harvey Sadler was finishing up his last day on the job. Although Amerson and his deputies weren't taking over until midnight, Sadler had changed his uniform for a business suit.

"Any time he's ready, I am," Sadler said. "I don't think he'll have any trouble. I'll be glad to help him if I can."

"We've had a couple of years of pretty rugged going in Macon County," said Sadler, who replaced Hornsby as sheriff in January, 1965. "I hope it will quiet down now. The people deserve a little rest."

After Amerson was sworn in, he drove around to the jail to let the photographers take a few more pictures. Then he politely told them that was all.

"Perhaps after I serve in office four years, I'll go to Hollywood and try to get in the movies," the new sheriff said. "But right now I'm busy. I've got a big job to do." He got into his car and drove away.

Meanwhile, in Selma, Wilson Baker took office as sheriff of Dallas County. One of the first things he did was to appoint a Negro deputy--45-year-old Nathaniel Holmes.

Committee last November was a major step toward political equality.

"Good politics is starting at the level where success can be experienced," Gomillion said to the 15 voters from Rockefeller Hill who showed up at the Mt. Olive Baptist Church last Tuesday night. "Yet Negroes were elected to the Democratic executive committees in only three counties--Jefferson, Mobile, and Macon."

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# Sheffield Church Sad Over Loss of Pastor

BY JOAN CLARK

SHEFFIELD -- When Father Brice Joyce, a white priest, came to Our Lady of Grace Parish in 1959, the mission consisted of 15 Negroes. Since that time, the mission has grown to 120, and has integrated voluntarily--so that it's "like salt and pepper," one member said.

But now Joyce must leave the mission.

"It came as a great surprise," said

FATHER BRICE JOYCE

Mrs. Margaret Buckner, Joyce's friend and assistant. "They just told him."

The members of the mission were stunned. Many were in tears when Joyce administered the last mass on Jan. 8. According to Mrs. H. E. Mathew, a member of the mission, Joyce "appealed to the people to stay in the church, and to carry on the work of charity they had been doing."

Last Sunday, the people hoped to hear more from Joyce, but instead he was temporarily replaced by Father Raphael Salasek. Salasek told the congregation that Joyce "has been near physical collapse."

"We must be honest," Salasek continued. "There has been opposition in the area which has hurt him very much."

Excerpts were read from the Catholic newspaper that announced the merger of Joyce's parish with the Tuscumbia parish, Our Lady of the Shoals. The paper said Father Gregory Roettger, apostolic administrator for the area, sees the merger as a "solution to the financial needs of the Sheffield church."

According to the paper, Joyce had pointed to the "financial plight of his parish," and "it was following this report by Father Brice that the monastery council made its decision in favor of the amalgamation plan."

Some parishioners said they could see some benefits in the merger plan, even though Salasek said the amalgama-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

THE WALLACE FAMILY

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--In her first days in office, Governor Lurleen B. Wallace faced the possibility that the state may soon lose $96,000,000 in federal welfare money.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has threatened to cut off the money by Feb. 28, unless Alabama promises to run its aid programs without racial discrimination.

This apparently means the state must file a compliance agreement like those required of school districts. Alabama is the only state that has not filed such an agreement, although former Governor George C. Wallace says the state has agreed to "comply with the law."

The former governor referred to the welfare problem last Monday as he introduced his wife at her inauguration. He also noted that the U.S. Public Health Service has begun steps to cut off $800,000 in federal aid to mental hospitals, because of alleged discrimination.

"Just during the past week," he said, "bureaucrats have threatened to cut off funds of old-age pensions to the elderly of our state, and even to deny funds for the care of the mentally ill."

He said this was an "exercise of naked, degenerate power," and added,

ON THE BUTTON

"Of course, this latest in a series of threats over the past 2 1/2 years, shall--like the others--never be carried out."

(The state filed a federal suit last week to block the welfare cut-off. About 200,000 people--mostly very old or very young--would have their welfare checks reduced if the funds are stopped.)

In his introduction, the former governor also said, "Alabama is where freedom lives--and works. That is why the words 'Alabama' and 'freedom' have come to have the same meaning to peoples around the world."

For the first time in public, Mrs. Wallace talked longer than her husband.

"I entered the race for governor for the purpose of permitting my husband to take our fight to the final court of appeal--the people of the United States, in whom rest the ultimate sovereign power of this nation," she said during her half-hour speech.

Mrs. Wallace said the federal government was trying to take over the schools. "This is an effort to gain control of the hearts and minds of our children," she said. "As your governor and as a mother, I shall resist it."

The Wallaces spoke after a gigantic parade of nearly 200 bands wound through the streets of Montgomery from 9:30 a.m. to 3 p.m. For the first time since 1955, there were Negro bands in the parade--including a swinging group from Carver of Dothan that brought up the rear.

Benson explained that while Motley may have been beaten, the victim also fell and struck his head while entering the jail, and then toppled out of his bunk on to the steel floor of his cell.

The coroner's ruling didn't surprise Motley's mother, Mrs. Daisy Varner, or the dead man's brother-in-law, Charlie Foster. They said Benson had told them the same thing weeks earlier.

But Benson's explanation was disputed by a Negro prisoner who was in the jail when Motley died. Although two other prisoners were called before the grand jury, this man was not.

The prisoner said Motley couldn't have stumbled outside the jail, because he wasn't even able to walk. "He was out when he got there, so how in the world could he fall out the car unless you pull him out?" the prisoner said.

He also said Motley couldn't have killed himself when he fell off his bunk, since the bunk was only 16 inches off the floor.

"How can you crush your head off a 16-inch bunk?" the prisoner asked. "I've seen guys fall off the top bunk and get right back up and snore louder than ever."

He said "four clots of blood about the size of a saucer fell out of his (Motley's) head" when the victim rolled off his bunk. "I picked his head up and laid it across my knee." Then, he said, Motley stopped breathing, and "brains and stuff started foamin' out his nose and mouth."

When Motley first arrived in the jail, the prisoner said, deputies tried to revive the victim by throwing water in his face and digging a quarter under his finger-nail. When neither method worked, the prisoner said, one officer remarked, "Well, he ain't coming to."

After the jury made its report, District Attorney U.G. Jones was unavailable for comment. His office said he was "out of town."

Elmore County Sheriff Sidney Thrash, who replaced Lester L. Holley last Monday, said he hadn't made up his mind whether to keep Conner on as a deputy. He said Conner was "not at present" on the staff, but "we haven't got everything decided yet."

Mrs. Varner, the victim's mother, said her lawyer, Fred Gray of Montgomery, would advise her what to do next. She said she would co-operate with the U.S. Justice Department in its investigation of the case.

"Ain't but one reason," she said. "It's not going to bring him back. But it's going to uncover so many ugly things that's been happening.

"This might have happened for the best."

After the grand jury took no action, U. S. Attorney Ben Hardeman filed criminal charges against Conner in federal court in Montgomery. Conner was charged with depriving Motley of his civil rights, while "acting under color of law of the State of Alabama."

The charge is a misdemeanor--not a serious offense--and it does not have to go through the federal grand jury. If convicted, Conner could be fined $1,000, and sentenced to a year in prison.

### SNCC HEAD STEPS DOWN

Stokely Carmichael has said he will not run for re-election as chairman of SNCC. Carmichael made the statement last Sunday on a TV program in Chicago, and repeated it on Monday in Baltimore. He said he would become an organizer, "because it's what I do best." And, he said, his successor would not be as "conservative" as he is.

*Fraternity Workers Protest Pay*

# 'Nothing but Slavery'

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- "We have here a great university that teaches democracy on the one hand, and practices slavery and perpetuates poverty on the other," said the Rev. T.W. Linton.

Linton was speaking earlier this month at a mass meeting dealing with the wages and hours of the Negro men and women who work in the fraternity and sorority houses at the University of Alabama.

Representatives from more than a dozen of the 44 fraternities and sororities have been meeting since December to organize for improvement of their condition.

"We work 12 hours a day, seven days a week--except Sunday when we work 8 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.," one cook said. Her pay-- $38 a week--seemed to be above average. A maid who makes $27 said she was lucky. Some workers complained that $15-$20 was standard.

"This is nothing but slavery," said another cook. "If one person works in a house and wants to get free and speaks up, and the other five in the house are quiet, the one gets fired."

The workers considered forming a union, so that "if they fire one, all go," said Mrs. Minnie Thomas of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (TCAC). The civil rights group has been meeting with the workers.

'We're going to try to bring it into one umbrella, and say all fraternities are in trouble because all fraternity workers are united now," said the Rev. T.Y. Rogers, TCAC president.

The university administration, at least, now seems willing to listen to the workers.

"There is concern on both sides" about fraternity wages, said John L. Blackburn, dean of men. He said the university is "working on this." Next month, he added, the school is putting all its employees on the federal minimum wage--$1 an hour for non-profit institutions.

But, according to Student Government Association (SGA) President Ralph Knowles, the fraternities are independent of the university, "So it's pretty much up to them how they pay their help."

Rogers noted that TCAC has been working closely with SGA in preparing a Head Start application. "A university whose students participate in Head Start to eliminate poverty is helping to maintain a group of people in a poverty-stricken condition in this community," he said at a mass meeting last Monday.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 6)

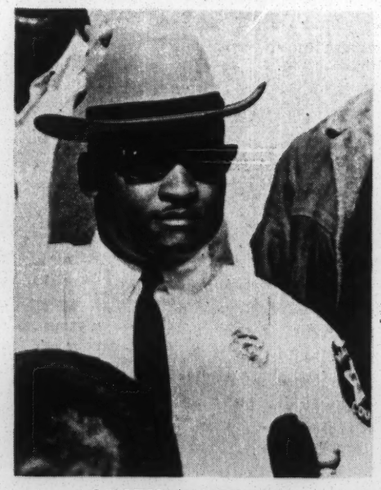
# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 5 | WEEKEND EDITION: JANUARY 28-29, 1967 | TEN CENTS


# Constables Run Loose in Macon

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson pledged this week that "something will be done" if Macon County's new white constables get in the way of law enforcement.



LUCIUS D. AMERSON

Amerson, the county's first Negro sheriff, refused to say anything more about the sudden appearance of the new constables--the county's chief topic of conversation since he took office last week.

"It's all a lot of talk for nothing," Sheriff Amerson said. "I don't see where it's so important."

But the constables--who make arrests and serve almost all kinds of legal papers--will be in direct competition with Amerson for the money he needs to run the sheriff's office.

At least three white men have been named to the jobs since Amerson was elected last November. Two of the new constables--O.C. Bryant of Notasulga and former deputy L.O. Hall of Tuskegee--were appointed by local justices of the peace since Jan. 1. The third, Willie Kirk Jr., was named by Governor

Sadler said that if he is appointed a constable, he doesn't plan to work against Amerson. "I truthfully believe constables would be a benefit to him, take the pressure off him," the former sheriff said.

"A lot of people blew this up just because he was colored. They're tryin' to make it look like something directed against someone. . . but I think it would be of help."

"I certainly don't want full-time constables in every beat--that's not for the good of the county," Sadler added. "I have just a very, very little time to put into it. I work a 12-13 hour day here at my store."

But at least one new constable does plan to work full-time. Hall, who still wears the brown uniform he wore as one of Sadler's deputies, said, "I'm going to be out there trying to make a living."

Hall said that he asked for his constable's badge after getting encouragement from both races. "Your colored and white have asked for something.... I don't know whether because they didn't want to support (Amerson) or what."

The new sheriff stopped Hall on the street last week, and asked to see his constable's identification. Amerson said Hall didn't show it until "I went to put the handcuffs on him. Then he dug his hands down in his pockets and brought it up. I didn't arrest him. If I had, he'd be in jail."

Hall has now threatened to sue Amerson for false arrest. The sheriff said, "I hope he does."

Amerson warned all constables to show proper identification when asked. "If they don't, I'm gonna lock 'em up," he said. "I'm not gonna have people running around the county wearing badges and I don't know who they are."

Does Macon County really need sev-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX Col. 1)

## Council Backs Amerson

# Death on the Highways

## Lady Killed In Clarke

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

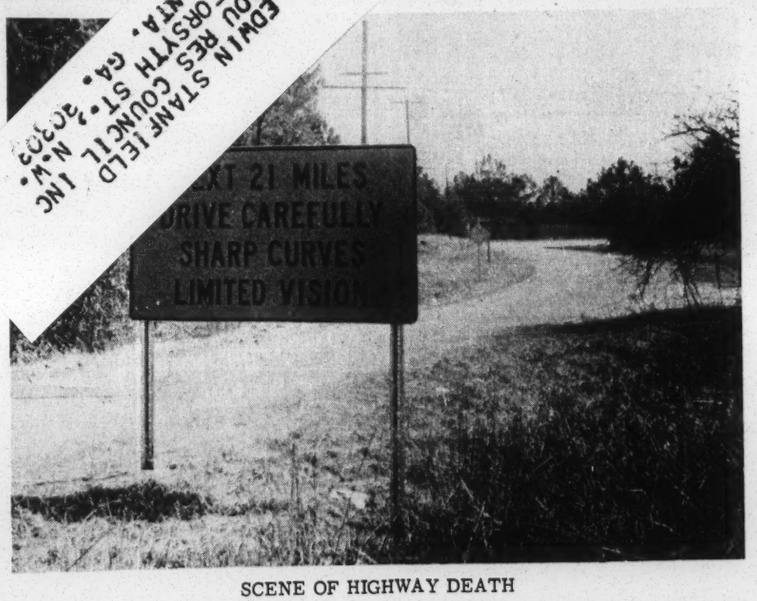
COFFEEVILLE--"She left hor[illegible] went to take some mail down J[illegible] Rd.," said a relative of Mrs. Gr[illegible] Mae Osborne. "It was too late for h[illegible] to go out by herself. They brought word that she had been run over. . . . The law was here, and the undertaker came and got her."

Mrs. Osborne, a Negro, was killed on Highway 69 the night of Dec. 2. Cecil Shepherd, a 29-year-old white man, has been charged with first-degree manslaughter in connection with the death of the 33-year-old mother of three.

"I just can't figure it out," said Shepherd's uncle, "Tink" Shepherd.

"My two boys went off to the ball game in the truck, and then to their sister-in-law's. Cecil jumped in the truck and took off. My boys chased him down the road. By the time they got to him, he'd done had the accident. . . .

"They brought him back to the house. Then they went looking for the hubcaps off the truck, and they found that nigger woman."




SCENE OF HIGHWAY DEATH

Shepherd is out on $2,500 bail, awaiting a hearing during the spring term of the Clarke County grand jury on the manslaughter charge.

State Trooper Marshall Dannelley, who assisted Clarke County Sheriff Hubert Paul the night of Mrs. Osborne's death, said Cecil Shepherd "didn't have a driver's license," and may have been drinking that night.

But Shepherd was not charged with any license violation, and he was not tested for sobriety. These possible violations could not be pursued, "because we didn't see it," Dannelley explained.

"We don't give tests for intoxication," added Sheriff Paul.

Last Saturday night at Scyrene, James Patrick, an 18-year-old Negro youth, was killed by a hit-and-run driver while walking home. When that happened, Sheriff Paul's office got a Mobile toxicologist to perform an autopsy--which indicated that the youth had been drinking before his death.

Mrs. Osborne's relatives say people in the community have tried to help them. "The people here been so nice--white and colored," said one of the victim's cousins. "Course, that's not bringing her back, but they been nice. Bring the children food and clothes--they had the biggest Christmas in their lives."

## Wallace Goes to Wash. But Wife Stays Home

BY JUDITH COBURN

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Former Governor George C. Wallace made a big splash last Wednesday in a Senate hearing on whether Alabama's federal welfare funds should be cut off.

Dressed all in blue, "the special assistant to the governor" energetically attacked the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). He said HEW's threat to cut off the federal welfare funds "is an illegal grab for arbitrary power."

HEW wants to stop funds to the Alabama welfare department, because the

WALLACE

ABERNATHY

timated as high as $105,000,000 a year.

Former Governor Wallace told the Senate Finance Committee--which is investigating the possible cut-off--that "there is no discrimination in the Ala-

## Visitor Shot By Trooper

BESSEMER--A week after it happened, people in Bessemer and Birmingham were still talking about the death of Anthony Shelton, a 27-year-old Negro from Detroit, Michigan.

Shelton was shot to death Jan. 19 by Alabama State Trooper Mickey Shell, after Shell arrested him on Highway 11.

Colonel C.W. Russell, director of the state Department of Public Safety, said this week that Shell "arrested the nigra for DWI (driving while intoxicated)." While seated in a car with the trooper, Russell said, "the nigra broke and run."

Then, said Russell, "the nigra jumped the trooper, and actually got the gun away from the trooper." Shell scuffled with Shelton, said the colonel, until "the nigra hit him and knocked him down an embankment. That's when (Shell) shot him."

Shelton was in Birmingham to visit relatives--his mother, Mrs. Hattie Shelton; his former wife, Carol; his brother, Mack; and his sister-in-law, Mattie.

Anthony Shelton was hoping for a reconciliation with his former wife, said his brother, and he was on his way to see his mother-in-law when the incident occurred. "He wasn't about to be drunk," said Mack Shelton.

According to the Shelton family, witnesses to the incident said Anthony Shelton lay on the ground, bleeding, for an hour before an ambulance took him to Memorial Hospital in Bessemer. After being transferred, he died in the emergency room of University Hospital in Birmingham.

Last Monday night at a meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement in Birmingham, the Rev. C.W. Woods said

about the sudden appearance of the new constables--the county's chief topic of conversation since he took office last week.

"It's all a lot of talk for nothing," Sheriff Amerson said. "I don't see where it's so important."

But the constables--who make arrests and serve almost all kinds of legal papers--will be in direct competition with Amerson for the money he needs to run the sheriff's office.

At least three white men have been named to the jobs since Amerson was elected last November. Two of the new constables--O. C. Bryant of Notasulga and former deputy L. O. Hall of Tuskegee--were appointed by local justices of the peace since Jan. 1. The third, Willie Kirk Jr., was named by Governor George C. Wallace last Nov. 29.

Probate Judge Preston Hornsby, who was sheriff here for 15 years, said the present total "gives us two or three more constables than we usually have."

And the governor's office confirmed that applications from former Sheriff Harvey Sadler and several other would-be constables are awaiting action by Mrs. Lurleen B. Wallace.

The law provides for ten regular constables in Macon County, one for each election precinct. With Kirk and another white man, Billy Joe Pugh, filling two rural positions, Mrs. Wallace can name eight more constables if she wants to. And there is no legal limit to the number of special constables who may be appointed by justices of the peace.

Former Sheriff Hornsby admitted that constables "can really cut into the sheriff's fees. Arrest is the only way he's got of making money. There's no salary."

But both he and former Sheriff Sadler said that competition between constables and sheriff's office is nothing new in Macon County. "I used to get mad with 'em (the constables) when I was sheriff," Hornsby said.

"I had constables workin' against me--well, not against me, with me," Sadler said. "People will tell you they weren't active, but they were."

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Does Macon County really need sev-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX Col. 1)

## Council Backs Amerson

TUSKEGEE -- "I don't think there's a place in a democracy for people who won't accept it when they lose an election," said City Councilman J. Allan Parker. "It's time for the responsible, law-abiding people to stand up and be counted."

A few minutes later, Tuskegee's bi-racial City Council unanimously passed a resolution giving the city's "wholehearted support" to Macon County Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson.

The action came late Tuesday night at the council's first meeting since Amerson was sworn in as the county's first Negro sheriff. The resolution was proposed by Councilman Stanley H. Smith.

Smith said only that "a number of things are happening in our community. . . . These are very trying times." But everyone in the room knew that he was referring to the sudden appearance of several white constables in Macon County.

In its resolution, the city council promised to "extend every cooperation to (Sheriff) Amerson to facilitate his law enforcement role." The council also pledged to "use its good office to discourage any attempt to mar the effective performance of this duly-elected official."

# But Wife Stays Home

BY JUDITH COBURN

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Former Governor George C. Wallace made a big splash last Wednesday in a Senate hearing on whether Alabama's federal welfare funds should be cut off.

Dressed all in blue, "the special assistant to the governor" energetically attacked the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). He said HEW's threat to cut off the federal welfare funds "is an illegal grab for arbitrary power."

HEW wants to stop funds to the Alabama welfare department, because the state will not sign an agreement to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The amount of money involved has been es-

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ABERNATHY

timated as high as $105,000,000 a year.

Former Governor Wallace told the Senate Finance Committee--which is investigating the possible cut-off--that "there is no discrimination in the Alabama welfare program."

Governor Lurleen Wallace, who didn't come to Washington with her husband, sent a statement in which she took a motherly approach.

"The aged and children do not understand the technicalities of welfare laws. They would understand the pain of an empty stomach, the chill of an unheated stove, the darkness of an unlighted house," she wrote.

Most of the senators seemed sympathetic to Wallace's arguments.

Only Indiana's Senator Vance Hartke tried to shake up the former governor. At one point in the hearing, Senator Hartke told Wallace that "whenever I ask you a simple question, all I get is a speech." But Wallace shot back that making a speech was just what the senator was doing.

Meanwhile in Atlanta, Ga., the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of SCLC blamed the former governor for Alabama's welfare problems.

"I certainly hope that the new governor, Mrs. George C. Wallace, will see fit. . . to show good faith with the citizens of her state and see that the law is complied with, so the poverty-stricken Negro and white people of Alabama can receive their full benefits," Abernathy said.

## *Tuskegee City Council Fills Housing Post*

TUSKEGEE--Months ago, the City Council created a vacancy on its bi-racial housing authority by appointing one of the Negro members, Dr. T. S. Williams, to fill a gap on the council.

Everybody agreed that the empty housing job should go to a Negro. But when it came time for the final vote at last week's city council meeting, there was some polite disagreement over whether the job should go to a fairly rich man, or to a not-so-rich-man.

"If we're going to move in a democratic direction, we should have at least one member who represents the needs of low-income people," said Councilman Stanley H. Smith, a Negro, in support of Williams' nominee, Allen Waver.

But when the three white councilmen present--J. Allan Parker, John Sides, and Mayor Charles M. Keever--voted for George W. Williams, the two Negro councilmen moved to make the choice unanimous.

"We don't give tests for intoxication," added Sheriff Paul.

Last Saturday night at Scyrene, James Patrick, an 18-year-old Negro youth, was killed by a hit-and-run driver while walking home. When that happened, Sheriff Paul's office got a Mobile toxicologist to perform an autopsy--which indicated that the youth had been drinking before his death.

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### *Bullock Case Stalled*

MONTGOMERY -- Attorney Fred D. Gray and four defeated Bullock County Negro candidates face another delay in their election suit. The U. S. Justice Department this week got more time to prepare its case.

Shelton; his former wife, Carol; his brother, Mack; and his sister-in-law, Mattie.

Anthony Shelton was hoping for a reconciliation with his former wife, said his brother, and he was on his way to see his mother-in-law when the incident occurred. "He wasn't about to be drunk," said Mack Shelton.

According to the Shelton family, witnesses to the incident said Anthony Shelton lay on the ground, bleeding, for an hour before an ambulance took him to Memorial Hospital in Bessemer. After being transferred, he died in the emergency room of University Hospital in Birmingham.

Last Monday night at a meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement in Birmingham, the Rev. C. W. Woods said that if action isn't taken in Shelton's case, "they'll just get bolder and bolder."

"Understand me," said Woods. "I don't condone the Negro that does wrong. But white folks talk back to cops. Why don't they get shot and killed for it?"

# *Capital's Head Start Controversy Stays Hot*

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--Opposing factions in the Montgomery Head Start program continued to slug it out this week, after three local centers were closed for failing to meet state and federal standards.

No one disputed the judgment of Charles R. Shelton, director of the Montgomery Community Action Committee (CAC), that the three centers apparently had made "no effort to meet the standards."

At least one of the centers was closed because it failed to provide an adequate playground. "There was ample space to have had a playground," said Mrs. Bertha D. Howard, chairman of the new Head Start policy advisory committee. "I don't know just why they didn't follow through." Another center, she said, "didn't even meet the health standards."

But to some people in the mostly-Negro Child Development Agency (CDA), which runs the Head Start centers, the closings still seemed like part of a plot--though perhaps an unsuccessful one.

"They want to close all these centers and get all the children centralized at Resurrection and St. Jude," charged Mrs. Carrie Robinson, assistant chairman of the CDA. Resurrection and St. Jude are two large Catholic institutions where Shelton has opened new centers, and where the CAC's proposed summer Head Start classes would be held.

Mrs. Robinson said these institutions are "the only places white people will send their children, because those two have white administrators."

She said of the CAC, "They're trying to get rid of us. . . . The CAC wants to handle the money, and they want to keep the status quo in Montgomery. They know this is where the problem gets solved, if you start with the children. They want to stay with the Job Corps, and things like that."

But Dr. Joseph Stewart, the white dentist who is chairman of the CAC, said "the last thing we want to do" is take the Head Start program away from the CDA. "If we've got an agency doing a good job, that's exactly what we prefer," he said.

And, he added, "there's nothing we'd like better" than to re-open the three centers that were closed this week.

Some CDA supporters have challenged Stewart's credentials as head of the anti-poverty program, because he has been an active supporter of ultra-conservative U. S. Representative William L. Dickinson.

"I was afraid that was going to come up," said Stewart. "My personal philosophy, etc., I never let interfere with what I think is right. . . . This program has the greatest intent of any program the government has ever conducted. It's helping the little children. Anything that helps little children, I am for 100%."

### *Opponents in Birmingham War on Poverty*

# Mrs. Boykin, Rev. Burrell Share Platform

MRS. EMYLIE BOYKIN --Photo by Chris McNair

BIRMINGHAM--Two enemies of long standing shared the platform at the Alabama Christian Movement's meeting last Monday night.

The antagonists were Mrs. Emylie Boykin and the Rev. Johnnie Burrell. Mrs. Boykin is an executive of the Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity (JCCEO), the agency that controls federal anti-poverty funds in this area.

Burrell, a Smithfield barber, is president of the renegade Smithfield Neighborhood Council--the only council actively protesting JCCEO policies, and, ever since it protested, the only council Mrs. Boykin's committee refuses to recognize.

Of the two, only Mrs. Boykin had a chance to speak. She asked the people to take part in JCCEO activities, especially the upcoming anti-poverty elections.

Mrs. Boykin, wife of a Birmingham dentist, spoke slowly and clearly, in the manner of a school teacher. "Now how do we elect people?" she began, and went on to explain, very carefully, how there are 16 neighborhoods in greater Birmingham and each will elect a representative to the anti-poverty board.

"This is what we call 'community action,'" she said.

In her only reference to protests against the JCCEO, she said that all some people can do is complain. "Money isn't just given to you," she said. "We have to work for it, and if we don't get it, whose fault is it--ours."

Far to her right on the platform, Burrell listened, sitting stiffly. He has claimed that Mrs. Boykin's committee is part of a "conspiracy" to fritter away federal money--money that could help free black people if it were "spent decent."

But many at Monday's meeting said informally that Burrell's protests have been "too hot," "too hard," and "too wide open."

Later, on the street outside the East End Baptist Church, Burrell explained his criticisms.

The heavily-financed Neighborhood Youth Corps, he said, often does not train people, but merely provides free menial labor for white institutions. He said the JCCEO needs day-care centers, nurses who can teach hygiene, and home economists who can teach young wives how to live on a small budget--not an expensive downtown office and elaborate youth programs.

Burrell also charged that the JCCEO is more concerned with "teaching correct attitudes" than it is with fundamental problems.

As the meeting was breaking up, the Rev. Edward Gardner, who was presiding, said that whatever the problem was, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Christian Movement, would settle it when he came to Birmingham.

The doors were clogged with departing members by then, but the Rev. C. W. Woods, pastor of the East End church, took over the microphone and shouted for them to stop. They did.

"Why do we have to wait?" he said, adding that too much protest was being lost in committees. "Rev. Shuttlesworth told us we should learn to take care of our problems ourselves."

Leaders of the Christian Movement commented, however, that Woods has been absent from some important committees. Speaking as he did, said one, "he was out of line."

## Another Shooting in Birmingham Area

# 'Holy Jesus, They Kill My Child for a Dog'

BIRMINGHAM--Robert Lacey, the father of six children, was shot to death last week by a Jefferson County sheriff's deputy while members of his family watched in horror.

Lacey had been charged with failing to take his dog to a veterinarian.

The chain of events that led to Lacey's death began when the dog bit a neighborhood child.

"The boy stuck his arm through the fence," said the victim's wife, "the fence where we always keep that dog penned--you can ask the neighbors. Children rode that dog. But he pulled the dog's ear, and the dog bit him. That's the causing of the whole thing."

The boy's mother complained to the health department, and the department told Lacey to bring his dog in for a rabies test. "He said they could take the dog if they wanted," said Mrs. Lacey. "But we don't have a car, and you know it's hard to ask somebody for a car to carry a big dog like that."

So a warrant was issued for Lacey's arrest. Neighbors said two sheriff's deputies sat in their car in front of the Laceys' home in Powderly for several hours last Friday evening before they went in.

Lacey had been painting the kitchen of the neat cement-block house, and was ready to relax for the evening. He had just gotten out of the shower when the knock came at the door.

"We can always tell when somebody comes up to the house," Mrs. Lacey said later. "We hear them pull up, and then we hear the car door slam. But they were so quiet--all we heard was the knock on the door. Oh, that knock on the door."

"They told him get dressed, he was coming with them," said Mrs. Lacey. "He said, 'Why don't you just take the dog?' and they said, 'The dog's not our business, get dressed.'"

As Lacey was getting dressed, his wife said, his gun fell to the floor, either from the dresser or the bed. The deputies saw it on the bedroom floor.

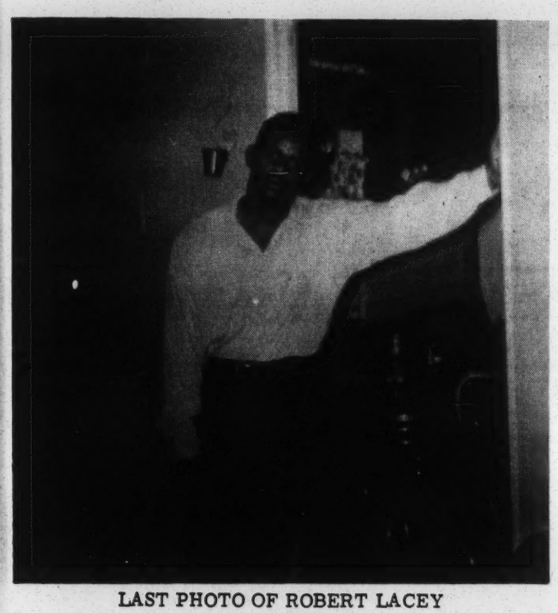
"They rush in," said Mrs. Lacey, "and the tall one, (M.L.) Wood, go hand to his gun. Little one put his foot down on Robert's gun. Then they throw him against the wall and frisk him all over....

"He hold his hands out to his side in a sign of peace, and say, 'You don't even got to handcuff me, I go to the car,' and they say, 'Boy, you gonna leave here with handcuffs on, dead or alive.'"

Trying to handcuff Lacey, the deputies "shove him back and forth," said Mrs. Lacey. "One to the other. Robert was a big man, had a reputation that way. Could have picked those two up and crushed them like peanuts. But he took it."

"And then," she said, "shoving him like that, the little one stumbled, and that's when the tall one, Wood, whipped out his gun and shot Robert in the leg. Robert was dazed. They pushed him and he stumbled toward me, falling, and I fell with him.

"'Please don't shoot again,' I said, and my little girl came



LAST PHOTO OF ROBERT LACEY

running to see what was happening to her daddy, laying there, bleeding, and I said again, 'Please don't,' and that's when they shot him through the head."

Lieutenant F.A. Smith, a spokesman for the sheriff's department, said "I guess what it was, they said he wouldn't take the dog in. That's all. So I guess they didn't say he kept them from taking it."

"The man was resisting arrest," said Smith. "It's that simple. And he was big."

"There wasn't a sign of not even a scuffle in that bedroom," said Sylvester Brown, who lives across the street from the Laceys and ran over when he heard the shooting.

Brown said the deputies ordered him and other neighbors to move Lacey's body. "Before the coroner came, before any kind of investigation...just plain destroying evidence, far as I can see," he said.

"Just because there wasn't any sign of a scuffle," Lieutenant Smith replied, "that doesn't mean there wasn't a scuffle. We say he (Lacey) lunged....And as far as the officers having the body moved before the coroner got there... who says that's destroying evidence?"

Brown said Deputy Wood "just stood around, just like he owned the place, all the time puffing on a pipe, and when the coroner and them come, he said, 'Y'all want a Pepsi? Got some Pepsis out in the car.'"

For the second Monday in a row, the Alabama Christian Movement found itself discussing a fatal shooting. On Jan. 23, the members had talked about the death of Anthony Shelton, a Negro who was killed by a state trooper.

"I told you they'd do it," said the Rev. Calvin Woods last Monday. "Last week I stood up here and I told you they'd do it." The Christian Movement did not decide to take any action.

Resting at home, Lacey's mother could only say, "Holy name of Jesus, they kill my child for a dog."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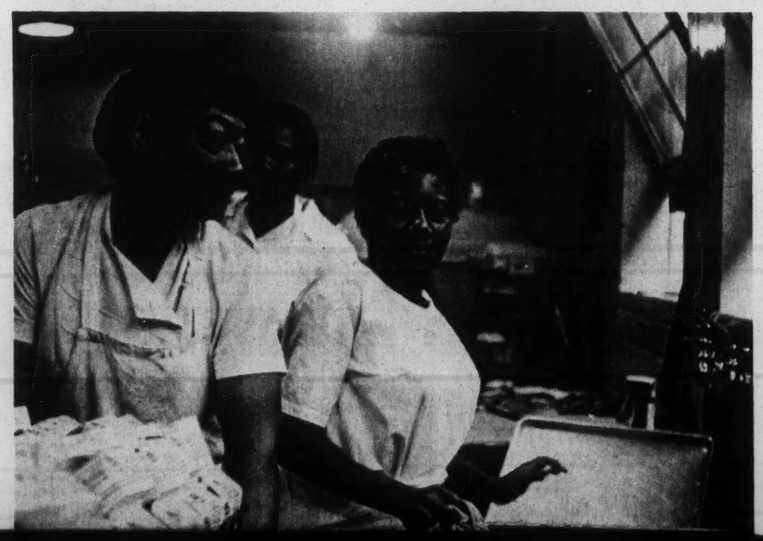

## Decision Keeps Wilcox Pupils In White School

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--A federal judge here has refused the Wilcox County school board's request to re-assign eight Negro students back to Lower Peachtree School. The students, in the seventh and eighth grades, represent half of the 16 Peachtree students who integrated the Pine Hill School two weeks ago.

Wilcox County was ordered to provide a free-choice desegregation plan at the beginning of the fall term. The school board and various federal courts have been trading orders, objections, and re-

## Amerson Deputy Accused Of Hitting Negro in Jail

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Charles Cooper spent the night of Jan. 25 in the Macon County jail. When his wife came to get him the next morning, she said, "his face was all swollen up."

This week, Cooper charged that Eddie M. Ivory, a sheriff's deputy, "took his fist and hit me so hard I fell down" on the floor of the jail.

Ivory admitted that he struck Cooper. But, he said, he hit out only once, in self-defense. "Cooper grabbed me," Ivory said. "He got both arms all the way

TUSCALOOSA CAFETERIA WORKERS

# 'Our Kids Are Pushing Mops'

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- The anti-poverty program here is putting poor people out of work, says the Rev. T.Y. Rogers, president of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (TCAC).

"The Board of Education has decided to replace adults with Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) workers, in violation of the contract they had with TOP (Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program, the local anti-poverty agency)," Rogers said at a mass meeting earlier this month.

Rogers bases his charge chiefly on the fact that at least four elementary schools (Castle Hill, East End, Stillman Heights, and 32nd Ave.) have fewer salaried cafeteria employees than they had before they began using NYC workers.

He said some of the 171 cafeteria workers in the 21 city schools have been phoning him, and discussing the problem among themselves. They are afraid of losing their jobs as the minimum wage goes into effect in the school system.

The cafeteria employees claim that the schools will be able to replace them with NYC workers, who are paid $1.25 an hour by the anti-poverty program. H.D. Nelson, city schools superintendent, said he hoped to meet the new minimum wage of $1 an hour without large-scale firing of cafeteria workers.

TOP Director Jerry Griffin said he had no knowledge that NYC workers have been replacing salaried employees. He said he was "looking into it."

This is not the first time that the NYC program has come under attack. At the December meeting of TOP's predominantly-Negro policy advisory committee, Ross Bonner--who works at the Veterans' Administration Hospital--protested the nature of the work done at the hospital by Negro NYC members.

"I feel Negroes on the whole are doing the same job on this so-called training program that they've been doing all their lives--dusting a jug and pushing a mop," he said. "The white man is standing around and supervising. The white kids are working in physiotherapy or corrective therapy, and our kids are pushing a mop."

NYC Director William Morgan later answered this by talking of the difficulty of placing the young people for training in skilled jobs. "They couldn't bring a skill to a job if they're a drop-out between 16 and 21," he said.

Morgan, a Negro, stressed the educational sessions which the NYC conducts several times each week, and pointed with pride to the "large number of NYC workers" who are "motivated to go back to school."

Some NYC workers--like Miss Bernice Edwards, 21, a Druid High School office worker, and Jessie James, 19, a janitor--say they "love" their NYC jobs.

Others, like Miss Hattie Coleman, 20, and Miss Ella Gowdy, 17, both elementary school cafeteria workers, say they are glad to have their jobs--but largely because of NYC's other educational programs, and because of future opportunities they feel the NYC certificate will open for them.

Miss Gowdy, a dish-washer, said, "They don't trust us with preparing the food." So, she said, she's been learning how to wash dishes--"but I knew that already."

Griffin--emphasizing that he meant nothing personal about Miss Gowdy--said, "I'm not sure she did. There are some people who wash dishes and get them clean, and others who leave food on it. It's a pretty important thing to learn to wash dishes."

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--A federal judge here has refused the Wilcox County school board's request to re-assign eight Negro students back to Lower Peachtree School. The students, in the seventh and eighth grades, represent half of the 16 Peachtree students who integrated the Pine Hill School two weeks ago.

Wilcox County was ordered to provide a free-choice desegregation plan at the beginning of the fall term. The school board and various federal courts have been trading orders, objections, and petitions ever since.

Some 66 Negro children were planning to attend the white schools in the county, but by the time school opened in September, only three had managed to enroll at the Pine Hill School. When school started up again in January, they were joined by 13 more children from Lower Peachtree.

The school board then complained to Judge Daniel H. Thomas that the addition of five children to Pine Hill's seventh grade, and three to its eighth grade, "greatly overextended the capabilities and enrollment of these grades at Pine Hill."

But the U. S. Justice Department didn't agree. It pointed out that three white children have dropped out of the eighth grade, and two have dropped out of the seventh. It also said there are more teachers per student at Pine Hill than there are at Peachtree, and that while the Negro school has no library, science room, gym, auditorium, vocational building or central heating, Pine Hill has all of these.

For a while, the Peachtree children didn't have a school bus and had to be taken up to Pine Hill by private car. But the court ordered the school board to provide transportation.

So now the children have a bus, but according to some of them, "it doesn't have any flashers and the windshield wipers don't work--it's an old beat-up thing."

Three of the children who transferred to Pine Hill came back to Peachtree because they missed their friends. But the others have adjusted to the change.

"The first day we went up there, the teacher in my home room acted like she didn't want to teach us, but the next day she was all right," said Miss Carolyn Weatherly, one of the students the school board was trying to send back

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

## Prayer Night in Waynesboro

BY JOHNNIE J. CHAPMAN

WAYNESBORO, Miss.--The Friends of the Children of Mississippi in Wayne County met for a county-wide prayer night last Monday to ask God's guidance. The theme of devotion was "Prayer and Faith To Stand and Not To Be Sold Out."

The Friends of the Children of Mississippi are representatives from the 11 Head Start centers in the county, which had hoped to be included in CDGM's new year-long grant signed Monday.

CDGM (the Child Development Group of Mississippi) was not given permission to operate in Wayne County, however, because MAP (Mississippi Action for Progress) is trying to start a Head Start program here. The 11 centers, which have 471 children enrolled, plan to run independently.

Members of the Friends have done all material things possible.

They had asked God's help, but knowing the power of prayer, they thought a county-wide prayer night and sermon would be most effective.

Bishop J.E. Johnson delivered the sermon. In it, he said the people's forefathers hid to pray, but kept the faith and were delivered, only to be sold out by a few leading members of their race.

He told the gathering of more than 146 that the people did not intend to be sold out.

# Of Hitting Negro In Jail

CHARLES COOPER

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Charles Cooper spent the night of Jan. 25 in the Macon County jail. When his wife came to get him the next morning, she said, "his face was all swollen up."

This week, Cooper charged that Eddie M. Ivory, a sheriff's deputy, "took his fist and hit me so hard I fell down" on the floor of the jail.

Ivory admitted that he struck Cooper. But, he said, he hit out only once, in self-defense. "Cooper grabbed me," Ivory said. "He got both arms all the way around my neck. I couldn't struggle loose, so I threw my fist back and hit him."

The incident between Cooper and Ivory, both Negroes, took place shortly after Cooper's arrest for public drunkenness and disturbing the peace.

Cooper said he was drinking beer in the Sunrise Inn, a tavern on the Auburn Highway, when Ivory came in and told him that Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson wanted to speak to him.

"I went out," Cooper continued. "The sheriff was sittin' there in his car. He said, 'Get in, you're under arrest.' When I asked what for, he said 'alertin' the peoples.' What charge is that?"

But Ivory said Cooper was "staggering around outside" when he and Amerson drove up to the tavern. "When he saw us, he broke and run inside," Ivory said. "I went in and got him."

"He was cussing a lot, kept saying 'I ain't drunk--I been drinking. I ain't planning on going to jail,'" Ivory said. "Then he wanted to drive his car to the jail, but we said, 'No sir, not the shape you're in.' We took him on and booked him. Courtesy was given to him same as to anyone else."

"They didn't give me a chance to lock up my car or nothin'," Cooper complained. When they got to the jail, he said, "they didn't have 'alertin' the people' nowhere in the book. So they wrote down 'public drinking.'"

After the sheriff allowed him to make a phone call, Cooper said, "the little deputy took me upstairs. He pushed me. I said, 'Don't push me no more--I'm gonna see the sheriff about this.' He say, 'you're not going no place.'"

Cooper said that as he turned and started for the stairs, Ivory "brought his hand from his hip pocket and hit me."

But Ivory remembered the incident differently. He said Cooper "stood there arguin'" instead of going up the stairs, "so I gave him just a hair of a forcin' on. Then I took my hands off."

Once they got upstairs, Ivory said, "I had to finger among the keys to get the right one. He cussed and said, 'I'll stomp you all over the jail--I ain't goin' in there.' Twice he grabbed me on my shoulder, but I swung loose and told him to stand against the wall.

"Just as I got the door open, he come around and grabbed me. He's a big man--I could feel the strength--I couldn't get free. His head was right above me. . .I threw my fist back. I think my ring struck him. He grabbed his nose and went on back."

Cooper said his nose was bleeding. "It bled all night long. No one never came back. I had to send by the trusty to finally get somethin' the next morning."

Ivory said, however, that he and Chief Deputy Arthur Knowles brought Cooper a towel to stop the nosebleed, and gave him some aspirin. "He wasn't badly hurt," Ivory said. "It was just a cut from that ring. What he needed to do was sleep off that alcohol."

Cooper, a 34-year-old laborer who is studying brick-masonry at Tuskegee Institute, said, "I never had nothing like that happen before during Mr.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 2)

# Bullock People Accept Food Stamps 'for Now'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--A few days before Christmas, Negro leaders in Bullock County told their county commissioners that 2,000 hungry people had signed a petition asking for surplus food.

This week, the commissioners told the Negro leaders that the petition came too late. Instead of free food, the county is going to get food stamps.

"This program has already been approved," said R.E.L. Cope Sr., the commissioners' attorney. "It's definitely set."

Rufus C. Huffman, who helped organize the poor people's petition, said it "strictly stated we preferred the surplus food program because the people don't have to put up any money. Even the poorest have to pay something for those stamps."

"Those signatures didn't have any weight with the commissioners," he noted. "Well, they may be votes later."

But Cope said the commissioners hadn't ignored the petition. "They had already applied for the food stamp program before they received the letter (from Huffman)," he said.

Mrs. Lillie Mae Banks, a Negro lady who met with the commissioners Tuesday morning, said they showed her the application. "It was dated Dec. 16. The petition letter was dated Dec. 23," she reported.

Cope said the commissioners applied for the stamps as soon as they finished considering both programs.

The officials chose stamps because "you can go to the store and buy what you want," Cope said. "In places where they have the commodities, people have complained they have to take what's handed out, and the quality is not of the best."

In addition, he said, "there was some feeling it was a little better for people to participate to a small extent," instead of getting the food free.

But one civil rights worker said most counties with the food stamp program have found that only about 50% of the eligible people participate in it. "The rest can't raise the money," he said.

Oscar L. Bentley Jr., who directs the federal food distribution programs for Alabama, agreed that "you won't serve as many people with food stamps." But, he said, the price is small--a minimum of $2 a person each month--and the stamps are given out in such a way that "the less you make, the less money you put up--and the more stamps you get

RUFUS HUFFMAN

free."

Because the stamps are spent like money at local food stores, he said, "you can buy fresh meat, milk, vegetables. It's a wonderful program."

Bentley said it would take 30 to 60 days to set up an office and get the food stamp program under way. "Once we get in, we'll do all we can to get as many people as we can," he said.

"We'll have to see what happens," said Huffman. "If they misuse this, or exploit the people, we'll know about it. We will accept the stamp program for now, but we're going to keep working to get the surplus food."

## NEGRO GIRL, 12, SAYS SHE WAS ATTACKED

# *Alex City Jury Acquits White Man of Sex Charge*

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

ALEXANDER CITY -- A murmur of surprise ran through the Alex City courtroom last Monday evening when the jury announced its verdict in the case of a white man charged with "carnal knowledge" of a 12-year-old Negro girl.

The ten white men and two white women lined up before Circuit Judge L. J. Tyner and told him that, after 65 minutes of considering five hours of testimony, they had found Odell Griffin not guilty of having sexual relations with the young girl.

Griffin's friends and relatives--including his star witness, Mrs. Alois McManus--surged forward. Mrs. McManus laughed and kissed him.

While several Negro spectators gasped in protest, the 12-year-old girl and her mother sat quietly, looking stunned. But later some of their friends spoke bitterly about the verdict.

"All outsiders were asked to stay out of this case," said Clinton Thomas. "We trusted the people of Alex City--and they did nothing."

"If it had been a Negro man and a white girl," said Daniel Owens, "well, you know what would have happened."

The girl's mother originally signed a warrant accusing Griffin of forcible rape, which carries a possible death sentence. But the Tallapoosa County grand jury for the west side of the Tallapoosa River lowered the charge to "carnal knowledge of a girl 12 to 16 years old," for which the penalty is two to ten years.

The 12-year-old girl gave nearly all the testimony for the state. She twisted her subpoena between her fingers and spoke softly, repeating the technical terms used by District Attorney Tom F. Young.

On last Dec. 29, she said, Griffin, a salesman, got her father's permission for her to come work for him. "Mr. Odell told me he wanted me to dust and run the vacuum," she said. "But when we got there, we didn't do any kind of work."

Instead, she said, Griffin began pinching her breasts: "He said, 'What is that?' I said, 'I don't know.'" Then, the girl testified, Griffin violated her three times--once on his living room couch, once on his bed, and once on a cot in a cellar room.

The third time, the girl said, "he started hurtin' me. I started cryin' and pinchin' him and tryin' to work my way off from under him . . ."

The girl said Griffin "told me if I told anybody he would kill me." Then she said, he gave her five $1 bills and told her that if she came back the next day he might give her $9 or $10.

The girl testified that she didn't tell anyone what had happened until nearly a week later, when her mother confronted her with the blood-stained clothing she had shoved into a closet.

Griffin's attorney, Tom Radney, said the delay proved Griffin was not the man. He suggested that the girl had been "with a boy in the bushes" and was afraid to tell her mother.

Radney argued that the girl's mother "thought up Griffin as a man to name for the defendant. . .because she had hated him for 14 years." Radney explained that Griffin had testified against the mother in a divorce action in 1954.

But after Radney said that, Judge Tyner told the jury not to consider it as evidence.

The girl testified that no one was at the Griffin home besides herself, Griffin, and a man who came to the door briefly. But Mrs. McManus, the chief witness for the defense, said a relative, Mrs. Ellie Traylor, was "sewin' bedlinens in the back bedroom."

Mrs. McManus said she went in the house and talked with Mrs. Traylor right after she saw the 12-year-old girl and Griffin coming out of the back door.

Mrs. McManus said the girl was wearing "faded blue jeans or pants." But the girl testified that she had on a new pair of dark blue pants with bright-colored flowers on them.

The only other material witness for the defense was Griffin's wife, who said there had never been a cot in the cellar room. The defense did not call either Griffin or Mrs. Traylor to the stand.

Radney did call five character witnesses to say Griffin had a good reputation. "If the state could have found one person to say Odell had a bad reputation, they would have put him up," Radney told the jury.

But after the trial was over, some of Alex City's Negro leaders said they had offered to testify against Griffin. "Young never did answer us," Thomas said. "I guess he thought we wouldn't help his case."

In summing up for the jury, Young stressed the "uncontroverted" evidence that Griffin gave the girl $5 for "no more than an hour and a half."

"What would you pay someone for 1 1/2 hours' work?" Young asked. "It was hush money. . . .To a little girl's magnified eyes, I submit, that five dollar bills looked like 5,000."

"Take this case to your heart," Young told the jury. "Suffer the little children to come unto you regardless of their station in life." If the jury would


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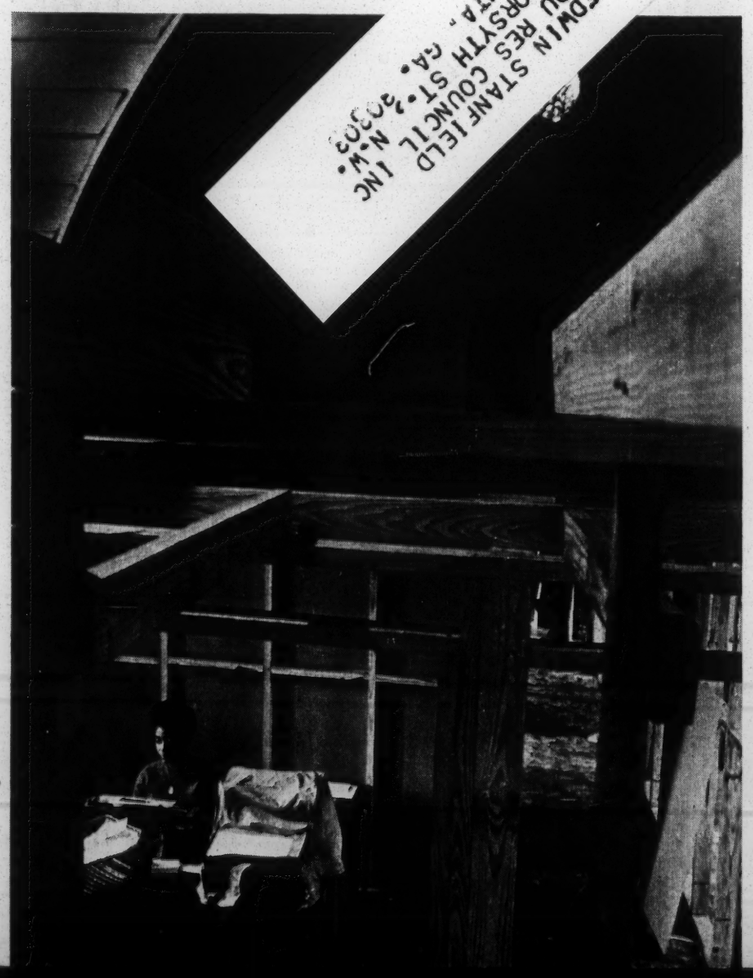

# Poverty War Begins In Old Hayneville Church

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

HAYNEVILLE -- In an abandoned church outside the Hayneville business district, Lowndes County residents are building a headquarters for their anti-poverty program.

While the planks and beams are being hammered into place, project director D. Robert Smith is planning basic adult education classes and pre-vocational training for the nine-month, $241,604 federal program.

In fact, basic-education classes are already being conducted at centers in Ash Creek and Calhoun, for about 130 Lowndes County Negroes.

Eventually, Smith said this week, the classes will be trimmed down to 100 people who meet the qualifications for the program. To qualify for the training and the $20-a-week stipend that goes with it, he said, Lowndes residents must be between 18 and 55, with net incomes of less than $1,000 a year, and they must be "functioning at the sixth-grade level or below."

D. ROBERT SMITH

Smith, a 34-year-old Negro from Connecticut, worked with the Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program (TICEP) before coming to Lowndes County," by hiring local contractors and laborers whenever possible. He said members of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human

MISS CLARA SANDERS WORKS IN NEW ANTI-POVERTY OFFICE

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Although all the present students are Negroes, the director said, "this program is for every Lowndes County resident, Negro or white."

D. ROBERT SMITH

Smith, a 34-year-old Negro from Connecticut, worked with the Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program (TICEP) before coming to Lowndes County. The Lowndes program's finance officer is 47-year-old L. H. Anderson, formerly business manager for a hospital in Macon, Ga.

How is the program being received by the white residents of Lowndes County? Smith said the staff was having the same problems "anyone would have--whether they were white, blue, pink, or green. . . . There has been a significant amount of cooperation, considering the circumstances."

The staff had hoped to get an office in the center of town, Smith said, but it ran into "some reluctance" on the part of local landlords. However, a county official was instrumental in arranging a lease on the old frame church in the middle of a white residential neighborhood.

Smith said he intended to spend the federal funds "for the benefit of Lowndes County," by hiring local contractors and laborers whenever possible. He said members of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, the anti-poverty organization, have contributed many hours of volunteer work.

# CAC Board Election in Clayton: People Are 'Somewhat Confused'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

CLAYTON--"You're free to elect whom you want, "said Ben F. Hulen, the white man who is president of the Barbour-Dale-Henry Community Action Committee (CAC). "But I'd hate to see you embarrass your friends and neighbors."

Then Charles Weston, the white man who is the CAC coordinator, started to read off the names of the 12 Negroes who represent the Negro poor people on Barbour County's 50-member CAC advisory board.

When the first board member stood up, Weston asked the 300 Negroes gathered in the county courtroom whether they wanted to keep him or replace him.

There was a long silence. Then John Kelly Jr., another board member, stood up. "I'm somewhat confused over the way this election is taking place," he said.

"I thought people were supposed to go back to their homes and get nominations in their communities," added the Rev. G. H. Cossey. "To stand up and say, 'I'm poor'--that's embarrassing."

"Most of the people making less than $1,000 are not here," said Mrs. Janie Battle. "They're walking, not riding, and this county is very long."

McKinzie Hunter made a motion to call the meeting off. "Let's go back to our communities and do this the right way," he said. "Let's give people a choice." But this motion was defeated.

"The thing that disturbs me more than any other is to have good relationships," said Weston. He called all 12 board members up to the front of the room and asked for other nominations.

Ten more people were nominated. Then someone said that if the whole group voted on all 22, there was no way to be sure that each community would have a representative among the 12 elected.

Someone else wanted to know if white nominees were necessary to meet federal requirements for integration. When Weston said he thought they were, one man tried to re-nominate three white poor people now on the board.

Mrs. Battle jumped to her feet. "That's a 'yassuh,' not a nomination," she shouted. "Don't let no one put words in your mouth. You're people." There was a burst of applause.

It was suggested that the Negroes could elect their 12 representatives, and let the whites hold a separate meeting. But Mrs. Battle objected. "I move that this entire election be tabled, instead of just a part," she said.

As Weston and Mrs. Battle discussed it, people began to leave. James K. Ward, the Negro who is the CAC's assistant coordinator, looked up.

"If you want to tear up community action, you've picked a good way of doing it," he shouted. "It has to be target area people make the decisions, not Mr. Weston and Mrs. Battle."

Finally, everyone stood up in favor of Mrs. Battle's motion to put off the elec-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 2)

## A Cat

More on Page Three

# Jury Convicts Atlanta Man Of Murdering Negro Boy

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--An all-white jury deliberated six hours last Wednesday, and then convicted William James, a 42-year-old white man, of murdering Hulet M. Varner, a 15-year-old Negro boy.

On the jury's recommendation, Fulton County Superior Court Judge Stonewall Dyer sentenced James to life imprisonment.

Varner's murder had set off a series of violent disturbances that lasted for three nights last September.

Two witnesses in the trial, Eddie Foote and Ronald Warbington, testified that they were in a coin laundry on the night of Sept. 10, when they saw a car driven by a white woman pull up at an intersection.

They said a man seated next to the woman asked two Negro youths standing at the corner, "What did you say, boy?"

The man--identified as James--opened fire as one of the youths approached him, the witnesses said. When the car turned and came back, they said, the man fired again, wounding a white policeman who had reached the scene.

James' lawyers, Charles Muskett and Charles Moore, said their client was only trying to protect himself and his wife when the shooting occurred. They defended the killing as "justifiable homicide."

"I think they were going to kill him and rape his wife," said Muskett in his closing argument. "If I had been in that position," he said, "I'd have shot those niggers--I'd have blown their brains out."

Prosecutor George McPherson asked the 10 men and two women on the jury "to destroy an ugly, vicious stigma--that a white man will not be convicted in the South of murdering a Negro."

Ninety people were arrested, at least 20 were injured, and two stores were set afire in the disturbances that followed Varner's death. It was Atlanta's second siege of rioting in five days.

Radney told the jury.

But after the trial was over, some of Alex City's Negro leaders said they had offered to testify against Griffin. "Young never did answer us," Thomas said. "I guess he thought we wouldn't help his case."

In summing up for the jury, Young stressed the "uncontroverted" evidence that Griffin gave the girl $5 for "no more than an hour and a half."

"What would you pay someone for 1 1/2 hours' work?" Young asked. "It was hush money. . . . To a little girl's magnified eyes, I submit, that five dollar bills looked like 5,000."

"Take this case to your heart," Young told the jury. "Suffer the little children to come unto you regardless of their station in life." If the jury would not convict Griffin, he said, "God knows what kind of country we're going to have."

# Jail Case Figure Pleads Guilty

TUSKEGEE--Charles Cooper was found guilty of public drunkenness last Monday, and given the minimum fine, $42.

There was no mention in court of Cooper's charges that sheriff's deputy Eddie M. Ivory had hit him and knocked him down after taking him to the Macon County Jail.

The incident in the jail had been a matter of controversy ever since Cooper, a Negro, was arrested by the Negro deputy on Jan. 25. But it took Judge Richard H. Powell just two minutes to dispense with the case in Macon County Inferior Court.

"I admitted I was drinking," Cooper said afterwards, "so they only pressed the one charge." A second charge of disturbing the peace was dropped.

Cooper said last week that Ivory had "hit me so hard I fell down." Ivory admitted striking Cooper, but said he hit out only once, in self-defense.

### *Grenada Man Has Three White Opponents*

# Negro Seeks Council Seat

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss.--"We have never had a Negro to run for any office in Grenada County as we know of--not even in Reconstruction time," said U. S. Gillon, a Negro running for City Council in a special election here next Monday.

"Up to this time," said Gillon as he campaigned at Negro precinct meetings this week, "we've had taxation without representation. . . . Our tax money is paid out to policemen who use it against us."

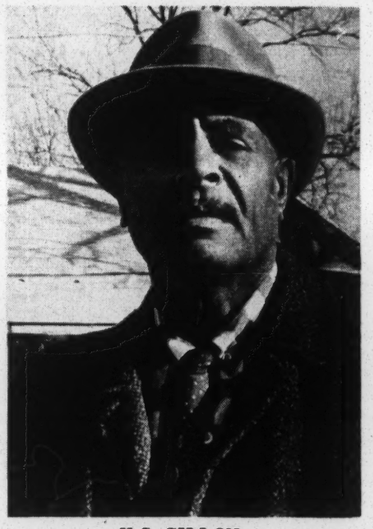
Negro registration in the city of Grenada has about tripled since the Meredith march came to town last June, bringing the number of registered Negro voters close to the number of white voters.

"Now," said Gillon, "is the time for us to turn to our own people."

Gillon is one of four candidates for the Ward Three city council post. The other three candidates--photographer Robert Alexander Jr., newspaperman Joe Lee III, and insurance salesman M. J. Percival--are all white. The whole city will vote for the man to represent heavily-Negro Ward Three.

The special election will fill the seat left by Gilbert Allen, who moved to Memphis, Tenn., when his Grenada grocery store went out of business last October. Allen filed a suit blaming his loss of business on SCLC and the Grenada County Freedom Movement. Gillon is one of about 70 defendants in that suit.

For the white candidates, Grenada's racial turmoil is the main campaign issue.



U.S. GILLON

Alexander said friends asked him to enter the city council race after he appeared on the Joe Pyne show, and defended the reputation of Grenada's white citizens.

On the show, Alexander said, he blamed Grenada's troubles on "those civil rights agitators," who "screamed and hollered and marched night and day and didn't give us a moment's rest."

Percival said he is "not a superman"--that he doesn't know the answer to Grenada's racial troubles. He said he doesn't believe there is much hope for a return to "the peace and tranquility we used to have," so long as "the federal courts are acting the way they are."

The insurance man--who did business in Selma, Ala., for eight years before moving to Grenada 18 years ago--said he is qualified for the job because he has already served one four-year term on the city council.

Lee, editor of the Grenada Sentinel-Star, said Grenada's most serious problem is "getting back on the road to progress." Solving racial problems, he said, is only one step on that road.

Lee suggested starting a city commerce commission, like a chamber of commerce, to give Grenada the needed "shot in the arm."

A native Grenadian, Gillon moved back to his birthplace three years ago from Chicago, where he was a Fundamentalist minister. Gillon said he was active in Chicago politics, serving as a precinct captain, ballot counter, and poll watcher.

### *PLAY BALL*

NEW YORK--The NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) now has the best infield in the entire civil rights movement. The LDF can field Bill White at first base, Ernie Banks at third, and Maury Wills at shortstop.

At second base, the LDF has to settle for Jackie Robinson--no longer in his prime, but still far superior to any other second-sacker in the movement.

These and other athletes are members of the LDF's new National Sports Committee.

file

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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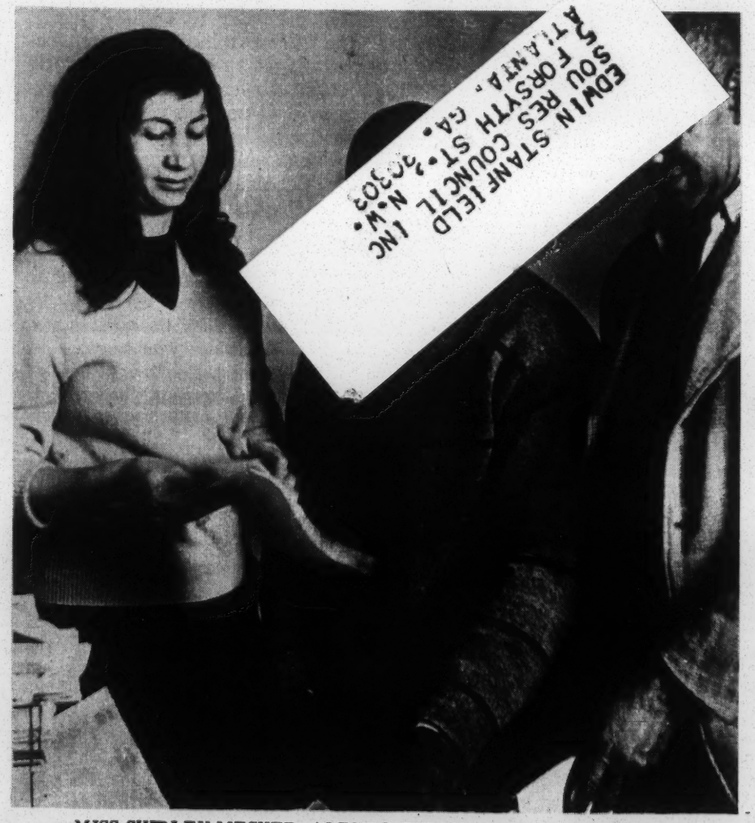
'Fighting to Stay on the Land'

## Farmers Joining New Cooperative




MISS SHIRLEY MESHER, ALBERT TURNER, AND JOE JOHNSON

BY ROBIN REISIG

SELMA--Nearly 1,000 small farmers, displaced tenants, and sharecroppers from ten Black Belt counties are uniting in a venture that could make agricultural history.

Called the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association(SWAFCA), it's a cooperative business that the farmers own themselves.

"We are working to save our farms,

No. 1 cucumbers, 3 1/2¢ to 5¢ a pound last year, are up to 6¢ a pound from Alabama buyers, and 7¢ for out-of-state buyers. Okra has also gone up.

At local meetings, farmers are warned that they are assured of getting these prices only if they stay with the cooperative, and refuse to sign any outside contracts.

Last year, for example, the official price for peas was $70 a ton. But SWAFCA says Negro farmers got between $30 and $60 a ton, depending on the mood of the customer.

## ASCS Post Declined

BY JOAN CLARK

HUNTSVILLE--Roosevelt Spragins, the 28-year-old Huntsville farmer who would have been the first Negro on the state ASCS committee, says he has turned the job down.

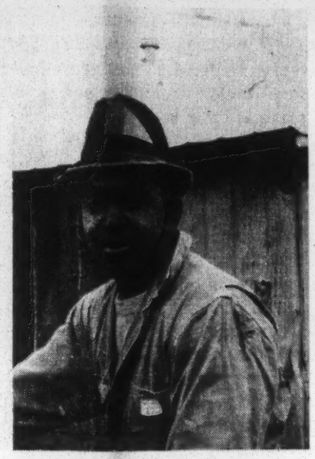
Orville L. Freeman, the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, announced Spragins' appointment last Jan. 30. But Spragins said this week that he must decline the position, in order to continue operating the farm he shares with his father north of Huntsville.

"When the man came out here about two months ago, I told him I couldn't be in it," Spragins said. "I told him not to turn my name in, but I guess he did anyway."

Spragins said he would like to be on the ASCS (Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service) committee, which sets state-wide policy on such matters as price supports and acreage allotments.

"It would give me experience, and I could learn quite a bit by going out in the county and talking to other people," he said.

But, Spragins said, "here at the dairy, you're really on the spot. You've got to be here all the time.



ROOSEVELT SPRAGINS

If I could find someone to come here and take over when I have to go on a trip, I'd do it, but I haven't been able to find anyone."

Spragins said he told an ASCS official Monday night that he could not accept the committee job.

He said he is not sure what the job involves, but he imagines he would go out to farms like an agent, and help farmers improve their methods.

## Auto Kills Two; No Charge Filed

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MILLRY--Earnest Lee Johnson, 32-year-old father of one, was dragged for 40 yards and fatally injured when a car driven by Tilford W. Lankford, 22, a white man, left the pavement of Washington County Road 34 last month.

Johnson's companion--Joseph White, 50-year-old father of six--was crushed to death in the incident last Jan. 28.

Both victims were Negroes who worked in Millry and served as deacons of the New True Light Church in Koyenton.

According to State Trooper F.L. Floyd's official report, Lankford was "exceeding safe speed"--going 60 miles per hour in a zone where the safe speed was 30--when the tragedy occurred. Floyd's report also says Lankford "stated he had drink some beer."

But neither Washington County Sheriff C.J. Sullivan--who came and sat in his car at the scene of the accident--nor the trooper could find anything to book Lankford for.

Last week, Sullivan said he couldn't remember Lankford's full name. Some people in the area, however, say the sheriff is a friend of the Lankford family.

An unidentified white man had run Johnson's and White's truck off the road earlier in the evening of Jan. 28. The two men had gotten J. D. Holston, a white store-keeper, to help pull their truck out of the ditch. Both their truck and Holston's were on the shoulder of the road, facing west, when Lankford's car came around the corner, going east.

"Earnest Lee was putting the chain back in the box," related Holston, a former sheriff's deputy. "I was standing by the door when I saw what looked like a head-on. I went in the cab. I hollered to Earnest Lee to jump behind the cab and when I hollered that, the bad luck happened."

Lankford told the trooper that Holston's bright lights had blinded him as he came around the curve.

"I had my right blinker on--which means 'trouble, slow down' and my dim lights on," said Holston. "I hate to say it--he being a white man--but I think he was blind, coming round the corner like that in a 30-mile zone.

"Why didn't he stop when the accident happened--why did he drag Earnest Lee all that way? If it'd been just me, I'd carried that boy in."

After Sheriff Sullivan arrived on the scene and consulted with Trooper Floyd, Lankford was sent home.

When Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. White went to Chatom to seek more information about their husbands' deaths, Mrs. White said, "the sheriff told us just like this: 'I wasn't even supposed to be out there.' He shoulda knowed something, but he couldn't give us no information."

## Negro Says Trooper Slugged Him; Uniontown People Stage Protest

BY ROBIN REISIG

UNIONTOWN--"One state trooper came out of one side of the car," said Francis Walker. "The other came out the other side. Then--wham!" Walker, a Negro, pulled back his fist, and then swung it rapidly toward his forehead.

A large round bandage on his head now covers the wound Walker suffered two weeks ago when, he says, a state trooper attacked him.

The blow knocked Walker out. It also jarred Uniontown Negroes into what many are calling the biggest protest in the town's quiet history.

On Feb. 5, the day after the beating, more than 100 Negroes demanded an explanation from Police Chief E.L. Hancock.

This protest got quick results. Mayor

able to attend.

The trouble began the night of Feb. 4, when the victim, walking towards his home several hundred yards away, was stopped by Uniontown policemen Jimmie Glass and L.E. Stone.

"After I got across the fence, the policeman called me back to the road," said Walker. "He asked me where I was going. . . . He said, 'Did you have a drink tonight?' I said, 'No, I had one soon this morning, when I went and bought groceries for my wife.'

"Then here come a car driving fast, and I said (to the policemen) 'You better watch it or we'll have a wreck in the road.'" The fast car belonged to a state trooper, Walker said. "That time the state trooper hit me," he said, "and I didn't remember anything more

BY ROBIN REISIG

**SELMA--Nearly 1,000 small farmers, displaced tenants, and sharecroppers from ten Black Belt counties are uniting in a venture that could make agricultural history.**

Called the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association(SWAFCA), it's a cooperative business that the farmers own themselves.

"We are working to save our farms, our homes, our lives," said SWAFCA Chairman Joe Johnson. "This year, thousands of poor farmers are being driven off the land here, and less land is available to work. Without a massive crash program to help solve our problems, many of us will be driven to the Northern ghettos, as were hundreds of thousands before.

"We are fighting to stay on the land."

So hundreds of farmers--from Dallas, Perry, Wilcox, Marengo, Choctaw, Sumter, Greene, Hale, Monroe, and Lowndes counties--are going to grow vegetables. Their first crops will be peas, okra, and cucumbers.

"If a man grows vegetables, he can realize the same profit off three acres of land as he could off 20 to 30 acres or more in cotton," explained Albert Turner of Marion, one of SWAFCA's three co-ordinators. (Lewis Black of Greensboro and Miss Shirley Mesher of Selma are the others.)

But many of these farmers already knew about growing vegetables. What makes SWAFCA different, its organizers say, is that all the farmers are going to buy supplies, learn new farm techniques, and market their products together.

"When you have 1,500 acres of okra to sell instead of five acres, you can talk different," said Johnson.

While SWAFCA will be an entirely new experience for most Alabama Negroes, cooperatives have flourished in other parts of the country since the Depression in the 1930's. Sunkist oranges, Idaho potatoes, and Washington apples are produced by cooperatives.

SWAFCA's program has two parts. The first, now under way, aims at strengthening the cooperative organization, selecting suitable crops, finding guaranteed markets before planting, and providing information about these crops.

The second part, said a SWAFCA official, will be a long-range effort to teach farmers new ways to manage their farms, buy their supplies, and sell their crops.

The program is designed to educate farmers about crop rotation, fertilizers, and other subjects. "With advanced techniques," said Johnson, "farmers should be able to raise their yield and grow three crops per acre per year. They could net $1,000 an acre."

Meetings are now being held to brief the farmers on growing and marketing developments. According to SWAFCA, peas--$30 to $60 a ton last year--are now up to $90 a ton from Alabama buyers, and $115 from out-of-state buyers. (Selling out-of-state involves trucking expenses.)

No. 1 cucumbers, 3 1/2¢ to 5¢ a pound last year, are up to 6¢ a pound from Alabama buyers, and 7¢ for out-of-state buyers. Okra has also gone up.

At local meetings, farmers are warned that they are assured of getting these prices only if they stay with the cooperative, and refuse to sign any outside contracts.

Last year, for example, the official price for peas was $70 a ton. But SWAFCA says Negro farmers got between $30 and $60 a ton, depending on the mood of the customer.

Negro and white farmers interested in joining the cooperative can write to SWAFCA at 1015 Griffin Ave., Selma, Ala., or contact local cooperative chairman.

# Bi-Racial Labor Union Formed in Tuskegee

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Some people from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) came to town this week. By the time they left, Tuskegee had its first racially integrated union.

The new union members are the 150 ladies--about 115 white and 35 Negro--who work at Leemar of Tuskegee, the raincoat factory on Gautier St.

Miss Ruby Chaney, the ILGWU business agent who set up Local 426 at Leemar, said the women voted to join the union a couple of weeks ago.

At a closed meeting Tuesday afternoon at Tuskegee High School, the women began to get their local organized.

But everything didn't go smoothly. Two Negro ladies left half-way through the meeting, saying they didn't understand what was going on.

After the meeting was over, two other Negro ladies explained what they thought the problem was.

"Right before the union came in, all the white people were promoted up to the new federal minimum wage--$1.40 an hour," one of the women said. "Negroes get the minimum wage only if they make production--you know, a quota."

She said she understood that only the people who were making the federal minimum would be raised to the union minimum of $1.50 an hour.

"A dime, that's not much," she admitted. "But we'd like to get it."

Gordon Taylor, Leemar's manager, said the ladies would all get their dime. "We don't discriminate at all," he said. "After six months everyone will be making the minimum wage."

The confusion, he said, was over the company's six-month training period. Employees don't get the minimum wage until they learn to make raincoats to company standard.

In the first year, Taylor said, the union contract will give the ladies three across-the-board pay raises, bringing them up to $1.70 an hour by Feb. 1, 1968--the same day the federal minimum wage jumps to $1.60.

In the South, companies often fight to keep the unions out. Why isn't Leemar following the pattern?

"We're part of Cable Raincoat of Boston," Taylor explained. "ILGWU is in all our plants. Naturally, they want this one too."

No white employees wanted to talk about their reasons for accepting the union. But a Negro lady smiled and said, "Oh, it'll probably do us some good."

She said she was satisfied that the union wouldn't discriminate against Negroes. "They put an equal number of both races on the organizing committees," she said. "Some Negroes were nominated for offices.

"I don't think they'll win," she added cheerfully. "There's more white people, so they'll out-vote us. . . that's just the way things are."

# *Gillon Runs 2nd In Council Race*

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss. -- U.S. Gillon, a Negro who has been active in Grenada's civil rights movement, and Robert Alexander, a white man who has strongly opposed the movement, will face each other Feb. 27 in a run-off election for city councilman.

Alexander got 1,314 votes in last Monday's special election for the City Council seat, to 1,068 for Gillon. The two other candidates, Joe Lee III and Milton Percival--both white--polled only a few hundred votes each.

Alexander said his large vote total showed that "folks are sick and tired of outside agitators in Grenada." Alexander has recommended arresting civil rights workers.

He said he was "surprised" the vote for Gillon was no larger than it was. The number of Negro voters in Grenada has jumped to about 1,900 in recent months, during an SCLC voter registration and education drive. Gillon's vote represented just a little more than half the Negro registration.

The most serious election complaint from the Rev. F. D. Cunningham, leader of the Grenada County Freedom Movement, was that Alexander--a professional photographer--had snapped pictures of all the Negro poll-watchers. "We saw this as intimidation," he said.

the other side. Then--wham!" Walker, a Negro, pulled back his fist, and then swung it rapidly toward his forehead.

A large round bandage on his head now covers the wound Walker suffered two weeks ago when, he says, a state trooper attacked him.

The blow knocked Walker out. It also jarred Uniontown Negroes into what many are calling the biggest protest in the town's quiet history.

On Feb. 5, the day after the beating, more than 100 Negroes demanded an explanation from Police Chief E. L. Hancock.

This protest got quick results. Mayor T. R. Long and the City Council decided last Monday night to hold a hearing--the first hearing into city police affairs that the mayor can recall--as soon as Walker, now weak and resting at home, is stopped by Uniontown policemen Jimmie Glass and L. E. Stone.

"After I got across the fence, the policeman called me back to the road," said Walker. "He asked me where I was going. . . . He said, 'Did you have a drink tonight?' I said, 'No, I had one soon this morning, when I went and bought groceries for my wife.'

"Then here come a car driving fast, and I said (to the policemen) 'You better watch it or we'll have a wreck in the road.'" The fast car belonged to a state trooper, Walker said. "That time the state trooper hit me," he said, "and I didn't remember anything more till I got to jail."

Walker said he recognized the trooper as the one who arrested him, "broke my teeth out," and "beat me" a year ago, after a disagreement over the registration of a car Walker was driving.

After lying in jail a while, Walker was taken to Uniontown's white doctor. "I told them to take me to any other doctor, but I don't want that man to wait on me," Walker said. The police took him back, untreated, to the jail.

After Walker had passed out a total of four times, a friend saw him and told people about "blood all over the jail." Then Walker's wife came and got him out.

"The way they left that man in jail bleeding really stirred things up," said Willie White, who drove Walker in an ambulance to Hale County Hospital in Greensboro after his release.

Walker says he still does not know what crime he's charged with. He thinks it might be "resisting arrest." Glass, minding the police station while Chief Hancock is out of town, said he's "not allowed to say" what the charge is.

State Trooper Earl Jack Greer of Marion said he was the only patrolman on duty in Perry County the night of Feb. 4, and he has never seen Walker.

Although Walker does not accuse Uniontown policemen of beating him, White said, Negroes are disturbed with the city police because their report doesn't mention the state trooper, and "because the police permitted this to happen while this man was in their custody."

FRANCIS WALKER

that in a 30-mile zone.

"Why didn't he stop when the accident happened--why did he drag Earnest Lee all that way? If it'd been just me, I'd carried that boy in."

After Sheriff Sullivan arrived on the scene and consulted with Trooper Floyd, Lankford was sent home.

When Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. White went to Chatom to seek more information about their husbands' deaths, Mrs. White said, "the sheriff told us just like this: 'I wasn't even supposed to be out there.' He shoulda knowed something, but he couldn't give us no information."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

# *Judge Shuts 11 Schools In Hale, Perry Counties*

MOBILE--A federal judge has handed down strict school-desegregation orders in two counties where Negro parents have been protesting since last September.

U. S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas said that 11 one-, two-, and three-room schools in Hale and Perry counties must be shut down. Some of these schools were practically empty already, because of the actions of Negro parents.

The Martin Mission School in Hale County, for instance, has been boycotted by most of its students since September. And according to Albert Turner of SCLC, boycotts in Perry County already closed the Crossroad School, and have cut enrollment in the Spring Hill School by more than 50%.

Judge Thomas also ordered Hale and Perry counties to desegregate grades two through six next September. (The other grades were desegregated last fall.)

And Thomas repeated some requirements for desegregation plans. According to his orders, all students must be given "complete freedom of choice," and "no choice will be denied for any reason other than overcrowding."

Of 184 Akron-area Negro children who asked to go to mostly-white Hale County schools last fall, only 19 were originally admitted. An order from Judge Thomas later raised the number to 24.

Some students were told they could not attend the white schools because there was no bus transportation available for them. But "the colored bus they rode on went right by the white school," said Mrs. Rose Lee Cheesboro, whose son attends mostly-white Akron High School.

Others were denied admission because they were too old for their grade. And Miss Hattie Pearl Collins, an Akron Public School senior, was turned down for "bad attitude." She had signed her letter of application "Peace and Black Power."

But the new court orders made Hale County Negro parents more hopeful about next fall. "We are telling everyone to fill out the choice forms for the all-white school," said Mrs. Lizzie Mae Bradley.

"We are expecting to make Akron High School (12 grades, mostly white) and Akron Public School (12 grades, all Negro) into one elementary school and one high school."

# Toomsuba Opens Center

TOOMSUBA, Miss.--People who live in this rural Lauderdale County community never thought there would be classes again inside their old school.

Weeds had grown up around the old Stevenson School, windows had broken out, and the building had filled up with dust and dirt since all the children were transferred to a big county attendance center eight years ago. In that time, the school had been used as a warehouse, and hundreds of old cartons and packing crates were stored there.

But last week, the county school board said Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP) could use the old block building for Head Start classes, if the community people would fix up the building.

So early last Tuesday morning, the school yard was full of men and women from the community. They hauled cartons, counted the broken windows, burned trash, and talked about the way the rooms would look when the walls were painted.

SOUTERN COURIER


# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 9 | WEEKEND EDITION: FEBRUARY 25-26, 1967 | TEN CENTS


# Killings S[illegible] B'ham, Prattville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FUNERAL SERVICE FOR CHARLES RASBERRY

## Latest Shooting 10th in 14 Mos., Say Birmingham Rights Leaders

## Citizens Protest Rasberry Death

BY ROBIN REISIG

PRATTVILLE -- Last Feb. 14, Charles Rasberry, a 43-year-old Negro, responded to calls for help from his duplex-house neighbor James Huffman. Wounded in the left shoulder, Huffman was in a gun battle with three white men.

Two days later, Rasberry himself was dead, shot by Prattville Deputy Police Chief Kenneth Hill.

"Buttercup" Rasberry was buried last Sunday with the military honors of

she said. "He (Huffman) fought back with a flashlight as far as he could." Huffman backed up to the screen door, she said, but before he could make it inside, "they shot him."

Then, she said, "he reached inside the screen door and got my rifle--the police say it wasn't fired but one time--and he called Rasberry, 'Call the police and ambulance.'"

The front porch was "messy with blood," recalled Mrs. Huffman. She pointed to a bullet hole in her screen door, and four bullet marks in her living room, bedroom and kitchen.

At first, only Cranmore and Huffman

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

## Negro Youth, 18, Shot by Police

BY JOAN CLARK

BIRMINGHAM--James E. Small, an 18-year-old Negro, was fatally shot in the back last Friday morning while running from the site of a break-in at Albert Martin Elementary School in North Birmingham.

According to Police Chief Jamie Moore, officer R.G. Holtam fired "to apprehend a fleeing felon."

The killing occurred shortly after 2 a.m., two blocks from Small's home. Members of his family say he had left the house at about 1:30 a.m. to buy some cigarettes.

Small's sister, Mrs. Charlena Fortune, said this week that she had given him some money in a clip, and he had told her to wait up for him. Police officers reported finding no money on the victim, but Mrs. Fortune said she was told she could pick up a new pack of cigarettes and his hat at City Hall.

When the officers checked the school as they do every night, said Chief Moore, they discovered that a window had been pried open.

"They got around--one officer on one corner, and the other on the other side," said Moore. Then, he said, Holtam saw someone run away from the building and shouted for him to stop.

"The officer shot, and a short time later the body was found just off the school grounds by both officers," said Moore.

Members of Small's family said they were first notified of the incid[illegible]

MARCHERS IN BIRMINGHAM

## 'Hell No, We Don't Like It'

BY JOAN CLARK

BIRMINGHAM--"I am here tonight because of some unfinished business," said the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth at last Monday night's meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement.

Shuttlesworth, president of the Christian Movement and a veteran of Birmingham's civil rights struggles, spoke to an overflow audience at the Jackson St. Baptist Church.

"Every time you turn around," he said, "some Negro's being killed by some trigger-happy policeman in Birmingham. . . .Every time one of your sons is accused of some crime, some policeman's bullets serve as judge, jury, and courts."

"I think we ought to start tonight, he said, "letting the city know we don't like it--hell no, we don't like it!"

Many people did decide to march that night. About 100 Negroes and whites marched along Fifth Ave. to the steps of the Jefferson County Courthouse. There was a police escort, and the streets were lined with squad cars and paddy wagons.

"Thou shalt not kill applies to policemen as well as to anyone else," Shuttlesworth said.

minister said he does not condone crime, and "as much as I've been ar-

## Miss. Welfare Applicants Tell of Refusals, Insults

BY LAURA ENGLE

JACKSON, Miss.--"You all go out and get those bastards and then expect us to support them."

That's w[illegible] one mother said she was told by a Mississippi welfare official

Almost every Negro witness testified that he had been discriminated against because of his race. Negroes said they were called by their first names, treated rudely, and made to wait until all whites had been waited on in welfare

left shoulder, Huffman was in a gun battle with three white men.

Two days later, Rasberry himself was dead, shot by Prattville Deputy Police Chief Kenneth Hill.

"Buttercup" Rasberry was buried last Sunday with the military honors of a World War II veteran, but the protests over his death are still going on.

The Rev. K. L. Buford, state NAACP field director, said Rasberry--dying of his wounds--told a relative and friend that "they (the police) said he was free to go," and that "as he was leaving, he was shot in the back."

Buford sent a telegram to the U.S. Justice Department, complaining of the "violation of both men's (Rasberry's and Huffman's) civil rights."

Police Chief O.C. Thompson, said Hill shot Rasberry late on Feb. 14, as they were going between the courthouse and the jail. "They say he was attempting to escape," said Thompson. "He hit Hill and knocked him down twice."

Huffman, now confined in the Kilby Prison hospital, is charged with the same crime that Rasberry had been charged with--the murder of William Cranmore, the white man who, according to Huffman's wife, started the shooting.

"A white man's dead and a black man's got to pay," protested one neighbor.

A quarrel over possession of a car led to the shootings that left two dead and one wounded. Huffman had bought the car from Cranmore, his former boss. John Robinson, a relative of Huffman, said Cranmore "nagged at" Huffman about paying for the car.

Before he was confined in Kilby, Huffman told his story to his wife. She said Cranmore and two other white men came to Huffman's house that evening, and asked him to come outside.

"After he got out, Cranmore told (one of the men) to knock him in the mouth," and ambulance.'"

The front porch was "messy with blood," recalled Mrs. Huffman. She pointed to a bullet hole in her screen door, and four bullet marks in her living room, bedroom and kitchen.

At first, only Cranmore and Huffman

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

MRS. SALLIE HADNOTT

said Moore. Then, he said, Holtam saw someone run away from the building and shouted for him to stop.

"The officer shot, and a short time later the body was found just off the school grounds by both officers," said Moore.

Members of Small's family said they were first notified of the incident after 9 a.m. last Friday. At that time, said Mrs. Fortune, Detective Albert Wallace called and asked Small's mother, Mrs. Rosia Small, if her son was at home.

Mrs. Small answered, "No, where is he?" and was told that her son was in the morgue at a funeral home.

Mrs. Small is an active member of the Alabama Christian Movement, and her daughter, Mrs. Fortune, participated in the Freedom Rides and the March on Washington.

Mrs. Fortune said that although her brother had been arrested before, she does not think he was ever arrested for burglary. Moore declined to comment on this, but he said Small did have lengthy juvenile and FBI records.

Small has been out of school for a year, and was working part-time as a mechanic.

"He had a very violent temper," said Mrs. Fortune, "and he don't like white people."

# Tell of Refusals, Insults

BY LAURA ENGLE

JACKSON, Miss.--"You all go out and get those bastards and then expect us to support them."

That's what one mother said she was told by a Mississippi welfare official. The woman--mother of several illegitimate children--was testifying before the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission last weekend in the King Edward Hotel.

The advisory committee conducted an open meeting to investigate the policies and practices of the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare.

Other Negro mothers also described their attempts to get welfare help for their children. One woman said she was denied aid because she refused to cross a Freedom Labor Union picket line and work in the fields for $3 a day. Another said her application was refused because she was unable to locate the father of her last child and bring him to the welfare office.

A man from Leflore County, who had lost an arm and a leg and was suffering from heart trouble, said he was told he was not sufficiently disabled to qualify for welfare payments.

Almost every Negro witness testified that he had been discriminated against because of his race. Negroes said they were called by their first names, treated rudely, and made to wait until all whites had been waited on in welfare offices.

One woman told of waiting seven hours in the cold at a Sharkey County warehouse to get her commodity foods. Whites were taken first, she said, then Negroes who would pay 25¢ to the warehouse man, and lastly Negroes who did not pay.

Many witnesses said the help they did receive was not enough. In Mississippi, an Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) grant cannot be more than 31% of what the welfare department computes as the family's need.

Welfare department officials Thomas Pruitt and Flavius Lambert explained that welfare grants could not be raised unless the state legislature voted more money. Pruitt said the legislature wouldn't appropriate more money for ADC payments because of the high illegitimacy rate among Negro recipients.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

of the Jefferson County Courthouse. There was a police escort, and the streets were lined with squad cars and paddy wagons.

"Thou shalt not kill applies to policemen as well as to anyone else," Shuttlesworth said. The minister said he does not condone crime, and "as much as I've been arrested in this city, I respect policemen."

With Shuttlesworth's appearance on the scene, protest over recent shootings bubbled to the surface.

Demonstrations continued through the week.

The protest was growing even before Shuttlesworth arrived. Last Sunday, two days after the death of James E. Small, concerned citizens met in the New Pilgrim Baptist Church.

"We are shocked and distressed at the shocking number of Negroes who are being shot and killed in this community," said the Rev. J.E. Lowery, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

Lowery read a proposed petition on reforms in police-community relations. But the Rev. Edward Gardner of the Christian Movement said, "All these petitions are a waste of time, be-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 2)

## WHY?

MERIDIAN, Miss.--These boys, students at Meridian's Head Start center, are pulling grass out of the ground. To find out why, turn to Page Three.

*'Can't the Government Take the Burden off the Parent?'*

# People Talk About Their School Problems

## Montgomery

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY -- "You're doing a good job," said Anthony S. Butler, president of the Alabama State Teachers Association. "But you're leaving so much for us to do."

The people he was talking to--officials from the U.S. Office of Education --looked away. But the people he was talking for--400 Negro parents from 36 Alabama counties--burst into applause.

That was the way things went last Saturday when the federal officials came to Montgomery to explain next year's school desegregation guidelines.

The people listened politely while Richard F. Fairley, acting regional director for the Office of Education, promised that Alabama schools "are going to be desegregated with or without federal money."

But, later, representatives from several counties stood up to ask whether the guidelines are any good if they're not enforced.

"My five children selected Lowndes County High School in Fort Deposit last year," said Robert L. Strickland. "The principal said all right. Then later he said the superintendent would have to tell the bus driver to carry my children.

"The superintendent said he couldn't provide transportation over 30 miles.... But the bus takes white children from eight, ten miles further away."

"This is not actually freedom-of-choice," Strickland said. "What can we do about it? What can you do?"

"I frankly don't know," said Judge Edward McLaughlin of Anniston, a member of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

"Serious consideration should be given to re-routing the bus," said Fred D. Gray, a Montgomery attorney who has argued several school desegregation cases.

Collins Harris, a Crenshaw County civil rights leader, said that only a third of the Negro children who applied to white schools there were accepted.

"The transportation is segregated, broke down," he said. "They do not have a horn or a heater." When children talk on the bus, the white bus driver "feels like he will report to the principal and have them suspended," Harris said.

"The bus was put on since the court (desegregation) order," he added. "It goes 60 to 100 miles out of its way every month to keep from passing certain houses on the highway.... It goes through holes where nobody lives, to camouflage..."

Other parents complained that their children are kept off school athletic teams. Teachers said their meetings are still separate from the white teachers' meetings. And nearly everyone reported that faculty desegregation requirements are being ignored.

DEMOPOLIS SCHOOL GUIDELINES MEETING

"From all that I hear and see," said C. H. Bell of Mobile "the burden (of desegregation) rests with the parent. Can't the government find some money to take the burden off the parent?"

"I don't understand why the Office of Education lets the boards of education weasel out under court orders" that are less strict than the guidelines, said Bruce Rappaport, a Miles College teacher.

Gray explained that "the last word rests not with HEW (the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) but with the courts." Judge McLaughlin said the Justice Department is trying to get some of the court orders strengthened.

Meanwhile, said Miss Deirdre Parker of HEW, "since you're stuck with freedom-of-choice, the best thing to do is work like hell to make it work."

## Demopolis

BY ROBIN REISIG

DEMOPOLIS--"They've kept me in jail as much as possible, ever since my son was the first Negro to enter the white high school," said Mrs. Velma Lankster of Linden, mother of 12.

Mrs. Lankster was one of about 200 Negroes and 20 whites from west central Alabama who came to the Demopolis community building last Monday night to discuss the new school desegregation guidelines.

She said she has been arrested "five or six times" since her son integrated the white school. "They search my car," she said. "They find in my handbag one can of beer. Then I was told I have to move from the welfare project."

The Rev. Albert Foley of Mobile, chairman of the committee conducting the meeting, then asked Mrs. Lankster:

"Do you have any evidence the school board or the school superintendent had anything to do with this? Because this is the only thing we're dealing with tonight."

When Mrs. Lankster continued to ask for help, one member of the committee--actually a subcommittee of the Alabama Advisory Committee for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission--suggested that she take her story to the NAACP.

But H.D. Coke, vice-president of the Alabama NAACP, stood up and said, "I

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

file

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 10 WEEKEND EDITION: MARCH 4-5, 1967 TEN CENTS

BIRMINGHAM MARCH (Photo by Chris McNair)

# Protest Goes On In Birmingham

BY JOAN CLARK

BIRMINGHAM -- "The people down at the courthouse want to know when we're going to get tired of carrying that casket around," said the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth. "Well, if one casket doesn't get the message across, we can carry nine!"

Demonstrators have been carrying the casket through the downtown streets every evening for more than a week. They also carry signs protesting the killing of nine Negroes by Birmingham policemen in the last six months.

Shuttlesworth told Monday night's meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement that the demonstrations have not been in vain.

Sheriff Mel Bailey.

"The use of firearms is always a last resort and we abhor the wounding of a person or the death of a human being. . . ." the statement said.

"Whenever force in any degree is used by a deputy, he is required to report this fact to his superior officer, in writing, and an inter-departmental investigation is and will be made to determine the facts."

But the Negro leaders and the officials didn't agree about everything. The mayor and city council turned down what they said was a request for a "civilian review board" that would oversee the police department.

In a reply to the city officials, the Negro leaders said they weren't asking for a civilian review board. What they wanted, they said, was the appointment of a racially-balanced board of deputy coroners.

The board would "work with the cor-

# Bomb Kills NAACP Leader; Murder Rocks Natchez, Miss.

BY GAIL FALK AND MERTIS RUBIN

NATCHEZ, Miss.--Wharlest Jackson signed off work at Armstrong Tire and Rubber Co. at 8:01 p.m. last Monday night. He had worked at the big tire plant for 12 years. But Monday was his first day as a cement-mixer operator.

He climbed into a pickup truck and started toward home. Four and a half blocks from the plant, a tremendous explosion that shook houses three blocks away blew Jackson from the truck and scattered pieces of the vehicle in every direction.

Natchez and Adams County officials later agreed that the explosion had come from a bomb planted under the driver's seat of the truck.

The explosion occurred at about 8:10 p.m. in front of the home of an elderly couple, David Williams and his wife. Flying bits of metal peppered the tin roof and walls of their frame house.

The next day, Williams recalled the scene: Jackson, he remembered, had to be pulled from under the cab of the truck, which had been blown three houses farther on down the street. "His clothes were tore off him. . . . There was flesh laying all in the street.

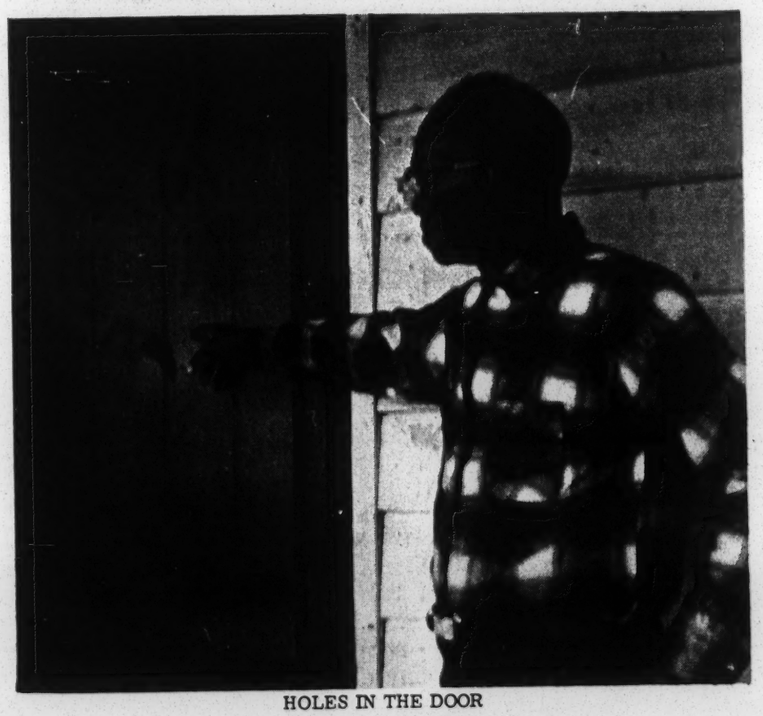
"From there on up," said Williams, pointing to his waist, "he was all right. But from there down, he was tore to pieces."

Jackson was dead by the time an ambulance carried him to the hospital.

The tragedy brought forth immediate and shocked response from both Negro and white communities.

Natchez Police Chief J. T. Robinson said city, county, state, and FBI law officers are all working together to arrest the men who planted the bomb. And after that, said Mayor John J. Nosser, "there's no question about a conviction. Something has to be done."

In a front-page editorial, the town paper, the Natchez Democrat, declared, "There is no act in the long history of Natchez that is as wanton, dastardly, brutal, and senseless as the murder of Wharlest Jackson, highly valued employee of



HOLES IN THE DOOR
David Williams points to marks left by the explosion

Armstrong Rubber Co. and highly respected citizen of the community."

The shock was deep partly because Jackson was well-known and well-liked. People all over town described the 37-year-old father of five as "quiet," "hard-working," and "responsible."

But the incident rocked Natchez for another reason. The bombing closely resembled another bombing just 18 months ago. Negro and white leaders believed race relations in Natchez had improved greatly since then.

A co-worker of Jackson's, George Metcalfe, was nearly killed by an explosion after he left work one evening in August, 1965. Like Jackson, Metcalfe had been working overtime at the Armstrong plant. When he turned on the ignition of his car, a bomb under the hood exploded. Metcalfe was in the hospital for 90 days.

Metcalfe and Jackson had worked together not only at Armstrong but also in the NAACP. Metcalfe is president, and Jackson had been treasurer of the Natchez chapter until a month ago.

After Metcalfe's brush with death, Natchez Negroes started protest demonstrations and a highly effective black-out of white businesses. The months of protest ended with a broad agreement between Negro and white leaders.

Police violence against Negroes declined, many Negroes were hired for "white" jobs, and the city's white leadership began working closely with the Negro leadership. But no arrests were ever made in connection with the Metcalfe

# Grand Jury Indicts 29

JACKSON, Miss. -- Twenty-nine men were arrested this week on conspiracy charges in two big civil rights murder cases.

A federal grand jury of 18 whites and five Negroes returned the indictments after hearing evidence all last week about the 1964 murder of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia and the 1965 fire-bomb slaying of Hattiesburg NAACP leader Vernon Dahmer.

Goodman, and James Chaney were charged again. They are Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price, Bernard Lee Akin, Jimmy Arledge, Horace Doyle Barnette, Travis Barnette, Olen Lovell Burrage, James Harris, Frank Herndon, James E. Jordan, Edgar Ray Killen, Billy Wayne Posey, Alton Wayne Roberts, Jerry McGrew Sharpe, Jimmy Snowden, Herman Tucker, and Richard

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Shuttlesworth told Monday night's meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement that the demonstrations have not been in vain.

He and other civil rights leaders praised a statement issued last weekend by city officials including Mayor Albert Boutwell and Police Chief Jamie Moore. "This statement alone is worth six months of marching," Shuttlesworth said.

"Ours is a police department for all the people and our belief in equal treatment under the law is sincere," the officials said in response to requests from Negro leaders last week.

"It is recognized that police officers have no right to inflict punishment or use more force than necessary" in making arrests, the statement said. It promised that "excessive force on the part of officers will not be tolerated. Appropriate disciplinary action will result when investigation substantiates such charges."

Civil rights leaders said they were "pleased" by a similar statement issued Wednesday by Jefferson County in writing, and an inter-departmental investigation is and will be made to determine the facts."

But the Negro leaders and the officials didn't agree about everything. The mayor and city council turned down what they said was a request for a "civilian review board" that would oversee the police department.

In a reply to the city officials, the Negro leaders said they weren't asking for a civilian review board. What they wanted, they said, was the appointment of a racially-balanced board of deputy coroners.

The board would "work with the coroner in investigating the deaths of all homicides at the hands of a peace officer," the Negro group explained. "This would relieve the coroner of the awesome and sole responsibility of investigating and judging such homicides."

The Negro leaders renewed their request for human relations workshops for law officers, and the immediate hiring of more Negroes for law enforcement jobs.

They also asked an end to "the practice of sending officers of the law to public meetings in Negro communities when they have not been invited. Negro citizens interpret such action. . .as signs of intimidation and distrust."

The new policy statement from the city lays the foundation for "mutual respect between the police department and the community," the Negro leaders added. "We are grateful for this beginning and we shall continue to be vigilant. . ."

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Most of the men had been arrested before on the same charges. But the original indictments were thrown out because the grand jury that brought them didn't have enough Negroes.

Seventeen of the 18 men originally indicted for the Neshoba County killing of Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney were charged again. They are Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price, Bernard Lee Akin, Jimmy Arledge, Horace Doyle Barnette, Travis Barnette, Olen Lovell Burrage, James Harris, Frank Herndon, James E. Jordan, Edgar Ray Killen, Billy Wayne Posey, Alton Wayne Roberts, Jerry McGrew Sharpe, Jimmy Snowden, Herman Tucker, and Richard Willis.

Two new names--former Neshoba County Sheriff Ethel Glen "Hop" Barnette and Laurel Klan leader Sam Holloway Bowers Jr.--were added to the list. Bowers was also one of the 11 men re-indicted in connection with the Dahmer slaying.

# *Rights Worker Set Free By Hung Jury in Miss.*

BY GAIL FALK

MAYERSVILLE, Miss. --A jury of six Negroes and six white men couldn't agree on a verdict in the case of a civil rights worker tried in Issaquena County circuit court last week.

The jury spent an hour and a half weighing the evidence against Robert Fitzpatrick, who was charged with driving his car too close to the back of a school bus.

Then the jurors came back and told Circuit Judge Ben Guider that six of them thought Fitzpatrick was guilty and six of them thought he was innocent. (A member of the jury said later that the Negroes voted for acquittal and the whites for conviction.)

It was the first time in recent history that Negroes have served on an Issaquena County jury. And it was the first time anyone could remember that a Mississippi jury had failed to find a civil rights worker guilty of charges brought against him in a county court.

The historic case began last Sept. 8 when Fitzpatrick, a law student at George Washington University, was arrested while he was doing research for a school-desegregation suit. He was following an Issaquena County school bus to find out whether it passed the homes of Negro children and whether it was too crowded to carry them.

The bus driver, Mrs. Thelma Chisum, swore out a warrant charging Fitzpatrick with reckless driving. A few days later, a justice of the peace found him guilty and fined him $100.

Fitzpatrick appealed to the circuit court. While he was waiting for his new trial, the charge was changed to following a school bus too closely.

When the case came up in court last week, Fitzpatrick's attorneys--Jonathan Shapiro and Robert Forman of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law--asked Judge Guider to throw it out. The attorneys argued that Negroes and women were systematically excluded from Issaquena County juries.

The lawyers said that although Negroes are 62% of the adult population in this Mississippi River county, the jury list is only 27% Negro.

But Judge Guider denied the lawyers' request.

The case finally came to trial last Wednesday. The jury heard testimony about the condition of the road. Fitzpatrick said he wasn't following the bus too closely. Mrs. Chisum said he was.

After the jurors reported that they

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

But the incident rocked Natchez for another reason. The bombing closely resembled another bombing just 18 months ago. Negro and white leaders believed race relations in Natchez had improved greatly since then.

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Metcalfe and Jackson had worked together not only at Armstrong but also in the NAACP. Metcalfe is president, and Jackson had been treasurer of the Natchez chapter until a month ago.

After Metcalfe's brush with death, Natchez Negroes started protest demonstrations and a highly effective black-out of white businesses. The months of protest ended with a broad agreement between Negro and white leaders.

Police violence against Negroes declined, many Negroes were hired for "white" jobs, and the city's white leadership began working closely with the Negro leadership. But no arrests were ever made in connection with the Metcalfe case.

At a mass meeting that overflowed Rose Hill Baptist Church Tuesday night, speakers said the second murder perplexed them. "We thought we had pulled our marching shoes off," said the Rev. Shead Baldwin, NAACP vice president.

"We had begun to think that racism and brutality, that we have in certain counties, had passed away in Adams County," said Julius Calhoun, president of the Adams County Democratic Club.

"What is the answer this time?" was the question asked by every speaker.

NAACP field secretary Charles Evers answered, "We are going to close Armstrong down. . . .We want the Kluxers and all their sympathizers out of Armstrong." After the meeting, nearly 1,500 joined a peaceful march on the Armstrong plant.

Wednesday morning Armstrong's factory manager, Floyd C. Krause, criticized the demonstration. "We feel that Armstrong is being discriminated against," he said.

But Metcalfe, like many Natchez Negroes, thinks Jackson was killed "because of that upgraded job" and that someone inside Armstrong was involved. No Negro had worked the cement-mixer before. Jackson got the job because he had more seniority than all the white men who bid for the job.

Metcalfe, who returned to work at Armstrong last June, said only someone inside the plant could have known Jackson agreed Monday to work four hours overtime.

But Krause said he doesn't believe Jackson's death was "because of the job he held with Armstrong Rubber Co." He said Jackson was one of 40 Negroes who have been placed during the past year in jobs previously held by whites.

Meanwhile, the Natchez Board of Aldermen, Adams County Board of Supervisors, Armstrong Tire and Rubber Co., and some Natchez private citizens joined this week in offering a $36,000 reward for information about Jackson's killers.

# ...And Prattville

BY ROBIN REISIG

PRATTVILLE--"We're not going to spend our money with the white man when the white man takes our taxes to pay a man to kill us," said Dan Houser, president of the Autatuga Improvement Association (AIA). "No use in paying a man to kill your brother."

Houser is the leader of a group of Negroes who are trying to organize a boycott of white-owned stores to protest the death of Charles Rasberry.

Rasberry, a Negro, was fatally shot by Deputy Police Chief Kenneth Hill two weeks ago. Officials said Rasberry was trying to escape from Hill, who arrested him following a gun battle that killed a white man, William Cranmore.

But Negro leaders said Rasberry told friends before he died that he was shot in the back after police told him he was free to leave.

On Feb. 16, the day Rasberry died, more than 60 Negroes met with Prattville Mayor C. M. Gray. They demanded the hiring of Negro sheriff's deputies and Negro policemen, and the firing of Hill and Sheriff Phillip Wood.

When Gray didn't reply to their demands by their deadline last weekend, AIA leaders called a "selective buying campaign."

Gray explained that he couldn't give an answer until his "city council was in town." But he also said that he didn't expect the council to agree to the demands.

"He said he would let no one...help run the town," Houser said angrily. "I thought it was a Negro town, too."

Although Prattville Negroes have been holding mass meetings every night since the shooting, there were signs that some people didn't agree with the boycott.

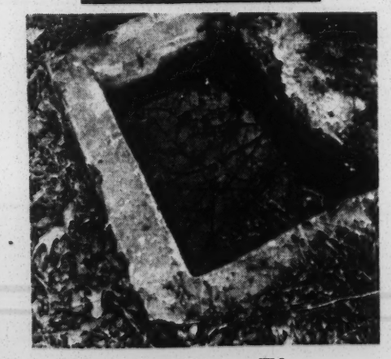
Houser admitted that many Negroes are continuing to buy at downtown stores. He blamed the "reverends." "All they do is pray and sing," he said.

Meanwhile, he said, the campaign is being conducted in accordance with the law. There are no pickets around white stores, and no efforts are made to stop Negroes from entering. But AIA members are keeping lists of the Negroes who ignore the boycott, and visiting them to ask for their support.

Prattville's protest is not directed entirely against local officials and businessmen. A SNCC worker, Rap Brown, connected the shooting of Rasberry with the war in Viet Nam. He charged that Alabama is second only to Viet Nam "in the death toll of black men."

Some people have criticized Brown as an "outside agitator." But Houser said the AIA stands behind the SNCC worker's statements. An AIA statement has accused America of "genocide" (the planned extermination of a racial group).

## *A Grave*



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# LCDC DROPS LAWSUIT

BY ROBIN REISIG

SELMA--A lawsuit that could have been a landmark in Alabama's civil rights struggle died quietly this week in federal court.

The case challenged Alabama's right to demand that only state-licensed lawyers practice in state courts. The suit argued that Negroes and civil rights workers cannot get fair legal representation from members of the Alabama bar.

Therefore, the suit said, it is "unconstitutional" for the state to deny Negroes and civil rights workers the right to a lawyer of their choice--even if he doesn't have an Alabama license.

The case was scheduled for trial Monday in Selma. Instead, it was settled by agreements filed in U. S. District Court in Mobile.

The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC), which brought the suit, agreed to drop it. And the state agreed to forget about charges against LCDC staff counsel Donald A. Jelinek for practicing law without a license.

Attorneys for both sides stipulated that Jelinek "cannot practice law in Alabama without complying with the laws of the state of Alabama." That means LCDC agreed that Jelinek must be a member of the Alabama Bar Association to practice law in the state.

The agreement also said that Jelinek "is leaving the employ of LCDC and leaving the state of Alabama at this time."

Why did LCDC back down? Alvin J. Bronstein, the attorney in charge of LCDC's Jackson, Miss., office, said only that it was "because they agreed to drop the prosecution against Jelinek."

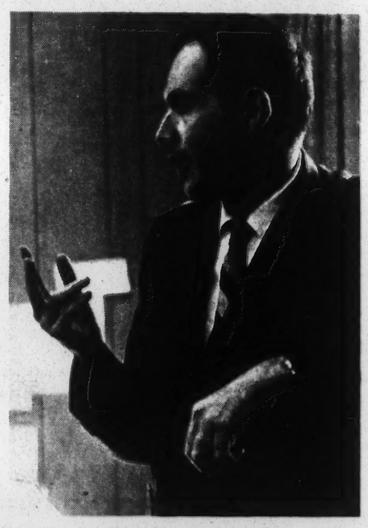
District Attorney T. H. Boggs of Linden, who arrested Jelinek for practicing law without a license in a Marengo County courtroom last November, was more specific. He said the state dropped its cases against Jelinek because "the main thing we wanted to do was get rid of him, and we did."

The state had several reasons for wanting to get rid of Jelinek. He was the only lawyer in Alabama willing to take almost any civil rights case without pay. And he won several legal battles for his clients.

But Samuel Pipes, an attorney who worked on the case for the Alabama Bar Association, said there was a bigger principle involved. Pipes said the bar association entered the prosecution against Jelinek because "if Jelinek's contentions are correct, anybody can practice without a license."

Bronstein said Jelinek had not applied for an Alabama license because he hadn't lived in the state long enough.

Last Monday--the day Jelinek's suit died in Mobile--another LCDC lawyer, Robert Sobell, went on trial in Louisiana on charges of practicing law without a Louisiana license.



DONALD A. JELINEK

Bronstein said LCDC hopes that a favorable decision in Louisiana will encourage Alabama to change its policy of refusing to let out-of-state lawyers practice in state courts. He said LCDC plans to replace Jelinek and continue operating an office in Alabama.

But District Attorney Boggs said the state is "not going to let LCDC practice. They can handle one or two cases, or be an associate in a matter, but they can't set up an office and solicit business."

# 'This Is Not the End of the Program'

A FEW WEEKS AGO, D. ROBERT SMITH HAD A CHURCH; NOW IT'S RUBBLE

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

HAYNEVILLE -- Bob Garner didn't hear about it until last Sunday afternoon.

"(Robert) Strickland came in here talking about a tragedy," said the white filling station operator who serves on the board of the Lowndes County anti-poverty program. "I didn't know what he was talking about. I thought maybe some local folks had been in a bad wreck."

But Strickland, board chairman of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, hadn't come to Garner's gas station to talk about an auto accident. He told Garner that the Movement's anti-poverty headquarters--an abandoned church in Hayneville--had been burned to the ground early Sunday morning.

"It was fixed up real nice," Garner said after hearing the news. "A lot of money went into it--a lot of work, too. I did the plumbing."

The blaze began at 5 a.m. Ten hours later, flames still flickered in the heap of rubble that had once been the anti-poverty office. All the carpentry work done by John Hulett, Sidney Logan Jr., and other Christian Movement volunteers was destroyed, and the new desks and chairs were reduced to twisted masses of melted steel.

But even before the ashes had cooled, people were working toward the day when the burned-down headquarters would rise again.

"This is not the end of the program," said Strickland. And Project Director D. Robert Smith said classes will continue in centers in Ash Creek and Calhoun.

Furthermore, Smith said, money will be raised to rebuild both the headquarters and the Macedonia Baptist Church in Fort Deposit. The church was burned to the ground early Monday, after Strickland had spoken there Sunday.

Smith said the headquarters will first be installed in a trailer on the site of the original anti-poverty office. When enough money is raised, he said, a new office will be constructed there.

The fire was the latest setback for the $241,604 federal program. The project--designed to teach migrant farmers new job skills--was held up for several months last year because of objections by former Governor George C. Wallace.

At mid-week, federal, state, and county investigations had produced nothing to show what caused the blaze. "I don't think it was any accident," Smith said. "I think it was deliberate." He said the fire might have been intended as a warning to white people who had cooperated with the program.

Coby C. Coleman, the white cafe owner who leased the old church to the anti-poverty group, didn't want to discuss reports that he had been told the building would be burned. "I won't say yes or no," Coleman said.

There were also reports that Lowndes County Probate Judge Harrell Hammonds--who helped the program get the lease--had had several of his cows poisoned recently.

On Sunday afternoon, a white family was calmly planting trees across the street from the site of the headquarters. "People used to be coming and going all night long," said the lady of the house. "Who knows what was going on in there?"

But Smith said the first days of the rebuilding campaign had turned up "encouraging signs" of support from some white residents of the county.

Smith said the contents of the building had been insured, but "a lot of volunteer work, and a lot of time" had been lost. Nonetheless, he said, "We are determined to run an anti-poverty program for all the people of Lowndes County."


# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 12 | WEEKEND EDITION: MARCH 18-19, 1967 | TEN CENTS


## People Criticize New Stamp Plan

BY ROBIN REISIG

SELMA--"How in the world can you buy food stamps with something you ain't got?" asked Mrs. Agatha Harville, who has five children and no regular income. "It's a deal to starve you to death."

When Dallas County changed from a free surplus food program to a food stamp program at the first of the month, many people like Mrs. Harville were upset about it. They said they couldn't

### *Meanwhile, in Liberty, Miss.*

## EXPLOSION BLASTS OFFICE

BY MERTIS RUBIN

LIBERTY, Miss. -- An explosion woke the sleeping small town of Liberty about 3 a.m. last Monday morning. The explosion came from the Southwest Mississippi Child Development Council headquarters.

The office, located on Main St. next to a grocery and appliance store, is headquarters for a Head Start program

people could think of reasons why someone might want to bomb the CDC headquarters.

The council's staff is 50% Negro and 50% white, according to Director Henrene Matthews. The board of directors, elected at a public meeting, is all Negro. But Matthews said there had been no trouble until now at any of the CDC's 26 Head Start centers.

However, "we were supposed to have some white children enter our center at Fernwood" on Monday, the day of the explosion, Matthews said, "but I don't know right now if they did."

who has five children and no regular income. "It's a deal to starve you to death."

When Dallas County changed from a free surplus food program to a food stamp program at the first of the month, many people like Mrs. Harville were upset about it. They said they couldn't understand why the county replaced its free surplus food program with a plan that made people pay.

In the new program, you pay a certain sum of money to get a larger amount in stamps. The stamps can then be "spent" at local food stores.

"It's obvious that the only reason most business people and officials went for it was to get rid of the surplus food program," charged Miss Shirley Mesher, a civil rights worker. "When folks are getting a little something, you can't work them for nothing."

William Speed, the officer in charge of the food stamp program for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, said the county changed to food stamps because "it gives the people more and better food than they ever had before. They couldn't eat some of the food on the commodity (surplus food) program. It wasn't any good."

"It's a wonderful program," said Mrs. Catherine Revel, the food stamp supervisor. "It lets people participate in the program, select their own foods. And it's good for the community and the grocery stores."

By the end of the first week of the stamp program, 299 Dallas County households had paid $7,000 for $16,000 worth of stamps.

Some of these purchasers complained, though, that they can't buy soap with the stamps, and that they are forced to scrape together food money for a whole month at once.

But "the people that really needs it is the one that won't be able to get anything from it," said Mrs. Clara Walker,

WAITING FOR FOOD STAMPS

who used to receive surplus food.

One woman, with no income and more than $100 in hospital bills, said she couldn't scrape up even the $2 she would need to get $12 worth of food stamps.

Another woman, Mrs. George Campbell, has four children. Their only income is $76 a month from welfare. Under the free food program, she got a "six-food sack every month--it carried me a long way." With food stamps, to get $64 worth of food, she'd have to spend at least $30 of the money that now goes for rent, gas, and clothes.

"My children will probably be hungry now," she said. "I sure do wish free groceries would start back."

"This new program stinks," said Clarence Williams, head of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization. "It's a businessman's adventure, a gimmick to bleed the poor people of the few nickels and dimes they had already. The rich people get richer, and the poor get poorer."

"If the white man says you can get something, OK. 'You're a good nigger,' you get it," said Mrs. Walker, "If not, you can't get it. It's just another knot to tie you to the white man."

came from the Southwest Mississippi Child Development Council headquarters.

The office, located on Main St. next to a grocery and appliance store, is headquarters for a Head Start program serving Pike, Amite, and Wilkinson counties. Jimmy Sharp, a local white man, owns both the office building and the store.

From the outside, the brick Head Start office building looked almost undamaged, except for broken windows. But inside, there was a hole in the floor, some of the ceiling had fallen out, and the wood partitions between rooms were splintered.

Sharp's store did not appear to be damaged. The owner had no comment about the explosion.

AFTER EXPLOSION IN HEAD START OFFICE

The Child Development Council (CDC) is a branch of Southwest Mississippi Opportunity, Inc. (SMO), one of the new Head Start groups set up last year. SMO retained many of the area councils begun under CDGM (the Child Development Group of Mississippi).

No one seems to know what caused the explosion, or even whether or not it was an accident. This week, though,

elected at a public meeting, is all Negro. But Matthews said there had been no trouble until now at any of the CDC's 26 Head Start centers.

However, "we were supposed to have some white children enter our center at Fernwood" on Monday, the day of the explosion, Matthews said, "but I don't know right now if they did."

E. W. Steptoe, local NAACP president, said he doubted that the white children had come. "That's what they've been saying ever since they set up here in January," Steptoe said. "There're still no white children in the Head Start centers."

"Some of the staff members of the CDC were the first to integrate some local eating places, but I understand they were told to hold up on that," Steptoe said.

"Everyone seems to think this (the explosion) is a result of that, but the bombing is no surprise to me, because the staff is so well integrated," he added.

Some of the local Negro citizens know there was an explosion just because they heard a loud noise. But the majority of them would rather not talk about the explosion, the Head Start program, or civil rights in general.

Matthews, however, said he is determined to go on. "We're not going to let this stop us," he said on Tuesday. "We didn't even lose a full day's work yesterday."

# 'It's Time to Move the Man,' Parent Says of Negro Principal

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MIDWAY--"If a man is in a place for ten years and there's no progress nowhere, then it's time to move the man."

That's what Eddie M. Turner, a parent, said about Fred Chambers, the principal of Merritt High School, at a parents' meeting in the First Baptist Church last Sunday afternoon.

Turner was one of 65 people who showed up at the meeting to discuss the job Chambers is doing as principal of the local Negro high school.

Most of the people seemed to be dissatisfied. They murmured "Yes," and "That's right," when Bobby Hill, the parent who called the meeting, told them, "I think we need a change."

But not all of them agreed with Turner about the kind of change they needed.

"Let's not talk about a fella," said Benjamin Jordan. "Talk to him. This same body ought to be man enough to iron across the table. A man might do better if he understand better. We might could get the problem solved without moving the man."

Another parent replied that under-

EDDIE M. TURNER

standing wasn't enough. "We want a man there concerned about the people," he said. "We ain't sure we got one."

Then Turner stood up again. "A lot of you all are in poverty," he said. "You ain't supposed to pay tuition. You paid, didn't you? Well, go back to the principal tomorrow to ask for your money, and see what he says."

"I already went," a lady called out. "He said we're not going to get but $3 back."

Wilbon Thomas, head of the Midway NAACP, told the meeting that he had trouble getting Chambers' permission for a group of children to play in Merritt High School's new gym on Sunday afternoons.

"The principal say, well, he didn't go along with playing on Sunday," Thomas reported. "I said the children wasn't in church sun-up to sun-down."

Thomas said he got permission to use the gym from Bullock County Schools Superintendent Edward M. Lindbloom. "Two Sundays we came down and enjoyed the building," he said.

"Then the man with the key said we have to pay him," Thomas continued. "The principal said we'd have to pay. So I called the superintendent and told him these were poverty people, our tax money went to the schools, and that was all the money we had."

Finally, Thomas said, the superintendent ordered Chambers to give the group a key, "but he gave us a key that opened one room. We couldn't get to the equipment."

Since then, Thomas added, the problem has been straightened out.

This week, Chambers said he didn't remember that Thomas' group had to do anything but "get permission and use the proper procedures. . . . Everybody's allowed to use the gym if we know who they are. You wouldn't let a bunch of strangers in your house."

The principal said he follows "board of education policies" in all matters, including use of the gym and collection of school fees. "All that's up to the board and the superintendent," he said. "I do what they tell me."

Chambers also said he didn't take personal criticism very seriously. "People don't like something, they look for a scapegoat," he observed. "Biggest thing is somebody wants to get his name in the paper."

## Feet

These are the feet of a little boy who attends an open-air school on the island of Jamaica. On Page Three, there are more pictures of this far-away school.

To get to Jamaica, you would have to go all the way down through Florida, past Cuba and into the Caribbean Sea.

Photographer Bob Fitch went to Jamaica earlier this year, to take pictures of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. while King was writing his new book about the civil rights movement.

While he was on the island, Fitch also took pictures of an open-air school, some native fishermen, and a crowded beach. These pictures will appear in the next few issues of The Southern Courier.

***Plot to Discredit Dahmer Witness?***

# Terror on a Lonely Miss. Road

BY GAIL FALK

PASCAGOULA, Miss. -- Jack Watkins, a Pascagoula white man, told authorities last week that five men tried to terrorize him along a lonely road near the Gulf Coast. He claimed they wanted him to cooperate in a scheme for discrediting one of the key witnesses in the Vernon Dahmer case.

District Attorney Donald W. Cumbest said Watkins made a statement saying two strangers came to his home in a Pascagoula housing project the night of Saturday, March 4. One man identified himself as Travis Buckley, county attorney for Jasper County, and the other man was introduced as Billy Ray Pitts, Cumbest said. The two men took Watkins out with them to get some whiskey.

Pitts is one of 12 men charged with conspiracy in the 1966 fire-bombing that led to the death of Dahmer, a Hattiesburg NAACP leader. Buckley is attorney for 11 of the 12 men in the case, which is due to come to trial soon.

Watkins' wife said later that her husband didn't have any idea who the men were. She said he went along because "Jack's always tried to be cooperative with the authorities. He thought maybe he knew something they wanted to know. He tries to do anything he can to keep himself clear."

While the men were drinking, Watkins told the district attorney, Buckley and Pitts said they'd heard Watkins had beaten up Lawrence Byrd of Laurel. Byrd has been identified as an important witness in the Dahmer case.

"Watkins told them he didn't know anything about the Dahmer case except what he read in the paper," said Cumbest.

After that, according to the district attorney, Buckley and Pitts drove Watkins out to a deserted country road, and told him to sign a confession saying he had beaten Byrd. Watkins refused.

Then, said Cumbest, Watkins remembers being told, "We'll let these men talk to you. They'll take care of you," as another car drove up and three men wearing white hoods and black robes got out.

"Buckley had a knife and kept poking it. Pitts hit Watkins with his fist," said Cumbest. But Watkins still refused to sign the confession, so "the Kluxers dragged him from the car and told him to get down in the dust and pray."

While he was kneeling, Watkins told Cumbest, Pitts snapped a pistol five times at the back of his head. Finally, the men took Watkins home.

Why would anyone pick on Watkins?

Cumbest said he thought it was because Watkins is an ex-convict, and "they thought he would be sympathetic

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

file

## PRIVATE-SCHOOL PAYMENTS RULED OUT

# Court Orders Desegregation of All State Schools

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--A federal court this week ordered an immediate end to Alabama's 12-year battle against desegregation of the public schools.

In a sweeping decision directed at state officials and 99 individual school systems, three federal judges said there could be no more interference or delay.

By next fall, the judges ruled, Governor Lurleen B. Wallace and state school officials must dissolve Alabama's "dual school system based upon race."

The 99 school districts--all the local boards not now u court order--were given just 20 days to adopt freedom-choice desegregation plans covering student and teacher assignments, bus routes, and all other school activities.

The 29-page opinion said that state officials had acted in "relentless opposition" all past efforts at school desegregation.

"One of the mos methods" used by the state officials was their obscure the fact that local school authorities h l constitutional duty to desegregate their sch tally," the opinion said.

"T uty to desegregate is a constitutional on court order and independent of any n," the judges declared.

chool districts to adopt freedom-of- 12 grades, the judges warned that "if g factors are not eliminated, freedom of tasy."

"A 'freedom-of-choice' plan. . .is not an end in itself; it is but a means to an end," the opinion said. If the plan does not work, the judges ruled, "some other method" must be found.

The judges ordered State Schools Superintendent Ernest Stone to "develop a detailed program" to make sure that next fall, "no school located in a school district where students of both races are in attendance. . .will have teachers of only one race."

"Faculty and staff desegregation is an integral part of any public school desegregation plan. . .because students are entitled to a nonracial education, and assignment of teachers to students on the basis of race denies students that right," the opinion said.

The judges ruled that the construction of new schools and the consolidation of old ones must be planned "to effect desegregation."

State school officials must bring "the quality of the physical facilities, equipment, services, courses of instruction, and instructional materials" in Negro schools up to the present level in white schools, the opinion said.

The federal panel--U. S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives and District Judges Frank M. Johnson Jr. and H. H. Grooms --also ruled unconstitutional an Alabama law providing tuition grants of up to $185 a year for private-school students.

If the state does not stop trying "to establish and support a separate and private school system for white students," the judges warned, the private schools "will need to be brought under this court's state-wide desegregation order."


# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 13 — WEEKEND EDITION: MARCH 25-26, 1967 — TEN CENTS


# Rusk Pickets Jailed

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--It was 6:35 p.m. The 45 Negro and white picketers protesting the Viet Nam war had been circling for nearly an hour in the cold twilight.

Then four of them broke away from the ring of demonstrators and crossed the street to University of Alabama property.

In a pre-planned ceremony, university student officials on the other side of the street asked the picketers to lower their signs. They didn't. Instead, they kept walking--straight in the direction of the university police, who were waiting to ask them to leave, and then arrest them for trespassing after warning.

Those arrested were Miss Nellie Hester, 21, a student at Stillman College; Miss Posy Lombard, 23, assistant director of Recruitment of Southern Teachers; Page Painter, 24, a Woodrow Wilson intern teaching at Stillman; and David Wolf, 21, student body president at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

The four said they were testing a rule forbidding non-university people from

# Lowndes Office Re-Opens At Scene of Church Fire

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

HAYNEVILLE -- Ten days after its headquarters burned to the ground, the Lowndes County anti-poverty program reopened for business on the same spot.

A gleaming, 50-foot-long office trailer stood amidst the ashes of the old Episcopal church that was the program's first headquarters.

"We're fully operational," program director D. Robert Smith said last Wednesday. "But we're a little behind on certain aspects of our paper-work."

To make sure there is no repeat of the fire that destroyed the church March 12, Smith said, the trailer will be guarded at night.

Two more churches have been burned in the county since the fire at the anti-poverty office. The Macedonia Baptist Church in Ft. Deposit, a Negro church, was burned on March 13, and last Saturday, the all-white Good Hope Presbyterian Church in Benton was destroyed.

Those arrested were Miss Nellie Hester, 21, a student at Stillman College; Miss Posy Lombard, 23, assistant director of Recruitment of Southern Teachers; Page Painter, 24, a Woodrow Wilson intern teaching at Stillman; and David Wolf, 21, student body president at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

The four said they were testing a rule forbidding non-university people from demonstrating on university property. They were allowed to sign for their own bond, and will be tried later.

The planned arrest was one of several protests that greeted U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk when he came to speak at the university on Friday.

Why did the four get themselves arrested on university property?

"Free speech doesn't mean anything unless you can go where the people you want to speak to are," Painter said. He said the area designated for non-university picketers was not visible to most people coming to hear Rusk speak.

"The university is trying to organize picketing, as it does everything else," charged Theodore E. Klitzke, chairman of the school's art department. "One of the ways to kill free speech is to organize free speech. Then it's no longer free."

TUSCALOOSA DEMONSTRATOR

The 45 picketers were mostly Stillman students and faculty members, but the group also included Miles College teachers and students, and some Alabama students who joined in.

While many of the demonstrators said they were protesting the war primarily for non-racial reasons, some--including Miss Hester, a Negro, and Miss Lombard, who is white--charged that the war represented "American racism and colonialism."

"They tell us Negroes are going over to insure free elections to those people, and they don't even have free elections here in the states," said Miss Hester.

In his speech, Rusk said that the U. S. must keep its commitments in Viet Nam. He reminded the crowd of 4,000 of the lessons of history, of World War II, and of "giving (the enemy) a little country or two." At the end of his talk, the secretary received a standing ovation.

But before he left, he had also received a petition signed by 520 Tuskegee Institute students, saying that Negroes "are bearing a disproportionate burden of the war in Viet Nam."

"Because of the inequities of the draft system, black men in this country are bearing the burden of an unjust war in Viet Nam," said the petition. "Therefore, we urge President Johnson to increase efforts presently being made to end the war in Viet Nam." Chester

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 6)

# Agreement Doesn't Stop School Boycott in Miss.

BY MERTIS RUBIN

HAZELHURST, Miss.--Negro parents here have rejected an agreement that would have ended the boycott of all-Negro Parrish High School.

Charles Evers, state NAACP field director, said the parents would settle for nothing less than the dismissal of Parrish principal A. J. Dillion, a Negro. "We want him O-U-T, out," Evers said last Wednesday. "That's all we'll accept."

Complaints about alleged misuse of money donated by the parents led to the boycott, which began March 15. Dillion said Wednesday that attendance at Parrish was "400 or less," while Evers put the figure at 72. There are more than 2,000 enrolled at the school.

Last Tuesday night, local leaders--including the Rev. Dudley Stewart, NAACP president--met with the Hazelhurst school board, and reached an agreement to end the boycott.

The board agreed that Dillion would have no further duties at Parrish for the rest of the year. The principal would have been given duties elsewhere in the school system, but his wife would have remained on the faculty at Parrish. Under the agreement, Negro parents were to present whatever proof they had of their complaints to the school board, "as soon as possible."

But the people would not accept this agreement. "The community felt that Dillion is so anti-civil rights, and hasn't done a thing for the Negro," Evers explained. "He's always helped the whites. . . . We don't want him at all."

City Schools Superintendent A. A. Roebuck said the school board wasn't trying to "protect" Dillion. "If anyone can prove that he violated the law or the professional code of ethics, the board wouldn't hesitate to do something," said Roebuck. "I don't think he should have his head cut off because of someone's spite."

Dillion said the people opposing him are "backward," and that they "fail to see the type of modern education" he has brought to Parrish.

He said some people were against him "because I don't attend NAACP meetings," and "because I haven't passed out freedom-of-choice forms."

## But Someone Else Meets With CR Leaders

# *Vice-President Comes to B'ham*

BIRMINGHAM -- "Welcome, Mr. Vice-President, to the Tragic City of Birmingham," said a picket sign.

About 70 picketers from the Alabama Christian Movement tried to see Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey at the Alabama National Guard airport here last Wednesday, to complain about recent killings by local police.

The people weren't able to talk to the Vice-President, who was here to address a Red Cross luncheon. But five Negro leaders did tell their complaints to Deputy U. S. Attorney General Roger Wilkins, in a private meeting.

Wilkins came to Birmingham to talk to the leaders Wednesday, after they had sent a telegram to Humphrey.

"Wilkins said he certainly understood the Birmingham situation, and that he would use his influence to see we get whatever relief we could possibly get," the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth reported after the meeting.

MONDAY IN BIRMINGHAM: MARCHING IN THE RAIN

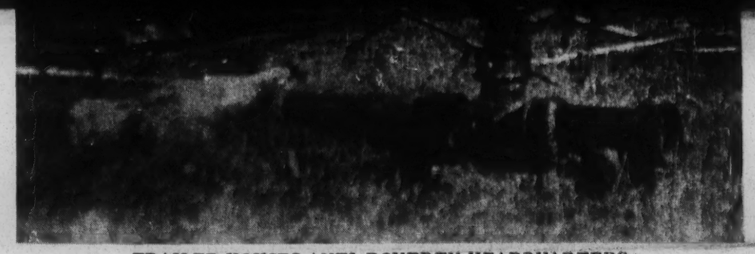
To make sure there is no repeat of the fire that destroyed the church March 12, Smith said, the trailer will be guarded at night.

Two more churches have been burned in the county since the fire at the anti-poverty office. The Macedonia Baptist Church in Ft. Deposit, a Negro church, was burned on March 13, and last Saturday, the all-white Good Hope Presbyterian Church in Benton was destroyed.

Dr. W. L. Staggers, a white doctor involved in planning an anti-poverty medical program for Lowndes County, is a member of the Good Hope congregation.

Asked if there might be a connection between the latest fire and his involvement in a program that would aid many Negro residents, Staggers said, "I haven't heard anything about it."

Smith said this week that there were "very strong indications" that the headquarters fire was the work of "an organized group, who, for whatever reasons, destroyed a symbol of progress for Lowndes County."



TRAILER HOUSES ANTI-POVERTY HEADQUARTERS

The anti-poverty director said he decided to re-open on the site of the fire because "it was my determination that we do not run from a situation in which blind actions take precedence over prudent judgment."

He said a campaign has begun to raise $25,000 for the Lowndes County Community Fund. This fund will be used to build a new permanent office, and to help rebuild the church in Ft. Deposit. Smith said contributions can be sent to the Union Bank and Trust Co., P. O. Box 2191, Montgomery, Ala. 36103.

Already, he said, donations have come from church groups in Michigan, Connecticut, and West Virginia--and from white residents of Lowndes County. Coby C. Coleman, the white man who rented the old church to the anti-poverty program, has "offered to contribute a significant amount of money toward the rebuilding of the structure," Smith said.

In a statement issued last week, SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael said the church burnings and other recent events prove "that White America is tightening its noose around the necks of black people here, just as she is doing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America."

"Black people are now serving notice that we will fight back," he said. "The bombing of our churches and homes will only unify us more, and make us more detemined than ever to fight back."

Smith said he doubted that the fire at the white church was an instance of Lowndes Negroes "fighting back."

"It is the philosophy of the program to work with ALL the people in Lowndes County--to help Lowndes County," he said. "For this is a county program."

# *People in Lee Get Free Food*

AUBURN -- The Auburn City Council this week agreed to share the cost of the surplus food program with the Opelika City Commission and the Lee County board of commissioners.

"The free food is on its way!" said James Roberts, one of the Negro leaders who organized a three-month effort to bring the federal program into Lee County. "All we have to do now is wait."

Probate Judge Ira H. Weissinger, chairman of the board of commissioners, said Roberts was right. "We're definitely going ahead with it," Weissinger promised.

"We've got to find a warehouse and work out storage and transportation," Weissinger said. "But our application will be on its way by the end of the month."

# Losing Candidate Vows To Split Negro Votes

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- "I'm going to split every election that comes up," Mrs. Idessa Williams said bitterly after last Monday's Democratic primary election.

Hours earlier, the long-time Negro leader had learned that she finished third -- with barely more than 2,500 votes--in a three-way race for a seat on the City Democratic Executive Committee.

W. Paul Woolley Jr., a white moderate, won the Ward Two seat on the committee with nearly 11,000 votes. Nelson Malden, a Negro barber, was second with almost 4,000.

Mrs. Williams blamed her poor showing on the "college folks and high school folks" in the Negro community.

"Where were they when there wasn't but 422 Negroes registered at Hamner Hall (now a mostly-Negro precinct)?" she said. "The ones that worked are not going to stand by and let them take over."

She also blamed her political rival, Rufus A. Lewis of the Montgomery County Democratic Committee(MCDC). "Rufus will do anything to try and stop me," she said. "I'm not going to let him stop me, or anyone else."

Mrs. Williams said she would continue to work against Lewis and the college people, "until they consider one of us" for political office.

Although Mrs. Williams contended that Malden, an Alabama State College graduate, was Lewis' candidate, Lewis insisted that the MCDC screening committee hadn't endorsed anyone for the Ward Two seat.

He said the screening committee endorsed just two candidates for the Democratic executive committee -- Lewis himself for Ward Four, and Mrs. Norma Brewer, a white lady, for Ward 23. Both lost.

In the major Monday races, the MCDC --only group to make formal endorsements--supported all three of the present city commissioners for re-election. Mayor Earl James and Public Works Commissioner Cliff Evans won runaway victories, but the third incumbent, Police and Fire Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, lost to J. B. (Jack) Rucker in a close contest.

This was a turn-about from the 1963 primary, when the MCDC supported Rucker but Sullivan won the election. "I think there's an explanation," Lewis said, but he would not elaborate. "It would not be helpful to discuss it," he explained.

The screening committee's choices were circulated by "just getting around to the people" and by distributing marked ballots at the polls, Lewis said.

Despite the MCDC endorsement, Sullivan had an edge of less than 200--1,473 to 1,299, according to unofficial figures--at the Hamner Hall and Cleveland Ave. fire stations, the city's Negro strongholds.

Mrs. Williams said she voted for the third candidate for police and fire commissioner, C. C. Strane, while most of her friends voted for Rucker.

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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# Private School Starting in Auburn

## Entrance Pol[illegible] Not Decided

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

AUBURN -- A private elementary school will open here next September, one year after large-scale desegregation of the public schools.

The Lee County Educational Fund--sponsor of the school--mailed a fund-raising leaflet to white Auburn residents last month.

"Only the private school, we believe, now can provide an atmosphere free of pressures and other obstacles which make impossible the practice of (the) traditional American educational philosophy," the leaflet noted.

It also said that the school would be "dedicated to academic excellence" and would try to enroll "the more able children, as determined by nationally-used tests."

Some people thought those two state- [illegible] new school would [illegible] egation, and would [illegible] e students.

[illegible] Valder, associate director of the [illegible] Council on Human Relations, [illegible] has its state offices in Auburn, cited "past experience."

Alabama, he said, has many "'private schools' which in reality were formed with the sole intention of finding legal means of maintaining segregated schools."

"I think one would be justified in viewing this particular institution with some degree of skepticism--until such skepticism is proved to be unfounded," Valder said.

But Bernard Breyer, an Auburn University professor and president of the Lee County Educational Fund, said the new school's board has not talked about admission standards yet.

"The policy has not been fully enough defined" for him to say whether qualified Negro students will be accepted, Breyer said. "This is not an issue I would feel justified in discussing," he added.

The main reason for founding the school was "to get as good a school as we can get," Breyer said. Were there other reasons, such as providing an escape from public-school desegregation?

"A lot of people had a lot of ideas in mind," Breyer replied. "I cannot speak for a whole board."

PICKWOOD ACADEMY BUILDING

Another Auburn University faculty member said that Breyer himself resigned from the university when the first Negro student was admitted under a court order 3 1/2 years ago.

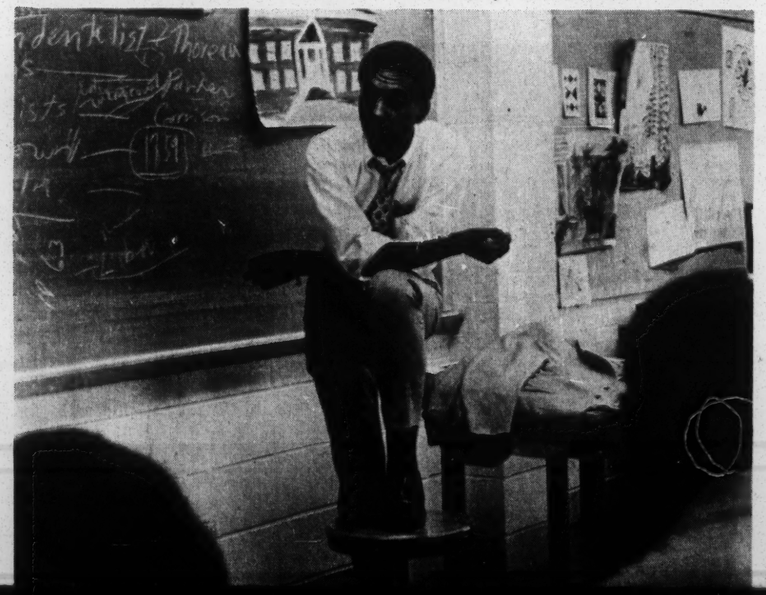
Breyer--who rejoined the faculty last summer--said that was true. "But my letter of resignation made no mention of race," he added. "It made a good deal of mention of political interference with the academic process. I am opposed to the courts telling a university --or the public schools--what to do."

The private school, to be named Pickwood Academy, is now under construction on five acres of land along Shelton Mill Road, in a white residential section. The plans include eight classrooms for seven grades (kindergarten through sixth), and a playground, a tennis court, and a swimming pool.

Tuition will be $30 a month for the first child from each family, and $20 a month for his brothers and sisters.

Breyer said that "150 children is the most we could possibly take care of" the first year. Although most of those children would probably leave the Auburn schools to attend Pickwood Academy, City Schools Superintendent E. E. Gaither said he doesn't consider the private school a threat to the public school system.

"There's plenty of room for both of us," he said. "Desegregation is working out with no trouble at all. I don't think this will make any difference."



# Negroes To Fight Move By Wallace

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- An SCLC education specialist said this week that Alabama Negroes will fight any Wallace Administration move to block state-wide school desegregation.

John Reynolds of Greensboro, an SCLC special assistant on education, said:

"If Lurleen (Wallace) stands in the schoolhouse door, I'm going to make it my personal business to stand in the door with her, to make sure black children get into the schools.

"If she calls out the National Guard, I'm going to call the SCLC staff back into Alabama.

"We will meet the violent force of Lurleen with the non-violent soul of black men."

Reynolds said his pledge had the backing of SCLC.

Governor Wallace was to make a televised address Thursday night, to outline her plan for defying last week's federal court order. Three federal judges have given the state until next September to desegregate the 99 school districts that are not already under court order.

"Negroes must have the determination to continue to try to put children in school," Reynolds said. He said he will soon call a meeting of the state's Negro leaders, "to organize for a massive turn-out in September."

Warming up for the governor's Thursday appearance, the state Legislature last Tuesday passed a resolution urging all Alabama congressmen to seek the removal of Harold Howe, the U. S. Commissioner of Education. Howe is responsible for drawing up and en-

# Police in Enterprise Accused of Beating

BY DANIEL JACKSON AND MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

ENTERPRISE--Ivory Lee Edwards was still in bed this week, recovering from head injuries he allegedly received at the hands of Enterprise police.

Enterprise Negroes were forming a citizens committee to do something about the incident. James T. Scott, a local leader, said the committee will "go down to the Chamber of Commerce and the City Council."

"There's some pretty nice white people here," he said. "They wouldn't go

the incident, told Scott he saw Edwards fall to the ground, face first. When McCray asked the officers what was happening, he told Scott, they ordered him to "get away from here--this is police business."

Edwards was charged with resisting arrest.

Scott said he asked District Attorney Lewey Stephens Jr. and the FBI to look into the alleged beating. Stephens said this week that the case was "under investigation . . . . We're trying to find out exactly what happened." Police department officials could not be reached for comment.

# *More Confusion In Dahmer Case*

BY GAIL FALK

PASCAGOULA, Miss.--A few minutes before midnight last Tuesday, 12 Jackson County jurors reported that they couldn't agree whether or not Travis Buckley, county attorney for Jasper County, was guilty of obstructing justice.

It was only one of several confusing developments last week involving central figures in the Vernon Dahmer civil rights case. Dahmer, an NAACP leader in Hattiesburg, died in January, 1966, after his home was fire-bombed.

Buckley--attorney for 11 of 12 men charged with conspiracy in the Dahmer killing--was being tried in Pascagoula on a charge that he tried to interfere

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT STILLMAN

# 'To Hell With Laws of U.S.'

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--Stokely Carmichael came to Stillman College last Wednesday, and asked the students to question themselves, their college, the Viet Nam war, and the laws of the United States.

He told the students of the "beauty" of black people and their history, and of the ugliness and "violence" of America. He called the U. S. "a nation of murderers in Viet Nam," and "a nation of thieves. They stole us."

Carmichael quoted Negro abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who said that a slave will always be a slave if he obeys the laws of his master. "If you want to be free," the SNCC chairman said, "you've got to say 'To hell with the laws of the United States.'"

"This country has law and order, but it doesn't know a damn thing about justice," Carmichael told a gathering of more than 400 on Wednesday night.

The audience in the college auditorium clapped and cheered loudly at almost everything Carmichael said.

"They train you to be a hired killer. The Viet Cong has never called you a nigger," Carmichael told the draft-age students.

Negroes are 10% of the population, but they are 30% of the Army, he said: "That's black urban removal, and nothing else. White people tell you not to be violent, and send you to Viet Nam."

"Let's embalm the rest of the world. Let us create a life of humanity for ourselves," he said.

Carmichael had spent the day talking to students about Negro history, and telling them what he thinks is wrong with Stillman.

"You need a black school," he said in one class. He criticized Stillman for having too many white faculty members, and for having an educational system that taught black people about Booker T. Washington ("an Uncle Tom of the worst kind"), but not of Crispus Attucks ("the first American to die in the Revolutionary War") and Malcolm X ("the CIA killed Malcolm X").

"You don't know how much you're missing," he told another class in a very, very quiet voice. "Life's going on all around you, and you're dead."

"The pacifists who preached nonviolence and love and all that junk--it is junk--came to preach where?" Carmichael asked. "The South," shouted the students. "To whom?" he asked. "Black people," they answered. "Who needed it?" came the question. "White people," was the answer.

"If I slap you, what do you do?" said Carmichael in another exchange.

"Slap you back," answered the students.

"If I keep slapping you, what do you do?"

"Kill you."

"RIGHT!" shouted the SNCC leader.

"If you want to love, you get married," Carmichael said. "If you start a political movement, you go for power."

## MFDP Loses

WASHINGTON, D. C.--The U. S. Supreme Court decided last Monday that there was nothing wrong with the way Mississippi's new congressional districts are drawn. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) had challenged the new districts after they were drawn by the state legislature last year.

Before now, the MFDP's suit claimed, the heavily-Negro Delta had always been a single district with its own U. S. Representative. By splitting the Delta among four other districts, said the MFDP, the legislature had ruined chances for electing a Negro congressman anytime soon.

Under the plan that the Supreme Court refused to review, one of Mississippi's five congressional districts--the First--has a slight majority of Negroes. More whites than Negroes are registered in this district, however.

MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

ENTERPRISE--Ivory Lee Edwards was still in bed this week, recovering from head injuries he allegedly received at the hands of Enterprise police.

Enterprise Negroes were forming a citizens committee to do something about the incident. James T. Scott, a local leader, said the committee will "go down to the Chamber of Commerce and the City Council."

"There's some pretty nice white people here," he said. "They wouldn't go along if they knew what was happening."

Edwards, a Negro, was injured the night of March 18. Scott, who looked into the case as "an interested citizen," said someone called the police after Edwards had an argument with a lady friend.

Two white officers arrested Edwards as he drove away from the lady's house, Scott said, but Edwards "took off" when the policemen went to search his car.

At that, said Scott, one policeman tackled Edwards, and handcuffed him after a scuffle. By the time the second officer approached, said Scott, Edwards was bleeding from the mouth. Edwards spit blood in the direction of the second policeman.

Then, Scott continued, the second officer started beating Edwards--who was still handcuffed.

Willie Clarence McCray, a witness to fall to the ground, face first. When McCray asked the officers what was happening, he told Scott, they ordered him to "get away from here--this is police business."

Edwards was charged with resisting arrest.

Scott said he asked District Attorney Lewey Stephens Jr. and the FBI to look into the alleged beating. Stephens said this week that the case was "under investigation. . . . We're trying to find out exactly what happened." Police department officials could not be reached for comment.

Jackson County jurors reported that they couldn't agree whether or not Travis Buckley, county attorney for Jasper County, was guilty of obstructing justice.

It was only one of several confusing developments last week involving central figures in the Vernon Dahmer civil rights case. Dahmer, an NAACP leader in Hattiesburg, died in January, 1966, after his home was fire-bombed.

Buckley--attorney for 11 of 12 men charged with conspiracy in the Dahmer killing--was being tried in Pascagoula on a charge that he tried to interfere

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

court order.

"Negroes must have the determination to continue to try to put children in school," Reynolds said. He said he will soon call a meeting of the state's Negro leaders, "to organize for a massive turn-out in September."

Warming up for the governor's Thursday appearance, the state Legislature last Tuesday passed a resolution urging all Alabama congressmen to seek the removal of Harold Howe, the U. S. Commissioner of Education. Howe is responsible for drawing up and enforcing the federal school desegregation guidelines.

In the state Senate, the only law-maker to speak against the resolution was Tom Radney of Tallapoosa County. He said the Senate should "quit passing meaningless resolutions," and concentrate on state business. Radney said Senators Stewart O'Bannon Jr. of Lauderdale County and W. H. Lindsey of Choctaw County joined him in opposing the bill on a voice vote.

Then on Wednesday, school segregation in Alabama--and everywhere else--suffered another legal set-back. By an 8-4 vote, the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La., again said that public school boards have an "affirmative" duty to integrate. The full court upheld an earlier ruling that adopted the federal guidelines as the standard for all schools.

## Hazelhurst Boycott Ends

BY MERTIS RUBIN

HAZELHURST, Miss. -- The big school boycott is over in Hazelhurst, but the civil rights movement is here to stay.

The Rev. Dudley Stewart, head of the local NAACP, said Negro leaders and the Hazelhurst school board reached an agreement last Friday night, and the people accepted the agreement.

As a result, said Stewart, A. J. Dillion no longer holds any position with any Negro school in Copiah County.

Dillion, a Negro, was principal of all-Negro Parrish High School until last week. Complaints about his alleged misuse of money led to the boycott.

The people had rejected an earlier agreement, under which Dillion would have been removed from Parrish for the rest of the year, but would have had other duties in the school system.

Last Tuesday night, about 1,000 people attended a mass meeting here, to talk about other projects. They were told that 2,500 of the county's 7,000 eligible Negro voters had been registered--many of them during the NAACP's month-old registration drive. And they heard that Hazelhurst has had a Negro policeman for almost two weeks.

*Theater Closed Since 1957 Boycott*

# Movies Will Return to Tuskegee

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Until last month, the Macon Theater in downtown Tuskegee was just another one of the South's abandoned movie houses. If there had been a sign on the door, it might have said, "Closed by segregation."

But now the theater front has a new coat of blue and white paint, and workmen are busy fixing up the battered building.

"We hope to open May 1," said Julius C. Robinson, the man who bought the theater. "But we're planning complete renovation, and we don't know just how long it will take."

One of the first things the workmen will do is close off the theater's west entrance.

"That was the Negro side," explained Robinson. "The place was really two theaters, with two separate entrances--and a brick wall down the center."

"We can't hardly take the wall out," he said. "It's connected to the roof by steel beams. I think we'll just open up the one side and see how we get along."

When the Macon Theater was built, segregation in Alabama's public places was just as strong as the brick wall. But now the Civil Rights Act of 1964--and Tuskegee's own year-old "public accommodations" law--make segregated theaters illegal.

A lot of Southern movie houses went out of business in 1964, rather than obey the Civil Rights Act. But the Macon Theater wasn't one of them--it had already been closed for years. "The boycott closed it," said Robinson, "along with most of the businesses downtown."

The boycott he was talking about began in the fall of 1957. Negroes stopped shopping in white-owned stores after the Alabama legislature re-drew Tuskegee's city limits to keep out Negro voters. When the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in their favor, many Negroes started buying downtown again--but the movie theater never re-opened.

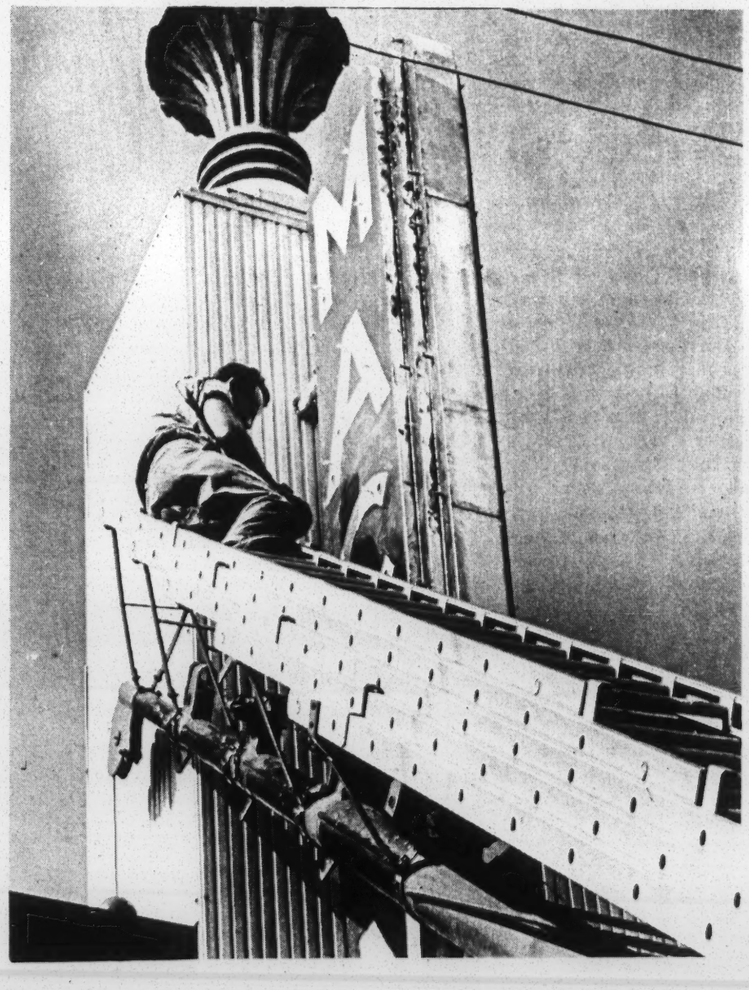
Some of Tuskegee's white people blamed the Negroes for making the town do without first-run movies, but Robinson said he doesn't see it that way.

"It was because of the attitude of the whites that the theater closed," he said. "The Negroes were always for it. There never were enough whites without the Negroes. The Negro side supported it."

Robinson, a county supervisor for Tuskegee Institute's adult education program, made a survey of movie-goers before he bought the theater.

"To me, there's always been a need for it," he said. "Now the potential audience has doubled. If we get one-fifth of the potential, that'll be more than we can handle. We'll only have 350 seats."

And he expects some of his customers to be white. "Might be about 5%," he predicted. "We do have a few whites patronizing Negro businesses now. If it's clean and comfortable, some white people will come."



file

# Negro Deputy Charged in Bullock Killing

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--Willie James King and Richard Lee Harris were laughing at a joke as they left the Golden Horseshoe Club together early last Sunday morning.

As the two young Negro men started toward their car, the way was blocked by Bullock County's only Negro deputy sheriff, Tom "Preacher" Tolliver.

WILLIE JAMES KING

Suddenly a shot rang out, scattering the crowd in front of the night club. King fell to his knees. Bystanders heard him gasp, "Preacher, you done shot me."

A moment later, King, a 30-year-old construction worker, lay dead on the sand in a pool of blood.

James Simpson, one of the bu[illegible] ers, said he watch[illegible] his pistol and [illegible] After that, Sim[illegible] into the night, an[illegible] firing the pistol.

Then Simpson [illegible] for many years. [illegible] Simpson said later [illegible] his hand under his [illegible] watched in horror, [illegible] gasped twice and collapsed.

"When Preacher got back, I told him, 'The boy is dead,'" Simpson said. Then he went to tell King's pretty young wife, Mozell, that she was a widow.

About six hours later, Mrs. King drove the 12 miles to Union Springs with H. O. Williams, a Bullock County Negro leader. They woke up Justice of the Peace E. O. Hickman, and Mrs. King swore out a warrant against Tolliver for the murder of her husband.

As soon as he could get his clothes on Sunday morning, Hickman said, "I took the warrant over to the sheriff personally. I wouldn't let anybody else take it."

But what happened [illegible] that was a mys[illegible] s angry Ne- [illegible] re than 24 [illegible] where the [illegible] people saw [illegible] ounty Sun- [illegible] a pistol, [illegible] that says [illegible] County Sheriff [illegible] refused to talk about the incident. But, late Monday afternoon, District Attorney Ben C. Reeves confirmed that the warrant had been served.

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Why wasn't Tolliver in jail? Reeves explained that "some white friends" had put up the $2,000 bond right after Tolliver was arrested.

Was Tolliver still acting as a deputy? "That would be up to the sheriff," said the district attorney. "They tell me this was an accident--Richard Lee (Harris) was resisting arrest, and in the scuffle Tolliver's gun went off and killed a bystander."

"It'll all come out before the grand jury in July," Reeves added. "That's what juries are for. There's two sides to every story."

But Bullock Conty's Negro leaders--and some of the people who saw the killing--weren't willing to wait.

"The first thing we've got to do," said Williams grimly, "is get that gun out of Preacher's hands." The Negro leaders called a mass meeting for late this week to decide what form their protest would take.

Meanwhile, King's friends pieced together the events surrounding his death. Harris remembered that he and King were "laughing and joking like always" when they left the Golden Horseshoe Club.

"Preacher was leaning up against his car," Harris said. "He called over, 'Cut out the goddamn mess.' I said, 'Why? We ain't did nothing.'"

"He said he had it in for me a long time ago," Harris recalled. "He come

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

MRS. MOZELL KING (LEFT) BUYING NAACP MEMBERSHIP

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 16 WEEKEND EDITION: APRIL 15-16, 1967 TEN CENTS

# Senators Told Of Poverty

BY PATRICIA JAMES

JACKSON, Miss. --"The whole county is poor," said Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Issaquena County. "We don't have a factory -- nothing but plantations. We have children who have never had a glass of milk."

Isn't there any kind of employment? asked U. S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy

## 'I Know It Wasn't Right'--Juror

# Conner Freed

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

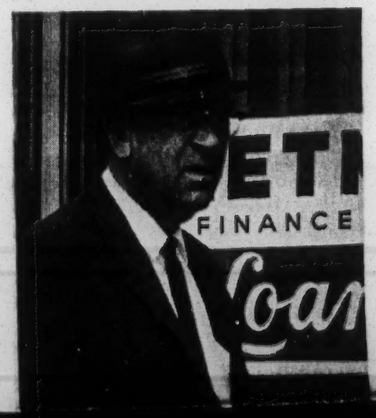
MONTGOMERY--Sam Sistrunk of Ozark stood dejectedly in the Montgomery Post Office, minutes after he was released from service on the jury that had freed Harvey Conner.

"I know it wasn't right," said Sistrunk, the only Negro on the 12-man jury. He said he had tried to dispute the 11 white men who thought Conner was innocent, but he finally gave in.

"I tried to tell 'em," he said last Wednesday, "but you know how it is.... No matter what we do, God knows. He'll take care of it."

After a day and a half of testimony and about 100 minutes of deliberation, the federal-court jury had found Conner, a former Elmore County sheriff's deputy, not guilty of violating the civil rights of James Earl Motley.

Motley, a 27-year-old Negro from Wetumpka, died in the Elmore County jail last Nov. 20, about two hours after Conner arrested him.



# Told of Poverty

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Isn't there any kind of employment? asked U. S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

"No employment," answered Mrs. Blackwell. "We need more than Head Start. We need everything."

This was just one of the exchanges last Monday in the Heidelberg Hotel here, as five U. S. senators--Kennedy, Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, George Murphy of California, Jacob Javits of New York, and Winston Prouty of Vermont--learned about poverty and the war against it.

The senators heard from community leaders, and from representatives of Mississippi anti-poverty agencies. They also heard from one of their own --U. S. Senator John Stennis of Mississippi.

Stennis recited some of his criticisms of the anti-poverty program, and of CDGM (the Child Development Group of Mississippi) in particular. "From my own investigation," he said, "I know that a large part of the poverty-program money has been misused, mismanaged, unaccounted for, and wasted."

Some of the CDGM workers are immoral beatniks, said Stennis, and "they use CDGM cars on weekends to go places when they are not even working on their job." Senators Kennedy and Javits both disagreed with him.

After Stennis was finished, a stream of witnesses testified that the poor people of Mississippi needed help badly.

Claude Ramsey, president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO labor union, said the anti-poverty program had made some mistakes, which should be corrected.

But he added, "I don't think Senator Stennis is fully aware of the problem in this state. I don't think he understands the magnitude of this."

Said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, "We want to have a chance of helping the poverty-stricken people in Sunflower County." She said many people in the county ate only grits, rice, and beans, day after day.

A white lady, Mrs. Ida Lemore of Jackson, testified "All I want to say ... is if people can help, we need it."

Many witnesses, including Miss Marian Wright of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, attacked the federal food stamp program, which has replaced free commodity foods in many areas. Dr. A. B. Britton, chairman of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, said the food stamps should be free.

Senator Clark said the law-makers should get the U. S. Department of Agriculture to "do something to feed these hungry people."

SENATOR KENNEDY (ABOVE), AUDIENCE (BELOW) AT POVERTY HEARING

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BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

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The federal government's case against Conner was built on the testimony of two witnesses--Reuben Clark, a Negro serving in the Air Force, and Perry C. Stacks, a white state trooper.

Clark said he was driving with Motley last Nov. 20, when Conner stopped their car at about 1:40 a.m. After Clark got out of the car, he said, he heard a voice telling the deputy, "You don't have anything to do with this. It happened in Montgomery County, not Elmore County."

The airman said Conner replied, "You telling me how to run my business?" and then the deputy "asked Motley out of the car."

Conner finally arrested Motley, Clark testified, but Motley refused to get into Conner's auto, even after the deputy fired a shot in his direction.

Motley went back in the car he was riding in, said Clark, but when two state troopers arrived, Motley got out quietly.

"That's when Sheriff Conner touched him on his right shoulder," Clark said. He said Conner asked, "Why didn't you get in (my) car when I told you to?"

"At the same time," Clark went on, "he was hitting him (Motley) up side the head." When Conner stopped striking Motley, the airman testified, Motley crumpled to the ground.

As two state troopers carried Motley back to Conner's car, Clark said, the deputy told them, "Don't get that blood on my seat."

Stacks, one of the state troopers who answered Conner's call for help that night, told virtually the same story.

He said Motley's hands were "at his sides" while Conner was striking him, and he testified that he smelled no alcohol on the victim's breath.

Conner gave a very different version of the night's events. He said that while he was looking at Clark's identification, Motley got out of the car and "came between us and pushed me back."

The deputy said Motley "staggered," and "his speech wasn't as good as it should have been."

When the troopers came, Conner said, Motley got out of the car again. Then, he said, Motley "stood up immediately and grabbed me in the collar."

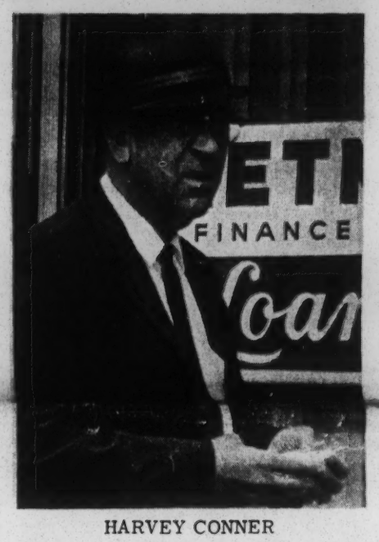
"I asked him to turn me loose twice," Conner testified, and when Motley didn't, he hit him twice, until "some blood came." Conner said he stopped hitting Motley as soon as the victim let go, and Motley was still standing up at that time.

The defense also tried to show that Motley was fatally injured by falling and hitting his head on a fence-post at the jail, not by being struck with Conner's slapjack.

But Judge Frank M. Johnson reminded Conner's lawyers, "You gentlemen should not lose sight of the fact that this man (Conner) is not being charged with murder in this case." He meant the federal crime, if any, was violating Motley's rights, not causing his death.

The jurors apparently considered the case for just the amount of time it took to convince Sistrunk. The Ozark brick contractor said one of the white jurors offered "to sprinkle some white on me."

"I told him it wasn't a matter for foolishness," Sistrunk said. "I made him ashamed of himself."




HARVEY CONNER

# New Negro Policeman in Opelika Promises, 'I Aim to Do My Best'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--"I'm going into it full heart and soul," said James Baker Jr., one of Opelika's first two full-time Negro policemen. "This is something I have thought about for a long time."

"As a law-abiding citizen, registered voter, Christian, and father of six children, I have felt that when and if the opportunity presented itself, I wanted to become a law-enforcement officer," Baker said.

Baker, 27, and John Pruitt, 34, will begin work as rookie police officers this Monday. City Police Chief William J. Trussell Jr. said they will have the same authority other policemen have.

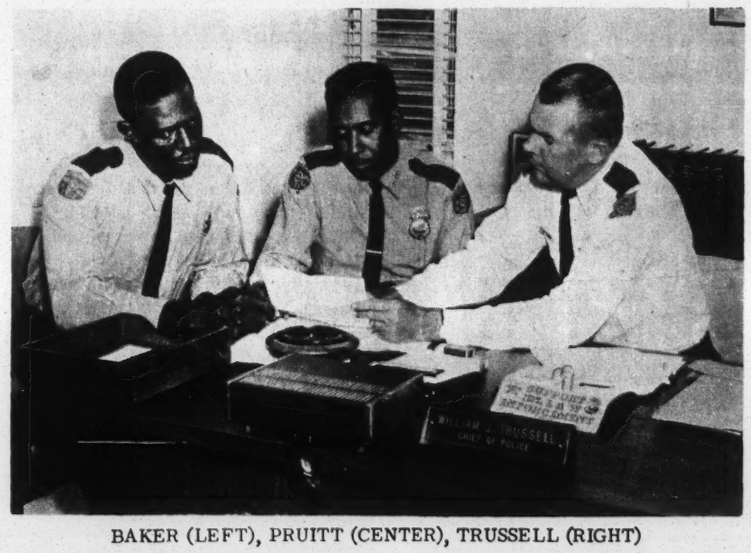
"When I hired them," Trussell added, "I said we're not going to give you an inch, and we're not going to take an inch. You'll work all over town. Whether his skin is white, green, or red, if he's breaking the law, arrest him."

Baker, a 6'7" former high school basketball star, said he planned to do just that. "I figure it's a challenge, being one of the first Negroes," he said. "I aim to do my best."

"The hardest part is people getting used to it," Baker continued. "Some figure it will be a good idea, but some don't."

Chief Trussell and Opelika Mayor T. K. Davis Jr. are two people who have said they think hiring Negro policemen is a good idea. Davis said the new officers "will fill an important need in the community," and perform "a vital service."

"Of course, it's not unusual for a city to have colored policemen any more," Chief Trussell said, "but I feel like it's a step forward for the Opelika Police Department. These are two real good men."



BAKER (LEFT), PRUITT (CENTER), TRUSSELL (RIGHT)

Opelika's Negro leaders, who spent three years trying to convince the city to hire Negro policemen, agreed with Trussell. "It was a long time coming, but we're glad it's here," said one leader.

Pruitt is one of four Negroes who joined Opelika's police reserve last October, shortly after Negroes rioted at a Darden High School football game. Did the riot help persuade Opelika to desegregate its police force?

"I think it was mostly coincidence," the Negro leader said. "But that may have speeded things up a little."

Pruitt left a job as stockroom manager at the local F. W. Woolworth store to become a policeman. Baker formerly worked for the Alabama Gas Corporation.

For the first few weeks on their new job, both men will ride in patrol cars with experienced policemen. Later, they will handle their assignments alone.

Trussell said he doesn't expect any problems when the new officers answer police calls. "When a citizen is in trouble and calls for help from the police, he wants an officer in a hurry, regardless of color," the police chief said.

"We are confident these Negro officers will serve the people of Opelika capably and efficiently."

# *Natchez Jury Hears of Plot, Can't Decide*

BY MERTIS RUBIN

NATCHEZ, Miss.--A jury of nine whites and three Negroes couldn't reach a decision this week in the case of James L. Jones, one of three white men charged with the murder of Ben Chester White, a Negro.

The jury had heard a statement saying that White was killed last June 10 as part of a plot to lure the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. to Natchez. Sheriff Odell Anders said Jones gave him the statement last July.

In the statement, Jones allegedly said that he and two other defendants in the case--Claude Fuller and Ernest Avants --drove out to White's house and hired him to help look for a lost dog.

Later in the evening, the statement said, they stopped on a bridge, where Fuller told the old Negro man, "All right, Pops, get out." The statement said about 17 rifle bullets were then pumped into White's body, and the victim was also shot in the head with a shotgun.

According to the statement, Fuller said he "had orders from higher up" that White "had to go." The shooting occurred during the Meredith march, after James Meredith had been shot and Dr. King came down to lead the protest.

In his statement, Jones allegedly said Fuller told him White was killed in order to get some attention away from the Meredith march. Fuller was quoted as saying the killing might "get ole Martin Luther down here, and then we can get him too."

It was not until the third day of Jones' trial that Circuit Court Judge James Torrey let the jury hear Jones' statements. Defense attorneys had objected that Jones did not have a lawyer when he made them.

According to jurors Monroe Fitzgerald and Melvin Witherspoon--both Negroes--the jury spent all the time voting 7 to 5 for a conviction. They said there was never a chance that all 12 would agree.

Local NAACP President George Met-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 17 | WEEKEND EDITION: APRIL 22-23, 1967 | TEN CENTS


# Another Fatal Arrest And Another I

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## *Constable Shoots Grenada Man*

BY MERTIS RUBIN

GRENADA, Miss. -- Last Friday night, 29-year-old David Wheeler and three friends were driving from Tallahatchie County to Grenada, where they lived.

At about 10:30 p.m., said Earl Hines (Wheeler's brother-in-law, who was riding in the car), Constable Pat Lott stopped the men, and asked them "Where's the liquor?"

"We told him we didn't have no liquor," Hines recalled this week. "Then he searched the car....He asker the girl with us, did she have a knife. She said no. Then he took us to his car."

As they drove toward town in the constable's car, Hines said, Charlie Pigdons kept asking, "What are we being arrested for?" and Lott told him to "shut up."

"Just after we got inside the city limits," said Hines, "Dave (Wheeler) said, 'I haven't said a word since I've been in the car, have I?'" Then, said Hines, Wheeler called the constable by name.

"After he said that," Wheeler's brother-in-law continued, "(Lott) just reached out and grabbed him, and slowed down. Then Dave grabbed the keys from the car, and somehow the car door on the left side opened, and they both got out almost at the same time."

The constable's car rolled on and hit a telephone pole, Hines said: "And that's when I heard the first shot, and looked back and saw Dave down in the the streets. It looked like he was trying to get up, but then I saw him fall back."

WHEELER (HATLESS) WITH FAMILY

"They say there was a second shot but I didn't hear it, I guess because the girl was screaming so," Hines explained.

When Lott came back to the car, Hines remembers, the constable told Wheeler's companions, "Don't move. I'll shoot you too, if you try to get out of the car."

Hines says he was in a daze the rest of the night. All he knows is that he and the others were charged with public drunkenness--and that David Wheeler is dead.

The death of the young husband and father brought demands for action against the constable.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 2)

## *King Buried In Bullock County*

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--Mrs. Mozell King wept openly at her husband's funeral. "I had a good man, y'all," she cried out. "He said, 'I'm gonna take care of you and your children.' But oh Lordy, now he's gone."

Mrs. King's husband, Willie James King, was shot to death two weeks ago by Tom "Preacher" Tolliver, Bullock County's only Negro deputy sheriff. Authorities said the deputy killed King by mistake while attempting to arrest another man.

Last Sunday, about 500 people tried to crowd into the New Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Thompson to show their sympathy for the dead man's family.

Just as the funeral service was about to begin, the wooden floor of the tiny frame church buckled beneath the mourners. Many of them ran outside.

But although the floor fell about two feet, it didn't give way, and the funeral went on.

During the service, several friends spoke highly of King. "He was a real fine young man," said Joseph Mims, a fellow member of Bethel Lodge #123 of the Masons. "He didn't come to every lodge meeting, but he never let more than two or three months go by."

The Rev. R. B. Johnson talked about King's violent death. "This thing goes back generations," he said. "A lot of us are responsible for what happened to this young man."

But at a mass meeting two days earlier, Bullock County's Negro leaders said it was time to be angry, as well as sad.

"This is just one of many such meetings that will be necessary unless we do something to prevent such a tragedy from happening again," said Rufus C. Huffman. "One of the worst disturbers of the peace is silence. When you are silent to things you know are wrong, you are responsible when they occur again."

Said H. O. Williams, who lost the election for sheriff last year by a few hundred votes: "Every one of you who voted for white people helped pull that trigger."

Williams called King's death a "legal lynching." Huffman said it was due to "the laxity of county officials in putting a gun into the hands of an individual whose conception of enforcing the law is to kill, and kill only one group of people--Negroes."

All 250 people at the mass meeting agreed on two demands--that Bullock County officials fire Tolliver as a deputy, and that "no other law enforcement officers be hired whose duties of enforcing the law (are) restricted to one segment of the population."

"If these demands are not met," the group's resolution said, "we will take whatever action necessary to remedy this situation of a dual standard of justice that exists in Bullock County."

Early this week, five Negro leaders carried the demands to a special meeting of the county commissioners. Afterward, Huffman said he was "rather pleased" with the response.

"They told us they have no legal authority to fire Tolliver--that's up to the sheriff," Huffman said. "But they promised to use their influence as individuals to correct the situation."

Huffman said he hoped the commissioners would move swiftly. "If there is no action within a few days, we will take it further," he pledged.

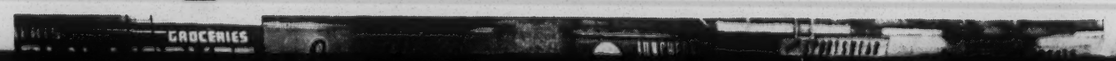
Meanwhile, he said, Bullock County Sheriff C. M. Blue Jr. has responded to the Negroes' demands with threats of more violence.

Last Saturday night, Huffman said, Blue, Blue's son (a special deputy), and Tolliver arrested a man for "cursing" at the Blueberry Hill Club near Midway.

Johnny Mack Mason, a witness to the arrest, said that when some people tried to protest, Sheriff Blue "jerked the plug of the Rockola from the wall, and turned

WILLIE JAMES KING'S FAMILY AT THE CEMETERY

# *People Protest the War in Viet Nam*




## Marches in Alabama

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During the service, several friends spoke highly of King. "He was a real fine young man," said Joseph Mims, a fellow member of Bethel Lodge #123 of the Masons. "He didn't come to every lodge meeting, but he never let more than two or three months go by."

The Rev. R. B. Johnson talked about King's violent death. "This thing goes

Huffman. "One of the worst disturbers of the peace is silence. When you are silent to things you know are wrong, you are responsible when they occur again."

Said H. O. Williams, who lost the election for sheriff last year by a few hundred votes: "Every one of you who voted for white people helped pull that

ty, and that "no other law enforcement officers be hired whose duties of enforcing the law (are) restricted to one segment of the population."

"If these demands are not met," the group's resolution said, "we will take whatever action necessary to remedy this situation of a dual standard of justice that exists in Bullock County."

Huffman said he hoped the commissioners would move swiftly. "If there is no action within a few days, we will take it further," he pledged.

Meanwhile, he said, Bullock County Sheriff C. M. Blue Jr. has responded to the Negroes' demands with threats of more violence.

Last Saturday night, Huffman said, Blue, Blue's son (a special deputy), and Tolliver arrested a man for "cursing" at the Blueberry Hill Club near Midway.

Johnny Mack Mason, a witness to the arrest, said that when some people tried to protest, Sheriff Blue "jerked the plug of the Rockola from the wall, and turned and said, 'Who don't like it? Who wants to do something about it?'"

As Blue said that, Mason reported, all three law enforcement officers "stood with their hands on their guns."

Nobody protested further, and the arrested man, Elliott Pugh, was taken before Justice of the Peace L. L. Reeder and fined $27.50. "I wasn't cursing," Pugh said later, "but I guessed I'd better go along."

Tolliver, a deputy for about six months, has been wearing a badge marked "private watchman" and driving an old car with a damaged red light on top. But this week, said several Bullock County Negroes, he now has a deputy's star-shaped badge, a blue light like the other deputies', and a new car.

"It's just like giving him a reward," said Huffman. "They're saying, 'You killed one. Now you have the privilege to kill another.' Unless we stop this now, eventually they will say, 'Let's kill a lot of them.'"

# People Protest the War in Viet Nam

HARLEM GROUP HEADS FOR DEMONSTRATION--STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT CENTER

## Marches in Alabama

BY ROBIN REISIG
AND MARY ELLEN GALE

BIRMINGHAM--Kelly Ingram Park, heart and headquarters of civil rights activity in the past, was the starting point for another kind of protest last Saturday--Birmingham's "mobilization" against the war in Viet Nam.

While tens of thousands met to register protest in New York and San Francisco, about 60 people--including Miles College students and faculty members, representatives of other schools, ministers, and at least one civil rights worker--gathered in the park.

Wearing signs like "Wipe Out Poverty, Not People," "LBJ For Ex-President," and "To Hell With the War! Freedom at Home First," they marched through the downtown business section, and past the city hall and county courthouse.

Unlike the people who have been marching daily to protest killings by police, the anti-war marchers had to stop at traffic lights, because they had no parade or march permit.

"We asked and asked for a permit," said Bob Bailey, a Miles faculty member who organized the protest. "Then we tried to see the mayor. He sent word out there was an administrative difficulty."

Some people were going to march anyway and risk arrest, Bailey said, but then "the mayor's office called and said we didn't need a permit if we stopped at traffic lights."

Peace and civil rights protests met at one point, as the silent line of mourners protesting the killings crossed the silent line of peace marchers.

Most bystanders, Negro and white, just looked silently at the peace marchers. Some took the leaflets the marchers were handing out--and some didn't.

One shop-keeper, refusing a leaflet, said, "I think everybody (marching) should be machine-gunned myself." Why? "Because they're yellow."

"Every one of them ought to be put in a cow-pen," said a man wearing a picket sign himself. (His sign said he was on strike against the Continental Trailways busline, "for unfair wage practices.") Why did he think the marchers should be penned up? "For not being loyal to their country."

In the only violent incident of the day, one passer-by attacked a marcher--knocking off the demonstrator's glasses, tearing his sign, and grabbing his leaflets and throwing them in the gutter.

"If they won't fight, let them not live in our country," said the angry attacker. Some plain-clothes policemen quickly restrained him.

Within the march line itself, there was a counter-protest, favoring the war. Tom Murphy, a student from Florida, carried a sign saying "Bomb Hanoi--Win."

A Miles student in the march, Lawrence B. Williams, 19, said he was against the war "because killing is wrong."

"I would rather be killed than kill," said Williams. "I should be here in my own country straightening things out, instead of messing with my colored brothers in South Viet Nam."

Meanwhile at Tuskegee Institute, 32 demonstrators--many of them white faculty members--gathered for an anti-war vigil on the lawn by the student union.

Led by Benny James, president of the Student Government Association, the group marched silently around the fountain in the center of the lawn and then formed a circle on the grass.

After a few minutes, the peace demonstrators marched across the street

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

## Peace, Rights Leaders Join

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

NEW YORK CITY--"I've never seen so many people!" said the pleased but slightly surprised peace marchers standing in Central Park last Saturday.

The marchers were watching people arrive to take part in their anti-war demonstration. The people came in all ages, colors and costumes. There were black slum dwellers, white students and teachers, Japanese-Americans, and even some Sioux Indians from a reservation in South Dakota.

Demonstrators were still pouring into the park shortly after noon, when the march leaders started walking toward the United Nations building, about 20 blocks away. The marchers streamed out of Central Park for three hours before it was empty.

They completely filled the plaza in front of the U. N., and all the side-streets leading into it. Estimates of the crowd ranged from 125,000 (by the New York police department) to 500,000 (by a radio station that supported the march).

The demonstration was by far the largest the country has seen against the war in Viet Nam. But it was also two more things. It was the first mass, public union of the civil rights and peace movements, and it was a loud protest that the Vietnamese war is killing the domestic wars against poverty and racial discrimination.

Some of the country's most prominent Negro leaders joined with the mostly-white peace groups to plan and promote the demonstration. The Rev. James Bevel, who was a top assistant to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. for many years, led the organizing committee for the march.

Bevel, King, SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael, and CORE leader Floyd McKissick all spoke at the huge rally in front of the U. N.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

## 'A Serious Mistake'

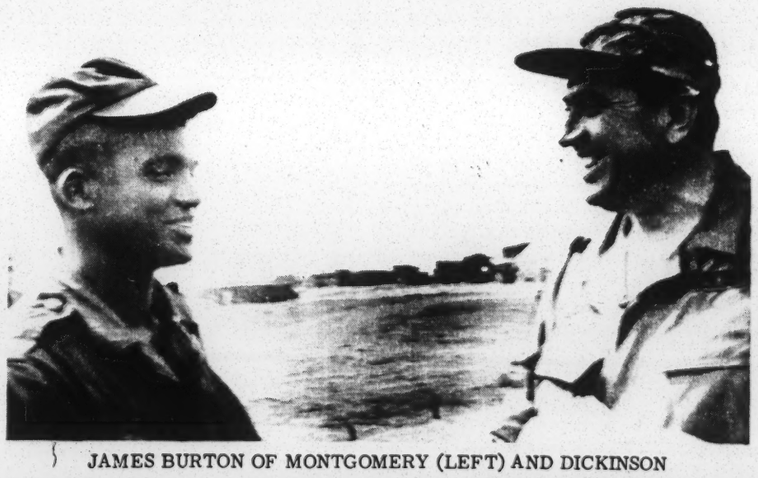
NEW YORK CITY -- The NAACP's board of directors said last week that it was a "serious tactical mistake" to combine the civil rights and peace movements.

The NAACP stand seemed to be a direct criticism of the civil rights leaders who took part in the anti-war rally here last Saturday.

This combination of the two movements, said the NAACP, "will serve the cause neither of civil rights nor of peace."

SINGERS AT NEW YORK RALLY

## Report From the Front



JAMES BURTON OF MONTGOMERY (LEFT) AND DICKINSON

WASHINGTON--U. S. Representative William L. Dickinson of Montgomery came back from South Viet Nam last week with a glowing report on America's fighting men.

"I had the opportunity to visit with over 75 servicemen from Alabama, and am presently in the process of getting in touch with members of their family and loved ones to deliver messages," Dickinson said in his newsletter this week.

"Their morale, to a man, is extremely high," the congressman continued. "As a matter of fact, they are more concerned about the reaction of the folks back home, for they do read our American newspapers.

"Each and every one knows why he is there and how important is the job to be done. It was hard to explain to them about the demonstrations and so-called 'peace movement' back here in the states."

That's what Dickinson said. But after he left Camp Carroll at the northern tip of South Viet Nam, some of the servicemen expressed their opinions a little differently. For a report on what the servicemen think about the war--and about visiting congressmen--see Page Four.

file

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 18 WEEKEND EDITION: APRIL 29-30, 1967 TEN CENTS

# There Are Trials...

BY DAVID BREMER

TUSCALOOSA -- "He hit me on my face and knocked me against the wall, and I went to sleep," said Mrs. Fannie Lou Dew. "When I woke up against the wall, he was still beating me."

"I didn't hit Fannie Lou Dew anywhere," said Greene County Sheriff Bill Lee. (In a statement that was stricken from the court record, he added, "If I had hit her, when she went to the hospital she would have stayed there.")

It didn't take a federal-court jury very long to decide whom to believe in Mrs. Dew's $300,000 civil rights suit against Sheriff Lee. In 48 minutes, the 12 white men on the jury ruled in favor of the sheriff.

Mrs. Dew, a Negro civil rights leader in Greene County, had sued Lee for damages resulting from a beating she said he gave her last June 20.

She testified last Tuesday that she went to Sheriff Lee's home at about 10 p.m. that night with Mrs. Paul Bokulich. The purpose of the visit, she said, was to have the sheriff approve a bond for Paul Bokulich. Lee had arrested Bokulich earlier in the day.

When Lee came to the door, said Mrs. Dew, he started to curse, and ordered her off his property. "He said, 'Get away from here before I get a shot gun and blow your damn head off,'" Mrs. Dew testified.

She said that as she started to leave, she told Lee, "We're leaving, but we're not running." While her back was turned, she said, Lee came out, kicked her, and then knocked her against the wall.

Sheriff Lee, a former Green Bay Packers football player and professional wres[illegible] claimed that he used no more than reasonable force to put Mrs. Dew off his property when she refused to leave.

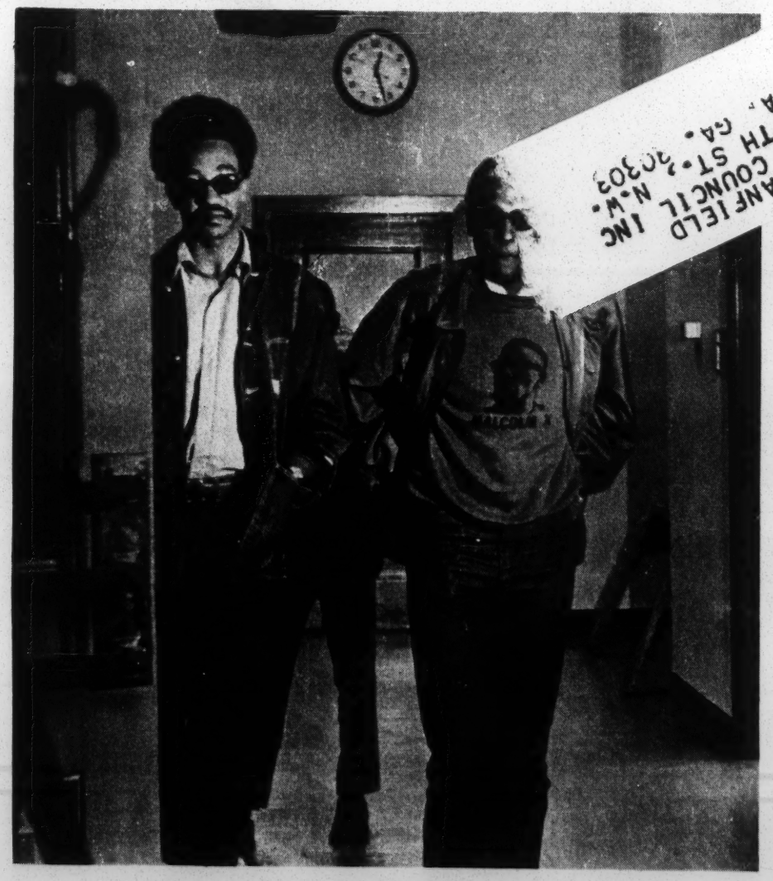
"I grabbed her with my left hand in back of her neck and led her to the steps," he said on the witness stand. "I did not use any undue force."

In his final argument to the jury, Lee's attorney, Perry Hubbard of Tuscaloosa, repeatedly referred to Mrs. Dew's civil rights activity. He asked the jurors to consider the question, "Was SCLC, whose candidate Bill Lee beat in the last election, trying to stir up trouble?"

Leslie W. Finch of Belleville, New Jersey, one of Mrs. Dew's lawyers, told the jurors that Mrs. Dew "is not making trouble. She is in a court of law, asking for her civil rights and her dignity as a human being."

SHERIFF BILL LEE

MRS. FANNIE LOU DEW



STOKELY CARMICHAEL (RIGHT) AND RAP BROWN OF SNCC

EDWIN STANFIELD INC
SOU RES COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

# .And There Are Trials

BY ROBIN REISIG

SELMA--Stokely Carmichael and Joe Smitherman had another disagreement last Tuesday. It came as the SNCC chairman and the Selma mayor were telling a three-judge federal court how Carmichael came to be arrested for "inciting to riot" last Nov. 5.

When Smitherman drove downtown that day, he testified, "out-of-town agitators with big boots and (with) cameras strung around their necks were in my way....I made them get out of my way, because I would have run them over if they hadn't."

The mayor said that "Carmichael led a snake-dancing, hand-clapping group around City Hall" shortly before the arrest.

"If you were clapping your hands, and singing, and hollering 'Freedom!' in front of City Hall...and trying to provoke an incident, I think you'd be acting defiantly," said Smitherman.

Carmichael's attorney, Donald A. Jelinek, showed the mayor several photos taken Nov. 5 by SNCC photographers. They did not seem to show

JOE SMITHERMAN

a "near-riot"--as Selma police have described the incident. Smitherman claimed the photos showed "lulls" in the action.

Smitherman said Carmichael lunged at him three times before the SNCC leader was arrested. The mayor quoted Carmichael as saying, "You've made a martyr out of me. You've played right into my hands."

When Carmichael took the witness stand, he said he was picketing City Hall alone, until the mayor and several police officers blocked his way. "I asked them why," he testified, "and...the mayor said, 'Arrest that son-of-a-bitch,' and they arrested me."

In his testimony Carmichael explained that SNCC was formed "because of the oppression of black people in this country." This drew a loud objection from Selma City Attorney McLean Pitts, as did Carmichael's claim that the political atmosphere in Dallas County is "most corrupt."

Carmichael and others are challenging Alabama's anti-riot law on the grounds that it is "too vague" and that it has a "chilling effect" on freedom of speech. Carmichael and SNCC field secretary William S. House were convicted under the law in a Selma court last December.

Clarence Williams, president of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization, testified that the arrests --three days before the November election--put "the old fear back into the people."

For his appearance in court last Tuesday, Carmichael chose a green Malcolm X sweatshirt and blue jeans. House wore a gray suit, but another SNCC worker, Thomas Taylor, showed up in a black-and-orange Nigerian "diashiki."

Taylor--who was convicted in December of illegal parking and resisting arrest--testified Tuesday that he was beaten, clubbed, and kicked by police and firemen on the way to jail.

Selma Police Captain T. C. Pyron testified that Taylor came at him with a "stick." Taylor said he was holding a staff given to him by the high priest of his religion.

The judges--U. S. Circuit Judge John Godbold and U. S. District Judges Virgil Pittman and Daniel H. Thomas--said they would take the case under consideration, and issue a ruling later.

# But Sometimes There Isn't a Trial

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (RIGHT) AND RAP BROWN OF SNCC

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JOE SMITHERMAN

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# ...But Sometimes, There Isn't a Trial

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The Macon County Circuit Court meets next Monday. But it won't be hearing the case a lot of people have been waiting for--the case against Fletcher Henderson, a white store-owner.

Henderson was charged with assault with intent to murder last month. Law officers said Eddie Menefee, a Negro laborer, was shot in the mouth during a quarrel at Henderson's store. But Henderson isn't going to be tried on the charge.

The case died in the grand jury room last week, when Menefee failed to appear to testify against Henderson.

"I tried to find Menefee," said Macon County Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson this week. "But his mother said she didn't know where he was--he took off as soon as he got out of the hospital. I did my job. I don't know what else I could do."

Why did Menefee disappear? "My son was afraid," said Mrs. Eugenia Menefee at the family's home in rural Macon County.

Mrs. Menefee indicated that her son had misinterpreted the actions of the white and Negro civil rights workers who tried to persuade him to press his case. "He said too many people was bothering him," she explained. "He was so scared he left without even a bus ticket."

Sheriff Amerson, a Negro, said he wished Menefee had come to him for help, instead of running. "If he wasn't interested enough to stick around. . ." the sheriff said, finishing his sentence with a shrug. "He had the protection of the law."

Nobody accused Henderson of trying to scare Menefee away. And Henderson said this week that he hadn't seen Menefee or any member of the victim's family since the shooting.

"I spend all day workin'," Henderson said. "I ain't got time to go messin' around."

Is there any chance the case will be revived later? Amerson said he didn't think so. "He (Menefee) didn't show up, so that's the end of it," the sheriff said. "It would have been interesting to see what happened."

Henderson was the first white man charged with a crime against a Negro in Macon County in the last six months, and his was the first such case handled by Amerson.

A little more than a year ago, a federal court ordered Macon County officials to end racial discrimination in the selection of juries. The officials were directed to empty the jury box and re-fill it with the names of all qualified citizens, regardless of race.

Last fall, Macon County had its first all-Negro juries in modern times. But the only case in which a white man was charged with a crime against a Negro was moved out of the county.

That was the much-discussed murder case against Marvin L. Segrest, a white man accused of killing Samuel L. Younge Jr., a Negro student. An all-white jury in Lee County set Segrest free.

People were wondering if Henderson's case would be treated the same way. But now they'll never know.

SHERIFF LUCIUS D. AMERSON

# *Tuskegee Dean Says Violence Is 'Natural Reaction' to Injustice*

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--When a Negro student was killed by a white man in Tuskegee last year, said Richard A. Wasserstrom, "almost everyone agreed that the thing to do was to let the system work, let justice take its course."

And so, Wasserstrom said, 11 months later "a jury of 12 white Alabamians had no difficulty whatsoever in finding the defendant innocent on grounds of self-defense"--although the student had been shot in the back of the head.

The point is not "that a guilty man went unpunished," said Wasserstrom. The point is "the operation of institutionalized injustice--of a system which is well understood by all involved to be very different from what it purports to be."

And that, he said, is one of many reasons "why Negroes are entitled to opt out of the system, to call off all bets, and to say that, in their case at least, the price of public peace and order is just not worth paying."

Wasserstrom, dean of Tuskegee Institute's college of arts and sciences, told a bi-racial audience of about 40 people that he wasn't advocating violence.

"I am more concerned with pointing out why violence is such a natural reaction," he said, "and why the riots that do occur seem to me so much less serious than the conditions that bring them about."

Those conditions, he said, are a "factual racism"--"a double standard within our legal order and protected by it."

For instance, he said, the federal government has refused to enforce criminal laws in civil rights cases, although it vigorously prosecutes violators of other federal laws.

"The FBI has insisted that it is only an investigative agency," said Wasserstrom, a former Justice Department attorney. "Yet its agents clearly have (the) power to arrest" without a warrant. "A systematic and vicious kind of hypocrisy is at work."

Although voting registrars in the South "shamelessly ignored" court orders to register Negroes without discrimination, he said, "with but one doubtful exception, not a single registrar in a single county in a single state has been charged or convicted of contempt."

"What kind of legal order do we have," he asked, "that requires of little children that they walk to school through an angry mob--that to enjoy their constitutional rights, they must have a kind of valor very few of us adults could safely claim?"

Wasserstrom gave his talk for the first time last month at the University of Michigan. He repeated it last Monday to the local branch of the American Association of University Women.

After he finished, one questioner wanted to know whether there was any hope for improvement in the situation.

"I'm not a very good prophet," Wasserstrom replied. "But it seems to me it will either change by white society recognizing its flaws or by becoming bloodier."

Since violence flared up in Watts, he said, "there have been more changes (there) than in the 50 years before. The tragedy of America is that the riots work."

RICHARD A. WASSERSTROM SPEAKS IN TUSKEGEE

# Montgomery Bombing

JUDGE JOHNSON'S MOTHER TALKS TO INVESTIGATORS

MONTGOMERY--The home of Mrs. Frank M. Johnson Sr., widowed mother of U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., was bombed last Tuesday night.

Judge Johnson was one of three judges who signed the recent order desegregating all the public schools in Alabama. In the past, he has issued many other desegregation orders.

Montgomery Fire Department officials said a bomb was either thrown or planted against Mrs. Johnson's two-story brick house. When it exploded at about 10:30 p.m. Tuesday, the blast could be heard in many areas of the city. No one was hurt in the explosion.

City, state, and federal officials investigating the bombing were joined by a special Army demolition team from Ft. Rucker.

Governor Lurleen Wallace--who has announced a plan to defy the state-wide desegregation order--offered a $5,400 reward for finding the "malicious and fiendish demons" responsible for the bombing.

The governor said "this is not the American way or the Alabama way to protest" court decisions.

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# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. III, NO. 20 | WEEKEND EDITION: MAY 13-14, 1967 | TEN CENTS


# ACHR Director Knifing Victim

BY MICHAEL LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- The executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was knifed last weekend as he left a downtown restaurant in an integrated group.

BOB VALDER

Bob Valder, head of the state-wide bi-racial group, sustained a gash on the arm when the group was attacked by a gang of white people outside the Crystal Cafe.

Allen Black of Florence, a representative of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, was also cut on the arm. Witnesses said Black, a Negro, narrowly escaped more serious injury. They said his coat was slashed directly over the heart.

The attack took place about 5 a.m. last Sunday morning, as Valder, his wife, Black, and Miss Winifred Green of the American Friends Service Committee left the restaurant.

A group of whites inside the restaurant had been mockingly singing "We

Donald E. Mims, a Montgomery mechanic, was arrested minutes after the incident.

Mims was charged with ass[illegible] battery, and released on $100 bond. [illegible] case will be heard next Monday in Municipal Court.

Valder, Black, [illegible]d the others had been attending a co[illegible]ence sp[illegible]ored by the Alabama State [illegible]chers A[illegible]sociation. A member of [illegible] group said they had stayed up most [illegible]e night discussing what to do about [illegible] school situation in Choctaw County.

# Daylight-- No Saving

BY MERTIS RUBIN

MENDENHALL, Miss. -- Daylight saving time didn't save any time for most of the employees of the Universal Manufacturing plant here in Simpson County.

When all the employees showed up an hour early, they had to wait an hour before going to work.

"I thought after we set our clocks up, we would go at 3 o'clock instead of 4 (p.m.), and get off at 11 instead of 12," said Glasco Floyd, one of the many employees who came an hour early.

"But when I got to work at 3, I had to wait until 4 to start. But I wasn't the only one--almost all of the evening shift was there at 3. And they say that the morning shift came at 6 instead of 7."

It was a different situation at another factory near here, where workers on the 11 p.m.-7 a.m. shift got off an hour early. When daylight time went into effect the morning of April 30, the clocks were set ahead one hour, thus making 7 come an hour sooner.

So that shift put in just seven hours of work--thanks to daylight saving time. They'll pay it back this fall, though.

# Choctaw County School Day: [illegible], Sticks, and Water Guns

SOUTHERN REG. FORSYTH ST. ATLANTA, GA.

MRS. ROSETTA NOLAN AND MISS LIZZIE CURTIS

BY ROBIN REISIG

BUTLER--"They're always shooting spit-balls and pins and steels and sticks, and they have water guns and skate water on you," said seven-year-old Miss Rozena Direno Nolan, describing her daily bus ride home from school.

"The big boys tell me we're going to die the last day of school. Sometimes they have their knives out to my face and say, 'This is what you're going to get killed with.'"

Miss Nolan's story is not unusual. It is the story of most of the Negro children integrating white schools in Choctaw County.

In the past two weeks, their parents have been making vigorous efforts to change things. First, they sent a letter to Schools Superintendent W. I. Wimberly, threatening to pull all Negro children out of the county schools if the Board of Education does not take disciplinary measures.

Then they met last Monday, as they have before, with Wimberly and Harold Owen, principal of Choctaw County High School.

Integration at Choctaw County Elementary School has been fairly peaceful, the parents say, but there is often no discipline at all on the buses or at the high school.

"When you walk down the hall," says Miss Vrita Harrison, 13, an eighth-grader at the high school, "they kick and run into you. If you tell the principal, he just says there's nothing he can do. I had one fight with a big white boy, and he beat me pretty bad. Last week I got hit in the stomach. It still hurts."

MISS ROZENA DIRENO NOLAN

"The big white boys always pick on our girls," said her mother. "They don't look on them as being girls. They don't look on them as being human."

Miss Verganell Thomas, a 13-year-old seventh-grader, said a white girl hit her with a baton "because I was looking at her and she told me not to, and I told her she was nothing to look at." Miss Thomas said a "nice" teacher, Mrs. Nina Shirley, broke up the fight, and took both girls to the principal's office.

"When she (Mrs. Shirley) came back down the hall from talking to the principal, she was crying," said Miss Thomas. "The principal told me I was wrong hitting the white girl back."

What is being done about these and other incidents?

Mrs. Rosetta Nolan said the parents "decided not to turn out all the schools" because of the harm it would do the chil-

# Louisville Negroes Stay Away

arm when the group was attacked by a gang of white people outside the Crystal Cafe.

Allen Black of Florence, a representative of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, was also cut on the arm. Witnesses said Black, a Negro, narrowly escaped more serious injury. They said his coat was slashed directly over the heart.

The attack took place about 5 a.m. last Sunday morning, as Valder, his wife, Black, and Miss Winifred Green of the American Friends Service Committee left the restaurant.

A group of whites inside the restaurant had been mockingly singing "We Shall Overcome." When the integrated group emerged, white people outside began shouting "nigger-lover" and other insults, witnesses said.

The two women, both white, walked back to their hotel without incident. But Valder and Black--who had lagged behind after paying the check--were jumped from the rear while crossing the street.

Although the assailants reached Valder first, witnesses said, they seemed to be more interested in Black. At one point, five of them were on top of Black as he lay in the street.

Valder managed to get the tag number of one of the cars in which the assailants fled. According to police records,

said Glasco Floyd, one of the many employees who came an hour early.

"But when I got to work at 3, I had to wait until 4 to start. But I wasn't the only one--almost all of the evening shift was there at 3. And they say that the morning shift came at 6 instead of 7."

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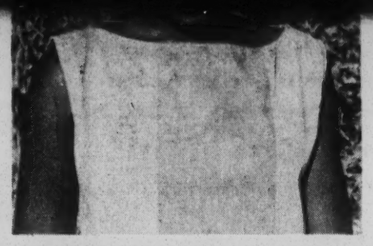
So that shift put in just seven hours of work--thanks to daylight saving time. They'll pay it back this fall, though, when the clocks are set back an hour.

At a church service here, one of the members announced a civil rights meeting for the following Friday at 7 p.m. Another member wanted to know if that was old or new time. (Some people wondered if old time meant he still wasn't coming, and new time meant that he might.)

The people finally decided that there is no old time or new time. It's just daylight saving time--that's all!

Mississippians weren't the only ones confused. In one Alabama community on April 30, some people showed up for a 3 p.m. meeting at 3 p.m., while others came at 4. A few didn't make it until 5.

MRS. ROSETTA NOLAN AND MISS LIZZIE CURTIS



MISS ROZENA DIRENO NOLAN

# Louisville Negroes Stay Away From Derby--But What Now?

BY ELLEN LAKE

LOUISVILLE, Ky.--"Where do we go from here?" That's the question Louisville's civil rights leaders are asking themselves.

Up until this week, they had been able to frighten city officials by threatening to disrupt the Kentucky Derby, the horse race that brings tens of thousands of out-of-town visitors to Louisville each year.

Using the slogan "No housing, no Derby," the civil rights movement had hoped to get the city to pass an open-housing law like the one the Board of Aldermen defeated a month ago.

But the Derby was run without disturbance last Saturday. The open-housing backers deliberately avoided making trouble at the track. In fact, they didn't even go.

MARCH IN THE RAIN

Instead, while 2,500 National Guardsmen, state troopers, police, and private security guards ringed the race track, 140 open - housing demonstrators marched down Louisville's main shopping street, four miles away, in the rain.

City officials hadn't expected Derby Week to end so peacefully. The annual Derby parade was cancelled early last week because of the threat of demonstrations. Most of the parade floats had already been made, and about $300,000 went down the drain.

On May 2, five Negro teen-agers ran out in the middle of a horse race at Churchill Downs, where the Derby was scheduled later in the week. Just as the horses came thundering by, the youths jumped to safety.

That afternoon, another cancellation was announced--of the huge music show that draws 20,000 people each year.

As Derby Day approached, the civil rights celebrities started coming to town. Four hundred people crowded into churches to hear the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and comedian Dick Gregory.

But as the city braced for trouble, the civil rights leaders pulled a surprise. Early Saturday morning, only six hours before the big race, Dr. King announced that--as an act of good faith--the open-housing supporters would not disrupt the Derby.

He said that opponents of open housing had spread "false impressions" that a riot would result if the Derby was interrupted. "It was our desire to make it palpably clear that we are not interested in creating a riot," he said.

The decision not to disrupt the Derby won the praise of the local newspapers and community spokesmen.

But Negro teen-agers, who have been ducking the stones, eggs, and bottles thrown by white hecklers, didn't see it that way.

"I don't see any point in this downtown march," said one Negro youth. "I wanted to go to the Derby. I personally would have laid down in the track."

And with the Derby over for another year, Negro leaders were right back where they started, in terms of getting an open-housing law.

Before the Derby, city officials said they had discovered that Louisville already had open-housing laws. They referred to three existing laws--one state law and two city ordinances, all passed at different times during the past three years.

But lawyers for the open-housing movement were somewhat skeptical. They said the three laws leave lots of holes that can only be filled by action of the Board of Aldermen. Furthermore, they said, the laws don't cover the renting of property, only buying.

"They just want to get us past the Derby," one Louisville Negro said last week. "Then they'll tell us to go to hell."

hit her with a baton "because I was looking at her and she told me not to, and I told her she was nothing to look at." Miss Thomas said a "nice" teacher, Mrs. Nina Shirley, broke up the fight, and took both girls to the principal's office.

"When she (Mrs. Shirley) came back down the hall from talking to the principal, she was crying," said Miss Thomas. "The principal told me I was wrong hitting the white girl back."

What is being done about these and other incidents?

Mrs. Rosetta Nolan said the parents "decided not to turn out all the schools" because of the harm it would do the children's academic records. The parents say they can't bring their problems to the PTA, as they'd like to, because the PTA stopped meeting when the high school was integrated.

When Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Nellie Steele, Mrs. Willie M. Ruffin, Mrs. L. I. Spears, and four other mothers went to see Wimberly and Owen this week, they said, they received no promises of adequate protection.

In the meeting, they said, a teacher accused them of getting $10 a day to send their children to white schools.

"I know you don't love us," Mrs. Nolan said she told the officials. "I'm not sending them (the children) here to be loved. As long as we're in the kitchen and we're nursing your children, you love us, but when we get where we can't do that, we aren't you-know-what."

But Miss Vrita Harrison, at least, recalls Monday's meeting with relish. When the Negro mothers came to the high school, she said, "the white girls all asked, all so scared, 'Oh, Vrita, are those ladies coming here to teach us?' I said, 'Yeah.'"

The white girls replied that their fathers would send them somewhere else for school next year, Miss Harrison recalled: "I said, 'I don't care. I'll be back here next year.'"

# *CR Workers Defy Draft In Jackson, Montgomery*

BY BARBARA ANN FLOWERS AND MERTIS RUBIN

Two Negro civil rights workers took stands against the draft this week, with different results.

Johnny Jackson of Hayneville, a SNCC worker in Lowndes County, said he was "prepared to pay the consequences" when he came to the Army induction center in Montgomery last Wednesday.

But after a day of testing--and a ride downtown to see a doctor--Jackson went back to Lowndes County, free of any military obligation. "Mr. Jackson has been found ineligible," said an officer at the induction center.

Jackson had arrived at the center Wednesday morning in an "agbada"--a colorful robe. "I'm representing my mother country by wearing this," he explained.

He said he would refuse to serve because the draft "violates not only my civil rights, but also my rights to associate," because the U. S. is fighting a "racist" war in Viet Nam, and because "I am against war, period."

At the end of the day, when Jackson hopped into a car going back to Lowndes County, he leaned out the window and shouted, "Black power!"

Meanwhile, in Jackson, Miss., John Sumrall's story was turning out differently. On Wednesday, Sumrall refused to take the symbolic step forward that means induction into the armed forces.

Sumrall was allowed to go home to Quitman, Miss., and back to his job as a payroll officer for the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM). But

JOHNNY JACKSON (LEFT) EXPLAINS HIS STAND

he faced possible criminal prosecution for refusing induction.

Last November, Sumrall filed a suit asking a federal court to block his induction, on four grounds:

1. He was drafted out of turn by his Selective Service board in Clarke County.

2. His criminal record--a "number" of civil rights arrests and "at least one" conviction--"would ordinarily disqualify him from induction."

3. It is "normal practice" not to induct anyone with criminal charges still pending against him. But the "personal intervention" of Colonel James L. Davis, Mississippi Selective Service director, got officials to drop three charges against Sumrall, so he could be drafted.

4. Negroes are "purposely and systematically excluded" from Mississippi's draft boards.

But two federal judges denied Sumrall's request, and he had to report for induction. Did he know his refusal meant he could face a possible penalty of five years in prison?

"It doesn't seem like I'll be having a good time, do it?" he said.

# Birmingham Marchers Stop After Ten Weeks

BIRMINGHAM--After ten weeks and one day, the marches have ended in Birmingham.

The marches, organized by the Alabama Christian Movement and other civil rights groups, were part of a "period of mourning" for the 10 Negroes killed by Birmingham-area police in slightly more than a year.

Originally, the chief demand of the demonstrators was automatic grand-jury review of all killings by police officers. City and county officials never met this demand, and no one was ever arrested in connection with any of the killings.

But in a statement announcing the end of the demonstrations, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth said they had been successful.

"During this ten-week period," he said, "both the city and the county have publicly published directives from their manuals that policemen are to be kind, courteous, and fair at all times, are never to use abusive language, and never use any more force than is absolutely necessary in making arrests.

"In fact, the sheriff's department went so far as to say that it abhorred the maiming or killing of anyone. This is farther than Birmingham has ever gone before."

Shuttlesworth, president of the Christian Movement, said the marches had produced some "significant" results:

"It is significant that during this period of mourning and marching, no Negro has been killed by officers of the law. It is also significant that people are reporting more courtesy and respect at the hands of law enforcement officers."

"Our marches having accomplished their purpose of informing the public, we now will turn our attention to economics and integration of schools," Shuttlesworth said. "These things will help to make Birmingham and America the land of the free and the home of the brave."

SOUTERN COURIER

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# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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## *White Men Freed In Grenada Case*

BY GAIL FALK

OXFORD, Miss.--Eight Grenada white men stood smiling by the door of the federal courtroom in Oxford last Tuesday night, and shook hands with the jurors who filed out.

The all-white jury had just turned in a not-guilty verdict for all eight men, freeing them of charges that they "obstructed," "impeded," or "interfered with" Negro children entering John Rundle High School and Lizzie Horn Elementary School under a court order last September.

ARCHIE LARRY CAMPBELL (LEFT)

During the seven-day trial had denied that Negro s beaten, clubbed, kicked, an outside the previously all-whi in Grenada.

Twelve-year-old Richard Sig example, was not even cross-examined after he told how his leg was broken as he left the school Sept. 12.

After white boys broke his leg by twisting it, Sigh said, "they told me, 'Nigger, run.' I said my leg is broke. . .but I got up on one leg and started hopping."

Up the street, Sigh said, he met several other groups of white men who kept telling him to run.

Sigh testified that he wore a cast on his leg until the end of January. He had to go to a school for the handicapped this spring.

"Whoever did that should be punished, and punished severely," declared defense attorney Murray Williams in his final argument several days later.

And defense lawyer Hugh Cunningham--law partner of former governor Ross Barnett--shook his head over the "torment and misery and pain" of Miss Emerald Cunningham, a polio victim. He called her "this little girl who had been beaten and kicked and mauled."

But the defendants--J. R. ("Red") Ayers, Donald Wayne Bain, Archie Larry Campbell, William Flanagin, Clyde Perry, Duke Reynolds, Jerome Shaw, and Robert ("Bilbo") Shields--told the jury that they were not the ones who did the beating and threatening described by the Negro children.

Campbell, 19, said he couldn't be guilty since he was home sleeping all day on Sept. 12.

Miss Dorothy Allen, 17, had picked out Campbell as the man who beat her and another Negro student, Poindexter Harbie, with a tree limb.

And Grenada police Captain W. C. Turner said he saw Campbell hit Richard Sigh "with something" outside the school. Turner said he arrested Campbell two days later, and saw two iron pipes in the defendant's car.

Asked why he had the pipes with him, Campbell answered, "It is protection if you need it."

Turner also told the jury he saw Bain kick Harbie in the face, and that Harbie's face was bleeding after that. Another Grenada policeman said the same thing.

But Bain said the policemen didn't tell what really happened. He said the Negro boy "fell down at my feet and grabbed at my breeches. . . when the boy grab-

THE VICTIM'S FAMILY

MEETING IN JACKSON


SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUN.
5 FORSYTH ST. NW.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303


## Clarke Folks Say They Won't Let Slain Man 'Die in Vain'

BY ROBIN REISIG

JACKSON--Johnny McKenzie, 19, father of two, was shot to death by a policeman here last Friday.

McKenzie was unarmed, and had not been accused of committing a crime. 'He was shot after landing on top of a policeman in a brief fight.

The young Negro was in a group gathered at the "Nite Spot" here, when two Jackson policemen--and a third man, not in uniform--arrived, night sticks in hand. According to witnesses, the officers said they heard there had been a fight.

FRANK DEAN

The people in McKenzie's group told the officers they had just arrived and didn't know who, if anybody, had been fighting, recalled Jimmie Lee Jackson. Then, said Jackson, "the policeman--the one who did the shooting--said if he just started whupping Negroes' heads, he'd find the right one."

"Johnny (McKenzie) said, 'You better not hit me with that,'" Jackson said this week. "The policeman said, 'I will hit you.'"

Harry Puller went on, "Johnny said, 'Hit me then.' He hit him. That boy (McKenzie) grabbed him (the officer), and they fell on the ground. I heard two shots. Johnny said 'Oh,' and fell back over on the ground."

Within a few minutes, Puller said, he realized that "that boy's dead."

"We attempted to take him to the hospital," said Jackson, "but the other policeman drew the shotgun on us, and told us not to move him."

Other witnesses said McKenzie was holding, not hitting, the officer. They said the first shot was fired into the air by a white man in the policemen's car. The policeman under McKenzie then whipped his gun out and shot McKenzie, the witnesses said.

"Johnny said, 'Don't hit me no more. I don't want to hurt you.' That's when he shot him," said Willie G. Robinson.

"He didn't shoot to stop him. He shot to kill," cried McKenzie's 18-year-old widow, Mrs. Linda McKenzie, who is expecting their third child in September. "I think the one that did it should ought to be killed!"

Mrs. McKenzie was not alone in her anger. The shot that killed her husband shocked the Clarke County civil rights movement--dormant since 1965--back into life.

## *Something's Wrong With*

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But Bain said the policemen didn't tell what really happened. He said the Negro boy "fell down at my feet and grabbed at my breeches . . . when the boy grabbed my leg, I fell backward and my leg went up."

Several students identified Ayers, a justice of the peace, as the man who attacked them and their friends. Charles Alexander, 17, said the red-haired man hit him with a pistol about 8 a.m. on the walk leading to John Rundle High.

Ayers said he carried his son to the high school that morning, but claimed he had not gone on the school property before 11 a.m. However, J. M. Ainsworth, principal of the John Rundle School, told the jury he saw Ayers leave the school steps shortly after 8 a.m., passing Alexander along the walk.

The principal said he hadn't observed any incidents between the boy and the man.

Before sending the jurors out to consider the evidence, U. S. District Judge Claude Clayton reminded them that they had sworn they could try matters involving "relations between whites and Negroes" without prejudice.

Earlier, U. S. Attorney H. M. Ray had said, "If you believe . . . that these defendants are guilty, but still acquit them, you would simply be giving a license to all persons who would flout the law in the future."

After hearing the not-guilty verdict, Negro parents who had attended the trial drove home to Grenada. One of the Negro ladies wondered out loud, "I don't know if I ought to let my children go back down there next year."

# Why Only 1 Negro On Simpson County Ballot?

BY MERTIS RUBIN

MENDENHALL, Miss.-- This election year, Simpson County has just one Negro candidate--George Logan for justice of the peace, district 1, post 2.

Why only one?

"I don't know whether it's fear or lack of funds," said I. H. Floyd, chairman of the local nominating committee. "In district 4, we felt like we could put a supervisor in the courthouse, but our two nominees changed their minds."

A member of the committee, R. T. Walker, explained, "One of the men said he had committed himself to run for board of education next year. The other one never did promise to run."

Negro candidates might be discouraged by the fact that Simpson County is mostly white. Of the county's 3,136 Negroes over 21, about 1,600 are registered to vote. On the other hand, most of the 9,232 whites over 21 are also registered.

For that reason, said a member of the Civic League of Simpson County. "I think Negroes should listen to the white candidates and see how they feel towards us, and if we agree that that candidate would be best for our people, then support him."

"We don't have as powerful a vote as in some counties, so we have to team up for one candidate," said the civic league member.

For example, she said, the present school superintendent, G. L. Tutor, is running for re-election against a white opponent. If a Negro candidate were also running, she said, "rather than have a Negro, whites who think Tutor shouldn't be re-elected will vote for him anyway."

There is a better chance of defeating Tutor without a Negro on the ballot, she said, and "I don't want Tutor back again."

The Rev. John Perkins, Logan's campaign manager, mentioned another problem for Negro candidates. "Campaigns cost money," he said, "and most of our people don't have that kind of money."

## *In the Park*

More on Page Three

FRANK DEAN

# *Something's Wrong With Greene Juries--Jelinek*

BY ROBIN REISIG

BIRMINGHAM -- "There is one chance in ten million billion," said attorney Donald A. Jelinek, that the Greene County jury system could turn out the way it has.

Though jurors are supposed to be selected at random, he said, at least 89 white people have each sat on three or more juries in the past six years.

In a complicated federal suit attacking the Greene County jury system, Jelinek used these figures as evidence that Negroes have been discriminated against.

His chief witnesses were Mrs. Mary Yarborough, clerk of the county jury commission for 12 years, and Miss Kathleen Veit, a 23-year old researcher.

Jelinek said Mrs. Yarborough had "flagrantly violated at least three laws" in picking jurors. Miss Veit said she found in a survey that Mrs. Yarborough and the jury commissioners had overlooked about 1,200 Negroes eligible for the jury lists.

But the most famous witness never showed up, although two subpoenas were issued for him. That was former Governor George C. Wallace--who, according to the suit, kept Negroes from being members of the jury commission.

Last Tuesday, when the trial began, attorneys for the state said Wallace wasn't coming because he had never been served with the first subpoena.

Another subpoena was prepared, and the case was held over to Wednesday.

Judge Clarence W. Allgood objected to this, telling Jelinek, "You're not going to get anywhere with cross-examination of Governor Wallace. I can tell you that you'll be beating your head against a brick wall."

The next day, Wallace still wasn't there. Instead, a state attorney said the second subpoena didn't count either, because the deputy U. S. marshal who served it hadn't brought the witness fees and mileage fees required by law.

The suit was brought against the county by Paul M. Bokulich of Eutaw, a white civil rights worker and former Greene County SCLC project director. Last September, Judge H. H. Grooms stopped the grand jury from convening to consider grand larceny charges against Bokulich, until the jury case could be decided.

DONALD A. JELINEK

SNCC Chairman Rap Brown, later arrested in the same county on the same charges, has joined Bokulich in challenging the Greene jury system.

This week's hearing began with the testimony of the Rev. Percy McShan, Negro candidate for county tax assessor. McShan said 80 to 82--or 17%--of the 471 people on the August 1966 jury rolls were Negroes. The county is about 80% Negro.

"Have you ever compiled a list of all the eligible males over 21?" Jelinek asked Mrs. Yarborough when she came to the stand.

"There would be no way for me to get all the names, Negro or white," she replied.

Mrs. Yarborough said she doesn't know many Negroes in Greene County, and that she never attends church or social functions with them.

"Actually the reputations I know are mainly the reputations of those who've been in trouble," she said. People on jury lists are supposed to be of "high repute."

District Attorney Thomas H. Boggs then asked Mrs. Yarborough twice if she meets large numbers of Negroes "who are recipients of welfare and have illegitimate children." Judge John C. Godbold overruled him both times and warned, "Don't try it again."

Miss Veit said she had found 430 men and 815 women eligible to be jurors. Jelinek said the jury commission should add all those names to its jury lists.

# Arrest in Rankin County Leads to Fatal Shooting

BY MERTIS RUBIN

FANNIN, Miss.--"How many more will they have to kill before we decide to protest?" Willie Ricks of SNCC asked a crowd of about 250 people last Tuesday night.

"We need to turn Rankin County out," added former SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael. "Let's buy black."

And so the people decided to boycott white stores in Rankin County, to protest the death of 23-year-old Earnest Rodgers at the hands of a highway patrolman.

Rodgers was killed last Sunday morning, after the car he was driving was stopped by patrolman Wayne Tutor.

"We passed a highway man who had stopped Odell Taylor," said Roosevelt McCoy, Rodgers' companion. "Then Earnest pulled up to the stop sign and stopped nice and smooth, and took off real easy-like. After we crossed the paved road on to a dirt road, we heard a siren, and Earnest stopped in the sand bottom."

Tutor came up and asked the men if the officers they had just arrived and didn't know who, if anybody, had been fighting, recalled Jimmie Lee Jackson. Then, said Jackson, "the policeman--the one who did the shooting--said if he just started whupping Negroes' heads, he'd find the right one."

"Johnny (McKenzie) said, 'You better not hit me with that,'" Jackson said they had been drinking, McCoy said: "We told him a little bit."

Then, McCoy recalled this week, Tutor said he was going to give the men a ticket for "reckless driving and a bad muffler."

"Earnest asked him, 'Say, sir, why do you want to give me a ticket?'" McCoy said. "He told Earnest to shut up. Then he hit him with his flashlight, and knocked him up against me."

"When Earnest straightened up, he ran into him (Tutor). They went over into the bushes. Then after a while, I heard a shot," said McCoy.

"The highway man came back on the road holding a gun on me, and told me, 'I'll kill you, too.'"

Finally, said McCoy, "about 15 or 20 highway men came down there. Every one of them called us niggers. . . . One fellow had a flashlight, and he kept slapping it against his hand. I looked at him, and then looked off. He said, 'The only thing I hate, they didn't kill you, too. He was saving you for me.'"

shots. Johnny said 'Oh,' and fell back over on the ground."

Within a few minutes, Puller said, he realized that "that boy's dead."

"We attempted to take him to the hospital," said Jackson, "but the other policeman drew the shotgun on us, and told us not to move him."

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"He didn't shoot to stop him. He shot to kill," cried McKenzie's 18-year-old widow, Mrs. Linda McKenzie, who is expecting their third child in September. "I think the one that did it should ought to be killed!"

Mrs. McKenzie was not alone in her anger. The shot that killed her husband shocked the Clarke County civil rights movement--dormant since 1965--back into life.

"The next policeman that patrols the Negro section, his face better be black," Clarke County NAACP President Frank Dean said Sunday evening.

As McKenzie's body lay in the next room of the Jackson Funeral Home, "with a wound burnt in it, the policeman so close he baked his skin, tore his heart apart, and tore a piece of lungs out you can pick it up," Dean promised: "As the Lord God liveth, I say to Johnny McKenzie I will avenge his death."

Other Negroes also stood to say they would "not let Johnny McKenzie die in vain."

Jerry Pogue of Mobile told the group he had called the FBI. But he added, to loud applause, "There has to be a time when Negroes take the law into their own hands and be the FBI too."

When Pogue suggested marching on City Hall right then, nearly a dozen people jumped up. Some headed forward to shake Pogue's hand, and some head-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

# OEO Money To Madison?

BY BOB DINWIDDIE

HUNTSVILLE -- People here are waiting to see what will happen to the People For People anti-poverty program for Huntsville and Madison County.

Governor Lurleen B. Wallace vetoed the program at the end of April, after Huntsville Mayor Glenn Hearn had also turned it down. But Sargent Shriver, director of the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), can still over-ride the veto and fund the program.

A petition asking Shriver to do just that is being circulated in Huntsville.

People For People (PFP) is a four-part package--including a multi-purpose neighborhood center, a consumer-education program, a home-maker services program, and a program to organize, assist, and train domestic workers.

Mayor Hearn objected to just one of the four parts of the program--the proposal involving the Sisters of Concern Club (SOCC). SOCC was formed late in the summer of 1966 to improve the situation of Huntsville-area maids.

Of the $48,565 budget for PFP, only $3,500 was earmarked for SOCC. With this small grant, SOCC planned to establish training programs in communication, health, and home and family care.

But SOCC has other goals, too.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 2)

# Employers:

Save time.
Save money.
Get the right person for the right job.

Do you have vacancies in training programs for upper level white collar occupations? Do you wish to increase minority participation in your company's operations?

The Black Women Employment Program can help you (Without Fee) actively recruit well qualified black women. We will screen applicants and refer only those who meet your specified standards.

We are a professional service dedicated to helping you find more professional women for your company.

**FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:**

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52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tele: (404)522-8764

# Black Women Employment Program

Equal employment for minorities is a principle issue in this nation today. The plight of black women is particularly acute. There are few black females in white collar jobs, with the exception of secretarial and clerical positions.

The Atlanta metropolitan area is no exception. Extensive research has indicated that black women with college training or equivalent employment experience have had difficulty in finding suitable opportunities. Many qualified women have had to leave Atlanta to find employment in spite of their expressed desire to remain in the city. At the same time, employers have found it difficult to locate qualified minority applicants.

In an effort to meet both needs, the Black Women Employment Program was formed by the Southern Regional Council to provide this personal employment service FREE OF CHARGE to employers and prospective employees.

The Southern Regional Council is a biracial organization devoted to the attainment of an equal and open society. It uses research, information, and action programs to assist the people of the South to face current problems so that social justice can be achieved for all peoples in the region. The council is non-partisan, non-denominational, and non-profit.

# Black Women:

Do you want a better job?
Do you want to stay in the Atlanta Area?
Do you need assistance in preparing for a job interview?

The Black Women Employment Program is ready to help you today, if your answer is "YES" to the above questions. Take advantage of us. We know that there are many black women with good skills, training, and job potential who are not finding suitable employment.

Our service was established to help you (WITHOUT FEE) find a better job for technical, skilled, professional and managerial positions.

If you have college training and/or equivalent experience, we offer you an opportunity to succeed.

We can provide you with information on local employment opportunities and employer training programs.

We can provide job interview preparation and related services.

We provide follow-up services to those employees placed through the Black Women Employment Program.

BLACK WOMEN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tele: (404)522-8764

Alexis Herman
ALEXIS HERMAN, Director

Paulette Norvel
PAULETTE NORVEL, Assoc. Director

# OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCCESS

*Three Views of the*

# Segregation Decisions

WILLIAM FAULKNER

BENJAMIN E. MAYS

CECIL SIMS

*Foreword by Bell I. Wiley*

# The Segregation Decisions

PAPERS READ AT A SESSION OF THE
TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, NOVEMBER 10, 1955

WILLIAM FAULKNER

BENJAMIN E. MAYS

CECIL SIMS

*With a Foreword by*
BELL I. WILEY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1956

*Second Printing, October 1956*

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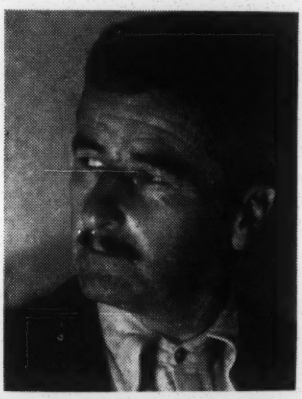
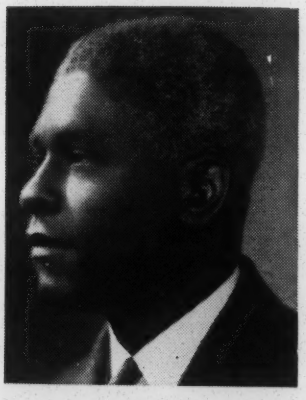


BENJAMIN E. MAYS



CECIL SIMS

# *Foreword*

EARLY NOVEMBER, 1955, was a critical time in Dixie. The eyes of the South, and of the nation, were focused on a Mississippi Delta community, where Emmett Till, a visiting colored boy from Chicago, had allegedly been killed, and where two white men accused of kidnapping and murdering him had been exonerated by local juries.

On November 10, while emphatic advocates of white supremacy were still exchanging congratulations on the outcome of the Till case, the Southern Historical Association assembled in Memphis for its twenty-first annual meeting. Headquarters of the meeting was the Peabody Hotel which David Cohn once referred to as the Northern outpost of the Mississippi Delta. Over 500 persons, representing a total membership of about 2,000, most of them teachers of history in Southern colleges and universities, registered for the meeting.

The first general session, a dinner gathering arranged by the program committee and sponsored by Phi Alpha Theta, honorary historical fraternity, was an occasion that will be long remembered by those who were present. This session was an overwhelmingly Southern affair; yet it was unsegregated; the papers read were moderate in tone; and while all of the 500 persons who attended were not in accord with the liberal views expressed, the applause, according to observation of old-timers, exceeded that of any prior session in the history of the association.

The topic of the session was "The Segregation Decisions." The presiding officer was Professor Thomas D. Clark, native of Louisville, Mississippi, graduate of three Southern universities, and long-time head of the history department of the University of Kentucky. The toastmaster was Philip G. Davidson, President of the University of Louisville, who was born in Nebraska but who grew up in Mississippi, graduated from the University of Mississippi and whose career in teaching and administration has been exclusively Southern. The discussion leader was Weldon James of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* a native and long-time resident of South Carolina.

Cecil Sims, who presented the first paper, is a native of Atlanta, a graduate of the Vanderbilt Law School and a distinguished lawyer of Nashville, Tennessee. Benjamin Mays, who followed Sims, was born in South Carolina and educated at Bates College and the Uni-

versity of Chicago; after outstanding service in various ministerial and educational positions he became president of Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1940, the position that he holds at the present time. In 1952 the Yale Divinity School chose Dr. Mays to inaugurate its Wright lecture series. The concluding paper was by William Faulkner, winner of the Nobel Prize in 1949, a Mississippian known throughout the world for his affectionate and creative identification with the American South.

The program committee had hoped to have various shades of opinion represented, including opposition to the segregation decisions. But known segregationists who were asked to participate declined the invitation.

Even so, the session was marked by considerable variety of approach and treatment. Sims' paper was a calm and judicious analysis of the segregation decisions by one steeped in legal methods and traditions. Mays' presentation was an impassioned commentary on the moral implications of segregation by one who had experienced its inequities; the eloquence and the force with which the speaker stated his views was evidenced by the fact that he was twice interrupted by vigorous applause—a phenomenon without precedent in the Association's history—and by the tremendous ovation that he received at the conclusion of his remarks. Faulkner's paper, which combined some of the qualities of the two that preceded, was the laconically phrased admonition of an artist thoroughly devoted to the South, profoundly disturbed that his native region was out of harmony with enlightened sentiment of the world in its racial attitudes and alarmed by the possible effect of those attitudes as the conflict between democratic and communist nations moves into the critical stage.

Faulkner's concern and the conditions which gave rise to it were of particular interest to students of Southern history who listened to his paper at Memphis. For they knew that a similar situation had existed a hundred years before when the South found itself in opposition to the majority sentiment of the Christian world in clinging to the institution of slavery. Southerners persisted in their views then, even to sacrificing their wealth and blood on the altar of war. Recent utterances and activities of the more vocal element of Dixie's population have tended to create the impression that Southerners of today are as deeply committed to segregation as were their forbears to slavery. But the Southern Historical Association's session on segrega-

tion last November suggests one important difference. In the 1850s, educators, ministers and writers were in the vanguard of slavery's champions. They drew up and helped to disseminate the philosophic justification of the "peculiar institution." They declared slavery a divinely approved system, beneficial both to the bondsmen and their masters. They urged fellow Southerners to resist to the limit any and all efforts to interfere with the South's chosen ways. And when war came they actively supported the Southern cause.

In the present controversy college and church leaders are, to say the least, not in the first ranks of the segregationists. Many of them are openly in opposition to those who advocate resistance to the Supreme Court's decision on the subject. This opposition may be in a measure silenced as segregationists become more determined and better organized. But it can hardly be eliminated. Deprived of the leadership of this influential group, and thwarted by the nationalizing tendencies deriving from the influence of rapid communication, corporate business, and the South's industrialization, segregationists are at a greater disadvantage than were their proslavery antecedents of a century ago; and some of them do not hesitate to admit in private conversation that all they can hope for is a postponement of the inevitable.

It is not meant to suggest that the papers comprising this pamphlet represent the views of the Southern Historical Association in any official way. For some members of the organization, as indicated above, hold opinions contrary to those herein expressed. The essays are published for the purpose of bringing to the attention of interested persons within and without the association a remarkable incident of the Memphis meeting and the views whose public expression on that occasion made it memorable. The vocal South—the South known to outsiders—is overwhelmingly segregationist. The session at Memphis revealed the existence of another and a liberal South—soft-spoken and restrained, but articulate and powerful—that is earnestly pledged to moderation and reason.

BELL I. WILEY, *President*
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1955

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA
26 APRIL 1956

# American Segregation and the World Crisis

*By* WILLIAM FAULKNER

FOR THE MOMENT and for the sake of the argument, let's say that, a white Southerner and maybe even any white American, I too curse the day when the first Negro was brought against his will to this country and sold into slavery. Because that doesn't matter now. To live anywhere in the world of A.D. 1955 and be against equality because of race or color, is like living in Alaska and being against snow.

Inside the last two years I have seen (a little of some, a good deal of others) Japan, the Philippines, Siam, India, Egypt, Italy, West Germany, England and Iceland. Of these countries, the only one I would say definitely will not be communist ten years from now, is England. And if these other countries do not remain free, then England will no longer endure as a free nation. And if all the rest of the world becomes communist, it will be the end of America too as we know it; we will be strangled into extinction by simple economic blockade since there will be no one anywhere anymore to sell our products to; we are already seeing that now in the problem of our cotton.

And the only reason all these countries are not communist already, is America, not just because of our material power, but because of the idea of individual human freedom and liberty and equality on which our nation was founded, and which our founding fathers postulated the name of America to mean. These countries are still free of communism simply because of that—that belief in individual liberty and equality and freedom—that one belief powerful enough to stalemate the idea of communism. We have no other weapon to fight communism with but this, since in diplomacy we are children to communist diplomats, and in production we will always lag behind them since under monolithic government all production can go to the aggrandizement of the State. But then, we don't need anything else, since that idea—that simple belief of man that he can be free—is the strongest force on earth; all we need to do is, use it.

Because it is glib and simple, we like to think of the world situation today as a precarious and explosive balance of two irreconciliable ideologies confronting each other; which precarious balance, once it totters, will drag the whole world into the abyss along with it. That's not so. Only one of the forces is an ideology, an idea. Because the second force is the simple fact of Man: the simple belief of individual man that he can and should and will be free. And if we who so far are still free, want to continue to be free, all of us who are still free had better confederate, and confederate fast, with all others who still have a choice to be free—confederate not as black people nor white people nor pink nor blue nor green people, but as people who still are free with all other people who still are free; confederate together and stick together too, if we want a world or even a part of a world in which individual man can be free, to continue to endure.

And we had better take in with us as many as we can get of the nonwhite peoples of the earth who are not completely free yet but who want to be and intend to be, before that other force which is opposed to individual freedom, befools and gets them. Time was when the nonwhite was content to—anyway, did—accept his instinct for freedom as an unrealizable dream. But not any more; the white man himself taught him different with that phase of his—the white man's—own culture which took the form of colonial expansion and exploitation based and morally condoned on the premise of inequality not because of individual incompetence, but of mass race or color. As a result of which, in only ten years, we have watched the nonwhite peoples expel, by bloody violence when necessary, the white man from all of the middle east and Asia which he once dominated. And into that vacuum has already begun to move that other and inimical power which people who believe in freedom are at war with—that power which says to the nonwhite man: "We don't offer you freedom because there is no such thing as freedom; your white overlords whom you just threw out have already proved that to you. But we offer you equality: at least equality in slavedom; if you are to be slaves, at least you can be slaves to your own color and race and religion."

We, the western white man who does believe that there exists an individual freedom above and beyond this mere equality of slavedom, must teach the nonwhite peoples this while there is yet a little time left. We, America, who are the strongest force opposing communism and monolithicism, must teach all other peoples, white and nonwhite,

slave or (for a little while yet) still free. We, America, have the best chance to do this because we can do it here, at home, without needing to send costly freedom expeditions into alien and inimical places already convinced that there is no such thing as freedom and liberty and equality and peace for all people, or we would practice it at home.

The best chance and the easiest job, because our nonwhite minority is already on our side; we don't need to sell them on America and freedom because they are already sold; even when ignorant from inferior or no education, even despite the record and history of inequality, they still believe in our concepts of freedom and democracy.

That is what America has done for them in only three hundred years. Not *to* them: *for* them, because to our shame we have made little effort so far to teach them to be Americans, let alone to use their capacities to make of ourselves a stronger and more unified America: —the people who only three hundred years ago were eating rotten elephant and hippo meat in African rain-forests, who lived beside one of the biggest bodies of inland water on earth and never thought of a sail, who yearly had to move by whole villages and tribes from famine and pestilence and human enemies without once thinking of a wheel, yet in only three hundred years in America produced Ralph Bunche and George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington, who have yet to produce a Fuchs or Rosenberg or Gold or Greenglass or Burgess or McLean or Hiss, and for every prominent communist or fellow-traveler like Robeson, there are a thousand white ones.

In am not convinced that the Negro wants integration in the sense that some of us claim to fear he does. I believe he is American enough to repudiate and deny by simple American instinct any stricture or regulation forbidding us to do something which in our opinion would be harmless if we did it, and which we probably would not want to do anyway. I think that what he wants is equality, and I believe that he too knows there is no such thing as equality *per se,* but only equality *to:* equal right and opportunity to make the best one can of one's life within one's capacity and capability, without fear of injustice or oppression or threat of violence. If we had given him this equal right to opportunity ninety or fifty or even ten years ago, there would have been no Supreme Court decision about how we run our schools.

It is our white man's shame that in our present southern economy, the Negro must not have economic equality; our double shame that we fear that giving him more social equality will jeopardize his pres-

ent economic status; our triple shame that even then, to justify ourselves, we must becloud the issue with the purity of white blood; what a commentary that the one remaining place on earth where the white man can flee and have his blood protected and defended by law, is Africa—Africa: the source and origin of the people whose presence in America will have driven the white man to flee from defilement.

Soon now all of us—not just Southerners nor even just Americans, but all people who are still free and want to remain so—are going to have to make a choice. We will have to choose not beween color nor race nor religion nor between East and West either, but simply between being slaves and being free. And we will have to choose completely and for good; the time is already past now when we can choose a little of each, a little of both. We can choose a state of slavedom, and if we are powerful enough to be among the top two or three or ten, we can have a certain amount of license—until someone more powerful rises and has us machine-gunned against a cellar wall. But we cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom, on a caste system of equality like military rank. We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it; our freedom must be buttressed by a homogeny equally and unchallengeably free, no matter what color they are, so that all the other inimical forces everywhere—systems political or religious or racial or national—will not just respect us because we practice freedom, they will fear us because we do.

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[*Editor's note*—On December 1, Mr. Faulkner extended views expressed in his Memphis paper with the following statement]:

The question is no longer of white against black. It is no longer whether or not white blood shall remain pure, it is whether or not white people shall remain free.

We accept insult and contumely and the risk of violence because we will not sit quietly by and see our native land, the South, not just Mississippi but all the South, wreck and ruin itself twice in less than a hundred years, over the Negro question.

We speak now against the day when our Southern people who will resist to the last these inevitable changes in social relations, will, when they have been forced to accept what they at one time might have accepted with dignity and goodwill, will say, "Why didn't someone tell us this before? Tell us this in time?"

# The Moral Aspects of Segregation

*By* BENJAMIN E. MAYS

WHENEVER a strong dominant group possesses all the power, political, educational, economic, and wields all the power; makes all the laws, municipal, state and federal, and administers all the laws; writes all constitutions, municipal, state and federal, and interprets these constitutions; collects and holds all the money, municipal, state, and federal and distributes all the money; determines all policies—governmental, business, political and educational; when that group plans and places heavy burdens, grievous to be borne, upon the backs of the weak, that act is immoral. If the strong group is a Christian group or a follower of Judaism both of which contend that God is creator, judge, impartial, just, universal, love and that man was created in God's image, the act is against God and man—thus immoral. If the strong group is atheistic, the act is against humanity —still immoral.

No group is wise enough, good enough, strong enough, to assume an omnipotent and omniscient role; no group is good enough, wise enough to restrict the mind, circumscribe the soul, and to limit the physical movements of another group. To do that is blasphemy. It is a usurpation of the role of God.

If the strong handicaps the weak on the grounds of race or color, it is all the more immoral because we penalize the group for conditions over which it has no control, for being what nature or nature's God made it. And that is tantamount to saying to God, "You made a mistake, God, when you didn't make all races white." If there were a law which said that an illiterate group had to be segregated, the segregated group could go to school and become literate. If there were a law which said that all peoples with incomes below $5,000 a year had to be segregated, the people under $5,000 a year could strive to rise above the $5,000 bracket. If there were a law which said that men and women who did not bathe had to be segregated, they could develop the habit of daily baths and remove the stigma.

If there were a law which said that all groups had to be Catholics, the Jews and Protestants could do something about it by joining the Catholic Church. But to segregate a man because his skin is brown or black, red or yellow, is to segregate a man for circumstances over which he has no control. And of all immoral acts, this is the most immoral.

So the May 17, 1954, Decision of the Supreme Court and all the decisions against segregation are attempts on the part of the judges involved to abolish a great wrong which the strong has deliberately placed upon the backs of the weak. It is an attempt on the part of federal and state judges to remove this stigma, this wrong through constitutional means, which is the democratic, American way.

I said a moment ago that if the strong deliberately picks out a weak racial group and places upon it heavy burdens that act is immoral. Let me try to analyze this burden, segregation, which has been imposed upon millions of Americans of color. There are at least three main reasons for legal segregation in the United States.

1. The first objective of segregation is to place a legal badge of inferiority upon the segregated, to brand him as unfit to move freely among other human beings. This badge says the segregated is mentally, morally, and socially unfit to move around as a free man.
2. The second objective of segregation is to set the segregated apart so that he can be treated as an inferior: in the courts, in recreation, in transportation, in politics, in government, in employment, in religion, in education, in hotels, in motels, restaurants and in every other area of American life. And all of this has been done without the consent of the segregated.
3. The third objective of legalized segregation follows from the first two. It is designed to make the segregated believe that he is inferior, that he is nobody and to make him accept willingly his inferior status in society. It is these conditions which the May 17, 1954, Decision of the Supreme Court and other federal decisions against segregation are designed to correct—to remove this immoral stigma that has been placed upon 16 million Negro Americans, and these are the reasons every thinking Negro wants the legal badge of segregation removed so that he might be able to walk the earth with dignity, as a man, and not cringe and kow-tow as a slave. He believes that this is his God-given right on the earth.

Segregation is immoral because it has inflicted a wound upon the soul of the segregated and so restricted his mind that millions of Negroes now alive will never be cured of the disease of inferiority. Many of them have come to feel and believe that they are inferior or that the cards are so stacked against them that it is useless for them to strive for the highest and the best. Segregate a race for ninety years, tell that race in books, in law, in courts, in education, in church and school, in employment, in transportation, in hotels and motels, in the government that it is inferior—it is bound to leave its damaging mark upon the souls and minds of the segregated. It is these conditions that the federal courts seek to change.

Any country that restricts the full development of any segment of society retards its own growth and development. The segregated produces less, and even the minds of the strong group are circumscribed because they are often afraid to pursue the whole truth and they spend too much time seeking ways and means of how to keep the segregated group in "its place." Segregation is immoral because it leads to injustice, brutality, and lynching on the part of the group that segregates. The segregated is somebody that can be pushed around as desired by the segregator. As a rule equal justice in the courts is almost impossible for a member of the segregated group if it involves a member of the group imposing segregation. The segregated has no rights that the segregator is bound to respect.

The chief sin of segregation is the distortion of human personality. It damages the soul of both the segregator and the segregated. It gives the segregated a feeling of inherent inferiority which is not based on facts, and it gives the segregator a feeling of superiority which is not based on facts. It is difficult to know who is damaged more—the segregated or the segregator.

It is false accusation to say that Negroes hail the May 17, 1954, Decision of the Supreme Court because they want to mingle socially with white people. Negroes want segregation abolished because they want the legal stigma of inferiority removed and because they do not believe that equality of educational opportunities can be completely achieved in a society where the law brands a group inferior. When a Negro rides in a Pullman unsegregated he does it not because he wants to ride with white people. He may or may not engage in conversations with a white person. He wants good accommodations. When he eats in an unsegregated diner on the train, he goes in because he is hungry and not because he wants to eat with white people. He

goes to the diner not even to mingle with Negroes but to get something to eat. But as he eats and rides he wants no badge of inferiority pinned on his back. He wants to eat and ride with dignity. No Negro clothed in his right mind believes that his social status will be enhanced just because he associates with white people.

It is also a false accusation to say that Negroes are insisting that segregated schools must be abolished today or tomorrow, simultaneously all over the place. As far as I know, no Negro leader has ever advocated that, and they have not even said when desegregation is to be a finished job. They do say that the Supreme Court is the highest law of the land and we should respect that law. Negro leaders do say that each local community should bring together the racial groups in that community, calmly sit down and plan ways and means not how they can circumvent the decision but how they can implement it and plan together when and where they will start. They will be able to start sooner in some places than in others and move faster in some places than in others but begin the process in good faith and with good intent. To deliberately scheme, to deliberately plan through nefarious methods, through violence, boycott and threats to nullify the Decision of the highest law in the land is not only immoral but it encourages a disregard for all laws which we do not like.

We meet the moral issue again. To write into our constitutions things that we do not intend to carry out is an immoral act. I think I am right when I say that most of our states, certainly some of them, say in their constitutions "separate but equal." But you know as well as I do that on the whole the gulf of inequality in education widened with the years. There was no serious attempt nor desire in this country to provide Negroes with educational opportunities equal to those for whites. The great surge to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes did not begin until after 1935 when Murray won his suit to enter the law school of the University of Maryland. It is also clear that the millions poured into Negro education in the last 20 years were appropriated not so much because it was right but in an endeavor to maintain segregation.

We brought this situation upon ourselves. We here in the South have said all along that we believe in segregation but equal segregation. In 1896 in the Louisiana case, Plessy versus Ferguson, the United States Supreme Court confirmed the doctrine "separate but equal." But from 1896 to 1935 there was practically nothing done to make the separate equal. When Murray won his case in 1935, we

knew we had to move toward equalization. Since 1935 many suits have been won.

It would have been a mighty fine thing if we had obeyed the Supreme Court in 1896 and equalized educational opportunities for Negroes. If we had done that the problem would have been solved because gradually the separate school system would have been abolished and we would have been saved from the agony and fear of this hour. We didn't obey the Supreme Court in 1896 and we do not want to obey it now.

Let me say again that the May 17, 1954, Decision of the Supreme Court is an effort to abolish a great evil through orderly processes. And we are morally obligated to implement the Decision or modify the federal constitution and say plainly that this constitution was meant for white people and not for Negroes and that the Declaration of Independence created mostly by the mind of the great southerner, Thomas Jefferson, was meant for white people and not Negroes. Tell the world honestly that we do not believe that part of the Declaration of Independence which says in essence that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We are morally obligated to abolish legalized segregation in America or reinterpret the Christian Gospel, the Old and New Testaments, and make the Gospel say that the noble principles of Judaism and Christianity are not applicable to colored peoples and Negroes. Tell the world honestly and plainly that the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man cannot work where the colored races are involved. We are morally obligated to move toward implementing the Decision in the deep south or lose our moral leadership in the world. If we do not do it, we must play the role of hypocrisy, preaching one thing and doing another. This is the dilemma which faces our democracy.

The eyes of the world are upon us. One billion or more colored people in Asia and Africa are judging our democracy solely on the basis of how we treat Negroes. White Europe is watching us too. I shall never forget the day in Lucknow, India, when nine reporters from all over India questioned me for 90 minutes about how Negroes are treated in the United States. I shall remember to my dying day the event in 1937 when the principal of an untouchable school introduced me to his boys as an untouchable from the United States. At first it angered me. But on second thought I knew that he was right.

Though great progress has been made, for which I am grateful, I and my kind are still untouchables in many sections of the country. There are places where wealth, decency, culture, education, religion, and position will do no good if a Negro. None of these things can take away the mark of untouchability. And the world knows this.

Recently a group of colored students from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and South America were visiting an outstanding Southern town. All the colored people except those from Africa and Haiti could live in the downtown hotels. The Africans and the Haitians had to seek refuge on the campus of a Negro College. That incident was known to all the other colored students and it will be told many times in Europe, Asia, Africa—and it will not help us in our efforts to democratize the world.

Not long ago a Jew from South Africa and a man from India were guests of a Negro professor. He drove them for several days through the urban and rural sections of his state. The Negro, the host, a citizen of the United States, could not get food from the hotels and restaurants. His guests, one a Jew and the other an Indian, had to go in and buy food for him. The man who introduced me in India as an untouchable was right. The Negro is America's untouchable.

Two or three years ago a friend of mine was traveling in Germany. He met a German who had traveled widely in the United States. He told my friend that he hangs his head in shame every time he thinks of what his country did to the Jews—killing six millions of them. But he told my friend that after seeing what segregation has done to the soul of the Negro in the South, he has come to the conclusion that it is worse than what Hitler and his colleagues did to the Jews in Germany. He may be wrong but this is what he is telling the people in Germany.

Make no mistake—as this country could not exist half slave and half free, it cannot exist half segregated and half desegregated. The Supreme Court has given America an opportunity to achieve greatness in the area of moral and spiritual things just as it has already achieved greatness in military and industrial might and in material possessions. It is my belief that the South will accept the challenge of the Supreme Court and thus make America and the South safe for democracy.

If we lose this battle for freedom for 15 million Negroes we will lose it for 145 million whites and eventually we will lose it for the world. This is indeed a time for greatness.

# The Segregation Decisions:
## A Lawyer's View

*By* CECIL SIMS

THE STORM of denunciation in the South which followed the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Segregation Cases had an earlier historical counterpart in the abuse of the same tribunal by Northern newspapers in 1857, following the decision in the celebrated Dred Scott Case. In the earlier decision the New York *Tribune* reflected the sentiment of a substantial segment of Northern and Eastern public opinion when, only a few days after the Dred Scott decision, it said editorially:

> "The long trumpeted decision . . . having been held over from last year in order not too flagrantly to alarm and exasperate the Free States on the eve of an important Presidential election . . . is entitled to just so much moral weight as would be the judgment of the majority of those congregated in any Washington barroom. It is a dictum prescribed by the stump to the Bench."[1]

Sixty-five years later Charles Warren, the eminent biographer of the United States Supreme Court, made the following observation with reference to the public reaction in the North at the time of the Dred Scott decision:

> "The whirlwind of abuse which swept upon the Court, the loss of confidence theretofore entertained in it, and the ensuing damage to its reputation, were, however, in reality, due more largely to misunderstandings of the decision, and the falsehoods spread relative to Taney's opinion, than to the actual decision itself."

Today we have in the South a situation similar to that which existed in the North immediately after the Dred Scott decision. Denied the right of citizenship in the Dred Scott case, the Negro has now, by decree of the same Court, been granted equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment in attending public schools. The fury and the predictions of dire consequences heard in the North in 1857 are now echoed in the South, and once again the attack being

1 Charles Warren, The Supreme Court in United States History, Vol. 3, page 27

made upon the Court arises from a gross misunderstanding of the actual holding of the Court as applied to the continuation of the traditional Southern dual system of public schools with separate facilities for white and Negro students.

The prevailing conception of school officials, public officers, and perhaps lawyers, generally, is that the Supreme Court in the Segregation Cases has ordered schools for Negroes abolished, and that Negro children and white children will be required to attend integrated schools in the same buildings. Leading newspapers and periodicals speak of the impending "integration" of our two school systems as if the opinion of the Court leaves no alternative other than consolidation. Yet nowhere in the opinion of the Court does the word "integration" appear except in one quotation taken by the Court from the opinion of the Supreme Court of Kansas in the Oliver Brown Case.

The violation of the Fourteenth Amendment found by the Court was the compulsory attendance of Negroes in separate schools solely because of race. The mandate of the Court went no further than to order the gradual elimination of this element of compulsion by the adoption in good faith of a plan which would permit but not require Negro children to attend the same schools as white children within proper geographical districts. These conclusions will appear from a single analysis of the language to be found in the two opinions of the Court.

The Segregation Cases involved situations arising in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, where Negro children had been denied admission to public schools under State Constitutions or laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. In each of the cases the Court found that the Negro and white schools involved had been equalized, or were being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications, salaries of teachers, and other tangible factors.[2]

It will be recalled that the Court had previously in 1896, in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson,[3] announced the "separate but equal" doctrine, under which the Supreme Court for more than half a century had, in the face of repeated attacks, continued to validate the constitutionality of the compulsory segregation of the races in public schools.

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2 Oliver Brown, et al v. Board of Education of Topeka (Kans.)
Harry Briggs, Jr. v. Elliott, et al (S. C.)
Dorothy E. Davis v. County Board (Va.)
Frances B. Gebhart, et al v. Belton, et al (Dela.)
3 63 U. S. 537, 41, L. Ed. 256

The "separate but equal" doctrine approved by the Supreme Court in the Plessy case originated in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1848, in its decision in the case of Sarah C. Roberts vs. The City of Boston,[4] in which Charles Sumner, the abolitionist, filed suit on behalf of Sarah Roberts, a five-year-old Negro girl who was refused admission to the white Boston public school, seeking damages under a Massachusetts state statute which made it actionable to exclude any child unlawfully from a public school. Chief Justice Shaw, in the course of the opinion, said:

> "It is urged that this maintenance of separate schools tends to deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion. This prejudice, if it exists, is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law. Whether this distinction and prejudice, existing in the opinions and feelings of the community, would not be effectually fostered by compelling colored and white children to associate together in the same schools, may well be doubted; at all events, it is fair and proper question for the committee to consider and decide upon, having in view the best interest of classes of children placed under their superintendence, and we cannot say that their decision upon it is not founded on just grounds of reason and experience, and in the results of a discriminating and honest judgment."

But the federal Supreme Court has now wiped out nearly sixty years of adherence to the "separate but equal" doctrine in the recent Oliver Brown and related cases, Chief Justice Warren ending this long period of judicial conformity with three cryptic sentences. The learned Chief Justice said:

> "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws."

The real basis of the Court's opinion was the *effect* which the *required* separation of Negroes of tender age had upon such children mentally. Said the Court:

> "To separate them from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of infe-

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[4] 59 Mass. Reps. 198

riority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

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"Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.

"We conclude that in the field of public education doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiff and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

The underlying thought implicit in the above language is that the feeling of inferiority results not from the *actual attendance* in a separate school, but from the legal requirement under which Negro children are *compelled* to attend a separate school. It would seem logical to conclude under the opinion of the Court that Negroes attending separate schools by choice, and not under compulsion, would be free of the detrimental effect of segregation sanctioned and required by law. A system of separate schools available to the races upon a basis of free choice would not fall within the constitutional prohibition.

In interpreting the meaning of the Supreme Court decision, it must always be borne in mind that the first opinion of the Court, rendered May 17, 1954, did not require integration of the two school systems, and went no further than to condemn the compulsory separation of the races solely because of color. It will be recalled that in its first opinion the Court propounded certain questions to the parties litigant, and invited responses from the Attorney Generals of the Southern States, preparatory to the drafting of the Court's decree and, at the Court's direction, the first question to be considered on the second argument was whether or not the Court should by its decree direct that Negro children should be admitted to "schools of their choice" within limits set by normal geographic districting.

In considering the question of whether or not the South may continue to operate its separate public school systems for the two races and, more particularly, whether or not the states and local school boards may adequately meet the Court's requirements by giving Negro children, or their parents as their natural guardians, the right to choose to enter, *or not to enter,* schools previously maintained as segregated

schools for white students, as distinguished from the compulsory integration of both white and Negro students in the same public school facilities, the second opinion of the Supreme Court, rendered May 31, 1955, is most illuminating. In this second opinion the Court said:

> "Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles."

The Court specifically directed that in fashioning and effectuating decrees the courts should be guided by equitable principles characterized by "a practical flexibility," the Chief Justice saying:

> "At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a non-discriminatory basis."

There is a vast difference between mandatory integration and admission on a non-discriminatory basis. After stating that courts must require "that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954 ruling," the Court also pointed out:

> "Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner."

The ultimate goal was described by the Chief Justice in the following words:

> "To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis."

All of this was ordered by the Court to be accomplished "with all deliberate speed."

The practical problem now existing in the South is to determine whether or not there is a feasible plan of achieving a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis which may be adopted in good faith and which may be accomplished with deliberate speed. Such a plan is not required to have as its ultimate goal the complete integration of the races in a single school system, provided the Negro's right to choose is preserved to him free from coercion.

Harry Ashmore, in his recently published volume *The Negro and the Schools,*[5] provides an interesting example of the "right to choose" plan in the school system of Evansville, Indiana.

Prior to 1949 segregation in the public schools in Indiana was legally permissible and it existed in practice in the city school system of Evansville. In 1949 the legislature of Indiana enacted a statute abolishing segregation in the public schools and fixed a statutory period of five years within which it was required to be accomplished. At that time Evansville had a population of 130,000 citizens, 6.6% being Negroes. Under the plan adopted by Evansville, Negro children entering the beginning grades were given the choice of attending either the white or the Negro schools within their respective districts. No pressure was exerted to force the Negroes in making their choice.

There were approximately 12,000 white children and 1,000 Negro children attending separate elementary schools, and 6,650 white and 350 Negro students in segregated high schools. During the first year, 18 Negroes elected to enter the white elementary schools. Only one Negro student enrolled in the white high school. During the first year the choice was restricted to the first grade in the elementary schools and to the beginning year in the junior and senior high schools. In each succeeding year the choice was extended an additional grade upward throughout the five-year plan.

Those Negro children who chose to enter the white schools during the first year were widely scattered throughout the classes and they were received without any noticeable animosity. During the third year there were 50 Negro children in the white schools, but this equaled only 4% of the Negro students actually in schools, the remaining 96% having voluntarily elected to attend separate Negro schools. At the end of the fifth year, which expired in 1954, 92½% of the Negro children had voluntarily continued in their own separate Negro schools. This choice system was so satisfactory to both races in Evansville that at the end of the five-year period no effort was made to change it.

Only a few weeks ago the United States District Court for the Western District of Tennessee, at Memphis, after hearing testimony in open court, entered a decree approving an over-all plan adopted by the Tennessee Board of Education applicable to Memphis State College and other like institutions which involved a graduated plan pro-

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[5] See, for example, full discussion of Phoenix, Arizona, Evansville, Indiana, and Cincinnati, Ohio, pages 70 *et seq*

viding for the admission of Negro students at the graduate level during the first year, and then continuing downward through the college one year at a time until all years were covered.

The experience at Evansville, Indiana, and the plan evolved with court approval at Memphis State College, would seem to suggest a sensible approach to the solution of the problem within the requirements of the Supreme Court mandate short of complete integration. Such a plan in actual practice will test out the rather widely held belief that a large majority of the Negroes in the South would prefer to remain in their separate school systems provided equal facilities are furnished with competent and adequately compensated Negro teachers. At the same time, this so-called voluntary or choice basis will permit a limited non-segregated pattern to develop within the two systems on a scale which will involve a minimum of friction and at the same time furnish clinical experience beneficial to both Negroes and whites.

In a recent article published by the *Journal of Public Law* at the Emory University Law School, in Atlanta, Georgia, W. E. Gauerke, in discussing this non-segregated pattern resulting from the choice system, said:

> "Researchers have pointed out that such a school is believed by some Negroes to present a unique opportunity for the solution of racial problems and the development of a sounder psychological setting for the growth of the personality of the Negro child."[6]

In 1944 a comprehensive study of the Negro problem, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, resulted in the publication of a large volume entitled *An American Dilemma.* This was an impartial study of the American Negro in the United States, undertaken by Gunnar Myrdal (to use his own words) "in a wholly objective and dispassionate way as a social phenomenon." Myrdal was a citizen and resident of Sweden who was selected to make the study because he was a social scientist from a foreign "non-imperialistic country, and with no background of domination of one race over another, who could approach this task with a fresh mind, uninfluenced by traditional attitudes or by earlier conclusions."

A condensation of *An American Dilemma,* by Professor Arnold Rose of Washington University at St. Louis, in dealing with Negro

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[6]"The Supreme Court Decision and the Separation of Races for School Purposes"

attitudes towards education, gives the following conclusion of Gunnar Myrdal:

> "Negroes are divided, too, on the issues of segregated schools. Insofar as segregation means discrimination and is a badge of Negro inferiority, they are against it, although many Southern Negroes would not take an open stand that would anger Southern Whites. Some Negroes, however, prefer the segregated school, even for the North, when the mixed school involves humiliation for Negro students and discrimination against Negro teachers. Other Negroes prefer the mixed schools at any cost, since for them it is a matter of principle or they believe it is a means of improving race relations."[7]

Desegregation will not necessarily result in the integration of the white and colored races in the public schools. Recently, in a public discussion of desegregation in the public schools in Michigan, Alvin Loving a Negro high school principal at River Rouge, Michigan, was quoted in the Chicago newspapers in an Associated Press dispatch as saying:

> "I taught at a high school in Detroit. When I went there it was about 70% white. Then it began to change, and this change involved integration.
>
> "The school population became more heavily Negro. As it did so, clubs became either white or Negro. School dances were no longer held. Activities such as dramatics, which involved a sort of social contact, virtually ended.
>
> "We were desegregated—Michigan schools have never been segregated, as a matter of fact—but we were not integrated."

If by desegregation one means the abandonment of the existing separate schools for Negroes and consolidation of the Negro school system into the white schools with compulsory attendance of both whites and Negroes in the same school, there is ample evidence that such consolidation will not actually accomplish the integration of the races. This is particularly true if it is against the will and desire of a substantial segment of both the white and the Negro races. While undoubtedly there are some Negro families who will under all circumstances insist upon the right of their children to attend a mixed school purely as a matter of principle, it is entirely possible that even the most zealous of the crusaders, once this right is not denied but its exercise becomes a matter of choice will make their choice of schools solely on what they consider to be to the best interest and welfare of their children.

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[7] *The Negro in America*, page 287

Unless the South, through wise leadership, can work out a sound and practical plan generally acceptable to a majority of both races, such as the "choice" plan, we face a crisis not only in the field of public education but in the much larger field of general race relations. The answer does not lie in mere delay or subterfuge. It is true that a state does have the unqualified right to withdraw from the field of public education and to discontinue its financial support of elementary and secondary schools, normal schools, and its colleges and universities. It is obvious, however, that no state can afford to take such a step without at the same time providing a substitute method for continuing its present school systems, and it is equally obvious that no such substitute system could function without the aid of public funds.

It is my belief that the people of the Southern States will not permit the abandonment of their public school systems without reasonable assurance that the schools will continue to operate in some manner on a semi-public basis. Any so-called private school system devised in an effort to avoid the requirements of the segregation decisions supported by public funds in the form of grants or subsidies to parents of school children will be a transparent subterfuge and as such will be held subject to the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment. Anyone holding a contrary opinion will do well to read the recent opinion of the United States Supreme Court in Terry v. Adams,[8] in which the Court held that private Anglo-Saxon clubs in Texas, which called themselves "Jaybird Associations," and which were organized to control the selection of nominees for county offices, violated the constitutional rights of Negroes who were excluded from membership even though these associations operated exclusively with private funds.

There is nothing in the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Segregation Cases which indicates a desire to coerce or stampede the South into a hasty and perhaps unwise reconstruction of the present school systems in order to meet the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment. Nor was there anything novel or revolutionary in the Court holding that changing conditions, including changed psychological factors, would justify the Court in changing its interpretation of the meaning and scope of the Fourteenth Amendment so as to bring about a different construction of that provision of the Constitution from that given in 1896 in Plessy v. Ferguson. A new and different

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8 Terry v. Adams, 345 U. S. 61 (1953)

interpretation of a constitutional provision to meet a crisis in a democracy is nothing new in the field of constitutional law. For example, during the depression in the 1930s, Congress passed an act declaring a moratorium on the foreclosure of past due farm mortgages. Farm mortgages, including the right of foreclosure, are property protected by the Constitution of the United States. In upholding the constitutionality of the legislative moratorium which suspended the right of foreclosure on farm mortgages, the Supreme Court of the United States said:

> "It is no answer to say that this public need was not apprehended a century ago, or to insist that what the provision of the Constitution meant to the vision of that day it must mean to the vision of our time. If by the statement that what the Constitution meant at the time of its adoption it means today, it is intended to say that the great clauses of the Constitution must be confined to the interpretation which their framers, with the conditions and outlook of their time, would have placed upon them, the statement carries its own refutation. It was to guard against such a narrow conception that Chief Justice Marshall uttered the memorable warning—'We must never forget that it is a constitution we are expounding,' (McCulloch v. Maryland, 4 Wheat. 317, 407, 4 L. Ed. 570, 601)—'a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently to be adapted to the various crisis of human affairs.' (*Id.,* p. 415). When we are dealing with the words of the Constitution, said this Court in Missouri v. Holland, 252 U. S. 416, 433, 64 L. Ed. 641, 647, 40 S. Ct. 382, 11 A. L. R. 984, 'we must realize that they have called into life a being the development of which could not have been foreseen completely by the most gifted of its begetters. . . . The case before us must be considered in the light of our whole experience and not merely in that of what was said a hundred years ago.' "[9]

The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Segregation Cases came as a distinct shock to the South, and perhaps to the entire country, but it did not come without previous warnings. For years leaders in Southern education have pointed out that our continued failure to provide equal and adequate educational opportunities for the Negro in the South, particularly at the elementary and secondary school level, was building up storm clouds of resentment that might ultimately prove disastrous to our dual system of public education.

Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, writing

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[9] Home Building & Loan Association v. Blaisdell, 290 U. S. 441, 78 L. Ed. at page 431

before the first decision of the Court, said:

> "For one, the cumulative neglect by the Southern States of Negro public schools, and the South's failure to live up to its obligations to provide equal facilities for the two races, have compounded educational deficits beyond the reasonable limits of tolerance within the framework of constitutional mandates, democratic fair play, and moral obligations."[10]

What is needed in the South now is a recognition of the fact that the agency set up by ourselves in our democracy to determine questions of this nature has unanimously rendered a decision which establishes with finality the illegality of compulsory segregation of the Negro in the public schools. Our problem now is to examine the scope of the decision, to accept it, and to provide a rational plan that will come within the mandate of the Court and, if possible, one that will not destroy the public school systems.

The Court has found that compulsory segregation in the public schools based solely on color violates the Fourteenth Amendment to our Constitution. The Court has not declared that separate schools for Negroes must be discontinued in order to correct the violation of constitutional rights. It has directed that the element of compulsion be removed.

It is to be assumed that if a gradual plan is devised in the South under which Negroes are given the right to attend mixed schools within proper geographical limitations if they choose to do so, but with the further right to elect to remain in existing Negro schools with competent Negro teachers and equal and adequate facilities, wisdom will in most cases control the decision and a pattern will be developed for the ultimate solution of the problem without the needless destruction of existing sound values in our public educational systems. We must remember that the forces which generate heat may, with intelligent handling, be used to provide light.

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10 *An Approach to Diagnosis and Direction of the Problem of Negro Segregation in the Public Schools of the South*

# Mississippi: The Closed Society

*By* JAMES W. SILVER

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# Mississippi: The Closed Society

*By* JAMES W. SILVER*

BETWEEN 1938 AND 1947 THREE MISSISSIPPI PROFESSORS, PERCY LEE Rainwater, John K. Bettersworth, and Vernon L. Wharton, published scholarly volumes which laid great stress on Mississippi's poverty-stricken leadership in secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction to 1890. It is quite likely that if these studies were put on the market today, their authors would be run out of the state.

The search for historical truth has become a casualty in embattled Mississippi where neither the governor nor the legislature, in their hot pursuit of interposition, indicates any awareness that Mississippians were Americans before they were Southerners or that Magnolia State politicians once stood firm against nullification and secession. The state's present-day exploiters of federal munificence, however, should applaud the cleverness of their ancestors in the 1850's who interpreted state rights as requiring the use of national power to destroy local self-government in the territories and to thwart Northern state nullification of the fugitive slave law.

The striking parallel between people and events of the 1850's and the 1950's reminds us that Mississippi has been on the defensive against inevitable social change for more than a century, and that for some years before the Civil War it had developed a closed society with an orthodoxy accepted by nearly everybody in the state. The all-pervading doctrine then and now has been white supremacy—whether achieved through slavery or segregation—rationalized by a professed adherence to state rights and bolstered by religious fundamentalism. In such a society a never ceasing propagation of the "true faith" must and has gone on relentlessly with a constantly reiterated demand for loyalty to the united front demanding that nonconformists be hushed, silenced with a vengeance, or in crisis situations driven from the com-

* An expanded version of the presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Asheville, North Carolina, November 7, 1963. Copyright 1963 by James W. Silver.

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munity. Violence and the threat of violence have reinforced the presumption of unanimity.

By 1861 Mississippians had been thoroughly prepared for secession by their shortsighted politicians, their chauvinistic press, their political preachers, and their blind philosophers, all operating within the authoritarian society. Even to the present generation the people have been paying for and *eulogizing* their most unwise decision of all time. In fact the romanticism associated with the Old South, the glorification of the Confederacy, and the bitter remembrances of Reconstruction have played their witless and powerful role in preserving a social order based on neither fact nor reason. According to Citizens Council literature, Mississippi is now the innocent victim of a second vicious Reconstruction from which its stalwart citizenry, demonstrating ancestral courage, will emerge triumphant as it did in 1875.

One of today's little sophistries asserts that equality must be earned, can never be achieved by force or law. The forgotten truth is that between 1875 and 1890 *inequality* was effected by force and regularized by law. By the end of the century Negroes had long since learned that Mississippi freedom included neither political nor any other kind of equality. The caste system had once and apparently for all been substituted for slavery, the Negro was in his place, and the society was once more closed and sacrosanct.

No meaningful challenge to the caste system was possible in Mississippi in the first half of the twentieth century. In public life no white man, demagogue or patrician, proposed to do anything constructive about the Negro. Preferring corrupt and inefficient government to participation by the black man, the whites got a one-party system without competition between recognizable groups, with no continuity of existence even of factions, and no means of checking the wild-eyed—in sum, a series of Bilbonic plagues and Barnett blights. Whether The Man Bilbo was just the "slick little bastard" described by his admirers, or represented "nothing save passion, prejudice, and hatred," as claimed by Fred Sullens, is of small importance as compared with his career as symptomatic of the chaos and bankruptcy of Mississippi politics and its social order. In such a demoralized wasteland the sharp-eyed Snopeses have grasped their petty gains, to the greater glory of laissez faire, which ironically has in turn produced the much damned transfer of state functions to the federal government and a diminution of state sovereignty.

Today the totalitarian society of Mississippi imposes on all its people an obedience to an official orthodoxy almost identical with the proslavery philosophy—this in the teeth of the nearly universal dissipation of whatever intellectual sanction white supremacy had among the enlightened at the turn of this century. Every Mississippi politician not only denies the validity of the Fourteenth Amendment but in his heart hungers for the negative days of the Articles of Confederation. Governor Ross Barnett, whose personal constitution stops with the Tenth Amendment, is conveniently ignorant of the incompatibility of state rights and modern industrialization.

On the racial question, the Governor's views are now well known. "If we start off with the self-evident proposition," Barnett says, "that the whites and colored are different, we will not experience any difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they are not and never can be equal." It was his appointee to the Mississippi Supreme Court, Justice Tom Brady, who became for awhile the metaphysician of the master racists with the publication of the hastily written and scholastically barren *Black Monday* (1955). In turn this was outmoded by *Race and Reason* (1961) by Carleton Putnam, Roosevelt biographer and successful airline executive, become, by his own admission, expert theologian, psychologist, and anthropologist within a two-year period. To the enchantment of Mississippians, Putnam exposed the Franz Boas conspiracy which, he asserted, had held the scientific world in a climate of terror and fear of persecution for half a century. Mississippians did not read the book (they just sent it to their friends, as instructed by the Citizens Council), else they would have discovered that, even by Putnam's logic, the white race was already doomed inasmuch as more than half the country's Negroes lived in integrated situations. But who would argue with the new messiah? With a flourish of trumpets he was brought to Jackson on October 26, 1961 (proclaimed by the Governor as Race and Reason Day) and feted at a $25-a-plate dinner attended by five hundred patriots.

There was no Dickens to point out that there never had been another such day in Mississippi. It could, Barnett believed, "mark the turning point in the South's struggle to preserve the integrity of the white race." Putnam had indeed provided an Article of Faith that Mississippians could live by. Denouncing the "left-wing pseudo-scientists" for creating the fallacy that "has gained complete possession of the Northern and Western mind," he designated Mississippi as "the heartland of the struggle for racial integrity"

and in his best Bryan manner exclaimed, "You don't crucify the South on a cross of equalitarian propaganda." Calling on the South to produce more Barnetts, Putnam identified equalitarianism with Communism and segregation with Christianity.

In one respect Putnam's racist argument was not anachronistic. At the very time when the Negro was in the lengthy process of becoming a civilized being, he appeared to be and demonstrably *was* a cultural inferior, carefully trained for that status by every controllable factor in his environment. Faulkner has the Mississippian say: "We got to make him a nigger first. He's got to admit he's a nigger." From birth to death the Negro was exposed to an irresistible pressure for deferential behavior, and when he failed to conform he was driven out or even killed. By and large he played the role of Sambo well, giving little indication of any hope or desire to share in the white man's privileges.

One of the privileges he has seldom had in Mississippi is that of voting. In the twentieth century never so much as 10 per cent and normally less than 5 per cent of the Negro voting population has been allowed to register. Governor Barnett has repeatedly asserted that Negroes in Mississippi just don't want to vote, that they could if they so desired. Since 1954, Mississippi law, Barnett to the contrary, has required the voter applicant to read and write *and* interpret any section of the state constitution and (since 1960) to be of good moral character and to have his name and address published in a local newspaper for two weeks. At the moment, a substantial Negro vote would embarrass any white candidate in Mississippi. But the future is also plain. As Senator Bilbo once reminded an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "Son, when you can show me that you can control any sizable number of voters in Mississippi, I'll be the damnedest champion you've ever had."

Gradual improvement of white schools has until very recently been shared by the Negroes only to a remote degree. But, as James K. Vardaman had understood, *any* Negro education spelled the eventual doom of the caste system. There may have been rumblings before, but the summer of 1954 brought a shock from which Mississippi's Old Guard will never recover. Having checked with his retinue of Uncle Toms, Governor Hugh White called in a hundred Negroes to get their anticipated endorsement for "separate but equal" school facilities. But a few young Negro radicals arranged for a caucus the night before the big meeting and after a heated debate carried the timid along with them.

Speaker Walter Sillers opened the momentous conference. Governor White spoke of the amicable race relations of the past. As planned, when the preliminaries were over, Charlie Banks got the floor and argued for the abolition of segregation. Five or six others followed suit. A conservative Negro publisher made a last stand for the old regime but was roundly denounced by a woman delegate as being a classic example of the effects of segregation. In desperation, Sillers called on another known friend of the white man, the Reverend H. H. Humes. As he walked to the front of the room the old minister was the center of all attention. "Gentlemen," he told the Governor and his friends, "you all should not be mad at us. Those were nine *white* men that rendered that decision. Not one colored man had anything to do with it. The real trouble is that you have given us schools too long in which we could study the earth through the floor and the stars through the roof." At this point, Governor White, mumbling that you couldn't trust Negroes any more, called the meeting to an end. It was also the end of an era. "For the first time," one of the delegates later said, "I was really proud to be a Negro in Mississippi."

Yet in the years since 1954 the state's Negroes have made few gains. The Establishment is entrenched so strongly that without the help of external forces (channeled through the federal government) Mississippi Negro leadership is for the short run in a helpless position. For, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the makers of the orthodoxy—the press, the pulpit, the politicians, the philosophers, and the patriots—have since the Brown decision rushed to the successful defense of their way of life.

Moderation is expressed in the daily newspapers of Greenville, Tupelo, and McComb, and in an occasional weekly; nevertheless, the Mississippi press as a whole mounts vigilant guard upon the closed society. Happy with what a news director of a Jackson television station called "their home grown version of news management," the Hederman family newspapers manipulate information with little regard for accuracy or integrity. Negro crime and immorality in the North, Negro complicity in Communism, even Negro support for Barnett are given the headlines day after day. Shotgun blasts fired into a Negro home become a NAACP plot, the assassination of Medgar Evers is turned into a sacrificial offering to rekindle racial unrest, Mississippi is victimized by hate peddlers jealous of the state's economic progress. The Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* makes a revealing historical comparison: "Never was Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor the Mikado, nor even Kaiser Wil-

helm attacked so venomously" as Mississippi—which invariably represents the South, with the South always a solid and unfaltering unit. But this leading state newspaper will find it difficult to approach ever again the imagination of its most famous headline, inspired by the arrest of Byron de la Beckwith, scion of an old Delta family, born on the Pacific coast but who had lived in Mississippi for thirty-eight years: "CALIFORNIAN IS CHARGED WITH MURDER OF MEDGAR EVERS."

To such editors and their heavy-handed associates the Fifth Circuit Court becomes "the nine judicial baboons in New Orleans," President Kennedy "regards himself as a Jesus whose infinite wisdom represents mankind's only real hope of salvation," and Ross Barnett is twisted into a modern combination of David, Horatius, and Leonidas. Tougaloo College, a center of integrationist activity, is rechristened "Cancer College," with a new summer course in "Rapid Hate," and the slanderous *Rebel Underground,* having recommended the execution of the President of the United States, emerges as "an innocuous handbill." By March 1963, the Jackson *Daily News* adds up the "price tag" on the federal invasion of Mississippi as coming to $14 million because of 130 bonus accidental deaths on the state's highways attributed to "a frame of mind, an atmosphere of anger, a period of bayonet-point frustration" which lowered the morale of the highway patrol. For the University faculty members who had the temerity to treat James Meredith as a human being, editor Jimmy Ward predicts crushed spirits, bitterness, even self-imposed tragedy.

In times of trial the Jackson papers lose all semblance of perspective. For example, on the day that Judge Sidney Mize ordered Meredith enrolled in the University, the *Daily News* front page carried these headlines:

ROSS RISKS JAIL TO HALT MIXING

Note Bares Negro Plan to Agitate
Hattiesburg Agitation Order [photostat]
We Support Gov. Barnett [editorial]
Negroes Purchased Shot, Says Mayor
President Deplores Shooting in State
Judge Mize Issues Permanent Injunction [bulletin]
Meredith Effigy Hanged at Oxford
Barnett During and After Broadcast [pictures]
Moses' Automobile [picture]
Editor's Column: All Loyal Mississippians
Support Him [Barnett]

There was still room for a small cartoon about a Mississippi College football game and the index.

The role of the church since 1954 is more difficult to assess than is that of the press. Some churches have taken exceptional action, notably the Mississippi diocese of the Episcopal Church which issued a general call for support of the Supreme Court's decision and eventual integration. And in the past year many preachers and a few ministerial groups have made courageous stands. But the church as a whole has remained loyal to the status quo. Ministers who led the discussion about segregation were for it, prompted no doubt by "an echo from the pew." In annual session, the Mississippi Baptist convention refused to endorse a series of resolutions reaffirming "our intelligent good will toward all men" and calling upon Christians to pray "that we may live consistent with Christian citizenship." A Baptist missionary, second cousin of Governor Barnett, wrote from Nigeria that Mississippians were making her work extremely difficult: "You send us out here to preach that Christ died for all men. Then you make a travesty of our message by refusing to associate with some of them because of the color of their skin. You are supposed to be holding the lifelines for us, and you are twisting them into a noose of racism to strangle our message. Communists do not need to work against the preaching of the Gospel here; you are doing it quite adequately." The missionary's mother expressed regret: "Antonina doesn't understand that Ross has been doing the best he can."

Other groups in Mississippi society, supporters of the orthodoxy, hold a position comparable to their predecessors of the Civil War period. The conservative men of large property holdings considered secession a doubtful though perfectly legal remedy for their troubles; it was a much larger group of active, restless lawyer-politicians, petty planters, and small-town editors, successful enterprisers on the make, who took Mississippi out of the Union in 1861. After World War II another crowd of "new men," bold entrepreneurs enamored as their forefathers had been of the prevailing social order, too busy making money to think deeply about changes bound to accompany progress, pleased with the "right-to-work" principle embedded in the constitution and with a colossal program of state socialism to entice the Yankee carpetbagger industrialist, sat by quietly and acquiesced in the building of the Citizens Council juggernaut.

Constitutional questions, on which so much controversy has centered since 1954, continue to bring a response in keeping with the quality of Mississippi leadership. There seems to be some con-

fusion in the minds of the state's lawyers and jurists as to whether Mississippians must obey the law of the land as interpreted by the federal courts. Dean Robert J. Farley of the Ole Miss law school repeatedly warned in public that lawyers were acting irresponsibly in permitting by their silence the Citizens Council and irreconcilable politicians to interpret the law for them. The chief dereliction, it seems clear, came in *allowing the people of Mississippi to believe that they could get away with an outright defiance of the courts.* "We as Mississippians," declared Justice Brady in 1959, "will not bow down to a court of nine old men whose hearts are as black as their robes." Brady castigated Governor Coleman, who had frowned upon interposition as so much "legal poppycock," as a moderate—"a man who is going to let a little sewage under the door." But the classic statement regarding law and order came in 1963 from the very top of Mount Olympus. Indignant over the "sickening" conduct of Negro parents and ministers in Birmingham in permitting boys and girls to run "afoul" of the law by "using these children for ignoble and loathesome ends and deliberately and contemptuously inciting them to become juvenile delinquents," Governor Barnett declared in a burst of emotion: "What do these degenerates know of freedom? True freedom consists of and is founded upon the observance of law and the power of law to make those who would break the law conform to it. History tells us that freedom can exist only under the protection of constitutional law. These agitators seek to defy constitutional law under the name of freedom." Once again Ross was doing the best he could.

The new legislature convening in January 1962 was met by a request from the Governor to (1) outlaw the Communist party (years before, the FBI had found one Communist in Mississippi), (2) pass "an enforceable sedition act," and (3) compel state employees to take an oath of allegiance to the United States and Mississippi. (Barnett did not explain whether this could be accomplished in a single oath.) In any event, when Mississippi legislators get together their herd instinct drives them to resolving the fate of the world. If they hate Hodding Carter or the President of the United States, or love Elvis Presley, Dizzy Dean, the Mississippi State basketball team, or South Africa, or feel that a former Miss America is an accomplished actress, they are not inhibited from saying so. Senator Hugh Bailey, who had ridden a bull from Canton to Jackson to fulfill a campaign promise, offered a resolution urging the United States to substitute turnip seed for

cash in the foreign aid program. Such action, he asserted, "would relieve pressure in this country's economy and give the world's population necessary vitamins, minerals, and bulk." A mere handful of the seed would feed a hundred people and could be mailed overseas for planting.

Legislators spend much of their time devising legal subterfuges to keep the Negro in his place. When it appeared that the number of "smart alecks" telephoning "white ladies" had reached "epidemic stages," the House voted a $10,000 fine and five years imprisonment for cursing into the telephone. Objection to such stiff punishment brought the assurance that judges would know how to use the law. The House unanimously called for a constitutional amendment barring from voting persons guilty of vagrancy, perjury, and child desertion, and concurred in the addition of adultery, fornication, larceny, gambling, and crimes committed with a deadly weapon. A still further addition of habitual drunkenness was defeated when a member suggested that it "might even get some of us." There was some objection, also, to the inclusion of adultery. Reprisal legislation is common, like that bill which the committee chairman said was "concerned with a woman editor who has been writing things which don't go along with the feelings in the community" or another condemning land belonging to Campbell College after Representative McClellan explained, "Jackson has had a cancer in its midst long enough." The cancer will be removed to Mound Bayou in 1964.

One legislator was sorely impressed with the power of the Citizens Council:

> It's hard for us sometimes to consider a bill on its merits if there is any way Bill Simmons [executive secretary of the Citizens Council] can attach an integration tag. For instance, a resolution was introduced in the House to urge a boycott of Memphis stores because some of them have desegregated. I knew it was ridiculous and would merely amuse North Mississippians who habitually shop in Memphis. The resolution came in the same week that four Negroes were fined in court for boycotting Clarksdale stores. Yet the hot eyes of Bill Simmons were watching. If we had voted against the resolution he would have branded us. So there we were, approving a boycott while a Mississippi court was convicting Negroes for doing what we lawmakers were advocating. It just didn't make sense.

As is characteristic of a closed society, the schools, too, are pressured by organized voices of the orthodoxy: the Citizens Council, the American Legion, and the patriotic ladies' groups. A

case in point was the withdrawal of a film called "The High Wall," donated to the state by the Anti-Defamation League and shown in Mississippi schools for more than six years. The Citizens Council interpreted the film as teaching "children to pity their prejudiced parents who did not enjoy the enriching experience of intermingling with persons of different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds." At the end of the film the Council was saddened to find "Americans and Poles walk arm-in-arm into the setting sun." An "alert state senator" sounded the alarm, a private exhibition was given for Council and Mississippi Sovereignty Commission officials who agreed "The High Wall" was "unfit for showing to Mississippi school children," and the menace was removed.

The state Daughters of the American Revolution have time and again gone directly to the legislature, predictably with the encouragement of the Governor who comes down hard for cleaning up the books "so that children can be truly informed of the southern way of life." The *Daily News* was acutely disturbed by such "oblique propaganda as 'gives evidence that Negro people have done much to develop themselves.'" The DAR is understandably unhappy when first-graders are no longer exposed to "the story of the squirrel storing nuts," since it "helped to make America a great nation populated by men and women steadfast in their ability to put into effect their early training for adult life." All but the headiest fans of Lord Keynes may look upon such a lament with sympathy. But listen to what the Citizens Council officially suggests for the third and fourth grades:

> God wanted the white people to live alone. And He wanted colored people to live alone. The white men built America for you. White men built America so they could make the rules. George Washington was a brave and honest white man. The white men cut away big forests. The white man has always been kind to the Negro. We do not believe that God wants us to live together. Negro people like to live by themselves. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use white people's bathrooms. The Negro has his own part of town to live in. This is called our Southern Way of Life. Do you know that some people want the Negroes to live with white people? These people want us to be unhappy. They say we must go to school together. They say we must swim together and use the bathroom together. God had made us different. And God knows best. Did you know that our country will grow weak if we mix the races? White men worked hard to build our country. We want to keep it strong and free.

And some recommendations for the fifth and sixth grades:

The Southern white man has always helped the Negro whenever he could. Southerners were always their best friends. The South went to war to prevent the races from race-mixing. If God had wanted all men to be one color and to be alike, He would not have made the different races. One of the main lessons in the Old Testament of our Bible is that your race should be kept pure. God made different races and put them in different lands. He was satisfied with pure races so man should keep the races pure and be satisfied. BIRDS DO NOT MIX. CHICKENS DO NOT MIX. A friend had 100 white chickens and 100 reds. All the white chickens got to one side of the house, and all the red chickens got on the other side of the house. You probably feel the same way these chickens did whenever you are with people of a different race. God meant it to be that way.

With the makers of the ideology in control and economic opportunity at a minimum, it is not strange that large numbers of the most ambitious Mississippians, the ablest and the most adaptable to change, have left the state year after year. Such constant attrition of potential leadership (proven by the eminence achieved by Mississippi exiles) must be a major reason for the people's unwillingness to discard their ancient folkways. One cannot help speculating as to what degree Mississippi's story would have been more heartening if a sizable proportion of those thousands of bright, perceptive *natural leaders* among the men and women who have left the state had in some miraculous way found it possible to remain.

Some of those who have left had no choice. They were victims of a state now deservedly famous for its incredible past of police brutality and for the harassment, even to death, of those who defy the code. The state retains a good deal of the frontier recklessness toward human life found by William Howard Russell who noted that casual Mississippi conversations had "a smack of manslaughter about them." In the year after the Brown decision, four Negroes were openly slain, with no conviction for any crime; it would almost seem that when these atrocities had served their purpose, murder as an instrument of policy was then put in cold storage for a time.

On March 31, 1963, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council released a chronological list of sixty-four acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes since January 1961. The thirty-page indictment of man's inhumanity to man, with its accusations of whippings, shootings, murder, and outrageous debase-

ment of the courts, admittedly came from an interested party, but it is characterized by understatement.

Mississippi acts of savagery have often been publicized throughout the world, some beyond their merit. The following examples of harassment by the closed society have been examined with caution and some thoroughness.

For twelve years Eugene Cox and Dr. David Minter, both Southerners, had worked closely together as manager and physician for the white and black families making up the Providence Cooperative, a 2,700-acre farm in Holmes County. On September 27, 1955, at a mass meeting called by leading members of the Citizens Council, Cox and Minter were ordered out of the community, mainly on the basis of evidence recorded in two hours of questioning by Council and county officials of four Negro boys accused of making obscene remarks about a white girl. Allegations of the intermingling of the races at the farm were denied, though it was conceded freely that white and Negro patrons did attend meetings of the credit union together. Threats of violence were made against both men and their families, and, Minter's patients having been intimidated, his medical practice fell off about fifty per cent. An economic boycott was less effective. Professional segregationist Edwin White said, "We just can't afford to have them up there teaching what they are teaching—which will lead to violence unless it is stopped." At the mass assembly Cox admitted his belief that segregation is un-Christian. A planter whose father had been a minister spoke out, "This isn't a Christian meeting." Cox and Minter continued to deny all accusations and offered to make their records available for investigation. White commented, "I do not say these men are Communists, but I do say they are following the Communist line." With threats of arson increasing, and a roadblock arranged by the sheriff, Cox sat up, a rifle across his knees, from midnight to dawn for ten straight nights. Minter stuck it out until July 1956. Cox left for Memphis a month later. In their joint Christmas greeting that year, they recalled: "Only two members of our church wrote to us. A few others have voiced their faith in us, but above these small voices is the frightening SILENCE. It is frightening—not only for us, but for any Christian and American who may wake up some morning to find himself persecuted because of his beliefs, or for unfounded rumors and 'guilt by association.'"

When James Meredith made his painful entry into Ole Miss,

the "forgotten man" who had tried to break down the Mississippi education racial barrier without federal aid was languishing in the state penitentiary at Parchman, having been sentenced to a seven-year term for stealing by proxy $25 worth of chicken feed. Much of the evidence points to the conclusion that Clyde Kennard was "framed," though no one seems to know who did it. Born in Hattiesburg, moved to Chicago at twelve, discharged from paratroop service in Korea and Germany in 1952, Kennard meritoriously attended the University of Chicago for three years. Upon the death of his stepfather, he returned to Mississippi to help his mother run a chicken farm in Forrest County. For years he discussed with the president of Mississippi Southern University his possible admission on a voluntary basis. In 1958 he turned down Governor Coleman's offer of education outside the state but obligingly agreed to delay his formal application until after the 1959 Democratic primary. On September 15 he was officially refused admission in a fifteen-minute interview witnessed by the chief investigator for the Sovereignty Commission. Within minutes Kennard was arrested for speeding, then fined for possession of liquor (probably planted) in his car. By 1961 when the Mississippi Supreme Court disposed of this summary justice, Kennard had been convicted as an accessory in the theft of three bags of chicken feed and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for each $3.57 worth of feed allegedly stolen. At most the penalty, assuming guilt, would normally have been ninety days. The illiterate boy who made the theft, if there was one, continued in his job with the feed co-operative.

Though President William D. McCain refused Kennard's application on specious claims of "irregularities" and "questionable" moral character, and is alleged to have said that he could do more to "develop honesty, culture, and individual integrity as president of Mississippi Southern than he can in a silly martyrdom for one Negro," Kennard himself refused to believe that McCain "had anything to do with what happened to me." The subsequent career of Clyde Kennard is a sad one. It includes surgery for cancer at the University Hospital in Jackson in June 1962, unconscionable treatment at Parchman in the months following his operation when he was refused periodic checkups recommended by University doctors, the rapid development of his malignancy, an eight-hour operation in the Billings Hospital at the University of Chicago, and his death in the early summer of 1963. Not long before he died, Kennard was planning to return to his chicken farm and,

as he saw it, to help Mississippi "co-ordinate" her race relations. One of his last statements was, "I still think there are a few white people of good will in the state and we have to do something to bring this out."

The most likely candidate in Mississippi for the next Medgar Evers treatment is the president of the state NAACP, Aaron Henry, onetime porter and shoeshine boy in the Old Cotton Bowl Court Hotel in Clarksdale and now owner of a drugstore on Fourth Street. He walks the earth with the sure step and upright carriage of a younger version of another Mississippian, Archie Moore, and he is not likely to be run out of Coahoma County. He does not know how many times the windows in his place of business have been smashed, but the last time, in March 1963, he left for all to see the bricks, the broken glass, and the displays—one of the Declaration of Independence and the other of the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1962 he was convicted of leading a boycott of Clarksdale stores after it had been determined there would be no Negro float in the Christmas parade.

In March, Henry was fined $500 and sentenced to six months in jail by an eighty-year-old justice of the peace for allegedly molesting a white hitchhiker. According to the *Daily News* reporter, the Bolivar County attorney "during the final arguments, took the Mississippi statute and read to Judge Rowe the disturbing the peace law, explained it to him and told him the maximum sentence and fine." Before defining the sentence, the judge said, "The evidence shows this young man could not have described the interior of the defendant's car unless he was in it." There was no other witness.

When Henry accused the county attorney and police chief of plotting the charge against him, they countered with a libel suit in the Coahoma Circuit Court where the jury awarded them damages of $40,000. All these cases are still in the higher courts. On March 13, 1963, Henry's living room picture window was demolished and his home set afire at two in the morning by gasoline bombs thrown by two young thugs who said they were "just having fun" and were not aware of being in the Negro section of town. Not only did they admit the bombing, but a filling station attendant heard them planning the attack and commenting afterwards that Henry "was lucky to be alive." The first man tried was acquitted of arson by an all-white jury which deliberated for fifteen minutes, and an identical charge against the other was

dropped. One of those involved later asked Henry's forgiveness, saying he had been tricked into the nasty business.

In May 1963 the Henry drugstore was rocked by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof. Sheriff Ross and Deputy State Fire Marshal Hopkins investigated and found that the blast "was caused by a bolt of lightning." Henry wrote: "I am not really sure as to the cause. The hole on top of the roof is much smaller than the rupture in the ceiling. The experts I have talked with contend that lightning does not act that way." It would appear that Henry is not only courageous but more literate than his opposition.

Harassment by the closed society can be savage even when it is not violent. Twenty-eight young Methodist ministers, feeling that they had "a particular obligation to speak," issued by way of the *Mississippi Methodist Advocate* of January 1963 a "Born of Conviction" statement that still has the state and church in an uproar. They affirmed their belief in the freedom of the pulpit, the brotherhood of man, an unalterable opposition to the closing of the public schools, and an unflinching antagonism toward Communism. Within two weeks the Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen, displaying more churchmanship than religion, had repudiated the "Born of Conviction" pastors, submitted their own "declaration of conscience on racial matters" (drawn up by Medford Evans, Citizens Council consultant, and published in the January issue of the *Citizen*), and called for a secret referendum on whether or not Methodists wanted their church integrated. Later these conservatives declared integration a "crime against God." The lament of one of the young ministers, that "The power clique which dominates the conference has aligned itself with the Methodist Ministers and Laymen and with the Citizens Council," was corroborated by subsequent events.

The closed society battered the outspoken young preachers upon the anvil of public opinion. By summer ten had left the state, and at least half a dozen more were shifted to urban pulpits. At least half volunteered the feeling that they had not been sufficiently supported by their superintendents and their bishop. Methodists in general, with professional assistance, were reflecting an opinion that had driven from Mississippi sixty-eight of their seminary-trained men since 1954. Dr. W. B. Selah, for eighteen years pastor of the largest Methodist congregation in the state, who had supported the "Born of Conviction" statement and had declared

"there can be no color bar in a Christian church," resigned in protest when five Negroes were refused admission to his church.

The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights made, in January 1963, a report on the administration of justice within the state. In a period of fourteen months it had held six open meetings in which a hundred or so Mississippians had testified, though "actively opposed by agents and instrumentalities of the State Government." The legislature in 1960 "passed an act," the committee stated, "to intimidate persons who might wish to assert their rights as citizens by altering the requirement of proof for prosecution of perjury solely in cases where the defendant has testified before this Committee."

In its published findings, the committee declared that "in all important areas of citizenship, a Negro in Mississippi receives substantially less than his due consideration as an American and as a Mississippian." They found that "a pattern exists in our State that leads to the denial of Constitutional rights and, in some instances, to brutality and terror. From the moment a Negro adult is hailed as 'boy' or 'girl' by a police officer, through his arrest, detention, trial—during which his Negro lawyer is treated with contemptuous familiarity by the judge and other officers of the court—and eventual imprisonment, he is treated with a pernicious difference. This difference is incompatible with Christian ideals about the dignity of man and with principles of Anglo-Saxon criminal law." Declaring that "justice under law is not guaranteed for the Negro in Mississippi in the way that it is for the white man," the committee reported that "42.3% of the citizens of this State must either accept an inferior station in life and an attitude of servility or endanger themselves and their families by protesting. We find that terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority; and terrorism has no proper place in the American form of government." The committee found that "in general the press is failing to meet its obligation to our society. The people of Mississippi are largely unaware of the extent of illegal official violence and the press is partly to blame . . . . When a State disregards a large segment of its population, the Federal Government is compelled to intervene in behalf of the victims."

And the federal government *has* intervened at the state's best known institution of higher learning, the University of Mississippi. The University has had its moments of greatness, its faculty and

administrators of integrity and virtue, and a long history of genteel poverty. In the presidency of Alfred B. Butts (1935-1946) Ole Miss began a precarious climb from the depths of depression despair and the shame of the Bilbo spoliation. For at least a decade after World War II, under the leadership of Chancellor John D. Williams, the University seemed on the verge of living up to the dreams and hopes of its founders and directors of exactly a century before. A tremendous building program on the already beautiful, wooded campus, an expansion of libraries and laboratories, the addition of new departments, and, most exciting of all, the gathering together of an excellent faculty dedicated to good teaching and fruitful research, all of these developments and more were taking place. The new chancellor was adept not only at selling the University to the people but in making it an integral part of many schemes designed to raise the horizons of a long submerged society.

It was increasingly evident in the middle fifties, however, that changes were taking place in the state that would adversely affect the University. In a series of crises from Kershaw (1955) to Kerciu (1963), the administration became more and more appeasement-minded, more and more involved (like a woman constantly professing her virtue) in presenting the Ole Miss story to the state as if it were a bar of soap.

More serious was a 1955 edict of the Board of Trustees requiring the screening of all speakers brought to the campus, a ruling steadfastly opposed by the chancellor at its inception but stoutly defended some years later when he refused even to pass along to the Board a petition of the AAUP calling for an end to the screening. A clergyman was turned away from Religious Emphasis Week when it became known that he had contributed to the NAACP, and the incoming president of the Southern Historical Association was paid his full fee for not delivering a history lecture after the shocking disclosure that his wife had written in the *Saturday Evening Post* of her teaching experiences with Negro students in Atlanta.

The handling of absurd charges of apostasy and subversion against fourteen members of the University community in 1958 was brought off expeditiously and with a flair for public relations. Faculty members involved in this tempest, which was kept going in the press for almost a year, were asked to remain silent (which most of them did) while the chancellor affirmed his belief in the Bible, an omnipotent God, immortality of the soul, state sover-

eignty, segregation, and the right of private property. In August 1959 the Board dismissed the allegations against the chancellor and the faculty and stated its policy that "there should prevail at our universities and colleges an atmosphere of freedom in their research, teaching programs and services and that there should be no political or subversive propagandizing in the academic program."

In the past year or so the University of Mississippi has desperately needed the help of all those concerned with its welfare, but, far from being consulted, these friends have been told that things were under control, the situation was returning to normal, enrollment was holding up in great style, just a few professors were leaving. On the anniversary of the insurrection, the director of the University News Service insulted "some few professors" by accusing them of having leveled "bitter attacks" against it to "make national headlines" for the purpose of securing better positions, and it belittled the intelligence of those who remained by stating that "the vast majority" of these had refused more lucrative job offers elsewhere. In a state where higher education is expendable, this bowing before and in fact anticipating every wind may have had a soothing effect on the legislature, but it also indicated a chronic inability to face reality. After all, General Ulysses S. Grant has been the only man in history to make a positive decision *not* to destroy the University.

Until 1962 the University successfully avoided integration. In that year, on June 26, almost exactly eighteen months after he had first written to the registrar, James Howard Meredith, the "man with a mission and with a nervous stomach," was ordered admitted to the University of Mississippi. Speaking for the Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans Judge John Minor Wisdom later said that "A full review of the record leads the Court inescapably to the conclusion that from the moment the defendants discovered Meredith was a Negro they engaged in a carefully calculated campaign of delay, harassment, and masterly inactivity. It was a defense designed to discourage and defeat by evasion tactics which would have been a credit to Quintus Fabius Maximus." Tartly reprimanding Judge Sidney Mize of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi for "continuances of doubtful propriety and unreasonably long delays," Judge Wisdom viewed the case as one "tried below and argued here in the eerie atmosphere of never-never land." He might have added, "of the closed society." The contention of the Board of Trustees

and of University officials, accepted as fact by Judge Mize, "that the University is not a racially segregated institution" and that "the state has no policy of segregation . . . defies history and common knowledge." There was nothing in the case "reaching the dignity of proof" to make the court think otherwise. "We find that James Meredith's application for transfer to the University of Mississippi was turned down solely because he was a Negro."

Many members of the faculty expressed dismay when Ole Miss officials made uncalled-for affirmations which the court deemed frivolous and when they followed "a determined policy of discrimination by harassment" and assigned as a reason for rejecting Meredith "a trumped-up excuse without any basis except to discriminate." It was hard, too, to comprehend why an administrator would deny that "he understands and interprets the policy of the State of Mississippi as being that negroes and whites are educated in separate institutions of higher learning." More than a hundred years ago Chancellor F. A. P. Barnard had declared that the University's destiny was "to stamp upon the intellectual character of Mississippi the impress it is to wear . . . ."

From September 13, 1962, when Mississippi's long court battle against Meredith reached "the end of the road" in Judge Mize's sweeping injunction and Governor Barnett read his antiquarian interposition proclamation, it was evident to all that the showdown was imminent. In those last hectic days the "power structure" of the state made a rather impressive attempt to control the Barnett juggernaut, but it was too late, and the people were largely unaware of the effort. Moderate statements by Oxford ministers appeared in the Memphis but not the Jackson papers which thundered about taking note "of those who stand with courage in an hour of crisis." The closed society was operating efficiently and almost automatically, as it does in times of great stress, as if it were some malicious Frankenstein monster.

On the Ole Miss campus was circulated a broadside, *The Liberty Bulletin,* urging students to "Place yourself under the direction of Gov. Barnett. Do not engage yourself in force or violence unless he calls for it." *Clarion-Ledger* columnist Hills reported that "the governor will watch with a jaundiced eye any attempt to apply punitive action against Mississippi's patriots. College presidents are standing ready to fight alongside the governor, or else."

In the upper house of the legislature on September 25, Senator E. K. Collins arose to remark, "We must win this fight regardless of the cost in time, effort, money and in human lives." Senator

Hayden Campbell thought "they would have to open the doors to murder and rape." Senator Hilbun barked that "these are the same people who won't let our children pray in school." In Washington, Senator Eastland was sure that the next few days would "determine whether a judicial tyranny as black and hideous as any in history exists in the United States."

On Thursday, September 27, the *Clarion-Ledger* carried a sensational headline to the effect that a "gunbattle" was possible at the University. Representative Walter Hester told the UPI it was "likely" that state officials would attempt to fight off the marshals if they tried to enroll Meredith, but he did not prophesy an all-out insurrection. The situation was "extremely tense and there are some people who don't mind dying for an honorable cause." Either Senator McLaurin or Senator Yarbrough told Senator Lambert that "they were going to provoke the Kennedys into sending troops into Mississippi." Months later, Attorney General Patterson called McLaurin and the "CC & Co." a "little band of would-be ruthless dictators seeking to promote all-out riot and bloodshed on the campus by encouraging the people of Mississippi to pick up their rifles, shotguns and slingshots and go to fight it out with the armed forces of the United States." This could result only in "bloodshed, death, destruction and heartaches."

Barnett talked about jailing any federal officer attempting to arrest a state official. The *Daily News* was accused by the campus paper, the *Mississippian,* of distortion, fabrication, "screaming and sensational stories." On the day of the Ole Miss-Vanderbilt football game the hysteria whipped up in Jackson was unbelievable. The press and radio added their bluster to the normal uproar of a conference game. At the half-time ceremonies that night when he still might have turned the populace aside from its madness, the Governor achieved his greatest triumph of oratorical lunacy: "I love Mississippi—I love her people—I love her customs!" Understandably, the man was overcome by his own hoarse eloquence and the reasonless, incoherent, delirious response. He could not go on. The people were bewildered. Television carried the infection statewide, and former Major General Edwin Walker was on his way to Oxford.

The propaganda machine never faltered. The next day, the Sunday that began so peacefully, a joint legislative committee pronounced nine frivolous reasons for denying Meredith admission and cunningly announced that his registration would jeopardize the accreditation of the University to the point of expulsion

from the Southern Association of Colleges. In the afternoon and early evening, fatigued students were driving back to the campus, listening to their blaring radios tuned to the appeals of the Citizens Council to "form a human wall around the mansion" to protect the Governor from arrest by federal marshals. Thousands of citizens swarmed the streets of Jackson. Few knew that the Governor, called by an Episcopal priest the "living symbol of lawlessness," had already sold out his closest advisers. Word came that planeloads of marshals had flown out of Memphis. For some time their destination was in doubt. Unknown to most Mississippians, Meredith was, before supper, unpacking his bag in his room in Baxter Hall on the Ole Miss campus.

It was impossible that he could stay without help from the federal government. When Mississippi officials blocked by physical might on four separate occasions Meredith's court-ordered enrollment, and the Fifth Circuit Court wearily acknowledged that it had come to the end of its resources, the President was faced with the alternative of acceptance of the breakdown of law or the employment of force. The admission of Meredith was not negotiable. Kennedy performed his constitutional obligation in the same spirit George Washington had exhibited in the Whisky Rebellion. Having apparently learned the lesson of Little Rock, he insisted upon the use of civilian federal marshals rather than paratroopers. Certainly there had been no stated objection to marshals accompanying Meredith on those expeditions when they had been overcome by superior state power. Whatever "deals" he may have made with the Governor behind the scenes, the President gently and eloquently appealed to the patriotism and sense of sportsmanship of Mississippi citizens in asking them to obey unpopular court decrees. But former Major General Walker having called for 10,000 volunteers to go to the aid of Barnett, and it being general knowledge that hundreds and perhaps thousands were converging on Oxford, there would have been a serious evasion of responsibility had the Army high command not prepared for the emergency. Troops were moved to Memphis. The President earnestly hoped that the job could be done by civilians, and the United States Army was not ordered to the University of Mississippi until it became evident that the marshals were fighting for their lives, and the Army's first contingent arrived just in time to prevent a disaster.

From the arrival of the marshals at the Lyceum Building shortly before five o'clock until the firing of the tear gas at eight, it be-

came increasingly apparent that there was a serious lack of liaison between federal and state officials on the scene. At six the chancellor (at this time not much more than a spectator himself) believed the deal had been made and the game would have to be played out, and the gathering students and faculty were so informed. By seven all observers knew that for whatever reason, the Mississippi Highway Patrol had abandoned its enforcement of law and order and was in fact in some cases encouraging the restless crowd to demonstrate against the marshals. Twice these agents of the federal government donned their masks as the crowd closed in. The campus chief of police and four highway patrolmen had moved back part of the surly crowd (which promptly surged forward again when the officers left that part of the scene) and were achieving some little success in front of the Lyceum Building when the marshals opened fire with gas and drove what almost instantly became a howling mob back to the Confederate monument. Whether Chief Marshal McShane was justified in giving the order to fire at precisely the moment he did is a question for the professionals to answer. It is relevant, however, that two score of faculty members and their wives later testified that the marshals had undergone for at least an hour a constant harassment of obscene language and an increasingly heavy barrage of lighted cigarette butts, stones, bottles, pieces of pipe, and even acid. It is a small matter whether the gas should have come fifteen minutes earlier or later, but rather ironic that a full-scale insurrection should get underway at the exact moment that the President was appealing to Mississippians for fair play in the name of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar.

Before the work was done that night the Army brought more troops to Mississippi than General Sherman had had in the environs of Oxford exactly a hundred years before. Several hundred reporters soon concentrated on the Mississippi campus to ferret out the facts about what actually had taken place and to inquire into the background for the state's turmoil. By and large the reportage was accurate and the interpretation sound and temperate. Those who have wished to know have had spread before them a reasonably trustworthy record of events.

This is true for all the world except Mississippi. With its long history of being on the defensive against outside criticism and a predisposition to believe their own leaders can do no wrong, the people have been almost completely sold on a palpable and cynical hoax. The closed society immediately projected (in fact, it had

foreshadowed) the orthodox version that the insurrection resulted from federal encroachment, deliberately planned by the Kennedys and callously incited by McShane when he called for tear gas. What did happen in front of the Lyceum Building in that crucial hour before eight o'clock on the night of September 30? Truth cries out that the orthodox Mississippi view is false, that cleverness in shifting the culpability for defiance of law from those creating the violence to those enforcing the law could succeed only among a people suffering from a touch of paranoia.

The genesis of the deception which shifted the blame for the insurrection from Mississippians to federal officials came from the University administration. A singularly inaccurate story blaming the "trigger-happy, amateurish, incompetent" marshals and suggesting examples of diabolical brutality toward male and female students was in the hands of Barnett and Eastland within an hour or so of the firing of the gas. These opportunists took up and grossly exaggerated the cry and called for state and federal investigations. By October 2, David Lawrence was to devote his syndicated column to the "official" view of the University. Long after it was made abundantly clear that many faculty members had witnessed the inception of the riot and knew for a certainty about the fraud against the federal government, the administration did not deviate from its original position but, on the contrary, continued to search for evidence condemning the marshals.

On the morning of October 1, Governor Barnett ordered the Mississippi flag at half-mast because "there had been an invasion of our state resulting in blood." The riot, he said, had been touched off by those "inexperienced, nervous and trigger-happy" marshals who had "deliberately inflamed" the people "in order that the resulting resistance can be cited as justification for military force against a sovereign state." Next day the *Clarion-Ledger* headline, "Eastland, Others Charge [⅜ in.]/Marshals Set Off Ole Miss Rioting[⅞ in.]" was serenity itself compared to a featured column which elaborated the official view: "Our state is labeled insurrectionist because it does not care to be negroid in totality." The columnist did admit a temporary defeat: "So watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brother love."

The Mississippi Junior Chamber of Commerce distributed almost a half million copies of a 24-page pamphlet entitled *Oxford: A Warning for Americans,* which put the blame for the insurrection squarely on the shoulders of John and Robert Kennedy. The most specious implication of the pamphlet was that Meredith

would have been allowed to enroll peacefully if only the Attorney General had awaited "the completion of the judicial processes," a most unlikely result in a state which had already indulged in so much legal quackery and whose Governor had made it so evident that he would never accept the desegregation of the University. John Satterfield, probable author of the pamphlet and certainly an intimate counselor of Barnett, was now apparently defending his own bad advice which in part came straight from John C. Calhoun. Satterfield has tried to place the mantle of respectability on Barnett's unlawful conduct and to cast doubt on the legality and propriety of the United States government's actions. He threw his weight as past president of the American Bar Association and a prime mover in the Citizens Council into the intellectual propaganda barrage directed at Mississippians, who were unlikely anyhow to pay attention to the statement made on October 2 by the incumbent president of the ABA: "The paramount issue was whether or not the judgment of the court was to be upheld. The executive branch had a clear duty to see that the courts were sustained."

Mr. Satterfield maintained an Olympian objectivity compared to Judge W. M. O'Barr, who in his charge to the LaFayette County grand jury investigating the death of two persons on the night of the insurrection, spoke of the United States Attorney General as "stupid little brother" and described the Supreme Court as made up of "political greedy old men" who "together with the hungry, mad, ruthless, ungodly, power-mad men [in Washington] would change this government from a democracy to a totalitarian dictatorship." The grand jury responded appropriately with an indictment of McShane for precipitating the riot, and for good measure taunted University professors (who had previously defended the marshals) for talking too much.

Support for the state administration came, too, just one month after the insurrection, from Mississippi's Women for Constitutional Government. One of the state's more active groups, they were assembled in Jackson by the sister of the speaker of the House of Representatives to adopt a "bill of grievances" against the "unwarranted and unlawful use of military force" and the alleged violation of Mississippians' civil rights resulting from "the collusion of the President of the United States, the Justice Department, and the Federal courts." The high-flown language of "the thousand angry women" obscured, for Mississippians at least, their

exquisitely imaginative account of what had taken place at the University.

In the months after the insurrection, many engaged in the pleasant pastime of guessing whether the Governor was at the moment taking instructions from the "resistance to the death" counselors (the White Muslim clique in the Citizens Council) or from the more cautious who, as one observer put it, had planned only a little riot, who didn't really want to see anybody killed. The Council sent up trial balloons suggesting the closing of the University, called upon faculty moderates (to Simmons, "gutless liberals") to accept segregation or resign, and conducted a postcard campaign directing the Board to fire "quislings and scalawags [who] betray our state and our people in the time of crisis." The extent of the Council's responsibility for open defiance of University authorities by extremist students who returned from weekends at home with suitcases filled with cherry bombs and minds filled with rebellion is still an open question. The Oxford council, whose leaders were dedicated if not brilliant, distributed a mimeographed list of faculty members who were to be harassed with anonymous telephone calls—which did cause some inconvenience because the sleeping habits of the daring dialers did not mesh with those of their victims.

The Mississippi Municipal Association prepared a model speech to be used in winning friends and thwarting enemies. After touching lightly on the notion that court decisions, after all, are not the law of the land and warning of the danger of centralization, the orator was then to rise eloquently to the defense of Mississippi's official conduct: "This action is not a defiance of the law or the courts. Such action is an exercise of the heritage of freedom and liberty under the law preserved for us by our fathers." Although it was not suggested, the more gifted ambassadors could also have sung some lines from the "Ballad of the Ole Miss Invasion":

> They came rolling down from Memphis and dropping
> from the skies
> With bayonets for our bellies and tear gas for our eyes
> Some resisted them with brickbats, while others ran and hid,
> Some tangled with the marshals—who can blame them if
> they did?

For months it was believed that the General Legislative Investigating Committee would quietly abandon its inquiry into the insurrection as it ran into more and more unpalatable material. Hav-

ing sent investigators from Washington, Senator Stennis made no report and Senator Eastland shifted his effort to the collection of tall tales by disgruntled students against their instructors. The Mississippi Senate of course did not need facts to plead with the country to "join our State in defiance of all who would destroy our freedoms, heritage and constitutional rights." Only one senator called for secession, a few more demanded Kennedy's impeachment, while others galloped up and down the land to warn their countrymen of the coming of the orange-jackets, those federal fiends whose savage brutalities at Oxford had "stopped short of Nazi atrocities only in that there were no deaths."

The legislative committee took six months to put together from the sworn statements of more than ninety witnesses its masterpiece of sententious fiction. For reasons never explained, faculty witnesses and even legislators who had been at Ole Miss with the federalized national guard had not been called upon to testify. There was no minority report. How scores of the world's crack reporters had been kept from seeing the blundering and the repeated brutalities and "planned physical torture" of the marshals, the women students hit by projectiles fired at point-blank range, the deliberate gassing of seven dormitories, the "torture slab," the army truck set on fire by "a folded paper airplane," and dozens of other Alice-in-Wonderland concoctions will remain one of the mysteries of twentieth-century journalism. It was the sad commentary of an eyewitness that the "young gentlemen of the New Confederacy," who were able to glorify insurrectionist conduct as "freedom fighters" in the "Brick and Bottle Brigade"—attacking the armed forces of their own country—would have small compunction about lying to a legislative investigating committee, especially one that made perfectly clear what it wanted to hear.

The legislative report was "verified" in advance by a documentary film, "Oxford, U. S. A.," depicting "how the federal government violated the constitution in the invasion of Mississippi last fall." Just before he sold three copies to the Sovereignty Commission for almost $7,000, the producer asserted the picture was "based strictly on the Constitution" and had been endorsed by Governors Barnett and Wallace. According to billboard advertising, it "EXPOSES FEDERAL ATROCITIES." Actually, about half of the fifty-minute extravaganza is taken up with poorly filmed statements from Barnett, Johnson, Attorney General Patterson, Chief of the Highway Patrol Birdsong, and a legislator who makes some disparaging and untrue remarks about the University

and Meredith. The opening action shot shows motorized troops moving into Oxford, which they did—about eight hours after the beginning of the insurrection. By implication the viewer gets the impression that marshals had fired shotguns (which they did not have) at innocent students and even that they had killed the French reporter. Altogether the film is a shabby conglomeration of falsehood, distortion, and political dissemblance unlikely to convince the fair-minded who may be left in the membership of the Citizens Council.

The people of Mississippi have thus once again been victimized, this time by a gigantic hoax perpetrated on them by their own timeserving leaders whose sense of loyalty is only to the false orthodoxy of the closed society.

The closed society is never the absolute society. There always have been and there always will be the dissenters, the doubters who point to the road not taken. In the past year more than fifty professors have departed from the University of Mississippi, many of them literally driven from the state. The best of them, particularly the native Mississippians, would have remained if there had been any prospect of an atmosphere of freedom or a decent chance to fight for one.

No, the closed society is not absolute. In Mississippi there are legislators, editors, lawyers, labor leaders, educators, and ordinary citizens who sometimes protest against the prevailing orthodoxy. The day that Barnett let loose his interposition blast, Ira Harkey pointed out in the Pascagoula *Chronicle* that it was not the Kennedys but "the United States of America, democracy itself, the whole of humanity" that was making demands upon Mississippi. In a series of five short, logical articles, Representative Karl Wiesenburg demonstrated conclusively that Barnett's course was "the road to riot," that the Governor had violated his oath of office, that the bloodshed on September 30 was the "price of defiance," and that states have responsibilities as well as rights. The *Mississippi Methodist Advocate* accepted for the church part of the guilt for the riot.

Three days after the insurrection, the Ole Miss chapter of the American Association of University Professors adopted a ringing statement protesting the fraud against the marshals. Without a campaign in its favor more than seventy faculty members signed the document as their way of "standing up to be counted." A professor of anthropology made his protest by putting into writing

the conclusions of those in his profession concerning the validity of Putnam's *Race and Reason,* and this was serialized in the Pascagoula *Chronicle.* The exemplary conduct of more than 3,000 federalized Mississippi national guardsmen is worth the scrutiny and praise of all Americans. General W. P. Wilson said, "There were absolutely no incidents of any individual wilfully refusing to report for mobilization." George Fielding Eliot paid high tribute to the state guard: "In its ranks are men who, as citizens, share some of the views and even the prejudices of their fellow Mississippians. But when the call to duty came, they laid all else aside. After that they were soldiers of the United States, summoned by the President to aid in enforcing the laws of the Union, as the Constitution provides." One guardsman who had suffered rough treatment at the hands of the hoodlums, went right to the heart of the matter: "It was just the matter of an oath I took."

There are many thousands of "men of good will" in Mississippi, mild-mannered people for the most part, who in their day-to-day affairs do what they can to ameliorate the difficult conditions imposed upon their fellowmen by the closed society. But because of a strong desire to live in peace or because of one kind or another of fear, these men will not openly protest what they know in their hearts are gross evils all about them. These are the individuals who, when one of their own number speaks out or in some little way defies the orthodoxy and is pilloried as a result, shrug their shoulders and say, "Well, he asked for it."

Men of good will are not enough. In his article in the *Saturday Evening Post* after the riot, John Faulkner professed surprise at a plea to return to law and order: "this to us, the responsible people of Oxford, who raised no finger against any man." In high indignation he refused to see the need for penitence: "If all the sin I have to answer for is my part in bringing on what happened here Sunday and Monday, then I relinquish my place to someone more needful of forgiveness than I." Perhaps Mr. Faulkner said more than he intended, perhaps he was speaking for all the good men who to whatever degree had abandoned the feeling of accountability for conditions in Mississippi. These same men were shocked to learn, probably at Leslie's drugstore, the price of defiance as well as the fact that some of their neighbors were throwing rocks at other neighbors in the uniform of the United States government. But they were not moved by the riot—they were solidified. They had forgotten, if they had ever known, that it was not Gavin

Stevens who had prevented the lynching of Lucas Beauchamp, but Miss Habersham, Chick Mallison, and Aleck Sander.

The more embattled the closed society becomes, the more monolithic, the more corrupt, and the more willing to engage in double-think and double-talk. There is Mississippi's institutionalized hypocrisy that the Negro can freely vote and freely attend the university of his choice. There is the casuistry of Governor Barnett that he is preserving law and order and upholding the Constitution by physically obstructing the execution of an explicit directive of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States. There is the legislature shamefully passing laws which the judges "will know how to handle" or for the purpose of "getting" certain individuals. The idea that this is a nation of laws and not of men, constantly reiterated within the state, has a hollow ring in Mississippi. How few of its leaders can come into court with clean hands!

Hostility to authority and disrespect for law are commonplace in Mississippi. How could it be otherwise in a state which tolerates the cynical disregard of prohibition and collects the black-market tax? How can anything else be expected when the state itself brazenly tells the world it has achieved "separate but equal" school facilities, when in 1959-1960 local school expenditures were $81.86 for the white child as against $21.77 for the colored? Or when, as in 1951, the county superintendents of education, looking greedily toward the allocation of equalization funds, reported 895,779 children of educable age (6-20) while the United States census of 1950 listed the number of children from 5 to 19 as only 651,600? What respect can there be for the legal process when one standard of justice prevails when a Negro commits a crime against a Negro, another when a Negro commits a crime against a white, still another when a white commits a crime against a white, and a fourth when a white commits a crime against a Negro?

What can be said about the morality of a social order that sends a teen-age colored girl to a long term in an institution for delinquents because, by walking from school to the courthouse, she is held to have violated an injunction against demonstrations? And, when questioned, justifies the exorbitant penalty on the basis of previous abortions—which up to the time of her sentence the society had ignored? Which is immoral, the girl or the society?

In spite of the closed society the Negro has made *some* gains

since his emancipation a century ago. In the same period, the white man, determined to defend his way of life at all costs, has compromised his old virtues, his integrity, his once unassailable character. He has so corrupted the language itself that he says one thing while meaning another. He no longer has freedom of choice in the realm of ideas because they must first be harmonized with the orthodoxy. New currents of thought he automatically distrusts, and if they clash with the prevailing wisdom he ruthlessly rules them out. He cannot allow himself the luxury of thinking about a problem on its merits. In spite of what he claims, the white Mississippian is not even conservative—he is merely negative. He grows up being against most things other men at least have the pleasure of arguing about. All his life he spends on the defensive. The most he can hope for is to put up a good fight before losing. This is the Mississippi way, this is the Mississippi heritage. It will ever be thus as long as the closed society endures.

Although there have been moments of enlightenment, the spiritual secession of Mississippi from history has never ended. For more than a century Mississippians have refused to be bound by the national will. Perhaps this recalcitrance could be borne with in the past, as have been many other excesses of democracy. But with the sanctuary provided by the oceans gone, the national interest, the instinct for survival, demand discipline. They demand also that attitudes or "principles" growing out of racial situations not be allowed to intrude themselves into the country's policy making decisions. Since Reconstruction Mississippians have had no real reason to believe that they were not free to handle the race question as they wished, without meaningful interference from the federal government; and, when they now discover that all their bluster and subterfuge and intransigence will avail them nothing, they have little to fall back on except blind rage and fierce hatred.

In committing itself to the defense of the biracial system, Mississippi has erected a totalitarian society which to the present moment has eliminated the ordinary processes by which change may be channeled. Through its police power, coercion and force prevail, instead of accommodation, and the result is social paralysis. Thus, the Mississippian who prides himself on his individuality in reality lives in a climate where nonconformity is forbidden, where the white man is not free, where he does not dare to express a deviating opinion without looking over his shoulder. Not only is the black man not allowed to forget that he is a nigger, but

the white moderate must distinctly understand that he is a "nigger-lover."

Mississippi has long been a hyperorthodox social order in which the individual has no option except to be loyal to the will of the white majority. And the white majority has subscribed to an inflexible philosophy which is not based on fact, logic, or reason. Nonwhite Mississippians and all others are outlanders. Close contiguity with a large repressed population and fear of what these "inferior" people might do have held the society near the point of unanimity. Especially in times of stress the orthodoxy becomes more rigid, more removed from reality, and the conformity demanded to it more extreme. Today the advocacy or even the recognition of the inevitability of change becomes a social felony, or worse. Mississippi is the way it is not because of its views on the Negro—here it is simply "the South exaggerated" —but because of its closed society, its refusal to allow freedom of inquiry or to tolerate "error of opinion." The social order that refuses to conform to national standards insists upon strict conformity at home. While complaining of its own persecuted minority station in the United States, it rarely considers the Negro minority as having rights in Mississippi.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the closed society is the refusal of its citizens to believe that there is any view other than the orthodox. In recent years there has been a hardening attitude among college students who do not want to hear the other side. In such a twilight of nondiscussion, minds not only do not grow tough, they do not grow at all. Intelligent men with ideas are isolated from the rest of the community, and what little interracial communication existed in the past is now destroyed. One reason the Ole Miss faculty failed to protest an ugly situation before the insurrection was that through one means or another freedom of speech had long since been curtailed. This was at least a partial cause for from eight to ten members of the history department leaving in the two years *before* the troubles of last year. The jolt of the violence on the campus and the obvious fraud against the federal government initiated a spurt of resistance to ignorance, stupidity, and conformity. For the moment many of the faculty developed a healthy scorn for expediency and security. In the light of Mississippi's history it was probably already too late to expect anything more than an occasional stand, such as that put up by the ministers who were willing to count the cost and pay the price. With the great silence from the men of good will, and

the disposition of the good people to let things run their course, there can be little hope for anything constructive in Mississippi in the next decade.

It can be argued that in the history of the United States democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination. Inasmuch as a nation marching swiftly in the direction of the fulfillment of the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation is at the same time fighting for survival against Communism, it will not much longer indulge the frustration of its will. Nevertheless, it would seem that for the foreseeable future the people of Mississippi will plod along the troubled road of resistance, violence, anguish, and injustice, moving slowly until engulfed in the predictable cataclysm.

And yet, in spite of all that has been presented in this paper, it seems inescapable that Mississippians one day will drop the mockery of the late Confederacy and resume their obligations as Americans. It is just that there is small reason to believe that they will somehow develop the capability to do it themselves, to do it, as William Faulkner said, in time. If not, the closed society will become the open society with the massive aid of the country as a whole, backed by the power and authority of the federal government.

# BLACK BELT SCHOOLS:

## Beyond Desegregation

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM
NO. 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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THE AUTHORS are professional educators. Each was a faculty member at Emory University in the Division of Teacher Education when this report was prepared. Dr. Donald Ross Green and Dr. James A. Jordan, both associate professors of education, and Dr. W. J. Bridgeman, assistant professor of education, still teach at Emory, Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Clay V. Brittain, former assistant professor of education at Emory, recently moved to Washington, D. C., to work for the U.S. Office of Education. Their provocative findings and suggestions for improving education in rural schools go beyond the problems of consolidation and desegregation and make interesting reading.

Samuel L. Adams

Director of Research

# CHAPTER I

## Introduction

In the Spring of 1964 we spent a number of days visiting the school systems of a county in Georgia and a county in South Carolina. We wanted to look at examples of southern rural school systems. For many years the schools in the large cities of the nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South. We went to look at the roots of this problem. We went knowing then, as we know now, that large numbers of people from such areas grow up without an adequate education. We also knew before we started that school segregation did not help the situation; in fact, desegregation of the schools was in our minds as a certainly proper and a probably helpful step. Unquestionably what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions.

Still, we were strongly impressed in two ways. First, in both school systems large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well and in a professional fashion. We, therefore, do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the teachers and administrators drawn from one of our better suburban districts into these two systems, many of the school problems would thereby be solved. Secondly, the feature of life in these communities that struck me most forcefully was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been the leading influences in what we see as the educational problems facing rural areas of this sort and what we think might be done about these problems. The first impression has led us to propose drastic changes in the arrangement of the school system. It seemed clear to us that, if people of the calibre we encountered in these county school systems are unable to do any better than they are doing, it is not possible to achieve the desired improvements in chil-

dren's learning by doing more adequately the same sort of things. It seemed evident to us that some basic changes in the system itself would be necessary to accomplish much. Our second strong impression suggested what the first step in this direction needs to be. We concluded that the starting point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation. It seems to us that these two basic propositions have not been fully faced by those concerned with education, either in communities of this sort or anywhere else in the country.

To be sure, the situation has changed dramatically since the Spring of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 mean that formal desegregation of school systems in counties of this sort is beginning to take place and that relatively large amounts of federal funds are now available to these systems. These are helpful steps, but by themselves they are not enough.

It is our purpose in this report to explain why they are not enough and especially why, after formal desegregation, ordinary school improvements are still likely to prove inadequate. To this end our discussion will include brief descriptions of the conditions of living and of education we found in the counties visited; these examples are offered in the hope that our discussion of the nature of the basic educational problem will be clearer. Finally, again using the two school systems for illustration, we shall offer some suggestions for changes in the standard pattern of schooling which we believe indicate the kind of alterations conditions in the rural South make necessary.

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South; so is poverty, so is segregation. We have asserted that the elimination of segregation is the first step toward making the education adequate. But this simple assertion does not dispose of the matter because segregation is not a simple matter; it is complicated, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't just mean that white children go to "white" schools with white teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with Negro teachers (and no janitors). Segregation creeps into the fiber of the society and

culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices which could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education—only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors or Negro lawyers in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors or white maids on the other? What does it mean for education if life is so arranged that to the casual, uninformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in all the books studied by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him? What does it mean when all the pictures in the books, about both present and past times, are of members of another group?

To put it another way, education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is largely lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for.

In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. One can expect some of the white students in the community to return as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what of the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship, such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community

one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate. Segregation is corrosive of the basic processes that make it possible for education to take place.

For example, a child who asks questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. In fact a child needs the stimulation to ask such questions as well as honest answers to the questions to attain this growth. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount either to the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion that he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so that while he will have strong drives, he will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectual growth. The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking questions. This, also, interferes with adequate education.

An analogous difficulty is created for the white child. In such communities he also is not encouraged to ask questions about segregation and certainly it must often happen that when he does the answers given are not accurate, although on occasion they may be honest as the teacher sees it. These conditions also are less than positive contributions to intellectual growth. However, for the white child, in contrast to the Negro, there is the encouragement and stimulation to intellectual growth that can come from the belief in one's superior ability to learn. Probably more serious are the distorted views of his responsibilities as a citizen that develop as he learns to ignore the incongruities between the practices of segregation and the statements about equality and freedom he is asked to learn.

In short, it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its main-

tenance. Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system.

But school desegregation is only one of the changes needed to eliminate segregation as an influence on education, and it is beyond the scope of this report (and our ability) to discuss the ways of accomplishing legal desegregation. Our suggestions are designed to help solve the educational problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

This does not mean that we shall avoid further consideration of the fact of segregation. As a pervasive and dominant feature of life, its role in education requires repeated attention. We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions. Recognizing that this assumption is currently contrary to fact let us turn to our second proposition. It is that legal desegregation is only the first step and that in rural Black Belt areas profound educational problems will remain. The nature of these problems can best be understood by looking more closely at the life of these areas.

# CHAPTER II

## Two Rural Counties

### A. *Geography and Economics*

Burke County is just south of Augusta on the Savannah River. As counties go in Georgia, Burke is large; it is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills and most of the land is arable. There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths are spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are a half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them near the apexes of the

triangle; these towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own.

This dispersion creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It means that many children spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school, and, for many of the children, that contact with other children outside their own families is largely limited to the chances schools (and buses) provide.

These facts are important because children probably do more to educate each other than schools as such do, which is one reason why it is difficult to raise the educational level of a community by "good" schools or lower it by "bad" schools. We do not mean that a group of children without a school would learn what they would in school. We mean that by acting as models for each other, by setting standards and by supporting or squelching each other's interests and expectations, the children in the classes of all but the most rare teachers set both the upper and lower limits of achievement. The most strenuous efforts of teachers, principals, and superintendents rarely alter these limits. For the most part, the time and effort spent going to and from schools is not a very constructive force in children's education. Long rides in crowded, noisy buses do not provide learning conditions conducive to academic progress. These particular educational problems are probably characteristic of most rural school systems, although they undoubtedly vary in degree.

The economic conditions in Burke County also create educational problems.[1] Historically, the county depended on agriculture (principally cotton) for its economic health, and agricultural activities are important sources of livelihood still, especially for Negroes. The county has a few small industries which do not depend upon agriculture. These industries have not greatly increased in number or size in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking number of jobs in agriculture; they mostly employ only

[1]What follows describes the facts to be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3. For some, reading the tables will suffice.

whites, the group least in need of job opportunities. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a plantation economy employing many people. Twenty-five years ago, farming alone employed more people than are in the total labor force today. But while there is still substantial cotton acreage, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county.

The amount of land being farmed has declined a bit (10% since 1945), but the number of farms has declined even more (50% since 1945), because the size of farms has increased (84% since 1945). Burke County has always had some large plantations. It still does. But for a long time Burke also had many small farms, a number of which were owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing partly because these Negro farmers are being put out of business. The declining number of Negro farm operators indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures on small farmers. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are increasingly necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing: a dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor, a fact which means in a place like Burke that there is no longer much need for Negro labor.

Table 1 shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. One obvious consequence of these conditions is widespread poverty, especially among Negroes. As shown in Table 2, the 1960 census data indicate the median family income of Burke Negroes was approximately $1,200 a year, less than half of the $3,000 per year now commonly cited as the minimum needed by the typical family in the United States. Only 11% of the Negro families in Burke County had in 1960 incomes of $3,000 or more per year, while two-thirds of the white families had incomes meeting or exceeding this minimum. In short, a large portion of Negroes in Burke County live in conditions of severe poverty and have little prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of poverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

It is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke has decreased more than 18% between 1950 and 1960, while the white population has remained fairly stable (see Table 3). Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults the ratio of whites to Negroes is beginning to approach 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents of the county, but it also reflects the fact that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to cities to work. A crude survey taken in Edgefield County suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working and living somewhere else (usually in the North). While the parents migrate, they frequently let the county educate their children. Migration, then, relieves the county of less of the educational burden than the migration rate suggests.

Edgefield County is across the Savannah River in South Carolina about as far north of Augusta as Burke is south of Augusta. Like Burke, it is roughly triangular, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the county is part of Sumter National Forest, and is thinly populated. The county has three sizeable towns: Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Trenton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities more than holding their own in size (i.e. slight growth, as in Waynesboro). Another important difference is that while Edgefield was also once primarily a cotton producing county, it is now a peach producing area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. The agricultural problems of the county seem slightly less severe than those of Burke County, but a glance at Table 1 will show that the changes have been about the same with respect to number of farms, their size, and the role played by Negro operators. Exactly as in Burke, the number of farms has decreased dramatically while average size has increased, and it has been the Negro operator who has been

squeezed the most. In Edgefield as in Burke, agriculture is no longer the principal kind of employment.

Unlike Burke, however, employment opportunities for Negroes in industry have increased. The number of such jobs is still not large, but the difference in direction of change is probably one reason why Edgefield has lost less of its Negro population (see Tables 2 and 3).

Perhaps the most prominent difference is the use the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. For example, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work at the Savannah River Project, a large nearby Atomic Energy Commission installation. Burke County, directly across the river from the project (but the nearest bridge is in Augusta), has few residents who work at the project, and has at least some prominent citizens who are pleased rather than irritated at this lack of involvement with the federal government. In Edgefield, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only at the Savannah River Project but in Aiken, Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. Nevertheless, while Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield, to date at least, industrial employment has not been a substantial solution to their problems. Income of the people in Edgefield, while a little better than in Burke, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield, as Table 2 indicates, was approximately $1,600 a year. This is severe poverty. The consequences with respect to population have been much the same in Edgefield as in Burke, the Negro population having declined about 10% between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white population declined by about 3% as well. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now they are barely more than half. The rate of Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population, however, has decreased in recent years, compared with the 1930's and 1940's.

In both Burke and Edgefield Counties, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will continue living and going to

school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in their home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are dim indeed among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they, too, have been doing.

The consequences for education are many. These affect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student and his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that the student is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they must have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and foresight come through education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of his county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living at home, provided he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate visible opportunities; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful, and why segregation stymies educational progress.

One way of describing this situation is to say that for the Negro attempting to live in his home, neither education nor anything else leads anywhere. Essentially, it is a situation of "no hope." This problem's solution clearly involves recommendations that go far beyond the field of education.

There are no educational recommendations that will be sufficient even to attack the problems of "no hope" in education, because these problems stem from the function of education in a society. What good will imaginatively conceived vocational education programs be if there is no place in society for the use of skills developed? What good will supplementary educational services be if education itself fits an individual to live in a social, cultural, and economic milieu that simply does not exist? Educational recommendations cannot have their proper effect unless something is done to allow the *use* of edu-

cation by all members of society. In order for education to have its desired effect, the problem of giving hope to education must be addressed and solved *by the community*. Fundamentally, this means that the community must display to the school that educational accomplishment entitles one to social, cultural, and economic rewards. The rural communities of the Black Belt South do not do this, and until and unless they do, plans, energies, and money poured into their schools will do little to solve their basic educational problems.

This means that Negroes must be allowed to compete openly for jobs, and that there must be jobs; it means that cultural opportunities must be made available to all who want them and are ready to appreciate them, and that there must *be* cultural opportunities; it means that social interaction must become a function of natural factors such as temperament, education, concern, and interest. In sum there are no *educational* recommendations we can make that will restore hope to education; to alter the function of education for the Negro community means to make the good things of a free society available to all men.

B. *The School*

At first glance, the schools of Burke County appear to be much like those anywhere. The buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7,000 children of school age in the county, about 4,500 Negro and 1,800 white are enrolled in the schools; apparently, some 700-800 children, mostly Negro, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fair, but is higher among the white (88%) than among the Negro (78%) students. This difference is at least partly because some Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school.** The

**For a summary of educational statistics, see Table 4.

system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions, it can be called a good system.

We have already described two of these conditions: the severe and widespread poverty and the low and decreasing density of population in most of the county. A third condition is partly but not entirely a consequence of the first. This is the fact that monies for school operations in Burke County are very nearly at the minimum the state permits. About 88% of these school funds come from the state (1963-64 data), and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent for the teachers in unconsolidated white schools that the state will not support. In spite of the extensive poverty in the county, it could clearly spend more for education. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures were slightly over $265 in 1963-64. The corresponding figures for Atlanta, for Georgia as a whole, and for the entire country were $380, $295, and $460, respectively.

The fourth and last condition is—as of 1964-65 at least—total segregation, the importance of which we have already discussed briefly. Actually, there are two parallel school systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings. The Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools. Most of these structures were built shorly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are, with the exception noted, somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed (numerically, at least) than the Negro schools. Segregation is, of course, a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools

(although the libraries are); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average; and the children do somewhat better academically than some data on Georgia children indicate as state average. Table 5 shows some of these data in the form of average lag in grade placement scores of Georgia children relative to national norms. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this; white high school children are close to the national norms, and it appears probable that the Negro children, though considerably lower than the national norm, are a bit above the state average for Negroes. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter; neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 6 seem to indicate that the rate at which children progress through the grades is much like that found elsewhere in the state. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel; all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously, even within the social and economic framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed; more local money could be found; libraries could be developed; and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. For those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory. In the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the Negro population, dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. While among the Negro school personnel there is some dissatisfaction with conditions, many

of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. It would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with the schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served, and we suspect that few school systems working within familiar conditions do much better. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, their students do not typically fall into an above-average group on a national basis. Only about 40% graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county, i.e., the white citizens, do not contribute their share of developed talent to the nation. Only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie, in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Problems here are very serious indeed. These schools, like most in Georgia, do far better than they did a few short years ago but, still, fewer than 40% of the students reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school (see Table 6). When it is recognized that for these Negro children in Burke, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents, on the average, a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States (see Table 5) the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that among the 400-450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than 20 will ever develop intellectually and academically to a point where they might be called average in this nation. Of about 4,500 school children, 4,200 must be classified as academically retarded or

slow by the end of their school careers. This appalling fact is evidently characteristic of the rural South.

Although there are some differences, the similarities between Burke's schools and those of Edgefield are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not large. The white schools in Edgefield County seem a little more open to the world, and somewhat more intellectually diverse and stimulating. Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield is not only well equipped, but reflects an attempt to incorporate new ideas in school planning into its structure. The new Waynesboro High School in Burke County is much less well equipped, and does not show signs of such an attempt. Perhaps another symptom, or perhaps a cause, of this difference is the fact that the white high schools in Edgefield were recently consolidated in spite of an ancient football rivalry. The Negro schools are fully consolidated, a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, and more than in Burke Negro schoolmen seemed committed to working within the current framework and to not attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students. To repeat, these differences are not large, and are, of course, mainly impressions. The accomplishments of both school systems are similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white, and we believe that both of these school systems are at least as good as most similar rural systems. We must also emphasize that whatever criticism we might make of these schools—and obviously many are possible—the thing that sets them apart from others in this country is not their physical arrangements, their curricula, their books, or even the professional characteristics of their teachers. What is different is the product.

We suspect many people will find this assertion hard to accept, since it is part of the widely believed American educational mythology that all educational deficiencies can be attributed to poor teaching. This is false.* We are not claiming, of course, that these schools are staffed by the cream of the crop, and we do not deny that better teachers, better books, libraries, and other facilities might, here as everywhere else,

*For a discussion of this point see Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

improve matters—a little at least, and maybe even a lot. But we do not believe that achievement scores of the sort shown in Table 5 can be explained this way, if for no other reason than that these schools and these teachers are not very different from those to be found elsewhere. Many cities which pay high salaries and which have adequate equipment have whole schools of students who perform no better than these children, probably for many of the same reasons, most of which depend on who the children are. The reason is plain. As we noted earlier, education takes place in a cultural context. All over this country in communities in which children are "disadvantaged"—in city slums, on Indian reservations, among migrant workers—similar achievement scores are found. The currently popular term used to describe this phenomenon in educational circles is "cultural deprivation."

Giving it a name does not solve the problem or even explain its nature. The phenomenon has drawn a great deal of attention in recent years, focusing largely on the slums of large cities. But it is not just a problem of the cities. It is not just a problem of segregation or of poverty, and it can involve a majority of the children in a community. The serious and widespread deficiencies in the educational systems of the rural South cannot be readily solved within a standard framework. The schools of a county like Burke or Edgefield could be rather easily made to be like those of one of our "good" suburban systems in all respects but one, because they are not very different now. But they cannot be made "just like" because the students are different, they belong to a different culture, and the "standard" American school is ill-suited to their needs.

This matter has been the subject of some research, but much remains to be learned in spite of the recent attention it has been getting. Although current knowledge is largely derived from research among children in city slums, it provides some clues as to what kinds of educational procedure might be effective in a rural setting.

# CHAPTER III

## Cultural Deprivation*

Many children in the rural Black Belt, particularly Negro children, can be classified as "culturally deprived." We assert that it is for this reason that school is so relatively unsuccessful among these children.

What do we mean (and what do we not mean) when we say that some individual is "culturally deprived"? Broadly speaking, we mean that there have been omissions and deficiencies in the background of the individual so that in comparison with the "typical" individual in the culture under consideration he has had little opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for successful functioning in society. In particular, then, we are asserting that the skills and abilities, the knowledge and information, and, to some extent, the values that the children of the very poor rural Southerner learn in their childhood at home, especially if they are Negro, do not provide an adequate foundation for their schooling.

Note that we are not saying that such children do not acquire any knowledge, ability, or values at home. However, there is no doubt that regardless of what these children do learn at home, they do not learn—or do not learn well—those things that the standard school procedures and patterns of organization make it necessary that children know in order to progress successfully in school.

In all groups to which the label "culturally deprived" has been applied, the children start school with marked language

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*The material of this section is our interpretation of the research on the topic of cultural deprivation. We have not cited this research directly but references to most of it can be found in one or more of the following:

Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., and Hess, R., *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*. New York, 1965.

Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

Passow, H. (ed.), *Education in Depressed Areas*. New York. 1963.

Reissman, F., *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York, 1962.

For those interested in pursuing the language problem the following two references will be more helpful than the preceding four:

Bernstein, B., "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," in Halsey, A. H. *et al.* (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

Loban, W. A., *The Language of Elementary School Children*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1963.

deficits. These deficiencies usually create difficulties in school work immediately, because language skills are needed for learning to read and most schools make reading the first and foremost order of business. The child who cannot succeed reasonably promptly in learning to read almost always faces continuous failure from that point on and may quite realistically lose hope of ever having any real school success even if he does gradually learn to read a bit.

The seriousness of the consequences of this language deficiency is much clearer than its exact nature. It has traditionally been assumed that lower class children—and, in fact, all those children rating low in language proficiency—have learning problems because they do not know enough words and thus lack the concepts needed. Such views have shaped the programs offered in most schools.

Educators have known for a long time that language facility is an important factor in academic success and programs to increase the vocabularies and language skills of children are part of the curricula of all schools. For example, direct vocabulary instruction, in which children compile lists of new words and look up their meanings, has been a technique used widely for many years. These traditional approaches are not, however, a hopeful line of attack, because, in spite of the effort and ingenuity that has been put into them, they have not done the job.

It now appears that vocabulary deficiencies may not be the root of the problem. In fact, culturally deprived children often use a rather large number of words accurately. To be sure, in comparison with the middle class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with the words normally used in the school, and it is true also that these children do not know much about many of the objects and paraphernalia of middle class life in America. Television is helping to change this. Because of this they have special problems in understanding many of the things talked about in their textbooks and in relating these things to their own lives. But it should be understood that this particular sort of problem is not so much a deficit as it is a difference. It is to be sure a difference that calls for action. A child can and should read about life in

other places and other cultures; but he ought to read and learn about his own as well, since that is his base of reality and the beginning of all thought. In short, this so-called deficit is in the school material and not in the child's mind.

In any case, the importance of sheer knowledge of words is not entirely clear since recent work in this area suggests that the difficulty is more subtle. It lies in the flexibility and skill children develop in their language usage. Culturally deprived children (or adults for that matter) use a language that at first blush is not very different from that of anybody else. But on closer examination it appears that they use relatively large numbers of standard expressions and cliches that fit the situation generally, but that lack precision and clarity. The symbolism used is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling are expressed by non-verbal means. The language used in a given situation lacks both the variety and specificity to the situation one finds in the language of middle class children and it deals with abstract ideas relatively rarely. Although he often knows the words needed, the culturally deprived child will seldom use alternative ways of saying something even though such variations can be used to make meanings clear, to draw distinction, and to add emphasis. Instead the same standard phrasing is used over and over. In addition, hypotheses and conditional statements are infrequent, as are all indications of tentativeness and uncertainty.

It seems probable that these and related deficits carry over to listening as well as reading skills, thereby creating extra problems for these children everywhere they turn. Perhaps more than any other single thing, they need to learn to play with language meanings, to learn to get variety and nuance of meaning into their speech, to increase their appreciation and awareness of the value in the distinctions and refinements of meaning that shifts in word order and the addition of subordinate and qualifying expressions can bring. We are talking about communication and the expression of ideas, and, therefore, this training must involve speech in use, and it must be functional

*We hope very much that this notion will not be read as necessarily asking for more of the pedestrian "real life" material which seems to plague our school texts. Children find poetry, fantasy, and sheer word play (e.g., nonsense rhymes) intelligible and functional in their lives.

in the children's lives from the start;* for this it follows that practice in communicating and elaborating their own ideas, not those of others, comes first. Furthermore, this practice must be extensive in each of as many kinds and varieties of situations as possible if it is seriously to affect the thinking of children.

Conversations with adults aware of the possibilities of the language and concerned with helping the child learn to use it is, it seems, the most effective way for children to learn these language skills, at least until reading becomes a prominent part of the child's life (if it ever does), and perhaps still even then. Probably this training is most effective in the early pre-school years when basic language patterns are being established.

But use of language is not the only problem. Among others, all of which are very closely related to language, there is the apparently slower perceptual development of the disadvantaged child, i.e., his more restricted awareness of the perceptual discriminations possible among many sensory dimensions, such as size and volume. These children are not likely to be taught, or rewarded, at home for learning the appropriate quantitative discriminations among objects or to attach the proper descriptive labels to objects (e.g., "tall" rather than "big," and so on). Consequently, orderly development of abstract quantitative concepts is hindered.

Relative to middle class children, lower class children tend to be concrete minded; they are oriented toward objects and direct physical action, rather than toward abstractions and conceptual manipulation. They often continue more or less indefinitely to learn through motor or physical actions; that is, they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends on the manipulation of objects, whereas middle class children usually begin to shift to symbolic and verbal substitutes for action sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen.

Perhaps related to this is another intellectual difference which through its effect on motivation has far reaching educational consequences. Lower class children seem to have shorter attention spans, memory, and (therefore?) what may be called anticipation span; that is, they function more with reference to immediate than distant goals. For the middle class person, long range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In

contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in more general and vague notions and for the most part is not considered as something one controls through present action. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle class person which it does not have for those in the lower class. The middle class person anticipates within a broader time perspective.

That culturally deprived children do not see as clearly specific long range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected helps cause what has been called the "deferred gratification pattern." They are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain. Future goals have a degree of reality for middle class children which they do not have for lower class children. Middle class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments for impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-discipline not generally seen in the adults with whom the lower class has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the disadvantaged person's failure to manifest the deferred gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which he, especially if Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

Passivity in the lower class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern related to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. That these children should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their first hand experience most certainly does not teach them that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed by anything they do. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model.

This whole pattern—the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack motivation for achievement—is related to and perhaps rooted in the child's concepts of self. The most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system must

surely be the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system.

For example, there are a number of studies which indicate (a) that Negroes from young childhood on tend toward low self-acceptance; (b) that Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children; (c) that they are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity; and (d) the result is that at an older age level Negro students tend to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgments.

Finally, we should add that the homes of these children do not help them do well in school for other reasons. The parents don't know how to teach their children how to learn. They tend to be particularly inept as teachers of their own children (again partly a language problem). Also the homes usually lack books and there are rarely places for students to read and study in peace and quiet.

In the face of all these severe problems, an ordinary school as typically constituted at present is fighting a losing battle. These schools are organized and run on the assumption that the child had been growing in the ordinary middle class home, and that he has had the years of direct individual training that this implies. Whenever this assumption is not justified the school tends to fail.

To succeed the school needs to provide substitutes for the experiences these children lack.

1. The children need extended contact with educated adults as early as possible in their lives; the school must provide many additional opportunities for these children to converse with each other, with older children, and with adults about all kinds of things. This experience should have a degree of direction and order and lead the child in the direction of the abstract.

2. The school must also provide the deprived children with more assistance in the important pre-adolescent years. First, they need help in learning to deal with problems using abstractions, both with words and with other sym-

bol systems; thus the school must do more than it now does to help the children shift to adult patterns of thinking. Second, the school must help the child develop long range goals. This means that he must see visible and believable steps along the way to these goals. If he is to remain in contact with his family without conflict, the older members of his family, older brothers and sisters as well as parents, must also come to believe in both the goodness and the real possibility of these goals. Third, the school must provide the child with solid evidence that effort, persistence, and self-discipline in school tasks are expected and rewarded.

3. To inculcate these attitudes and to avoid misunderstanding and conflict means that the adolescents and adults in the community must also be drawn into these efforts sufficiently both to support and at least to some degree understand the school's objectives.

# CHAPTER IV

## Specific Suggestions For Education

We have tried to make clear that education takes place in a social context. What schools can accomplish is tightly limited by the environment within which those schools operate. Schools of a rural slum are not likely to produce persons able to be constructive members of a community unless the school gets into the children's home and neighborhood life. It follows that an educational program which offers full opportunities for intellectual growth to all children is not possible where economic and other forms of social advancement are racially segregated. This is categorically true, we believe, for the Negro children. It is true as well for the white children, though present arrangements are much less unsatisfactory for their intellectual growth.

Education can be more successful when schools are desegregated. But only partially so, because, again, education occurs in a context, and when life and opportunities outside the school are segregated, the best efforts of schoolmen to develop the talents of students will be handicapped severely.

Even were all segregation removed in Black Belt counties, their educational problems would still be immense, because of the economic and cultural lags burdening them. We have said, therefore, that improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer. If the states of Georgia and South Carolina (or the United States) were to pour unstinted resources into Burke and Edgefield schools, the educational results would not be greatly different, if the added resources only helped the counties do what they are now doing better.

We have said that basic transformations of the Black Belt schools are needed, by which we mean new practices aimed at compensating for the cultural handicaps brought by the children to the school-door. Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children —schools cannot do everything—but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In some cases, other alternatives are both possible and practical. As indicative of the kind of changes which we believe could result in more successful education in the rural South, we would suggest:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six);
3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;
4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice

teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g., a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores, selling paperback books at nominal cost, serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to insure that no child is inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed. We would also expect that Job Corps, Work Study, and Community Action Programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated. Furthermore, the school buildings should be open twelve or more hours a day; libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings; evening adult education programs should be offered; extensive summer programs should be developed; and so on indefinitely. We shall not describe all of these steps. Instead, we shall elaborate only the four steps suggested above.

A. *The Nursery and Kindergarten Program*

There is a tendency in some quarters to hold out nursery schools as a panacea for cultural deprivation; they are not that. Nevertheless, where, as in the Black Belt, the problem is the lack of educational growth in the home, there is a pressing need to get the children as early as possible into organized learning opportunities and to establish school-parent relationships. We think there should be a pre-school program for these five year olds.

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the poorest homes. Day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, so the nature of the program is all-important. The kind we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus.*

Their program centered first on attitudes toward achievement; trying to increase the child's achievement motivation, his

*Gray, S. W., and Klaus, R. A., *Early Training Project: Interim Report,* 1963.

ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. Secondly, they attempted to improve aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination, and improving language usage.

Gray and Klaus worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories, such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary. The central operating feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement, such as candy, and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults: petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained; high school students—both male and female—provided they receive some training related to the program, could work successfully and helpfully, to both themselves and the pupils, in such a nursery school situation. We would propose that high school students be offered a course in child care, and training as part of this course work, and that for pay—say $10 per week—they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers.* These teachers should be part of the staff of the high school course.

*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

A course of this sort is part of the curriculum of many high schools, but some preliminary training of all teachers would be desirable and probably easily arranged through the associated college.

Contact with parents is also essential, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain it. Trained social workers should also be involved in this part of the program. Attendance of at least the three and four year olds should be a matter of parental choice. The regular teaching staff and the social workers should be the ones who reach the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools. Having a pre-school program creates transportation problems both because of added numbers of children to carry and because these very young children should spend only three or four hours a day at school. These problems will be minimized, however, if the school system, instead of having large school buses, has a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children, and if carefully selected high school students be employed to drive them. For the system as a whole we would propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction in the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for most of the children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that tangible economic rewards for staying in school are important for the same reasons that concrete reinforcement should be used initially in the pre-school classes.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. But it is the nature of the program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions, in which the children play without a planned program of learning, do not serve any educational function and merely cost money.

B. *Boarding Units*

Our second suggestion is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the

county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to the poorest children, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to gain agreement from the parents. We are proposing that children in grades four, five, and six spend three months each year in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this.

As in the previous suggestion the important element is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers. The chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the principal reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.* They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities, since that is where many of them will in due course live.

In fact, it might be well to plan a fourth quarter in grade seven, spent at a residential unit in a city. Perhaps some cities would be willing to develop exchange programs with counties, sending children to the boarding units in the county and accepting an equal number in a unit in the city for a quarter. Three months in a city school accompanied by a careful orientation to the city might add much to the perspective of these children about the need for education. The city children could probably profit at least as much from a period of time in a rural community.

We envisage these units as having about 21 children, seven to eight from each grade, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. A unit would be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g., share classes with an intern), one male and one female, plus

*At this point we would ask the reader to re-read what we have said about the instructional need to relate material to the children's own life. See above, page 3.

two intern teachers in training (one might have had some previous experience, while the other might be a beginner). In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something — say $40 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half-rate for the half-year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service that student assistants (drawn from the same cultural background) and interns would give, they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the — hopefully — admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible; i.e., the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties.* They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions. This could lead to a hierarchy of teacher ranks justifying substantial salary differences, related to competence and responsibility rather than pure seniority and course credits. There is reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it

*It is of interest to note that the notion of having such prerequisites attached to teachers' positions is actually traditional in counties like Burke, many of which used to maintain "teacherages" or teacher residences.

could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students; but it is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested — three months for each of three or four years — would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go into junior high grades sufficiently interested in doing good work so that the school could hold them.

### C. *Employment of Senior High School Students in the School*

The third proposal is that all interested students who are doing adequate work in the tenth grade and up have an opportunity to earn at least $10 a week as a part of their school program. By employing these students as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other employment that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It should be noted that by keeping these young people in school, competition with adults for jobs should be reduced. These activities can be of substantial educational value; in fact, the assistants in both the two programs suggested above could well turn out to be the chief beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper attention to helping these students understand what they are doing. The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated duties. A school board should always remember that it costs parents money to send children to school, even though the schools do not charge tuition.

D. *Intercounty Cooperation*

Some problems of rural systems are simply a function of size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small, unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service, and materials centers (audio-visual services, programmed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). We are *not* talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures.

Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent "Peabody" report. It should be recalled, however, that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice. Cooperation can solve this and will be needed for some children regardless of district size. School districts should not get so large and far away that the people in the district are not interested in them. The notion of local responsibility has merit because it is, potentially at least, a powerful educational force which can function to create a sense of belonging and identity in the students. This asset should not be discarded lightly.

An additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution, which probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. What we are proposing here does not seem to us to exceed the institutional resources already available: in Georgia, for example, there are 10 public supported and 14 private colleges and universities now offering approved teacher training programs; in South Carolina, there are 4 and 13.

These colleges should establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g., Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.), and some of their students should do their internship in the residential units of these counties. The colleges should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular and new programs. This arrangement would supply the interns and provide the school systems with a first chance at young beginning teachers as well as provide a way of obtaining special services to students and inservice training for teachers otherwise awkward to arrange. Large colleges might well become members of several such associations.

E. *Is It Practical?*

One immediate response to these recommendations will be assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered. . . ," "Don't you realize that. . . ," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas *can* be made to work, and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) *can* be solved, and that the product would justify the cost. This country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case. Furthermore, the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a rural southern county now spends. It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Let us look at what it might cost in a county the size of Burke.

The nursery-kindergarten would add around $300 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not) or about $250,000 a year. This figure is based on the assumption of roughly 800 pupils in a class of 20-25 students staffed by a senior teacher, a junior teacher (or a nonprofessional assistant), and two (or three) high school assistants. Each teacher would have two classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. This figure also is based on the assumption that present structures could be used with relatively small alterations and additions.

The boarding units might seem expensive at first glance but most of the salaries could be charged to the regular instructional budget. The staff would be carrying teaching loads in the school at about ¾ rate (two teachers and two interns carrying three classes). Consequently, the eight or nine boarding units a county the size of Burke might require would probably cost no more than $300,000 a year.

The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $300,000, assuming that about 800 students in senior high school would be earning about $10 a week. This totals $850,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

To be cautious, and to allow for the additional steps we mentioned but have not detailed, add $250,000 more for a total of $1,100,000, a figure that is a bit under the 1964 school budget in Burke County. Since Burke spent about $265 per child in average daily attendance in 1963-64, and since we are hopefully adding about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $400, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (because we are not proposing here to change the salary scale of the teachers, though probably we should).

"Where does this million plus come from?" First of all, through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g., 50% of fair value), the county itself could raise much more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available; e.g., Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the National Defense Education Act, and above all, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The colleges' costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they now train teachers; furthermore, summer and in-service institutes (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) can often be financed through federal programs. Additional state funds for cooperative undertakings should be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us, therefore, to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a large

role in meeting this budget and that the state would add to the additional local effort. In short, we believe that suggestions as basic as ours could be adapted to most rural counties and could be financed if the community were really interested in its children's education. All of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In the Black Belt South, most of these children are Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the reasons for our recommendations.

The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a real stake in the outcome of community affairs.

## TABLE 1
## FARMS AND JOBS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES — 1940-1960

| | BURKE COUNTY, GEORGIA | | | | | | | EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 | 1954 | 1960 | 1950 to 1960 Percent Change | First Date to 1960 Percent Change | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 | 1954 | 1960 | 1950 to 1960 Percent Change | First Date to 1960 Percent Change |
| **FARMING** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of Farms | | 2362 | 2159 | 1654 | 1176 | —45 | —50 | | 2311 | 1966 | 1688 | 1076 | —45 | —53 |
| Average Farm Size (Acres) | | 156 | 196 | 254 | 287 | +46 | +84 | | 96 | 106 | 105 | 160 | +51 | +67 |
| Farm Acreage (in thousands) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operated by whites | | | 305 | 331 | 276 | —10 | | | | 154 | 139 | 152 | — 1 | |
| Operated by Negroes | | | 119 | 69 | 61 | —48 | | | | 55 | 38 | 20 | —64 | |
| TOTAL | | 362 | 423 | 420 | 337 | —20 | —10 | | 223 | 209 | 177 | 173 | —17 | —22 |
| **LABOR FORCE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| In Agriculture | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | 746 | | 455 | —39 | | | | 632 | | 340 | —46 | |
| Negro | | | 4105 | | 1892 | —54 | | | | 1802 | | 1086 | —40 | |
| TOTAL | 7105 | | 4851 | | 2347 | —52 | —67 | 3766 | | 2434 | | 1426 | —41 | —62 |
| In Manufacturing, Mining and Construction | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | 527 | | 856 | +62 | | | | 1039 | | 1079 | + 4 | |
| Negro | | | 679 | | 444 | —35 | | | | 572 | | 865 | +51 | |
| TOTAL | 623 | | 1206 | | 1300 | + 8 | +108 | 695 | | 1611 | | 1944 | +12 | +180 |
| In Other Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | 1110 | | 1243 | +12 | | | | 936 | | 1291 | +40 | |
| Negro | | | 1124 | | 1330 | +18 | | | | 718 | | 938 | +31 | |
| TOTAL | 2193 | | 2234 | | 2573 | +15 | +17 | 1290 | | 1654 | | 2229 | +35 | +73 |
| Complete Labor Force | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 2368 | | 2432 | | 2653 | + 9 | +12 | 2411 | | 2649 | | 2744 | + 4 | +14 |
| Negro | 8161 | | 6031 | | 3878 | —36 | —52 | 3792 | | 3133 | | 2964 | — 5 | —22 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 10529 | | 8463 | | 6531 | —23 | —38 | 6203 | | 5782 | | 5708 | — 1 | — 8 |

## TABLE 2

## 1960 FAMILY INCOME

| Percentage With Incomes | | Burke White | Burke Negro | Burke Total | Edgefield White | Edgefield Negro | Edgefield Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under | $ 1,000 | 9 | 43 | 29 | 8 | 31 | 19 |
| Between | $1,000 - 2,000 | 11 | 33 | 24 | 12 | 34 | 23 |
| Between | $2,000 - 3,000 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 9 | 18 | 13 |
| Between | $3,000 - 10,000 | 58 | 11 | 31 | 65 | 17 | 41 |
| Over | 10,000 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 5 | — | 3 |
| Median | | $3,900 | 1,202 | 1,855 | 4,250 | 1,557 | 2,595 |



## TABLE 3

## POPULATION TRENDS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES

## 1930 - 1960

| Group | Burke 1930 | Burke 1940 | Burke 1950 | Burke 1960 | Burke 1950 to 1960 Percent Change | Burke 1940 to 1950 Percent Change | Edgefield 1930 | Edgefield 1940 | Edgefield 1950 | Edgefield 1960 | Edgefield 1950 to 1960 Percent Change | Edgefield 1940 to 1950 Percent Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WHITE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| School Aged Children (5-14) | 1581 | 1321 | 1327 | 1453 | + 9 | +10 | 1771 | 1249 | 1175 | 1338 | +14 | + 7 |
| Adults (21 & up) | 3485 | 3865 | 4053 | 4123 | + 2 | + 7 | 3705 | 3930 | 4190 | 4103 | — 2 | + 4 |
| Total Whites (all ages) | 6524 | 6654 | 6724 | 6911 | | | 7055 | 6594 | 6660 | 6581 | | |
| NEGRO: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| School Aged Children | 5978 | 4584 | 4329 | 4052 | — 7 | —12 | 3739 | 3025 | 2752 | 2764 | + 0 | — 9 |
| Adults | 10825 | 10184 | 8055 | 5988 | —26 | —41 | 4966 | 5014 | 4312 | 3754 | —13 | —25 |
| Total Negroes (all ages) | 22698 | 19866 | 16734 | 13685 | | | 12271 | 11300 | 9931 | 9154 | | |

## TABLE 4
## THE BURKE COUNTY AND EDGEFIELD COUNTY SCHOOLS[1]

| | Burke County | | | Edgefield County | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Negro | Total | White | Negro | Total |
| **Enrollment** | | | | | | |
| Elementary[2] | 1150 | 3316 | 4466 | 1078 | 2085 | 3163 |
| Secondary | 638 | 1187 | 1825 | 391 | 794 | 1185 |
| Total | 1788 | 4503 | 6291 | 1469 | 2879 | 4348 |
| **Average Daily Attendance (ADA)** | | | | | | |
| Elementary[2] | 1002 | 2527 | 3529 | 998 | 1753 | 2751 |
| Secondary | 568 | 970 | 1538 | 358 | 670 | 1028 |
| Total | 1570 | 3497 | 5067 | 1356 | 2423 | 3779 |
| **ADA/Enrollment** | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 87 | 76 | 79 | 93 | 84 | 87 |
| Secondary | 89 | 82 | 84 | 92 | 92 | 87 |
| Total | 88 | 78 | 81 | 92 | 84 | 84 |
| **Schools** | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 5 | 6 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Secondary | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 8 | 7 | 15 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| **Teachers** | | | | | | |
| Elementary[2] | 48 | 94 | 142 | 39 | 51 | 90 |
| Secondary | 30 | 43 | 73 | 22 | 33 | 55 |
| Total[3] | 80 | 138 | 218 | 61 | 84 | 145 |
| **Pupils in ADA per teacher** | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 21 | 27 | 25 | 26 | 34 | 31 |
| Secondary | 19 | 23 | 21 | 16 | 20 | 19 |
| Total | 20 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 29 | 26 |
| **Finances** | | | | | | |
| Expenditures for instruction | | $ 1,036,854 | | | $ 615,647 | |
| Locally raised funds[4] (in ADA) | | 159,777 | | | 152,030 | |
| Per pupil expenditure for[5] instruction | | 205 | | | 163 | |

NOTES TO TABLE 4:

[1] Data are for 1963-64 for Burke County, and for 1962-63 for Edgefield County.

[2] Elementary schools in Burke vary in the number of grades in the school, but all figures are for grades 1-7 inclusive for Burke County, and grades 1-8 in Edgefield.

[3] Includes non-teaching principals.

[4] Almost all of the remainder is from the state; federal funds are not important in the budgets of these systems, especially in Burke County.

[5] The difference between the counties largely represents two factors: teacher-pupil ratios and its teacher scales, for the periods considered. It may be noted that Georgia has one scale whereas S. C. has scales that depend on scores on the National Teacher Exam, a test emphasizing verbal facility. Negro teachers tend to score low on this test.



## TABLE 5

## READING VOCABULARY AND READING COMPREHENSION SCORES OF WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS IN GEORGIA[1]

| | White | | Negro | | White-Negro Differences | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grades | Vocab. | Comp. | Vocab. | Comp. | Vocab. | Comp. |
| 4 | + 3 | + 1 | — 8 | —12 | 11 | 13 |
| 6 | + 2 | — 3 | —22 | —23 | 24 | 20 |
| 9 | — 6 | — 8 | —37 | —34 | 31 | 26 |
| 12 | —15 | —22 | —51 | —53 | 36 | 31 |

Adapted from B. Cooper, "An Analysis of the Reading Achievement of White and Negro Pupils in Certain Public Schools of Georgia." **School Review,** 1964, Vol. 78, pp. 452-471.

[1]Mean deviations in grade equivalent scores from national median.

## TABLE 6[1]
## AGE-GRADE ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN BURKE COUNTY, 1962-1963

| Grade | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | Over 18 | Totals by Grade | Percentage[2] in grade over age for grade | Number Making Regular Progress | Percentage[3] Making Regular Progress |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **WHITE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **AGE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 42 | 108 | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 171 | 4 | 150 | 94 |
| 2 | 1 | 20 | 102 | 18 | 5 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 156 | 15 | 123 | 77 |
| 3 | | | 38 | 92 | 23 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 169 | 15 | 130 | 81 |
| 4 | | | | 36 | 90 | 18 | 4 | 2 | | | | | | | | 159 | 15 | 126 | 79 |
| 5 | | | | | 35 | 95 | 18 | 6 | 4 | 2 | | | | | | 172 | 17 | 130 | 81 |
| 6 | | | | | | 33 | 102 | 23 | 9 | 8 | | | | | | 184 | 22 | 135 | 84 |
| 7 | | | | | | | 18 | 96 | 25 | 18 | 2 | 1 | | | | 165 | 28 | 114 | 71 |
| 8 | | | | | | | 1 | 22 | 81 | 16 | 18 | 6 | 2 | | | 151 | 28 | 104 | 65 |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | 30 | 83 | 19 | 4 | 2 | | | 142 | 18 | 113 | 71 |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | 26 | 86 | 24 | 4 | 1 | | 144 | 20 | 112 | 70 |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | 31 | 45 | 17 | 5 | | 100 | 22 | 76 | 48 |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | 17 | 38 | 12 | 1 | 68 | 19 | 55 | 34 |
| Total by age | 43 | 128 | 146 | 146 | 153 | 149 | 143 | 149 | 149 | 153 | 156 | 97 | 63 | 18 | 1 | 1782 | | 1368 | 81 Av. |
| **NEGRO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 112 | 283 | 131 | 18 | 13 | 4 | 5 | | | | | | | | | 550 | 31 | 395 | 92 |
| 2 | | 80 | 211 | 93 | 41 | 18 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | | | 461 | 35 | 291 | 68 |
| 3 | | | 75 | 232 | 89 | 53 | 19 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 1 | | | | | 502 | 37 | 307 | 72 |
| 4 | | | | 53 | 204 | 103 | 49 | 32 | 16 | 13 | 1 | | | | | 486 | 44 | 257 | 60 |
| 5 | | | | | 69 | 189 | 97 | 71 | 36 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 498 | 46 | 258 | 60 |
| 6 | | | | | | 53 | 156 | 104 | 58 | 42 | 17 | 2 | 2 | | | 449 | 50 | 309 | 72 |
| 7 | | | | | | 1 | 40 | 150 | 90 | 71 | 38 | 15 | 4 | 1 | | 417 | 53 | 191 | 44 |
| 8 | | | | | | | 1 | 46 | 130 | 84 | 67 | 28 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 376 | 53 | 177 | 41 |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | 32 | 107 | 90 | 42 | 27 | 8 | 1 | 315 | 53 | 139 | 32 |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 25 | 109 | 59 | 30 | 11 | 4 | 342 | 30 | 136 | 32 |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | 16 | 48 | 46 | 31 | 17 | 158 | 59 | 64 | 15 |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 19 | 31 | 27 | 11 | 89 | 43 | 51 | 12 |
| Total by age | 112 | 363 | 417 | 396 | 416 | 422 | 371 | 418 | 370 | 366 | 343 | 274 | 155 | 81 | 35 | 4593 | | 2575 | 56 Av. |

[1] The figures in the body of the table indicate the number of children of a given age (column heading) in a given grade (row heading). Thus, for example, of 155 white children age 14, 83 and 26 were in grades 9 and 10 respectively. The remaining 44 were over age for grade being in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8.
[2] Includes transfer and others not listed in age-grade roster.
[3] Based on assumption of 160 white and 430 Negro children in each age group.

# THE CON-TINUING CRISIS

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

MAY 1966

# THE CONTINUING CRISIS: AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

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May, 1966

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# INTRODUCTION

IN 1960, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Affairs, National Council of the Churches of Christ, published a report on five years of violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court school decision, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Since then, the Council and others have continued to record and report this most disgraceful aspect of the South's struggle to overcome its worst mistakes. With the same sense of sadness and urgency, this report continues the story—with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue.

Assistance of the American Friends Service Committee in preparation of research materials for this report is acknowledged. Research and writing of the project was by Mrs. Glenda Bartley of the Southern Regional Council research staff.

The following paragraph from the 1960 report is fully applicable to the situation six years later:

> *Finally, this is not a comprehensive survey of southern reactions . . . It describes only their angry, violent side. Another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage, and good will by both Negroes and whites. Though this aspect of the South is not in view in the report, it is an authentic and undimmed face of the South, to which each of the sponsoring agencies has paid tribute more than once. But we feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record that follows—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility.*

# PART I

# The South's Temper, 1964-1966

# The South's Temper, 1964-1966

As Negro children began what some newspapers termed "massive" integration of southern public schools in September, 1965, the nation was surprised that Southerners accepted the change in a peaceful manner. The truth is that conditions in the South were neither integrated nor peaceful. Between five and six per cent of the region's 3,014,025 Negro school-age children attended classes with whites, and often these children and their parents paid a very high price for the experience. Men and women who were already desperately poor were evicted from sharecropper's cabins or tenant farms. Many without the training for good jobs lost the meager ones they had held for years. Some were beaten and shot at. Others saw their children abused and imprisoned. Yet the headlines continued to reassure the nation that "School Integration Continues to Spread Quietly Across the South."

There are several reasons for the nation's misunderstanding of the South's condition.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 indicated to many whites that the Negro's problem was now largely solved and, with restrictions barring him from participation in American life removed, he would disappear into the mainstream and quit pestering their consciences.

Immediate effects of the 1964 law were felt only in the area of public accommodations, giving middle class Negroes access to peripheral trappings of the white man's world, which were at best merely a symbol of the law's intent. The fall and winter of 1964 confirmed the fact that many urban and some rural public accommodations were desegregated.

Then, in the spring of 1965 the Office of Education announced plans to bring southern schools into compliance with the law. Virtually all districts filed plans with the federal bureau stating that various grades were open to both races, usually on a "freedom of choice" basis. Somehow the fact that in the immediate past cities had submitted to token integration only after lengthy court battles was overlooked, and it was assumed that federal money and southern honor would do the trick in the small towns and country areas.

So, when school opened in the fall, little communities like Ruby, South Carolina, which completely desegregated all twelve grades, and Philadelphia, Mississippi, which admitted a few Negro children without a riot, received national attention. The impression was false and the apathy was national, not southern. The old patterns of resistance were still being employed; wherever weakness was found in federal enforcement it would be exploited.

Soon, the federal government discovered that freedom of choice in

many communities was a cruel misnomer. Negro parents who filled out transfer forms for their children (from which the Office of Education deduced the number of children in desegregated schools) often changed their minds. In many cases schools reported peacefully desegregated on the first day of classes had only a fraction of the children who had signed letters of intent—usually because the superintendent had advised Negro parents to keep their children home or send them to the Negro school until any possibility of trouble abated. Once school opened "without incident" the matter was no longer "news." Many people subjected to violence, intimidation, or economic reprisal live in isolated rural areas or small communities, and the "news" did not get out. It spoke its own language, however, to the local Negroes.

## Rationale of Retaliation

At the same time the nation was deluding itself about southern school desegregation, it was ignoring the economic and occasionally violent reprisals which followed in the wake of voter registration drives.

The Voting Rights Law of 1965 was the first supplement to the Civil Rights Act. Again, once the law was passed, it seemed the issue was settled. Law created fact, and all those people for whom the Selma march spoke would now be citizens. That hundreds of people in Black Belt counties in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were out of work or off the land because they registered to vote was hardly noticed. The deeper implications of joblessness, poverty, and frustration attached to this evidence of economic dependence were largely ignored.

The nation also has regarded violence as a characteristic of all the former Confederate states. This is an illusion. Violence has for several years been largely confined to the Deep South, and there generally to Alabama, Mississippi, north and delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, have been isolated incidents and not a manifestation of organized resistance. Though cities like Birmingham are hardly distinguishable from the surrounding countryside, the hard-core violent resistance areas are largely rural.

Here registrars know the Negroes who try to register and the jobs they hold on the plantations they "belong" to. A superintendent knows the mother hopefully filling out a transfer form for her child is a maid in the house just down the street. There also is, as one Mississippian put it, the "lack of a public sector"—a place where both races have traditionally met in an impersonal manner. In cities the buses may have had segregated seating customs but Negro and white at least rode on the same bus bound for destinations unknown to each other. The city affords (and in the

case of the Negro, demands) anonymity. In the small town and rural areas, any contact between the races is a personal one, and so more painful when one tries to change patterns.

Perhaps this partially explains the real personal grudge many rural whites have against Negroes. It is not just against those who are, for reasons unknown to whites, out in the streets demonstrating for what they choose to call freedom, but against those who aren't. For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, they feel contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort. So there is no foundation of respect, anywhere. Along with this is the feeling on the part of the white man that he is trapped, just as the Negro is trapped, in a situation over which he has no control. He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this.

Having swapped the ballot for racial shibboleths, he sees democracy once again passing him by; this time as a vehicle for the very people he sacrificed so much to "keep down." Feeling beleaguered, cornered, and contemptuous, such whites permitted or abetted continued efforts to use legal, economic, and ultimately, violent methods of denying a whole people self-respect.

## Plight of the Poor

Heightening the frustrations of all the rural South is the fact that cotton continues to decline as a significant portion of agricultural production. Again the peripheral South is different, having already begun to diversify its farm production and move toward industrialization in the 1940's. The Deep South—Black Belt Alabama and the Mississippi Delta particularly—have been much slower in abandoning cotton. Yet here, too, unmarketable short staple cotton and curtailed allotments, cattle, pine trees—along with mechanization have pushed people off the land. As a single staple economy wrenches itself toward a mature, diversified one, the need for unskilled labor sharply increased.

In the traditional sense these people are beyond the definition of cybernation—men and women whose one skill is bending over a hoe or a cotton stalk, who have been trained in this capacity since childhood, whose schools close in planting and pickin' time to resume in "slack" seasons. They themselves are products of the plantation system—of a feudalism that transcends the old manorial concept and becomes almost a familial relationship, with the plantation manager, the Man, a patriarch. That this patriarch might be benign and allow his docile children to remain on the land long

after their usefulness has gone is often true. But once they threaten his dominion, he punishes them simply by removing them, cutting them off from their inheritance, which is the land, the hoe, and the cotton stalk.

Many of the disinherited are like the 82-year-old man whose mother was born a slave on the Wilcox County farm he was forced to leave. In his new home without water or light, he will live by "growing some corn." In West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, a woman, blind, crippled, born a slave, will live in a shanty with relatives. Another man and his wife, living on $33 a month social security, are homeless after registering to vote. Driven off the land they had farmed for decades, these people's resolve was best expressed in one old woman's pathetically stubborn defiance: "Our only sin was wanting to be citizens . . . . Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

Retaliation against younger families began in September and usually hinged on their attempts to exercise "freedom of choice" in school desegregation. During October, November, and December the cause was voter registration. The crops were in and the people, old men and women, young families, had to go.

A family in Bolivar County, Mississippi, which had always increased its cash yield by following the mechanical cotton picker to glean what it missed, watched the "picker" drag a disc, plowing their cotton under. The truck which used to pick women up to take them to the fields "didn't stop at their houses any more." Men who had held jobs for over ten years suddenly were demoted or fired. A man lost his job with the Alabama Power Company after enrolling his child in a "desegregated" school; the county was holding up his unemployment check. A Thomas County, Georgia, man lost his job and his land after transferring his children to a "white" school. Women lost their jobs as domestics and their husbands could no longer find work as handymen. Many, like an evicted sharecropper who said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working," forfeited their livelihoods for their challenge to paternalism.

All over the old recalcitrant part of the South families lost their land and their homes for registering to vote or for transferring their children. More than a hundred families in Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, Alabama, at least a hundred people in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, and uncounted numbers of families in Bolivar, Issaquena, Sharkey, and Washington Counties, Mississippi, were put off the land. Though many of these evictions were punitive, reduced acreage allotments under the Agricultural Act of 1965 were to take a far greater toll. An estimated 4,706 seasonal workers in the Mississippi Delta alone would not be needed in 1966. These

people will join the already staggering number of unemployed in the state. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in December, 1965, stated that "the Mississippi welfare agency estimates that as many as 500,000 more needy persons will be added to the regular winter case load of about 300,000." Mississippi's total population is only 2,178,174. That 800,000 (or 36.7%) of this number were scheduled to receive some form of public assistance indicated the magnitude of the problem.

Tent cities in Issaquena and Washington Counties in the Delta and in Lowndes County, Alabama, housed the dispossessed. In one of the coldest winters in Delta memory people huddled inside the tents, unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times the food got tangled in red tape and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness.

Secretary Freeman had assured the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches that money would be available "soon" for Operation Help (an experimental commodities program set up under contract between state officials, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Agriculture).

A spokesman for inhabitants of a tent city near Tribbett, Mississippi, recounted more than a year's frustrating efforts to get commodities distributed to additional poverty-stricken people in the state. Each time a private organization within a county offered to finance and staff distribution centers for the food, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. Immediately after the state bureau set up a commodity program in one such county the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another, the Food Stamp program was substituted. Food stamps must be purchased; a dollar stamp will buy six dollars worth of food (the figure represents the national average); so the very poor were not helped at all by the program. Finally a state-wide plan was initiated under which the Welfare Department was to get 24 million dollars worth of additional commodities from the Agriculture Department and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute food to 500,000 people for six months.

In the old system conditions under which vital food commodities were distributed, when they were distributed, were described by a Delta woman:

> "To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they

don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

In many rural areas county welfare or other administrative boards have refused to accept federal food and money. In Washington County, Mississippi, where the greatest number of people are off the land and out of work, the board of supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because (in the words of a Delta newspaper) "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Earlier in that county, in desperation, a group of about 50 of the dispossessed had left their tents and taken up residence briefly in an abandoned air base near Greenville. This adroit demonstration brought the nation's attention at last to the plight of Mississippi's poor Negroes generally, or at least to the surface of their problems.

The federal government responded in its traditional manner—by, as a spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity's Rural Task Force said, "putting the problem in the same category with Watts, trying to head off trouble." It undertook a labor survey in the Delta and activated the long-promised, dormant 25.6 million dollar surplus program in the state, "the most massive food distribution program since the depression." If the commodities program were stop-gap, presaging more constructive action, it would be welcome relief. But there was the impression that thirty years after the depression, federal remedies for hunger and broken lives and hopelessness had not changed. People who needed the best, most imaginative programs society could muster still got commodities—subsistence—"the dole."

There was not much chance that such palliatives could do more than keep the mass of people alive while buying off moderate leadership. Caesar's old desire for fat folks around him had not changed.

As a matter of policy the poverty program brings together in local administrative agencies whites and Negroes of all classes. While this is perhaps a noble blueprint intention, it has the effect in such a state as Mississippi of putting intransigent whites in a position to block the kind of change which the program is designed to facilitate.

The poverty program had indicated a shift in emphasis on the part of the federal government toward solutions to the fundamental problem of dependence, of economic vulnerability. It came before massive demonstrations demanded it. But it has not as yet reached those who most desperately need it, and its effect has been in all too many instances one of heightening frustrations. This adds another dimension to the problem of government's role in the Negro's struggle: In the event of massive protest or outright riots

by poor people the government's traditional approach of enacting a law that answers the surface needs and quiets the protesters will be less easy, since such a law already exists. So again—the need for strong enforcement and implementation is at the crux of the problem. A reappraisal of this essential aspect of government programs as they affect the Negro community is vital if the nation is to have an answer for outbursts such as Watts which seem almost inevitable in the immediate future.

The poverty program had promised to do more than "dole"—to allow poor people themselves to launch an attack on poverty by means of increasing their own training and exposing themselves to at least a smattering of middle class culture and values. Yet it has failed in many instances to provide even the stop-gap measures such as commodities to fill immediate needs of those who are desperately poor. Its effect was to deepen the disillusionment of people like those in Mississippi who said:

> "You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin' but needs . . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples. We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration [at the Greenville air base]. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."
>
> "I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.
> "We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

## Self-Help

To a few, "building for ourselves" had gone beyond the immediacy of a tent city to establishment of cooperatives aimed at breaking the chains of economic dependence. Cooperatives, producing everything from candles to furniture, handbags, quilts and clothing, faced many difficulties. Tools, teachers, and money were badly needed. Without capital, and long-term capital at that, most cooperatives were doomed. Outlets for products were hard to find; often they were either "sympathy" markets which are quickly exhausted or sophisticated ones that require a broad financial base for

participation. Cooperatives which foster communal arrangements run the risk of becoming another Koinonia (an integrated communal farm in south Georgia which was under siege for several years). The co-ops held out hope for a way to those desperately in need of it and so were in danger of increasing bitterness and frustration if the effort failed.

At the same time, they also fostered a spirit of organization that does not die with the failure.

Self-respect on the part of Negroes is at the heart of all efforts to improve their status within the community and the nation. For people who have lost all hope and confidence (and this would include many whose pathetically small educational experience has stifled verbalization rather than enhanced it) self-respect can come from another's interest and respect. That civil rights organizations stress the beauty and worth of each individual has had a large part in instilling self-respect in people whom society as a whole has literally forgotten. To men and women who have had their identities absorbed into a system more ruthlessly dehumanizing than modern industrial society, being valued by another person can be a real beginning toward self-respect. The co-ops have much the same effect, producing tangible objects that are sources of pride. In a real sense the Tribbett tent city, set up to provide homes for striking Delta laborers, while failing to provide a permanent solution to the complex problems of jobless, homeless people, was a rallying point for all the Delta's dispossessed. All across the South, aggressive county "Improvement Leagues" and "Christian Associations" are evidence of Negroes' new awareness of their power.

Half a century after Booker T. Washington's "self-improvement" plan, the poorest Negro's chance of sharing in the South's "new prosperity" was so remote that even the hard-won ballot was often a cruel joke. If the voter's league succeeded in conquering white dominance and taking over a county—what then? Where would the money come from to pave the roads candidates promised would be paved?

To desegregate rural schools may solve the immediate problem, but those schools remain the worst in the nation. Many rural counties do not now afford the minimum matching funds states require. It is prosaic but nonetheless true that nascent efforts toward tax equalization may be the most far-reaching gain for rural Negroes yet devised. But virtually every tax case must be fought long and bitterly in the courts, holding in abeyance any hope that Wilcox, Lowndes, and like counties can be governed at all.

In struggling with these problems newly formed Negro organizations are confronted with the old vestiges of protest, of negativism, and with a growing bitterness and real alienation from American life. Woven into these organizations is a new radicalism which, on the surface, wants no part

of the white man's consensus, daring the Negro to go his own way—to, as Charles Silberman said in *Fortune* (November, 1965), "stop pounding on the door" and, in effect, "tear the house down." Some groups are torn between the tempting chauvinism of their own political slate, which proves their strength, and merger with white "moderates" who are willing to yield to the most superficial of their demands in order to manipulate that power. This presents Negroes with a dilemma that must be faced by the nation as a whole.

The dilemma is an American reflection of a world-wide pattern in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America—all fostered by industrialization, creating "haves" in cities, by-passing shabby "have-nots" on the land. Until recently people in the countryside were never organized.

The Populists came closest in the past, close enough to put a permanent fear into southern Bourbons—fear that lower class whites and Negroes might actually cooperate to throw off Bourbon rule. That fear operates today. So far there has been little actual political cooperation between the races, except in border states like Texas where the Negro population is comparatively small and increasingly urban. There labor, Negroes, Latin Americans and white liberals struggle toward an effective coalition. But Texas has a degree of primitive political sophistication that removes it from the southern arena. In the South generally the lower class white has absorbed enough of the shibboleths, looks forward to a share in the "new prosperity," and finds such psychological value in feeling superior to the Negro that it has been difficult to forge a class awareness. He may, however, come to vote with Negroes on some issues without really meaning to. These people still feel a link with the upper class power structure because of color, rejecting alliance with the Negro for economic reasons. That this further isolates the Negro goes without saying.

## Answering Anger

Urban Negroes are cut off from all but the most impersonal contact with whites. They are crowded into slums in the city's core surrounded by housing project palisades, ringed by white suburbia. Until very recently urban Negroes have been poorly organized, venting their frustration on other Negroes. Now radicalism of the same tonal quality as the rural brand has permeated city organizations, directing the rebellion outward. In the past the only attention-getter that produced results was demonstrations. But outside of isolated picketing of a slum-lord's home or sporadic rent strikes, there is a troublesome realization that the negativism of protest can only call attention to the problem and has little to do with fundamental

solutions. In one large city slum, civil rights groups and unaffiliated interested citizens have worked for more than a year to organize effective self-help projects that reach people untouched by the poverty program. The efforts met with limited success until early February when an old man froze to death in an unheated shack. Out of this and other instances of people wretchedly cold, hungry, and hopeless came picketing and rent strikes, and the threat that the slum could become another Watts.

Young liberal idealists who have worked to organize the community have themselves been challenged by the new mood of anger and rebellion. People evicted for participating in a rent strike gathered around a campfire which was the only warmth for families living in hastily erected tents. Out of this meeting came the new voice, the new challenge and the old weapon: "Why don't we 'accidently-on-purpose' burn all these damn houses down?" Young men and women, Negro and white, who had recently seemed radical suddenly became the "moderates," arguing against the burning and the destruction of a white-owned grocery store and white-run Bible center in the area. They came away knowing that their victory was a new form of tokenism—violence grudgingly held in abeyance.

In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding on Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slums. It has, through "welfare," paid poor Negroes (and, incidentally, whites) to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight. If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they will have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc voting, and above all work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. City governments would have no choice but to deal realistically with the *causes* of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators.

Until recently the great mass of Negroes living in poverty in city slums has been cut off from middle class Negroes, who emulated their white counterparts. The same thing was true politically—in rare instances when a Negro was elected to public office he usually joined the white power structure as soon as it made room for him. Now there is a new middle class mood of resentment, which matches in spirit if not in depth the folk consciousness of rural radicalism.

Reasons for this resentment are obvious. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones touched so far by federal legislation, have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow. There is a new awareness that even the first "easy" gains—simply peeling off the old dead layers of institutionalized prejudice—took ten years. To struggle so long just to see two prominent civil rights leaders' children in one ele-

mentary school or seven middle class Negroes join the Georgia House while an outspoken representative of lower class Negro radicalism was denied his seat on grounds that he disqualified himself by rashly-worded opposition to the Vietnam war—to buy tokenism at too high a price—has at last worn patience thin. Finally, too, successful middle class Negro politicians are becoming aware of the wishes and race consciousness of their overwhelmingly poor constituency. Typical of this new voice in southern politics was the conservative, newly-elected Negro alderman of Atlanta who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the city would no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper class white alliance which had agreed on an annexation balance and had at the same time assured control by paternalistic whites. Affirming that Negroes might soon control the city because of the white flight to the suburbs, the alderman speculated on Negroes' control of such vital services as electric power and water as an effective method of bargaining with white suburbia. He urged a fair housing law as a realistic remedy.

All levels of government must deal realistically with this new determination to negotiate from strength rather than rely on the old appeal to white conscience. Whites, too, must realize that in many ways the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life; at the same time frustration with lagging progress tempts the outsiders to destroy it . . . .

## Federal Response

To many it has seemed that the nation's response to Negroes' needs has been unimaginative. And most efforts to implement existing laws have met with limited success. In the case of both the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, government action came as a response to protest by organized groups, and, though their effects were far from complete, they stilled the protest. There is every indication that the government will react in the same manner to continued violence against civil rights workers in the South. But this is merely a surface response—a sort of negation of negativism. Little actual headway can be made until Negroes in the South are less economically vulnerable and thus less subject to that method of intimidation. There is an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves and their determination over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating. Violence

often merely strengthens the will and in many cases unites a whole community where other attempts at unity have failed. And yet the violence persists, and does have its deadly effectiveness, if not directly any more, then in subconscious ways that limit Negro options and initiatives.

One of the strongest moves toward better enforcement of the civil rights law was the tightening of guidelines for school desegregation by the Office of Education for fall, 1966, school openings. But the test of this new strength was yet to come.

In a letter asking Negro parents voluntarily to send their children to segregated schools in spite of a Justice Department-initiated suit seeking desegregation of the system, Wilcox County, Alabama, school officials invoked the old reminder that one day the Yankee would tire of idealism, as he had in the past, abandoning the Negroes once again to the white South: "The people of this county will, in all probability, have to continue to live here in this county together after the influences from without have ceased. It is best for all if they can do so in a mutual spirit of good will."

One recalcitrant county in a state notorious for defiance should not be treated as a curiously rebellious mutant in an otherwise acquiescent region. At almost the same time that Wilcox County sounded its primitive warning, Deep South public officials were protesting the sudden, drastic nature of the Office of Education's new guidelines requiring pupil desegregation beyond tokenism and a start toward faculty integration. Twelve years after the Brown decision, feigned shock and overt defiance were not yet isolated phenomena and the violence hinted at in the Wilcox letter is still very much a factor to be reckoned with by people who defy custom in the "hard-core" South.

There have been ten killings, uncounted beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings since that "peaceful" school desegregation began in September, 1965. Yet the result will never again be the old fearful withdrawal. And, though the violence is largely rural, it is felt in the city more keenly now than ever before. Though Negroes have for some time been moving into cities and all major civil rights organizations except the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee operate chiefly from city bases, the emotional center of the civil rights movement remains in places like Lowndes County, scene of two civil rights slayings, and a symbol of the Movement is unpunished brutalization of Negroes in such places. Now a "civil rights assassin" who gets off with a stern reprimand by the judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread violent reprisal by Negroes in city slums and on the land. A Negro "moderate's" outrage that his brother's killer escaped without even the reprimand prompted his rejection of any possibility of dealing peacefully with whites: "We'll have to lay and wait for them all night, and fight with

them all day . . . . No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves. . . . It's time to start killing."

Throughout accounts of the white South's violence there runs a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination—and a warning: "I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

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Behind misleading headlines and misconceptions about orderly progress in the South were complexities long familiar.

In the first place, since 1954 and before, reaction to federal court decrees and law affecting segregation had been of three kinds—a grudging, but good faith acceptance, an effort to evade through administrative delay and cheating, and all-out resistance with violence and terroristic intimidation and reprisal. All three reactions could and did occur in all eleven states. Some states, like Tennessee, were characterized by a predominance of the first; some, like Virginia and South Carolina, by a predominance of the second; and some, like Alabama and Mississippi, by a predominance of the third. These were old familiar configurations in the South.

The pattern of reaction to the 1964 civil rights law was essentially this same three-way split. If there was any cause for rejoicing, it was in that at least in its official stance, the government of such a state as Mississippi was no longer encouraging all-out, violent resistance. But there was no overnight change in the South in attitude or patterns of compliance, with the overnight change of the law.

Nor was there any change in one of the oldest truths regarding these three southern reactions to the will of the nation. The resistance would be attempted, grow, and persist to the degree that the enforcement arms of the federal government allowed it. Full enforcement, as it has always been, was possible. It was not forthcoming.

Two other pieces of federal legislation promised a permanent solution to this old problem of enforcement. One was the pledge of the Johnson Administration in 1965 to enact new laws to strengthen southern institutions of justice, and to protect persons exercising constitutional rights from southern lawlessness. The other was the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which promised eventual development of Negro political power sufficient to demand compliance, and an end of lawless violence.

Out of these forces—poverty, continued white resistance, less than full federal enforcement, resultant disillusionment—and out of the new psychological state of Negro Americans (their unwillingness to settle for anything less than full citizenship) was coming something new in the South. It could destroy whatever hopefulness there was in the situation for the

kind of transformation the nation seemed to think had already come. Or it could be another catalyst to force the nation and the white South yet another turn in the torturous facing about to full intellectual honesty in dealings with Negroes.

This most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace. The anger itself is not new, nor the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new. That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded—this seems about the only hope.

But the worst excesses of the ugly side of the South have always had a counterpoint, however faint, of a relation between the races more truly representative of the American ideal than anywhere else. In the shifting patterns of public and private life in the South, forces are at work which encourage this better side of the South more than they have ever before been encouraged. The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here.

# PART II

# Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence September, 1965 through February, 1966

(A Selection)

# Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
# September, 1965 through February, 1966

## SEPTEMBER

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/16/65. Dateline: Laurel (AP).

"Shots were fired into the house of a local civil rights leader here today for the second time in 90 days."

A Negro dentist, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, said, "There were no injuries this time as was the case June 15."

Folling Fork and Anguilla, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Ten families enrolled their children in "white" schools. All working members of all ten families lost their jobs.

Akron, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 9/3/65. Dateline: Akron (AP).

The night before 35 Negroes were to enter a previously all-white school someone tried to set fire to city hall and the fire department.

The Negro children were not permitted to enroll.

AFSC Field Report.

White men with guns ringed the school and prevented Negro parents from registering their children.

Grace and Glen Allen, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Negro parents who tried to exercise "freedom of choice" were evicted.

Calhoun, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/29/65. Dateline: Calhoun (UPI).

A Negro motorist was injured when three white boys pushed his car over an embankment and left him in the wreckage.

West Point, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

A family who owns a few acres of land and their own home near West Point enrolled two of their eight children in the "white" school. For the past twenty years the father had worked at the same job in West Point. After his son tested the validity of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act, the father lost his job. He got it back, enrolled his children and lost it again. He was offered money to withdraw the children. He refused. His wife lost her job as a domestic. In November, just after his employer had called him back to work, the sheriff arrested him for having a shotgun in his car. (Carrying a shotgun in an automobile is legal in Mississippi.) He was fired again in December. Later he was jailed for running a stop sign.

Baker County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/4/65. Dateline: Washington (AP).

A group of Baker County Negroes asked the Justice Department for protection from local whites.

One spokesman said that 150 Negro children were signed up to go to the white schools but their parents were threatened with loss of jobs, so the number went down to 40.

Another spokesman said Negroes were beaten when they went to the courthouse in Newton to try to talk to the Baker County sheriff.

Amherst, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 9/6/65. Dateline: Amherst (AP).

A riot involving 250 people of both races broke out during a fight between five Negroes and five whites.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

The mother of three of 19 Negro children attending "white" schools in Elmore County has been active in voter registration and school desegregation. She had been regularly called as a substitute teacher until she enrolled her children in integrated schools. Since then she has had only one call. In October her house burned, and the fire department did not attempt to put out the blaze. One of her sons was accused of stealing a pair of $4 sunglasses from the supermarket where he had worked for some time. He was arrested, found guilty, sentenced to jail or a fine of $38. When his mother paid the fine, her son was released bleeding from a head wound.

Americus and Sumter County, GEORGIA
Atlanta *Journal* 2/16/66. Dateline: Washington.

"Intimidation, harassment and violence have prevented school desegregation in Sumter County, Georgia, and accompanied it in Americus, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission."

"In Sumter, all Negro children who picked white schools to attend under a free choice plan changed their minds . . . .

"In Americus . . . Negro students were struck with fists, had rocks and books thrown at them, were called derogatory names, had books torn from their hands, were tripped and spat on, and were nearly run down by cars in the school parking lot."

Headland, Henry County, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

A mother said the whites sent someone to try to convince them not to send their children to the "desegregated" school. She got a message that someone would "hang those children up to a tree if they tried to go to the white school."

West Point, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

A couple who own their home took several children to the "white" schools in the opening days before buses began picking them up. When whites fired into her home, the woman sat on her porch with her shotgun and fired back. As a result of their transporting the children, both lost jobs and the white man who owns access to the road leading to their property fenced it off and put up "no trespassing" signs.

Cottonwood, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

When one mother sent her son to the "white" school a policeman came to her home and said that if she did not withdraw the boy he would be "put away."

Merigold, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

After enrolling their seven children in the newly desegregated Drew school system, a Negro family was evicted from the plantation where both had worked ten years. The overseer offered to go with them to withdraw the children. When they refused, he would not allow the family to follow the automatic cotton picker to increase the yield of their 26 acres. When the picker went along the rows there was a disc attached to it that plowed the cotton under.

Thomas County, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro farmer enrolled two of his children in Thomas County "white" schools. His home was shot into and he began receiving threatening telephone calls. His landlord told him he had three days to get out of the home in which he had lived for nine years. After he moved to Thomasville, the county superintendent told his children they would have to leave the county school system as their residence was now Thomasville.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 9/18/65. Dateline: Wetumpka.

After being struck with rubber bands repeatedly by the same white boy, a Negro girl jabbed him in the arm with a pencil. She was expelled from school, arrested, held in jail overnight, and finally released on a $300 property bond.

Alabama *Journal* (Montgomery, Ala.) 1/5/66. Dateline: Wetumpka.

Fire destroyed the home of a Negro man, "whose daughter, one of 17 Negro students who desegregated Wetumpka High School in September, had been suspended from school for stabbing a white boy with a pencil. She returned to school Monday, following the end of her suspension period."

The deputy state fire marshal found two whiskey bottles "filled with something" in the bed of a truck parked outside the burned home, but said he saw no evidence of arson or "racial trouble."

Demopolis, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro truck driver was fired from his job after attending a PTA meeting at the "white" school where his daughter is a student. He had held the job 18 years and had an excellent employment record—the only driver with no traffic violations on his record. After the PTA meeting local merchants had a meeting and agreed not to accept any merchandise he delivered.

Camilla, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 2/22/66. Dateline: Washington.

"The Justice Department has charged a Mitchell County, Georgia deputy sheriff with illegally arresting and beating a Negro farm worker" in September.

AFSC Field Report.

When a Negro tenant farmer filled out transfer forms for his six children to attend the "white" school, the man whose farm he lived and worked on came with a deputy sheriff and asked whether he planned to transfer his children. The tenant replied that he intended to do so. He was then handcuffed and taken to jail, severely beaten on the way, and again beaten while in jail, this time by a white prisoner.

Choctaw County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

On the first day of school white men with guns surrounded the "white" school.

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/25/65. Dateline: Memphis.

In an effort to arrest a Negro suspect two white police officers were "struck by a hail of bricks, bottles and boards" hurled by other Negroes.

Conway, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/29/65. Dateline: Conway.

A local union official, active in the county voters' movement, was victim of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

Fayette County, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 9/2/65. Dateline: (AP).

"A west Tennessee school bus driver, accused of spraying disinfectant on two Negro first graders before letting them on a desegregated bus, was sharply criticized by his superiors."

The Fayette County school superintendent called it a "stupid act that marred the peaceful and orderly desegregation program in our county."

The bus driver declined "to admit or deny the incident, but said he assigned the youngsters to the rear of the bus."

Wilmington, North Carolina

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/7/65. Dateline: Wilmington (UPI).

A Negro man and his white neighbor were sitting on the Negro's front porch when another white tossed two lighted Molotov cocktails into the side of the dwelling. Neighbors smothered the flames.

Jacksonville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/5/65. Dateline: Jacksonville.

"Two young men who admitted guilt in connection with the dynamite bombing of a Negro migrant workers' sleeping quarters last month near Swansboro, Monday were given five-year suspended sentences in Onslow Superior Court.

"In passing sentence . . . [the judge] said he had given much thought to the crime during the weekend and concluded there was no motive to harm the Negroes, that the men were trying to frighten them."

Enterprise, Coffee County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro salesman was demoted from area manager for a Chicago-based business firm to representative. He consistently led his region in sales. He had enrolled his children in an integrated school in September.

Warner Robins, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro woman had been lunchroom manager in the Negro high school for ten years. Her daughter urged Negro parents to transfer their children. The lunchroom manager, whose work had never drawn complaints, was fired ostensibly for not keeping her kitchen in good condition.

Waynesboro, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro family exercised "freedom of choice" and sent their child to a formerly all-white school. They were evicted and their home was shot into.

Aberdeen, MISSISSIPPI

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/7/65. Dateline: Aberdeen.

"Police said Monday that at least 32 shots were fired Sunday night into the home of a Negro couple whose son enrolled at a previously all-white school in Aberdeen last week . . . ."

The couple's son was one of two Negro children admitted "without incident" to the second grade.

"School desegregation also got under way in several other cities over the state without trouble . . . .

"Other shooting incidents were reported in Central Mississippi—one in Scott County and another at Florence.

"The Scott County sheriff's office declined comment on a report that a Negro parent exchanged shots with a group of white men who tried to burn a cross in front of his home near Forest . . . .

"They also have a daughter who registered at a previously all-white school."

McComb, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/9/65. Dateline: McComb (AP).

A hand grenade was hurled into a yard, exploding near two Negro workmen who were building a patio.

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 9/21/65. Dateline: Washington.

A spokesman for Negroes in the Vanceboro area blamed inadequate police protection for Negroes from the Ku Klux Klan for outbreaks of violence by Negro youths.

"The Negroes of the Vanceboro area, and the whites who believe in justice and lawful means, have been more than patient with the many atrocities which they have suffered in the last few months," the spokesman said.

## OCTOBER

Knoxville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 12/4/65 Dateline: Knoxville (AP).

Three 15-year-old Negro boys were indicted for murder in the razor slaying of a white man, October 16. They were quoted at the time of their arrest as saying they attacked the man "because he was the first white man they saw after they became angered over watching a white boy stab a Negro boy in a street fight."

Suffolk, VIRGINIA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 11/1/65. Dateline: Suffolk.

"Two Negroes were wounded Sunday (10/31) by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car . . . just after they left a Negro voter rally."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 11/1/65. Dateline: Barnwell (AP).

The local NAACP field director said that four Negro voter registration drive workers "were severely beaten up and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 or 20 white youths and men at Barnwell Saturday night.

"The field secretary said the group told him at least one Barnwell police officer saw the incident and did nothing."

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/4/65 Dateline: Nashville (AP).

An African student, arrested when companions were allegedly found drinking whiskey from coffee cups (violating Nashville's blue laws), charged that he was beaten by police.

Blackville, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/13/65. Dateline: Blackville.

"Fights between whites and Negroes that broke out during a municipal election write-in campaign by Negroes here were under investigation Tuesday by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The Negroes filed a protest with the U. S. Attorney General, charging that Negro pollwatchers were beaten. Blackville city officials said Negro pollwatchers attempted to come inside the voting booths.

"The fights took place outside polling places Monday, Blackville police said. No charges were filed, officers said."

Covington, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/21/65. Dateline: Memphis (AP).

"A Negro civil rights worker said Wednesday a white man pistol-whipped a

Negro woman and fired shots at a Negro man outside a drive-in restaurant in nearby Covington Tuesday night."

While the two Negroes were inside the drive-in "this man walked up to the car and told the others they had no business there."

Chattanooga, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/14/65.

A Negro neighborhood youth corpsman was shot and killed by a white fellow worker. The young Negro was seated on bleachers the corpsmen were building near a high school, when the white youth walked up and opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol.

Tallapoosa County, ALABAMA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 10/12/65. Dateline: Norfolk.

A white girl participating in a VISTA training program at Tuskegee Institute was living with a rural Negro family in Tallapoosa County.

"Soon after we got there this white man came by, screaming that the Klan was coming and asking us to go with him and he'd save us," she said. "We didn't go with him.

"But then later this Negro man was beaten up and had his arm broken because of his association with us. They threatened to take another man's job away."

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/2/65. Dateline: Vanceboro.

A Negro church was dynamited Sunday, Oct. 31, in the third bombing in Craven County during the year.

"Negro leaders said it had not been used for civil rights meetings and they were at loss to explain the incident."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/22/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

A young Negro was charged with murder in the knife-slaying of a white man.

"The white youth reportedly swung at the Negro with a bat and was stabbed in the chest."

Colerain, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/12/65. Dateline: Colerain.

In a predominantly white neighborhood a school scheduled to receive six Negro classes containing approximately 200 students was heavily damaged when "oil or gas of some type" was poured on the floor and the building set fire.

Montgomery, ALABAMA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 10/31/65. Dateline: Montgomery (AP).

Alabama's attorney general, "an outspoken moderate on the racial issue and frequent critic of Gov. George C. Wallace, is nursing a sore jaw and some loosened teeth Saturday, after being slugged at a football game."

The attorney general had recently acted as prosecutor in the murder trial of a Ku Klux Klansman.

Trenton, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/16/65. Dateline: Trenton (AP).

The FBI began investigation of a dynamiting outside the home of a Negro in the Wise Forks community.

Hampton, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/6/65. Dateline: Hampton.

"An elderly Negro junk dealer was shot and killed in Hampton Tuesday afternoon, apparently after an argument over money."

The sheriff said the old man had been "a fixture in the town. He made his living by collecting and selling junk from a movable cart."

A white man was charged with the murder.

Lincolnton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/23/65. Dateline: Lincolnton.

"A pickup truck drove into a line of about 95 teen-age Negro marchers Friday afternoon, signalling a charge by about 30 whites shouting 'Kill the niggers! Kill them!'

"Demonstrators were beaten to the ground as five state troopers left their cars and tried to restore order. No one was reported hurt . . . .

"Meanwhile in Washington, Ga., 13 Negro civil rights demonstrators swore out peace warrants against the white driver of another pickup truck, charging he had tried to run them down."

Smithfield, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Smithfield.

Five white persons, including three high school students, are charged with dynamiting the all-Negro Bagley Elementary School in the early-morning of October 25.

Newton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/6/65. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The Baker County sheriff said five carloads of unidentified men built a large fire in front of a rural Negro home Monday night and then began firing, apparently with a shotgun.

Crawfordville, GEORGIA

Washington *Post* 10/19/65. Dateline: Crawfordville.

The Taliaferro County sheriff said that seven Ku Klux Klan 'Black Shirts' were arrested on charges of "forcing a Negro farmer off a road near here yesterday, attempting to beat him and pointing shotguns and pistols at him."

The sheriff said that the farmer had not taken part in recent demonstrations in the area.

"He's just a good ol' darky," the Sheriff said.

Americus, Sumter County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 10/22/65. Dateline: Americus.

"Telephone harassment and cold shoulders in Americus have forced a 63-year-old former college president and his wife to become the second family to decide to leave the southwest Georgia town where racial unrest flared this summer."

The white man had sent a letter to local government officials asking them "to try and contain our racial problems."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/7/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

"A white ambulance driver who refused to pick up a dying Negro traffic victim Wednesday night has been fired from his job."

The manager of the ambulance company said the driver reached the still-conscious man and drove away, "leaving the victim lying on the concrete where he died."

The driver told the ambulance manager he did not pick up the injured Negro because "he didn't think he was seriously hurt."

The Negro was victim of a two-car collision in which he was trapped between the vehicles. An official wreck investigator said both the man's legs had been chopped off by the impact.

## NOVEMBER

Livingston, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/19/65. Dateline: Livingston (AP).

Five white men were given six-month suspended sentences for aggravated assault "in the shooting of a Negro's car near Watson."

The Negro man drove his car past the one in which the five were riding and they opened fire on him with a rifle.

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal*. 11/9/65. Dateline: Nashville (UPI).

"A 10-year-old Negro boy brutally beaten . . . by a white youth died Monday night." A fifteen-year-old white boy, already charged with assault with intent to murder, "probably" would be charged with murder, according to police.

Fayetteville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/8/65. Dateline: Fayetteville.

Three Negro marines, armed with pistols, a carbine, a sawed-off shotgun and a hand grenade, terrorized the Fayetteville area several hours before their arrest. They claimed membership in the National Abolitionist Forces, "described as a militant Negro group."

The organization's handwritten oath includes clauses "against the Ku Klux Klan and white rule," officers said.

Ferriday, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/23/65. Dateline: Ferriday (AP).

Police, arriving at the scene of a firebombing, arrested the civil right's worker whose home was target of the blast. The man had emerged from the burning building carrying a shotgun.

(In Dec. 1964 a Negro man died of burns after his shop in Ferriday was firebombed.)

Mami, FLORIDA

St. Petersburg *Times* 11/25/65. Dateline: Miami (UPI).

"A 30-year-old Air Force veteran was charged yesterday with firebombing Negro and Jewish residential areas from a small airplane to 'scare the pants off' left wing agitators."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

*The State* (Columbia, S. C.) 11/2/65. Dateline: Barnwell.

A fight erupted between Negro and white youths at a Halloween street dance. One Negro girl received a stab wound and three other Negroes reported injuries. Police suggested that the Negroes sign warrants for the arrest of whites responsible for the attack, whose pictures appeared in a newspaper. Civil rights workers helping with a voter registration project in the area said they did not pursue the matter "because it wouldn't do any good."

Greenville, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier* 11/20-21/65. Dateline: Greenville.

"When police halted a civil rights march here last Saturday, one officer's leg was broken and other policemen were hit by flying bricks, rocks and bottles."

To the city attorney, who was also injured, it was "clearly a case of anarchy."

Many of the young people involved were "in high spirits after the incident. They said it was provoked by police. Six of the marchers said they were hit with billy-clubs before the rock-throwing began."

Local Negroes, cooperating with SCLC's protest against "segregated justice," want "a better life, and they want the whites to know it . . . .

"Some white people still say they don't understand what the Negroes want. A slender 18-year-old Negro girl found this hard to believe.

" 'Nothing seems to help,' she said, 'We're trapped!!'. . . .

"One 15-year-old girl told a mass meeting that 'there ain't one of you here that's a man, because you let them cops make you run.'

"After Saturday's fray, a battered sign the marchers had carried lay on the ground.

"It said, 'Violence Is the Result of Ignorance, Peace is God's Way.' "

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 11/10/65. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A former Marine Corps surgeon has been charged with arson in the burning of two Negro churches and a home.

Baton Rouge, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/8/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (AP).

The FBI joined local investigators "seeking a reason for the explosions which destroyed a Baton Rouge printing shop late Saturday night."

The owner said "about 80 per cent of their jobwork was for churches, that they had printed no controversial material, and had not been involved in any labor disputes."

Prior to the bombing the FBI had made a routine investigation at the plant to determine if the owner had printed cards for the Ku Klux Klan. A few days later, the owner said, "a man came into the place with several pieces of literature he said he wanted printed for the KKK." The owner declined the job and "explained that the FBI had already checked his shop."

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 11/15/65.

The Memphis branch of the NAACP filed a complaint against two white police officers charging brutality. The complaint cited an incident in which a Negro mother was abused by police. The officers came to her home to investigate a complaint of disorderly conduct. "She stated that she told them no one there had called and there had been no disturbance. When the officers entered the house to search it, she said, she asked them if they had a search warrant and . . . (one of the officers) told her he did not need one."

She said the officers "proceeded into her children's rooms after she told them her daughters were in bed and some of the other children were preparing for bed."

The woman said she was "not allowed to put on street clothes before leaving the house and was shoved into her closet when she tried to dress. She also said she was kicked by one of the officers after being pushed out of the house."

The complaint also charged that she "was cursed in the presence of her children, aged 1 to 15 years."

She charged she was later beaten while in police custody.

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/1/65.

The partially decomposed body of an unidentified Negro was found in Lake Hico November 30. A deputy investigator described the victim as wearing carpenter's overalls with a red shirt tied around his waist.

"For this reason," the deputy said, "we would not rule out the possibility of foul play."

He said police feel that the shirt might have been used to drag the body to the water's edge.

Victoria, Lunenburg County, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 11/19/65 (AP).

A Negro youth suffered a scalp wound when he was shot from a passing car. He was standing in front of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee headquarters.

Charlotte, NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Charlotte (AP).

"The stillness of a foggy, rainy morning was broken by explosions at the large, modern homes of four Negro civil rights leaders. They and their families escaped injury although damage was extensive . . . .

"A city councilman, a federal court official, a dentist and the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were the targets of pre-dawn bombers Monday."

The head of "Operation Rebuilding" felt that "they (the bombers) have done much damage to four homes. They have done far greater damage to our community."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI
Greenwood *Commonwealth* 11/20/65. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

A white Unitarian minister who was active in civil rights work fled Mississippi due to renewed threats on his life. On August 22, 1965, he was hit in the back and side by a shotgun blast in what police called a "civil rights assassination attempt." A friend said the minister left because of threats against him and others in the downtown apartment building where he lives. He was asked to leave the building after other occupants were threatened.

Morton, MISSISSIPPI
Arkansas *Gazette* 11/3/65. Dateline: Jackson (UPI).

A Negro civil rights worker sued the mayor and town marshal of Morton, charging he was beaten and falsely imprisoned.

The CORE staff worker filed suit in federal district court, charging that the marshal blocked a march and beat him with "a large club or ax handle," while another white man covered the rest of the marchers with a shotgun. He said he was arrested and taken to city jail and again beaten before being placed in a cell. He said he then went before the mayor and was required to post $275 bond on charge of parading without a permit, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest.

Vicksburg, MISSISSIPPI
Jackson *Daily News* 11/30/65. Dateline: Vicksburg (UPI).

"A mysterious predawn explosion . . . heavily damaged a Negro grocery and shattered windows in several other buildings.

"Authorities said at least three persons were slightly injured in the blast in a racially-mixed business and residential section a few blocks from downtown Vicksburg."

Pelahatchie, MISSISSIPPI
Selma *Times-Journal* 11/8/65. Dateline: Pelahatchie (AP).

"An official report was being prepared today on a shooting in which a rural constable killed a Negro."

A white constable shot a 30-year-old Negro man to death when the man "came at him with an open pocketknife." The town marshal and night marshal witnessed the shooting, according to the local sheriff.

## DECEMBER

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA
Arkansas *GGazette* 12/6/65. Dateline: Bogalusa (UPI).

"An Italian woman musician on a tour date here Saturday was attacked by three

white women on the main business street. Her attackers apparently believed she was a civil rights worker.

"City officials apologized for the attack and provided police protection for the duration of the orchestra's stay here. There were no incidents at the concert and the group left town Sunday morning."

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

New York *Times* 12/22/65. Dateline: Atlanta.

The regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union charged that eleven Negro sharecroppers were being forced from their homes in Wilcox County for trying to register to vote.

The ACLU spokesman said some of the complaints seem "directly related to the intimidation section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965."

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON A STUDY OF ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN WILCOX, COUNTY, ALABAMA.

Submitted to the regional director of ACLU from a man living in Wilcox County.

A Negro couple registered to vote. The grocer demanded immediate payment of money owed for groceries: "You think you're smart. I'd like to take a damn two-by-four up side your head for registering. Get out of my store."

One of the families which was forced to move because of participation in demonstrations has no money, no food, and no credit. Their water was turned off by the city just after they took part in a protest march.

In many cases land was taken away and the rent raised from nothing to $25 per month. Most of the families involved make less than $1,000 a year.

A man whose mother was born in slavery on the land he was forced to leave is eighty-two years old. According to the study, "He did not want to move. No water or lights where he now lives. Will grow some corn."

One man and his wife, having no income other than $33 per month from Social Security, were told by their landlord that if they registered they would have to move. They registered and he carried out his threat.

A Negro woman voted in a state election. Her employer hit her with a broom and told her to "get out."

Liberty, SOUTH CAROLINA

*The State* (Columbia, S.C.) 12/12/65. Dateline: Liberty.

Headline: "INQUEST IN LIBERTY NEGRO SHOOTING SET"

A Brooklyn, New York, Negro was traveling through Liberty with his wife and family en route to Alabama. After a fruitless search for a place to spend the night, the man was taken to the police station, where officers made calls to find a place.

"When he was asked questions . . . [the man] was shot by a policeman after a brief scuffle with officers.

"The inquest will be held in the Liberty High School Auditorium."

West Feliciana Parish, LOUISIANA

New York *Times* 12/24/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (UPI).

"A Federal Court judge issued a temporary restraining order today against white landlords, barring them from evicting Negro tenants who have registered to vote. The case is the first test of the intimidation section of the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

United States District Judge E. Gordon West later ruled that the charges were not proved, and dissolved the injunction. He held some sections of the Voting Rights Act unconstitutional.

St. Francisville, LOUISIANA

Los Angeles *Times* 12/23/65. Dateline: St. Francisville.

Spokesmen for about 100 Negroes evicted for registering to vote reflected similar bitterness, resignation, and a degree of alienation expressed by men and women turned out of an abandoned Air Force base in Greenville, Mississippi in February:

"My sin, child, my only sin, was I wanted to be a citizen."

"Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

"I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

St. George, SOUTH CAROLINA

*The State* (Columbia, S.C.) 12/5/65. Dateline: St. George.

A young Negro was released on $25 bond after being charged with threatening the life of a Negro school principal. The incident came during a CORE-sponsored demonstration at the Negro high school.

"Meanwhile, Negroes reported that a cross was burned in a Negro section of St. George Friday night. The city police department and county sheriff's office said there had been no report made of the fire."

Hamburg, ARKANSAS

Arkansas *Gazette* 12/7/65. Dateline: Hamburg.

"First degree murder charges were filed Monday against two white brothers from Ashley County in the fatal shooting of a 14-year-old Negro boy.

"The boy was shot about 6 p.m. while standing in front of a cafe on the main street of Portland . . . ."

The Ashley County sheriff said that "as far as he could determine there was no provocation for the shooting."

Mobile, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier* 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Mobile.

"At least a thousand" leaflets blasting conditions at the Negro training school, attacking "Uncle Tom Negro preachers," two paper mills and an increase in bus fares appeared in the Magazine Point section of Mobile.

"Like the earlier leaflets, the new one refers to the Los Angeles riots of last summer. It calls the rioters 'heroes' for destroying white businesses and factories.

"Then the leaflet says, 'Be prepared, it's coming to Plateau and Magazine Point soon.'

"No recognized Negro leaders have supported the leaflet. Many of them have denounced it, but a few believe that it might do some good, even though they don't like it . . . .

"R. A. Holt, principal of the [Negro] school admitted, 'It might serve as a motivational force.' " (Referring to hastening construction of a long-promised Negro school.)

Jackson, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier* 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Jackson.

A Negro boy, attacked by white classmates, missed three weeks of school because he doesn't "want to lose . . . [his] life."

According to another Negro, the high school principal had called and warned that "things would get worse" if the boy returned.

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Selma Inter-Religious Project *Newsletter*, January, 1966.

"All our documentation [relating to people being evicted due to registering to vote], even our little interview with the Atty. Gen., has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hind-

sight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola."

Eutaw, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 12/6/65. Dateline: Tuscaloosa (AP).

"Conflicting reports were issued concerning the injury a Negro demonstrator hospitalized here received after a civil rights march in Eutaw Saturday night.

"Spokesmen for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reported the woman was shot as Negroes staged the after-dark demonstration.

"But officials . . . said they understood the woman walked into a wooden plank which had a large nail protruding from it."

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 12/7/65.

A fight between Negro and white students broke out at East Jefferson High School, which, after being desegregated for the first time in September, "has had sporadic incidents of racial fighting . . . . Deputies were on hand Monday as a result of court action by attorneys for Negro students.

"Attorneys for the Negro students said in their suit recently that on several occasions Negro students were threatened and beaten."

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/15/65. Dateline: Meridian.

"Meridian police and FBI agents today were investigating the shooting into a home of a Negro student at recently desegregated Meridian High School Tuesday night.

"The more than a dozen shots fired from a high-powered gun were believed fired from a passing auto."

Deerfield Beach, FLORIDA

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Deerfield Beach (UPI).

"Three young white men drove past a tavern crowded with Negroes here last night and sprayed it with bullets, wounding seven persons. A witness said they used a machine gun."

Fayette, MISSISSIPPI

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Fayette.

"A Negro civil rights leader stood at the base of the Jefferson County Confederate memorial, the centerpiece of a white-only park, and hurled defiance at armed white men."

The spokesman "warned the whites that violence would henceforth be met with violence.

"About 50 white men, some with rifles racked across the back windows of their pickup trucks, stood a few feet from the Negro crowd and listened in anger to [the speaker] . . .

" 'If you don't bring it [trouble] you won't get it,' he shouted at the whites. 'But if you bring it, you're going to get it. We're tired of your bombings and beatings. We've talked with you and we've prayed for you, and now we're going to sit and wait for you.'

"The Negroes cheered.

"The whites remained silent and grim."

## JANUARY

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/20/66. Dateline: New Orleans (AP).

A Negro church, target of vandals several times during the past eighteen months, was again hit by a packet of "relatively harmless" firecrackers.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/18/66.

The *News* announced that business practices prohibited its revealing the identity of the person who advertised Mrs. Viola Liuzzo's death-car, "bullet holes and everything still intact," for sale.

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Birmingham *News* 1/22/66. Dateline: Meridian.

Five men were convicted in police court of having "conspired to accomplish unlawful purposes" after their arrest for attempted cross-burning in the Meridian area.

"Crosses flared throughout the state the night of January 3 in what state law enforcement authorities claimed at the time was a planned 'Ku Klux Klan show of force.' "

New York *Times* 1/9/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

"Law enforcement officials said that nightriders burned at least 100 crosses in Mississippi and a church in Baker County, Ga., to protest civil rights gains and the resumption of a Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington where seven leaders were cited for contempt."

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/25/66. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A middle-Georgia storeowner who had volunteered information on the Ku Klux Klan said he had received telephone calls threatening both him and Representative Charles Weltner, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, one week prior to his store's being shot into by nightriders.

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/2/66. Dateline: Bogalusa.

A Negro man, after firing one warning shot, aimed a shotgun blast at a group of white men in his front yard. He claimed the men had previously fired shots into his home. One man was wounded.

Newton, GEORGIA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/11/66. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The sheriff of Baker County says an unidentified man threatened his life if he investigated the burning of a Negro church near here.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg (AP).

A "tense situation" resulted when police arrested a Negro participating in a memorial march honoring the NAACP official who died of burns when his store was firebombed January 11.

Natchez, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 1/3/66. Dateline: Natchez (AP).

The mayor's supermarket, which had been picketed by both the Ku Klux Klan and civil rights groups during recent months, was destroyed by fire New Year's Eve. Police said the fire was "definitely the work of arsonists."

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/6/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

A 21-year-old Tuskegee Institute freshman and "field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot to death . . . following a dispute with (an attendant) at the service station where the elderly white man was employed."

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Miami *Herald* 1/22/66.

Two young Negroes joined the rest of their family who had fled to Miami from Sunflower County. After taking part in voter registration in 1964 the father lost his job. One son was sentenced to one and a half years in reform school because he was in a shoe store at the time of a burglary. His brother was later accused of stealing a carton of cigarettes and given the same sentence.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Atlanta *Journal* 1/11/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg.

A Negro man, who according to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, "was engaged in the highest kind of citizenship—helping to secure basic rights for his fellow citizens," died of burns when his home and store were fire-bombed.

Camden, Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/24/66. Dateline: Camden (UPI).

A young Negro planned to attend what was described as a political meeting by an SCLC field secretary and what the local sheriff thought to be a funeral at Antioch Baptist Church. As he tried to turn off the highway into the church parking lot, his car was struck from the rear by another vehicle driven by a white man. The white pulled a pistol and shot the Negro in the head, leaving his body lying on highway 41. He turned himself in to the sheriff, who said that by the time he got to town several Negroes, "upset by the killing," had begun to gather around the body. The sheriff reported that the white man was "real upset."

Lowndes County, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/2/66. Dateline: Fort Deposit (AP).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee set up tents to house Negro families evicted after registering to vote.

The Lowndes County sheriff said that "it was quite possible that some families were diplaced," but he blamed automation and a changing economy for displacement.

The SNCC office in Atlanta had charged that 20 families had been told to move because of voting rights activities.

Southern *Courier* 1/8-9/66. Dateline: Freedom City, Lowndes County.

The sheriff said that "probably the families had to go because they weren't needed as the plantation changed over to cattle raising and mechanical cotton pickers . . ." One evicted sharecropper said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working."

To younger people, with "lots of children, Freedom City can't be the last stop. They will have to find land of their own to build houses and to work."

Application has been made to the Office of Economic Opportunity for $1,500 for each farmer to start a house.

"Not only would this program provide houses for people living in Freedom City tents, but it would also provide them with the work of building them.

"So although Freedom City residents know they can't live in tents forever, they still feel they are a community with a future in Lowndes County . . . .

"To one family, which doesn't want to leave the land they've farmed for generations, there is only one alternative to Freedom City:

" 'We've got to take some of the white man's land and build houses on it . . . . That's what you need to do—he got it all.' "

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/18/66.

"A group of Lowndes County Negroes has asked a federal court here to enjoin white landowners in Lowndes County from allegedly evicting Negro sharecroppers because the Negroes registered to vote." The plaintiffs charged that shots were fired at the "tent city" where several were living.

Franklin County, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 1/12/66. Dateline: Washington.

The Justice Department charged that Negroes in Franklin were "threatened

and intimidated by . . . cross burnings and the shooting of firearms at homes" when they exercised "freedom of choice" in school transfers.

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 1/22-23/66. Dateline: Mobile.

Another in a series of leaflets threatening violence warned that the Mobile County Training School (Negro) "will either be blown up or burned down in broad daylight."

Greenville, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Ministry Reports, February, 1966.

Median income for plantation Negroes in the Delta is $456. Because of mechanization and a one-third crop allotment reduction, the state employment service estimates that 4,706 of the 18,124 seasonal workers living with their families on plantations in the Delta will not be needed to work next year.

Of those already off the land and out of work, living in tent cities and abandoned shacks along the Delta, about 50 entered the unoccupied Air Force base at Greenville January 31. Some thirty hours later they were forced to move out by air police.

Following what for many of them was just another eviction, three spokesmen of the group held a press conference in the Delta Ministry office in Greenville. Out of this conference came specific grievances, resentments, frustrations, and anger, and a real sense of alienation from American society.

"I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

"We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

". . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

"We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

". . . The building was more respectable than poor hungry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways to do for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks . . . .

"The only reason . . . for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection."

A spokesman for the Delta Ministry recounted over a year's frustrating effort to get commodities distributed to poor people in the state. Each time a group within the county offered to distribute commodities the Department of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. In one instance immediately after the state department set up a commodity program the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another county the Food Stamp program was initiated. The Food Stamp program costs individuals money, so the very poor were not helped by it. Under a state-wide plan the welfare department is to get 24 million dollars worth of commodities from Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from OEO to distribute food to 500,000 for six months. The food was due to be ready for

distribution January 23. "When that day came we could not find (any) food being given out. And now it's February."

"I'd like to add to that to live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then . . . when they start qualifying you for commodities, they say you got to find our how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

". . . See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: It's political — that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor."

". . . You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored . . . The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future:

". . . Because of the fact that we was refused by the government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government."

Delta *Democrat-Times* 2/10/66.

"The Washington County Board of Supervisors plans to meet at 10 a.m. Friday to reconsider its decision Monday to reject county participation in an expanded food program.

The president of the board confirmed that "the supervisors will meet in the courthouse Friday and give further consideration to participation in a $24 million program announced by the State Welfare Dept.

"The reason given Monday for the board's rejection was that county farmers and merchants don't want it.

*"The program would probably benefit primarily Negroes and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."*

Montgomery, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/1/66.

Four whites, charged with "threatening and throwing rocks" at Negroes, were arrested after their car crashed into two other vehicles on the street where the rock-throwing occurred.

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

One man was arrested in the aftermath of a rock and bottle throwing riot which damaged 11 stores and a number of automobiles.

Macon County sheriff said the incident was triggered when a deputy tried to serve a warrant on one of students protesting the shooting death of a fellow student by a white service station attendant.

Washington *Post* 1/12/66.

Three men were arrested and charged with depositing trash in a public place after they placed a coffin in front of the White House. Spokesman for the three, who were protesting the shooting death of a Tuskegee, Alabama student, said, "A man is dead. We're getting tired."

## FEBRUARY

Helicon, Crenshaw County, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier,* 2/26-27/66. Dateline: Helicon.

A Negro, leading a demonstration against the school principal of Helicon Junior High School, was beaten by sheriff's deputies while trying to aid a boy who had been tear-gassed in the face. After receiving medical aid, the man was arrested and released on bond.

Earlier, on February 7, a *Courier* photographer was arrested for trespassing when he attempted to interview the principal.

In a related incident on the night of February 13 "a stick of dynamite exploded outside the home of a long-time civil rights worker in Crenshaw County," according to the sheriff.

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66. Dateline: Forest.

The county sheriff said he would "appreciate any information" regarding the identity of the party or parties who fired into the home of a 73-year-old retired Negro school teacher."

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/2/66. Dateline: Laurel.

A Laurel man was charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities found several sticks of dynamite in his automobile. He had previously been charged with shooting into the home of a local NAACP representative, but the Jones County Grand Jury failed to indict him.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier* 2/26/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

On Monday night about 150 demonstrators picketed a local supermarket. When they failed to move from the path of a white man's automobile, he fired an eight-shot, .32 calibre automatic into the crowd. Five people were wounded, two severely.

Kosciusko, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/4/66. Dateline: Kosciusko (AP).

Headline: "CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MAKE VIOLENT THREAT"

"A band of young civil rights workers say they intend to shoot back if their 'Freedom House' is again made the target of nightriders."

One of the college students living in the house was nicked by pellets on February 2, when a carload of "nightriders" pumped five shotgun blasts into it. The students had been keeping watch in the house since New Year's Eve, when someone tried to burn it down.

Elba, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 2/26/66. Dateline: Elba.

A blast triggered by ten sticks of dynamite ripped through one wing of Elba High School, where two Negro students entered the eleventh and twelfth grades last fall. Two hundred people had just left the building following a banquet, but authorities said there were no Negroes in the crowd.

Members of the Second Howitzer Battalion of the 117th Artillery in Elba "will have 35 men on duty . . . throughout the weekend to preserve evidence relating to the bombing."

Neshoba County, MISSISSIPPI

*Delta Democrat-Times* 2/21/66. Dateline: Neshoba County, (UPI).

A small Mennonite church, burned in 1964 during investigation of the murders of three civil rights workers, was dynamited Feb. 19.

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66.

"A representative of the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. filed suit . . . in Hinds County Court against four civil rights organizations and their directors in connection with the burning of a church March 5, 1965 . . . .

"In the declaration . . . (the representative) said, the defendants began renting the church July 24, 1964, with the purpose of achieving full and complete integration of Negro citizens into the political and economic life of the state of Mississippi.

"Shortly after the organizations moved into the building, the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. was notified that its fire insurance policy had been canceled due to the fact that the property was being used for a different purpose than it was when the policy of insurance was issued. The association then found out that no insurance company was willing to insure the property."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 2/23/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

Authorities discovered a "time-bomb factory," which they think may lead them to the "Birmingham Bombers" who terrorized the city early in 1965.

The county sheriff said the time bombs were "made and set out by members of an organization. He did not identify the organization."

Prattville, ALABAMA

*Southern Courier* 2/19-20/66. Dateline: Prattville.

A Negro youth was beaten by "at least a dozen" white boys as he was repairing his car at a service station. He was arrested, and, "while in the car . . . he said that someone would get even with his attackers.

"The next thing he knew he was belted over the head again.

"The youth was rushed to the hospital, treated, and released . . . . "

He was "charged with resisting arrest and released on bond."

Zachary, LOUISIANA

The New York *Times* 2/8/66. Dateline: Zachary (UPI).

"A Negro's house was bombed last night, the fourth such mysterious explosion involving Negroes since last summer in the Baton Rouge areas."

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/1/66. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

"A retired Negro school teacher has said his Forest, Miss., home was riddled with gunfire a week ago on the eve of the desegregation of two Forest schools."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Clarion-Ledger-Daily News* 2/13/66. Dateline: Jackson.

"With one dissenting vote, the Senate passed a tightly written bill making it a felony for any person to fire a deadly weapon into a residence or other inhabited structure.

"The offense is currently classed a misdemeanor and carries a light fine and lighter jail sentence. The existing statute is so loosely written that it has occasionally led law officers in rural areas to laugh off volleys of gunshots fired into homes if no injury is reported.

"Officers have been prone to assume the negativistic attitude that since the offense is a misdemeanor, why bother to conduct a full-fledged investigation? A conviction, they have reasoned, would hardly be worth the time, effort and expense consumed by a thorough probing.

"This unfortunate fact, coupled with a barrage of civil rights activity in the state, has triggered the imagination of certain groups of people. The result has been a number of incidents in which nightriders fire upon the homes of persons they do not see eye to eye with."

Morven, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 3/3/66. Dateline: Morven (AP).

A white Methodist minister who set up a Negro Bible school near Morven, said he was being transferred to a church in Mecklenburg County because he feared "violence to my family."

"He said the first sign of any objection to the Bible school came in January when he found what appeared to be a bullet hole in the rear of his station wagon . . . .

"He said his family had received numerous telephone calls, some sympathetic, some curious and some objectionable."

Atlanta, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 2/25/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

The mayor of Atlanta and a young Negro "exchanged heated words Thursday night over whether Negroes living in Atlanta slums will stage a Watts-type riot here to improve their lot.

" 'Atlanta may have some violent disorders as we've seen in Watts,' warned . . . a spokesman from the Vine City Council.

" 'Your statement in my opinion is totally erroneous,' " the major retorted.

After being warned that "Negroes in Atlanta are getting anxious . . . . the mayor repeated, " 'I say to you again, there won't be another Watts in Atlanta. It'll have to happen over the top of me and a couple of other people I know.' "

The mayor then went on to discuss water pollution, finances and the police department.

Irvington, NEW JERSEY

*Delta Democratic-Times* 2/21/66. Dateline: Irvington (UPI).

The NAACP field director from Mississippi, "brother of slain Medgar Evers, Sunday called for a violent answer to violence in the South."

He "claimed there were 32 unsolved civil rights deaths in Mississippi since the death of his brother, June, 1964.

"He said the FBI and the Justice Dept. 'had no intention of bringing justice' to the murderers of his brother, formerly the NAACP field director in Mississippi.

" 'It's time to start killing,' . . . (he) said. 'I will do all that I have to do so that Medgar is avenged.'

"He told his audience the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the nightriders would have to be answered by violence.

" 'We'll have to lay and wait for them at night, and fight with them all day,' he said. 'No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves.' "

# THE CONTINUING CRISIS

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

*a student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation*

# HOW OUR ECONOMY WORKS

By

Herman Erickson

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Prepared for: University of Illinois
Institute of Labor & Industrial Relations
Division of University Extension

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# FOREWORD

It is difficult, if not impossible, to be completely accurate in brief statements about economic principles, which must fit a variety of circumstances, without making more elaborate explanations. Most texts on this subject are rather bulky volumes of several hundred pages, and many of them express different interpretations. These notes are not intended to be a self-sufficient text in economics. They are intended as a basis for class analysis and discussion, particularly for labor groups. The statements themselves take on meaning only when they are explained, discussed, and perhaps modified by group analysis.

From the author's point of view, this is a brief outline of some basic principles of how our economy works. It is not expected that everyone will agree with all the statements. However, these notes may be useful as a basis for class discussion and as a reference for those who have taken a course in "How Our Economy Works."

It is well to remember that at best these notes can be but inadequate statements concerning a large and controversial subject.

Herman Erickson

Professor of Labor and
Industrial Relations and Extension

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# INTRODUCTION

## Terms Which Are Often Quoted

## But Seldom Defined

**Americanism**

With the exception of the thinking of persons with Indian blood, all American ideas were originated by foreigners or descendants of foreigners.

When referring to economic institutions, the TVA is as American as U.S. Steel.

> The merit of an idea should be evaluated on the basis of its effectiveness in achieving a desired result--regardless of who thought of it first.

**Free Enterprise**

. . . does not mean something we inherited and therefore did not pay for.

. . . does not mean freedom to do completely as we please in the operation of a business. The government places many restrictions on business as well as other groups today.

Briefly, the term means the freedom to engage in a business and to compete with other businesses. Today there are so many restrictions that "Private Enterprise" seems to be a better term.

**Depression**
**Recession**
**Readjustment**

During the 1930's, everybody agreed that the economy was operating at such a low level that it was in a depression. The word recession has been used to indicate a more moderate decline in business activities. Readjustment has been used recently to indicate a temporary economic maladjustment, presumably to be followed by a "level" economy.

All three terms are used to designate varied degrees of economic maladjustment. There are no precise lines which indicate the differences in their meanings.

## Some Basic Concepts

**Economics**

Economics is a study of the collective efforts of mankind to satisfy their material needs and wants.

It is concerned with --

- -- How and how much -- technique and volume of output of goods and services.
- -- What is to be produced.
- -- For whom -- distribution of income.

These three factors determine the economic welfare of the people.

**Economic Behavior**

Economics is concerned with psychology because human behavior is a basic factor in economics.

Each individual in the economy is motivated in large measure by self-interest. He is moved to promote the welfare and security of himself and his family.

A lot of individual behaviors make up the total economy.

**The Total Economy**

We can only get at economic processes by looking at the total economy. The parts of the economy are not independent but are interrelated. A depression in one industry may affect the entire economy.

The entire national economy tends to function as a single complex unit which is influenced by economies of other parts of the world as well.

**The Individual and the Total Economy**

The individual's immediate interest may not appear to be consistent with the general welfare. The individual, in doing what seems to be best for himself, may be doing others or even himself economic injury.

Prices can be raised by spending and lowered by saving; but we, individually, tend to spend when prices should be lowered and save when prices should be raised. When prices are increasing, people tend to buy before prices go higher. This will hasten the price increase.

The individual welfare is dependent on the general welfare more nearly than the other way around as some early economists assumed.

**Scarcity**

Nature does not provide goods in the forms desirable or useful for human consumption. Nature provides raw materials out of which human effort creates the things we want and need. What we may consume is limited by what we produce.

The problems of production and distribution arise from this scarcity and our efforts to overcome it.

**Collective Effort**

"Common" interest is the implicit purpose of an economic society. We can do together what is impossible to do individually.

**Interdependence**

No individual worker produces for his own use -- Except very incidentally. Most of the things consumed by each individual are produced by others. The farmer uses the products of steelworkers, machinists, and equipment workers. These in turn use the products of building tradesmen, factory workers, and farmers.

We depend on the demands of others in what we produce and on the products of others for what we consume.

**The Use of Facts**

Facts can describe a situation. The amount and Distrubution of the national income, and the volume of output, the volume of sales, the wage rates, and fluctuations in the cost of living are economic facts.

Facts will describe a situation, but not a function. Facts will tell us <u>what</u>, but not necessarily <u>why</u> or <u>how</u>.

**The Economic Process**

E

The economy as a whole is a process of cause and effect relationships. Human nature will respond to the environment, but man can influence and change his environment.

Men shape the economic institutions of which they amy be both the victims and the beneficiaries.

## The Process of Production

**Priduction and Exchange**

People sell their services and the use of property for money income. With this money they buy the goods created by the combination of their labor and capital.

What and how much goods shall be produced are determined by the kind and quantity of goods people are willing and able to buy. They are limited by the availability of productive resources.

**Productive Resources**

Our capacity to produce is determined by --

- -- The volume and effectiveness of human effort (manpower and productivity).
- -- The availability of natural resources.
- -- The extent of mechanization and other forms of capital development.

All three factors are essential to modern industry.

**Techniques of Production**

Improved machinery and new production methods have increased productivity. Increases in productivity are best expressed in terms of output per man hour.

The average increase in output per man hour for the economy as a whole is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year. (See Table 1.)

**Private Enterprise**

Ownership is based on three different types of business organization --

- -- The single enterprise -- owned by one person who assumes responsibility for the success or failure of the business.
- -- The partnership -- owned by two or more persons. Each partner has full liability for the debts of the business.
- -- The corporation -- owned by stockholders. It combines the savings of many people in one enterprise. The individual stockholders are not liable for the debts of the corporation.

The predominant method of ownership in the United States is private enterprise.

Public Enterprise

This includes industries owned by the federal, state, or municipal government, or a subdivision thereof. Some are run directly by an agency of the government. Others are administered apart from the government through autonomous public corporations. In addition to outright public ownership, there is public control over various phases of private enterprise.

Public ownership is most frequently found in public utility or public service enterprises.

However, even in this area, public enterprise accounts for only a part of the total industry.

# INCOME

## Sources of Income

**Service**

Service income includes wages, salaries, and commissions. Earnings in this category are based on effort and skill.

This includes income earned by skilled and unskilled labor, white-collar workers, professional men, and executives and managers.

**Ownership**

Ownership income includes relatively fixed income received from interest on bonds, mortgages, etc., and rent on real estate.

It also includes income from investment which will vary in amount, depending on business conditions.

These incomes are derived from ownership of property and investment of money.

**Self-Employment**

There is a large group of persons in the economy who receive income from both ownership and service. It is difficult to divide this income accurately between the two sources.

Included in this group are farmers who work their own farms and owner-operators of small business establishments.

## The National Income

**Total National Income**

For the third quarter of 1964 the national income amounted to $514,500,000,000.
(See Table 8.)

This total includes all of the labor and property incomes earned in producing the national output of goods.

National Income by Distributive Shares (See Table 8)

The amount of the national income is stated in current dollars. When the price level goes up or down, it will be reflected in the amount which represents the national income. The distributive shares (i.e., the shares going to labor, property owners, etc.), of the national income would not be affected by fluctuations in the price level if income and prices moved at the same pace for all income groups.

During periods of rapidly rising prices, the percentage of the national income which is paid out in wages and salaries tends to decline while the percentage which goes into profits tends to increase.

Distribution by Income Level

In 1957 about 21 per cent of the spending units received annual incomes of less than $2,000 and only 5 per cent of the national money income. At the other end of the scale, 8 per cent of the spending units received annual incomes of $10,000 or more and 25 per cent of the national money income. (See Table 4.)

The relative distribution of income changed during the ten-year period beginning with 1947 and ending with 1957. In 1947, 14 per cent of the spending units had incomes of $5,000 and over while 50 per cent had incomes between $2,000 and $5,000 and 36 per cent had less than $2,000 in annual income. (See Chart 1.) In 1957, 43 per cent had incomes of $5,000 and over, 36 per cent had incomes between $2,000 and $5,000, and 21 per cent had incomes under $2,000. It should be noted that some of this change has been cancelled out by changes in the price level. The Consumer Price Index increased by 26 per cent during this period. (See Table 2.)

Income Units by Tenths (See Table 5.)

The relative economic position of the lowest tenth of the income units did not change during the ten-year period. In both 1947 and 1957 this group received only 1 per cent of the total income.

When we divide the income units in half, we find a moderate change. In 1947 the upper half received 79 per cent of the national income while in 1957 the upper half received 78 per cent and in 1962 this had declined to 77 per cent. The greatest change is in the income of the top tenth whose share dropped from 33 per cent to 29 per cent in 1957 and 28 per cent in 1962.

**Workers' Income**

Gross average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries in February, 1959, was $88.00, in current dollars. (See Table 3.) In terms of 1947-49 dollars, the take-home pay of a worker with three dependents was $64.02.

Annual income varies considerably from year to year for individuals and groups, depending on the volume and stability of employment.

The workers' real income must be computed on the basis of a stable dollar. If their money income merely keeps pace with prices, their real income remains unchanged.

**City Workers' Family Budget**

In Chicago the annual cost of a "modest but adequate" level of living for a four-person family in October, 1951, was $4,185. (See Table 6.)

This "budget" is based on the cost of a representative list of goods and services considered necessary by urban families to provide for health, efficiency, the nurture of children, and participation in social and community activities.

**Occupational Differences in Income**

Following is a sample list of average weekly earnings in a few industrial classifications for November, 1964:

| | |
|---|---|
| Average for all manufacturing | $104.70 |
| Laundries, cleaning and dyeing plants | 56.36 |
| General Building Contractors | 122.11 |
| Flat glass manufacturing | 151.98 |

(Source: Monthly Labor Review)

Factors which account for some of these differences in earnings are the supply of and demand for the different degrees of skill and the extent of unionization in the craft or industry.

**Business Executives**

The annual income of corporation executives may range from $25,000 to $200,000 with a few getting a great deal more than this top figure. The salary schedule tends to vary with the size of the corporation, although there is no rule-of-thumb guide to the size of executive salaries.

Some move stars receive salaries which compare favorably with those of executives of the largest corporations.

**Inequalities in the Distribution of Income**

Uneven distribution of income may be both a cause and effect of economic problems. Poor business can be the result of too many people having low incomes. A rapid rise in prices may leave low income groups with even lower real incomes.

Trade union action and governmental taxation and fiscal policies may affect the amount and distribution of spendable income.

**The Meaning of Income to the Individual**

A steady money income is essential so that a person can provide food, clothing, and shelter for himself and his family.

A person's expenditures for education, recreation, health, travel, and charity will vary with the amount of income.

# PRICES

## Price Determination

**Supply and Demand**

When the demand is high relative to the supply, the price will be "high." When the supply is large relative to the demand, the price will be "low."

> Effective demand must be represented by buying power--money or credit. Available buying power may fluctuate between different products. When a person spends more money on one product, he has less to spend on others.

**Three Kinds of Demand**

Demand for a commodity is elastic when a fall in prices would cause an increase in the amount of money spent for that commodity or when an increase in prices would cause a decrease in the amount of money spent.

Demand for a commodity is inelastic when a fall in prices would cause a decrease in the amount of money spent for that commodity or when an increase in prices would cause an increase in the amount of money spent.

Demand for a commodity is unity when a rise or fall in prices would not change the total amount spent.

> Total demand is determined by total money income. This amount is not necessarily altered by any individual price change. Total demand tends to be unity except in periods of substantial inflation or deflation.

**Demand for Different Products**

Demand for some food products is rather inelastic. This fact aggravates the farm problem. When crops are large, the price the farmer gets for his products decreases much faster than demand increases--leaving an unsold surplus. This is the reason for government support for farm prices. The demand for such items as television sets or automobiles may be elastic.

> If the price of wheat should drop 50 per cent, the quantity of wheat sold would not be doubled. However, if the price of television sets were cut 50 per cent, the number sold might more than double.

**Prices and Production**

A rise in the price of a commodity will tend to cause more of that commodity to be produced. As more is produced, the price will tend to decline.

Thus the price mechanism will operate to establish an equilibrium of supply and demand.

## Competition and Monopoly

**Competition**

Perfect competition is usually defined as a condition which exists when many firms sell identical products.

Perfect competition will yield the largest quantity of goods at the lowest possible price.

**Monopoly**

Monopoly is usually defined as a condition which exists when one firm sells a completely unique product.

Under monopoly the supply and the price would be set at a point that would yield the highest return to the company. If the product is one with an elastic demand, the price would be lower and the quantity higher than in the case of a product with an inelastic demand.

**Degrees of Competition and Monopoly**

American business today is characterized by wide variations of competition and partial or substantial monopoly. The extent of competition, or monopoly power, varies from industry to industry and from product to product.

It may be harder to keep competition out if a monopoly becomes too profitable.

Substantial competition may make it difficult, or impossible, to reap high profits.

This may lead to formal and informal combinations to reduce competition and to improve the chances for profit.

**The Price Level**

The price level means an average of all prices. It concerns mainly the cost-of-living or what is more accurately called the Consumer Price Index. This price index is based on a budget of goods and services purchased by the families of urban wage earners and salaried clerical workers. (See Table 2.)

The cost-of-living is determined by consumer buying power (effective total consumer demand) in proportion to the volume of goods offered for sale (demand).

**Consumer Buying Power**

Most of the consumers get their buying power from wages, salaries, and self-employment. The persons whose main source of income is from stocks and bonds are a minority in modern society.

A decline in employment may be a major cause of a decline in consumer income. An increase in employment will have the opposite effect.

**Consumer Behavior**

A consumer may spend less than his income by saving, or he may, for a short period, spend more than his income by buying on credit. The consumer's behavior may be determined by whether or not he thinks prices will go up or down.

The trend of prices may determine the rate of spending while the rate of spending will determine the price trend. In the long run, however, the consumer cannot spend more than his income. His behavior is limited by his income.

**Industrial Expansion**

Industrial expansion (e.g., the building of new plants or improving of the old ones) creates employment and increases wage incomes.

This will tend to increase prices also.

**Government Spending**

When a government spends more than it receives in taxes, it is giving the consumers more purchasing power than it takes away.

This adds to total consumer buying power and will cause an increase in the level of consumer prices. It also causes an increase in the national debt.

## Wages and Prices

**General Wage Increases**

Increasing money wages for workers as a group without increasing production will tend to increase prices in general.

The amount of the price increase will be determined by the ratio of the wage increase to total buying power.

A 10 per cent increase in money wages cannot be responsible for more than a 10 per cent increase in prices.

If wages constitute 60 per cent of the national income, a 10 per cent increase in wages will add only 6 per cent to the national income and should directly cause only a 6 per cent increase in the price level.

**Wages in an Industry**

Increasing money wages for workers in an entire industry without increasing productivity will increase the cost or production in that industry. Within an entire industry, companies can more easily add this cost increase to the price of their products because there is little competition on this score. The result will be an increase in the prices of the products of that industry.

An increase in real wages in one industry will thus be paid for by consumers.

**Wages in a Single Plant**

An increase in wages in one plant may increase real wages at the expense of profit. Competition with other plants may prevent a price increase.

# MONEY

## The Function of Money

**The Meaning of Money**

Money is a medium of exchange (purchasing power). People want money not for itself but for what it will buy.

It is a measure of value.

Money is a medium of distributing the products of industry.

**Desirable Qualities**

Money must be generally acceptable. The storekeeper must be willing to take your money without fear or doubt about its value.

Money must be relatively limited in quantity. Too much money means extreme inflation which destroys the value of money.

Money must be divisible into small change or any specified amount in order to accommodate all kinds of purchases.

**The Value of Money**

The value of money is another way of referring to the price level, except that the movement of the value of money is the reverse of price fluctuations. That is, when prices go up, the value of money is going down.

The value of money is determined by the quantity of money relative to the quantity of goods.

**Precious Metals**

Gold and silver have been used as money in various parts of the world. Not too long ago it was thought necessary to have "gold backing" for paper money. Now we think that factors in the economy, plus banking and fiscal policies, will control the quantity of money; and this is what gives money its value.

The fact that gold has some monetary uses tends to increase the value of gold rather than the other way around.

## Kinds of Money

**General Classification**

Generally speaking, we have three kinds of money today: metal currency, paper money, and bank deposits.

The first two represent the cash we use for daily small transactions, such as buying groceries, while the bulk of the nation's money is bank deposits.

**Metal Currency**

Metal currency includes copper pennies, nickel five-cent pieces, and the various denominations of silver coins.

All these together constitute only about 4 per cent of the community's cash.

**Paper Money**

The dollar bills are Silver Certificates. Most other denominations of paper bills are Federal Reserve Notes. The dollar bill is redeemable for a silver dollar, but Federal Reserve Notes are redeemable for lawful money. This means that you can go to the bank and exchange your $10 bill for another $10 bill any time you wish to do so.

The bulk of our currency is "folding money."

**Bank Deposits**

Bank deposits are made up of demand deposits which are subject to withdrawal by checking. Payment by check is more convenient for paying large amounts, for making payment by mail, for providing a receipt in the form of a cancelled check, and for protection against loss.

The amount of all our bank deposits is usually four times as large as the total of our paper and metal currency.

## Bank Credit

**Functions of Banks**

The primary functions of commercial banks are to receive deposits, honor checks drawn upon them, and lend money to individuals and businesses.

There are between 14,000 and 15,000 commercial banks in the United States.

**Creating Deposits**

The banking system can create money by lending because the borrower usually does not want his money in cash. The process is something like this:

1. The borrower makis a bank deposit and receives a check book.

2. He spends the money by drawing checks which are either deposited in a bank or cashed.

3. In the case of checks which are deposited, no cash has left the banking system. In the case of checks which are cashed, the cash is spent with merchants who redeposit the money in the bank.

In either case only small amounts of cash have left the bank temporarily. All that has happened is that deposits have been created and subsequently the ownership of these deposits has been shifted on the books of the bank from one depositor to others.

**Cash Reserves**

A bank needs only enough cash to carry on day-to-day business. Cash held by the bank is known as the cash reserve. The reserve requirements are set within legal limits by the Federal Reserve Board.

If the reserve requirement against demand deposits is 20 per cent, it is legally possible for the banking system to have deposits in an amount five times as large as the cash reserves. A 20 per cent reserve is much larger than is normally necessary.

**The Federal Reserve Bank**

Federal Reserve Banks are bankers' banks. Their primary function is to lend money to commercial banks. When a bank which is a member of the Federal Reserve System needs cash, it can borrow on approved securities from the Federal Reserve Bank.

It is possible, through the banking system, not only to expand the supply of money by expanding credit deposits but also to expand the cash (currency) reserve which can be the basis for further credit expansion.

# PROFITS, WAGES, AND SAVINGS

## The Profit Motive

**Profit as Motive**

Private enterprise produces goods to sell at a profit. The owners of industrial enterprises may be motivated by a number of other factors, but without profit private business cannot thrive.

> No business can sell goods at a loss and stay in business. In the case of a monoply, profit may be a motive to cut production.

**An Incentive to Invest**

Profit is an incentive to invest in productive enterprise. Investment tends to vary with the prospect of profit. When the prospect for profit is good, the volume of investment capital can be expanded through bank credit.

> There need never be a shortage of investment funds, although investors' anticipations of future prospects may restrict these funds.

**Profit and Industrial Expansion**

Industry and business will tend to expand when profits are high or are rising. Industry tends to stop expanding when profits are low or are declining.

> The trend of profits may be more important that the rate of profits in stimulation industrial growth.

**Source of Profits**

Money profits must be taken from Consumer money income in the selling price (the price the consumer pays for the product). Most such income is received as payment for service in production of the goods offered for sale. This income tends to be only large enough to buy the product at the cost of production. The added consumer buying power must come from --

1. Consumer credit.

2. Employment in the production of exports in excess of imports.

3. Employment in the construction or improvement of industrial plants and equipment which are financed by investment of savings or bank credit.

4. Employment resulting from government deficit spending (when the government spends more than it receives).

That portion of consumer income which can yield a profit to industry must come from employment which does not add to current output of consumer goods, or it must come as a result of many consumers living beyond their current income. (For figures on productivity and wages, see Tables 1 and 3.)

## Savings and Investment

**Reinvested Profit**

Reinvested profit will help to maintain consumer money income. Investment money goes into the construction of plants and equipment and comes to the consumers as wages, salaries, and other incomes.

Reinvested profit may become a revolving fund which forces a rapid expansion of industry and a rapid growth of ownership and power for the recipients of large profits.

**Consumer Buying Power**

Profits will be high when consumer buying power is high relative to total output, or profits will rise when consumer buying power is rising relative to output. Consumer buying power is determined by consumer income. Most people receive their income from --

1. Wages from business and industry.

2. Operating a farm.

3. Operating a small business.

To sell the total output at a stable rate of profit, it is necessary for consumer income to increase at the same rate as productivity.

**Savings**

Money income which is saved does not remove goods from the market. When profit, wages, or any other form of income is saved, the amount must be made up by additional income elsewhere.

Others may borrow and spend what some people save.

**Savings and Investment**

Savings, regardless of whether they originate with profits, salaries, or wages, must be matched by either investment in industrial expansion, exports in excess of imports, government deficit spending, or consumer credit.

Those with high incomes own most of the savings. (See Table 10.)

## Wage Income

**Wages as Consumer Income**

Wages and salaries make up more than 60 per cent of the annual national income. (See Table 8.) This includes many low incomes. Persons with low incomes must spend their entire incomes on the necessities of life. Persons with high incomes can elect to spend, save, or invest any amount beyond what is necessary for a comfortable livelihood.

Consumer spending can be increased effectively by increasing incomes at the low income level.

**Total Wage Incomes**

"Total wages" is the sum total of all wages received by all wage earners. During a depression real wage rates may increase as a result of declining prices, but total buying power of wage earners will shrink because of declining employment.

To compute the trend of total real wage income, it is necessary to consider average weekly earnings, the total number of employed wage earners, and the trend of the cost of living.

**Increasing Wage Income**

Total purchasing power of earners can increase by --

1. Wage increases not offset by price increases.
2. Expansion of employment. This can be done by private or public investment.
3. Consumer credit.

The government can indirectly increase workers' spendable income by reducing taxes.

**Consumer Credit**

Expansion of consumer credit can be a temporary means of expanding consumer spending power. To be effective, consumer credit must continue to expand. When it stops expanding it means that new loans are being made at the same rate as payments on old loans. This reduces spending to current consumer income. When consumer credit declines, total consumer spending will decline. When a worker with an annual income of $4,000 buys $2,000 worth of goods on credit, he must pay for it out of his next year's income. This means in effect that he has reduced his next year's income by half.

Spending next year's income this year increases this year's spending but reduces next year's. The illusion of prosperity will be temporary.

(For volume of consumers' credit see Table 7)

# INTERNATIONAL TRADE

## The Mechanics of Trade Between Nations

**Trading Goods for Goods**

In the international market, goods are exchanged for goods. Exports can be paid for ultimately only by imports.

Gold shipments take place when imports and exports are out of balance.

**Making International Payments**

When we export goods to England, we receive payment in dollars, but England can acquire dollars only by selling goods to us. The local merchant who imports goods from England uses dollars to buy pounds to make payment. British pounds can be acquired only by exporting goods to Britain. Foreign countries can get U. S. dollars only by selling us goods or services.

Each nation's money is good only for buying goods within its own borders. When trade between nations takes place, an exchange rate will determine the relative value of the different moneys.

**Item of Trade**

Among the items which are included in the international balance of trade, in addition to merchandise, are tourist expenditures and shipping services which are usually referred to as "invisible" items.

The expenditures of American tourists abroad have the same effect as imports into the United States.

**Capital Movements**

When Americans make investments abroad, it means the export of capital goods (productive facilities).

The collection of dividends from these investments means either a reinvestment in the same country or an export from that country to ours.

**Implications of Export Capital**

Investment abroad means (1) a market in the form of export, (2) an import of dividends, and (3) a competitor for domestic and foreign markets.

Foreign investments will expand domestic employment by production for export without the immediate necessity of a balancing import.

**World Industrial Development**

U. S. investments in underdeveloped foreign countries will hasten the development of modern industries throughout the world. This will raise the world standard of living.

U. S. investments abroad may, however, run into political complications which contain serious international implications.

## Advantages of International Trade

**World Specialization**

Wheat can be grown on the central plans of the United States, where it will grow best, and can then be exchanged for coffee, tropical fruits, or some manufactured goods which can be produced best in some other part of the world.

The world-wide trading of goods produced most economically in areas of geographic specialization will result in the highest world output of goods.

**Resources for Modern Industry**

Modern industry must get raw materials from a world market. For example, (1) metals used in the manufacture of high grade steel come from many parts of the world, and (2) rubber comes from areas which were largely inaccessible to us during World War II so that we had to go to the expense of building synthetic rubber plants.

Modern industry needs world trade because of the world distribution of raw materials.

**A High Level of Living**

By encouraging production where goods can be turned out most efficiently, free world trade will increase the total world production. This increased production will raise the level of living throughout the world.

People everywhere will have a greater variety of goods in larger quantities.

## Trade and Employment

**The Export Market**

Exports are matched by imports when trade is balanced. Employment will increase to the extent that international trade stimulates increases in total production. Exports in excess of imports can add proportionately to employment. This condition can prevail if we export capital as investments or if the government gives the goods away on a deficit budget. When a government foreign aid program is financed on a balanced budget, it merely means that taxpayers are paying for the exports out of current income. This does not necessarily add to domestic employment.

Temporarily we can export without imports by selling goods abroad on credit.

**Competition with Cheap Labor**

Exports must be paid for eventually by imports. Therefore, there is always a tendency toward balance. As long as imports and exports are in balance, there is no loss of employment on either side. When we export expensive goods in exchange for cheaper imported products, we are merely making available to domestic consumers a large number of cheap products instead of a small number of expensive products.

In such cases, the consumer gets more and cheaper products while the rate of employment remains unchanged.

This may, of course, require some shifting of investment and employment from less efficient to more efficient industries.

**Tariffs**

High tariffs will stop exports by stopping imports. This means that workers are employed in "protected" domestic trade industries rather than in export industries.

Consumers will have fewer and more expensive products. This may lead to a reduction in total employment and a decline in consumer buying power.

# PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION

## Price Movements

**Business Cycles**

When demand for goods is low, business is bad; and when the demands for goods is high, business is good. Fluctuations in demand for goods depend upon fluctuations in consumer buying power (consumer income). These up-and-down ovements of business conditions are referred to by economists as the business cycle.

Business conditions are rarely stable. There are almost constant fluctuations in the volume of business, prices, production, and employment.

**Inflation**

Inflation is defined as an increase in money income without a corresponding increase in the production of goods offered for sale.

An inflationary trend usually accompanies an upward swing of the business cycle or prosperity.

**Who gains by Inflation?**

Individuals who reap the greatest gain during a period of inflation are (1) those who speculate in property values, (2) merchants, and (3) debtors.

Persons who put their money into property, even in they must borrow the money are the chief gainers. It is the time for investment and industrial expansion.

**Who Loses by Inflation?**

Those who lose during inflation are (1) persons with savings, (2) persons with fixed rates of income or those whose income fails to keep pace with rising prices, and (3) creditors.

Persons who own money or who lend money lose. Banks, however, need not lose to the same extent because they lend other people's money.

**General Results**

The general results of an inflation usually are (1) decline in real wage rates, (2) an increase in employment, (3) an increase in profits, (4) high production, and (5) a high rate of industrial expansion.

These may not be the ultimate results if the inflation becomes excessive or gets out of control.

**Deflation**

Deflation is defined as a decline in money income without a corresponding decline in output of goods.

Deflation usually means a surplus of goods on the market, unemployment, and depression.

**Effect on Individuals**

What happens to individuals during a period of deflation is the opposite of what happens during inflation.

Investment is hazardous and saving is profitable. Saved money will increase in value as prices go down.

**Results of Deflation**

The general results of deflation usually are (1) real wage rates increase, (2) unemployment increases, (3) profits decline, (4) production declines, and (5) industrial expansion slows down.

Severe deflation will result in business failures and depression.

## Employment

**The Labor Force**

The labor force increases as the population increases. In order to have full employment, it is necessary that employment increase at the same rate as the labor force.

If employment merely stops increasing, unemployment will increase.

**Unemployment is Cumulative**

When total consumer income fails to keep pace with the total output of consumer goods, employment will decline. A decline in employment will cause a further decline in consumer income which will again further reduce employment. This is the process of cumulative unemployment.

To stop this process it is necessary to take measures to counteract growing unemployment.

**Reduced Earnings**

It is possible for payrolls to decline without an increase in unemployment.

Weekly paychecks can be reduced by a reduction in the work week.

**Economic Behavior**

From an over-all economic standpoint, people tend to behave wrongly during both deflation and inflation. During deflation and depression when the need is to increase employment, private investors are conspicuously absent. People who save instead of investigating make the depression worse. On the other hand, during an upswing in prices and business activity, increasing prospects of profit will stimulate the expansion of bank bredit into investment channels and thereby increase the inflationary trend.

For this reason, some form of government action usually is called for to check both inflation and deflation.

**Slowing Down the Depression**

Some factors which may slow down the development of a depression are --

1. Unemployment insurance which provides the unemployed worker with some income for a period after he becomes unemployed.

2. Insurance of bank deposits which protect the small saver from losing his savings when he needs them most.

3. Pensions which provide some income for retired workers.

The value of some of these factors will be reduced when an inflation preceded the recession.

Government Action

The government can increase consumer income by a number of methods. Among them are --

1. Cutting taxes and thereby increasing spendable income.

2. Increasing employment through public works.

3. Giving outright gifts to consumers through relief programs.

4. Establishing supports for farm income.

5. Stimulating investment through lowering the interest rate.

6. Increasing consumer potential spending by decreasing restraints on consumer credit.

Government action to increase consumer income cannot be financed by a tax on consumer income. The customary method of financing such measures is by a government deficit.

7. Maximum welfare with maximum individual freedom.

(a) Freedom means democratic procedure.

(b) Means restraints on owners and managers of industry.

(c) Industrial democracy.

(d) Long-range planning in solving immediate problems.

TABLE 1

ALL MANUFACTURING: INDEXES OF OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR

AND REAL AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS

(1947-49 = 100)

| Year | Output per man-hour | Real average hourly earnings | Ratio of real average hourly earnings to output per man-hours |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | 89.7 | 80.3 | 89.5 |
| 1940 | 95.1 | 83.5 | 87.6 |
| 1941 | 97.5 | 87.3 | 89.5 |
| 1942 | 96.9 | 92.1 | 95.0 |
| 1943 | 96.2 | 97.8 | 101.7 |
| 1944 | 96.2 | 102.1 | 106.1 |
| 1945 | 96.7 | 100.4 | 103.8 |
| 1946 | 90.5 | 98.1 | 108.4 |
| 1947 | 95.4 | 97.6 | 102.3 |
| 1948 | 99.8 | 99.0 | 99.2 |
| 1949 | 105.4 | 103.8 | 98.5 |
| 1950 | 111.8 | 107.5 | 96.2 |
| 1951 | 111.6 | 107.8 | 96.6 |
| 1952 | 115.3 | 111.0 | 96.3 |
| 1953 | 119.7 | 116.5 | 97.3 |
| 1954 | 125.6 | 118.6 | 94.4 |
| 1955 | 130.0 | 123.7 | 94.5 |
| 1956 | 133.5 | 128.7 | 96.4 |

Source: Productivity, Prices, and Income, material prepared for the Joint Economic Committee by the Committee. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 151.

Table 2

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX -- UNITED STATES AVERAGE

( 1947-49 = 100 )

| Year | All Items | Year | All Items | Year | All Items |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1913 Average | 42.3 | 1929 Average | 73.3 | 1945 Average | 76.9 |
| 1914 Average | 42.9 | 1930 Average | 71.4 | 1946 Average | 83.4 |
| 1915 Average | 43.4 | 1931 Average | 65.0 | 1947 Average | 95.5 |
| 1916 Average | 46.6 | 1932 Average | 58.4 | 1948 Average | 102.8 |
| 1917 Average | 54.8 | 1933 Average | 55.3 | 1949 Average | 101.8 |
| 1918 Average | 64.3 | 1934 Average | 57.2 | 1950 Average | 102.8 |
| 1919 Average | 74.0 | 1935 Average | 58.7 | 1951 Average | 111.0 |
| 1920 Average | 85.7 | 1936 Average | 59.3 | 1952 Average | 113.5 |
| 1921 Average | 76.4 | 1937 Average | 61.4 | 1953 Average | 114.4 |
| 1922 Average | 71.6 | 1938 Average | 60.3 | 1954 Average | 114.8 |
| 1923 Average | 72.9 | 1939 Average | 59.4 | 1955 Average | 114.5 |
| 1924 Average | 73.1 | 1940 Average | 59.9 | 1956 Average | 116.2 |
| 1925 Average | 75.0 | 1941 Average | 62.9 | 1957 Average | 120.2 |
| 1926 Average | 75.6 | 1942 Average | 69.7 | 1958 Average | 123.5 |
| 1927 Average | 74.2 | 1943 Average | 74.0 | 1963 Average | 131.0 |
| 1928 Average | 73.3 | 1944 Average | 75.2 | 1964 Average | 132.6 |

Source: Monthly Labor Review, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 3

GROSS AND NET SPENDABLE AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF PRODUCTION WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, IN CURRENT AND 1947-49 DOLLARS

| Period | Gross Weekly Earnings | Net Spendable Weekly Earnings[1] | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Current Dollars | 1947-49 Dollars |
| 1939 Average | $23.86 | $23.62 | $39.76 |
| 1940 Average | 25.20 | 24.95 | 41.65 |
| 1941 Average | 29.58 | 29.28 | 46.55 |
| 1942 Average | 36.65 | 36.28 | 52.05 |
| 1943 Average | 43.14 | 41.39 | 55.93 |
| 1944 Average | 46.08 | 44.06 | 58.59 |
| 1945 Average | 44.39 | 42.74 | 55.58 |
| 1946 Average | 43.82 | 43.20 | 51.80 |
| 1947 Average | 49.97 | 48.24 | 50.51 |
| 1948 Average | 54.14 | 53.17 | 51.72 |
| 1949 Average | 54.92 | 53.83 | 52.88 |
| 1950 Average | 59.33 | 57.21 | 55.65 |
| 1951 Average | 64.71 | 61.28 | 55.21 |
| 1952 Average | 67.97 | 63.62 | 56.05 |
| 1953 Average | 71.69 | 66.58 | 58.20 |
| 1954 Average | 71.86 | 66.78 | 58.17 |
| 1955 Average | 76.52 | 70.45 | 61.53 |
| 1956 Average | 79.99 | 73.22 | 63.01 |
| 1957 Average | 82.39 | 74.97 | 62.37 |
| 1958 December | 88.04 | 79.60 | 64.35 |
| 1959 January | 87.38 | 78.70 | 63.57 |
| 1959 February | 88.00 | 79.19 | 64.02 |
| 1964 November | 104.70 | 88.77 | 65.90 |

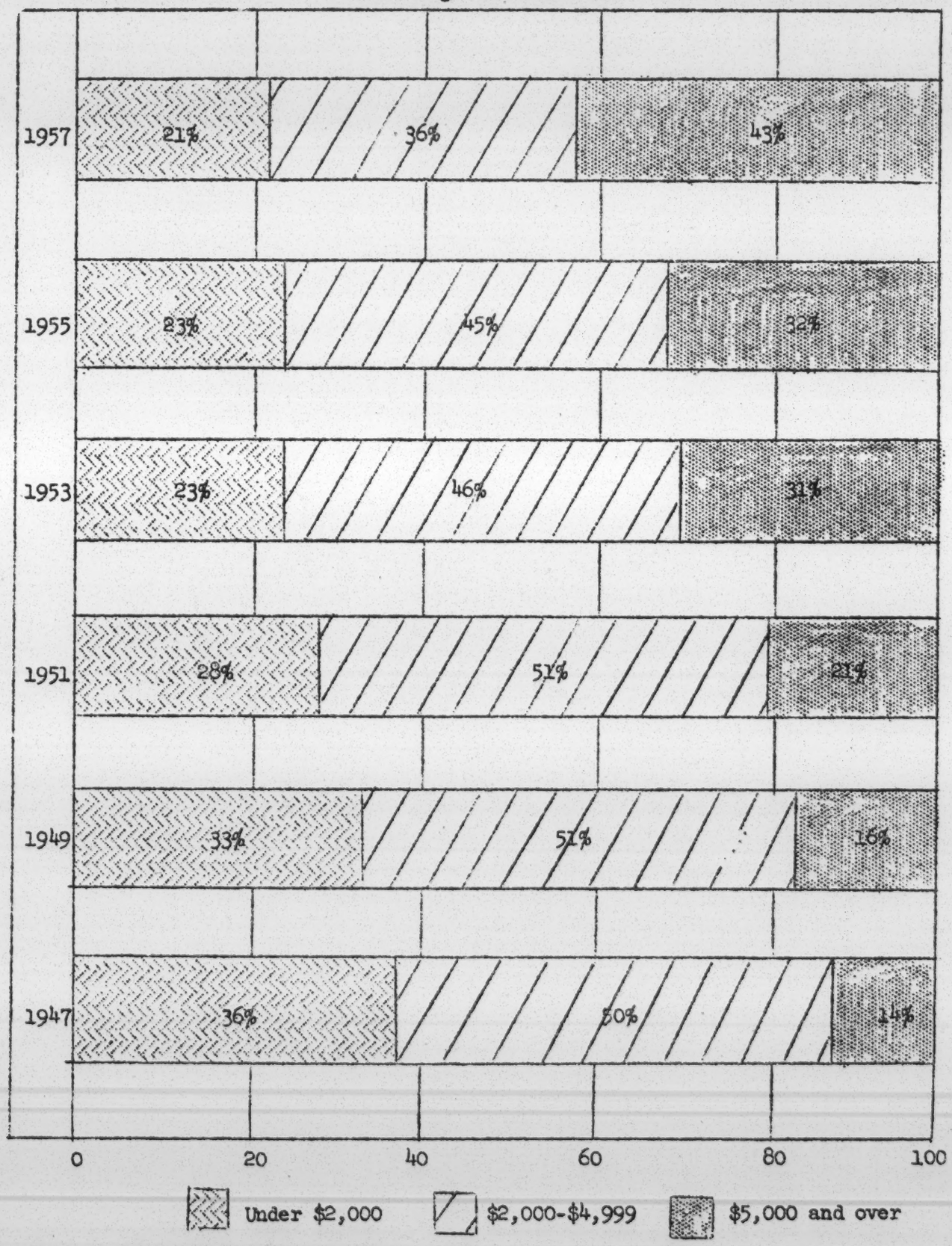
1. Worker with three dependents.

Source: Monthly Labor Review, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, April, 1959, p. 467.

Chart 1

INCOME GROUPING OF SPENDING UNITS

Percentage Distribution




Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin.

Table 4

INCOME GROUPING OF SPENDING UNITS AND OF TOTAL MONEY INCOME[1]

(Percentage Distribution)

| Money Income before taxes | 1958 Spending Units | 1958 Total Money Income | 1957 Spending Units | 1957 Total Money Income | 1956 Spending Units | 1956 Total Money Income | 1962 Spending Units |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under $1,000 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| $1,000-$1,999 | 13 | 4 | 13 | 4 | 12 | 3 | 11 |
| $2,000-$2,999 | 12 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 9 |
| $3,000-$3,999 | 12 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 9 |
| $4,000-$4,999 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 9 |
| $5,000-$5,999 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 11 |
| $6,000-$7,499 | 12 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 15) | 18 |
| $7,500-$9,999 | 12 | 19 | 10 | 17= | 9 | ( 15) | |
| $10,000 and over | 8 | 24 | 8 | 25 | 8 | 27 | 15 |
| All cases | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| Median Income[2] | $4,400 | | $4,350 | | $4,250 | | $5,308 |
| Mean Income[3] | $5,150 | | $5,160 | | $5,140 | | |

1. Income data for each year are based on interviews early in the following year.

2. Median income is that of the middle spending unit in a ranking of all units by size of money income before taxes.

3. Mean income is obtained by dividing aggregate money income before taxes by the number of spending units.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1959, p. 713.

Table 5

INCOME BEFORE TAXES OF EACH TENTH OF NATION'S SPENDING UNITS

WHEN RANKED BY SIZE OF INCOME[1]

| Spending Units Ranked by Size of Income | Percentage of Total Income by Each Tenth | | | Average Money Income Within Each Tenth, 1957 | Lowest Income Within Each Tenth | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1947 | 1957 | 1962 | | 1957 | 1962 |
| Highest Tenth | 33 | 29 | 28 | $15,160 | $9,050 | $11,320 |
| Second | 15 | 16 | 16 | 8,010 | 7.190 | 8,690 |
| Third | 12 | 13 | 13 | 6,570 | 6,010 | 7,390 |
| Fourth | 10 | 11 | 11 | 5,560 | 5,140 | 6,190 |
| Fifth | 9 | 9 | 9 | 4,760 | 4,350 | 5,300 |
| Sixth | 7 | 8 | 8 | 3,950 | 3,600 | 4,450 |
| Seventh | 6 | 6 | 6 | 3,180 | 2,760 | 3,350 |
| Eighth | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2,300 | 1,890 | 2,510 |
| Ninth | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1,510 | 1,140 | 1,510 |
| Lowest Tenth | 1 | 1 | 1 | 660 | --2 | --2 |

1. Income data for each year are based on interviews early in the following year. Tenths were obtained by ranking spending units according to money income before taxes.

2. Not available from Survey data.

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, September, 1958 and Statistical Abstract 1964.

Table 6

ANNUAL COSTS OF CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET[1]

12 LARGE CITIES AND SUBURBS, AUTUMN 1959

| City | Total Budget | Goods, Rents & Services | | | Other Goods & Services | Other Costs | Personal Taxes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Food | Rent & Utilities | | | |
| Atlanta, Ga. | $5,642 | $4,840 | $1,514 | $1,151 | $2,175 | $258 | $544 |
| Baltimore, Md. | 5,718 | 4,850 | 1,525 | 1,004 | 2,321 | 258 | 610 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 6,567 | 5,607 | 1,751 | 1,386 | 2,470 | 258 | 702 |
| Detroit, Mich. | 6,072 | 5,201 | 1,761 | 1,040 | 2,400 | 258 | 613 |
| Houston, Texas | 5,370 | 4,622 | 1,486 | 941 | 2,195 | 258 | 490 |
| Kansas City, Kansas | 5,964 | 5,090 | 1,631 | 1,117 | 2,342 | 258 | 616 |
| Los Angeles, Calif. | 6,285 | 5,325 | 1,747 | 1,178 | 2,400 | 294 | 666 |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | 6,181 | 5,165 | 1,647 | 1,150 | 2,368 | 258 | 758 |
| New York, N.Y. | 5,970 | 5,048 | 1,853 | 1,013 | 2,182 | 273 | 649 |
| Portland, Oregon | 6,222 | 5,182 | 1,746 | 1,046 | 2,390 | 258 | 782 |
| San Francisco, Calif. | 6,304 | 5,341 | 1,795 | 1,079 | 2,467 | 294 | 669 |
| Seattle, Washington | 6,562 | 5,602 | 1,844 | 1,293 | 2,465 | 258 | 702 |

1. The family consists of an employed husband, age 38, a wife not employed outside the home, an 8-year old girl, and a 13-year old boy.

Source: Monthly Labor Review, August 1960

Table 7

STATISTICS ON SHORT- AND INTERMEDIATE-TERM CONSUMER CREDIT

(Estimated Amounts Outstanding, in Millions of Dollars)

| End of Year or Month | Total | Installment Credit Total | Noninstallment Credit Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | 7,222 | 4,503 | 2,719 |
| 1940 | 8,338 | 5,514 | 2,824 |
| 1941 | 9,172 | 6,085 | 3,087 |
| 1942 | 5,938 | 3,166 | 2,817 |
| 1945 | 5,665 | 2,462 | 3,203 |
| 1946 | 8,384 | 4,127 | 4,212 |
| 1947 | 11,570 | 6,695 | 4,875 |
| 1948 | 14,411 | 8,968 | 5,443 |
| 1949 | 17,104 | 11,516 | 5,588 |
| 1950 | 20,813 | 14,490 | 6,323 |
| 1951 | 21,468 | 14,837 | 6,631 |
| 1952 | 27,401 | 19,403 | 7,998 |
| 1953 | 31,243 | 23,005 | 8,238 |
| 1954 | 32,292 | 23,568 | 8,724 |
| 1955 | 38,670 | 28,958 | 9,712 |
| 1956 | 42,097 | 31,827 | 10,270 |
| 1957 | 44,774 | 23,095 | 10,679 |
| 1958 | 45,065 | 33,865 | 11,200 |
| 1959 January | 44,415 | 33,768 | 10,647 |
| 1959 June | 46,716 | 35,810 | 10,906 |
| 1964 December | 76,810 | 59,397 | 17,413 |

Note: Monthly figures for the period December 1939 through 1947, and a general description of the series are shown on pp. 336-54 of the BULLETIN for April 1953; monthly figures for 1948-57, in the BULLETINS for October 1956, pp. 1035-42, December 1957, pp. 1420-22, and November 1958, pp. 1344-45. A detailed description of the methods used to derive the estimates may be obtained from Division of Research and Statistics.

Note: Consumers credit as used in this table means all credit used to finance the purchase of commodities and services for personal consumption or to refinance debts originally incurred for such purposes. (Real estate mortgage is not included in this table. Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1959 and February, 1965.

Table 8

NATIONAL INCOME BY SELECTED DISTRIBUTIVE SHARES, 1929-64

(in Billions and Percent of Total)

| Years | Total National Income (Billions) | Compensation to Employees | | | | Corporate Profits After Taxes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Wages and Salaries | | Supplement to Wages & Salaries | | | |
| | | Total | Percent | Total | Percent | Total | Percent |
| 1929 | 87.8 | 50.4 | .57.4 | .7 | .8 | 8.3 | 9.4 |
| 1933 | 40.2 | 29.0 | 72.1 | .5 | 1.2 | -.4 | -1. |
| 1941 | 104.7 | 62.1 | 59.3 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 9.4 | 9. |
| 1950 | 241.9 | 146.4 | 61.0 | 7.8 | 3.2 | 22.8 | 9.4 |
| 1954 | 301.8 | 196.3 | 65.4 | 11.3 | 3.7 | 16.8 | 5.6 |
| 1955 | 330.2 | 210.9 | 63.9 | 13.0 | 3.9 | 23.0 | 7.0 |
| 1956 | 350.8 | 227.6 | 64.9 | 14.9 | 4.2 | 23.5 | 6.7 |
| 1957 | 366.5 | 238.5 | 65.1 | 17.0 | 4.6 | 22.2 | 6.1 |
| 1958 | 366.2 | 239.4 | 65.4 | 17.4 | 4.7 | 18.9 | 5.2 |
| 1964[1] | 514.5 | 334.4 | 65.0 | 30.4 | 5.9 | 32.0 | 6.2 |

1. Third quarter

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1959 and February, 1965.

Table 9

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DEBT

(On the basis of daily statements of United States Treasury in Millions of Dollars)

| End of Month | | Total Gross Debt[1] |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | December | 50,942 |
| 1941 | December | 64,262 |
| 1942 | December | 112,471 |
| 1943 | December | 170,108 |
| 1944 | December | 232,144 |
| 1945 | December | 278,682 |
| 1946 | December | 259,981 |
| 1947 | December | 256,981 |
| 1948 | December | 252,854 |
| 1949 | December | 257,160 |
| 1950 | December | 256,731 |
| 1951 | December | 259,461 |
| 1952 | December | 267,445 |
| 1953 | December | 275,244 |
| 1954 | December | 278,784 |
| 1955 | December | 280,800 |
| 1956 | December | 276,600 |
| 1957 | December | 274,900 |
| 1958 | April | 275,200 |
| 1958 | December | 283,000 |
| 1959 | January | 285,800 |
| 1959 | April | 285,500 |

1. Includes some debt not subject to statutory debt limitation (such debt amounted to 556 million dollars on March 31, 1954), and fully guaranteed securities, not shown separately.

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, April, 1959, p. 414.

Table 10

PROPORTION OF TOTAL MONEY INCOME, AND NET SAVING ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH TENTH OF THE NATION'S SPENDING UNITS WHEN RANKED BY SIZE OF INCOME FOR 1950[1]

| Spending Units Ranked by Size of Income | Percentage of Total Accounted for by Each Tenth | |
|---|---|---|
| | Money Income[2] | Net Saving |
| Highest tenth | 29 | 73 |
| Second | 15 | 20 |
| Third | 13 | 11 |
| Fourth | 11 | 10 |
| Fifth | 9 | 4 |
| Sixth | 8 | -1 |
| Seventh | 6 | 1 |
| Eighth | 5 | (3) |
| Ninth | 3 | -2 |
| Lowest tenth | 1 | -16 |
| All cases | 100 | 100 |

1. Income and saving data are based on interviews in January-March of the year following the one specified. The figures in this table cannot be used to measure precisely changes in income and saving because of the limited size of the sample.

2. Annual money income before taxes.

3. Less than one-half of 1 per cent.

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, September 1951, p. 1067.

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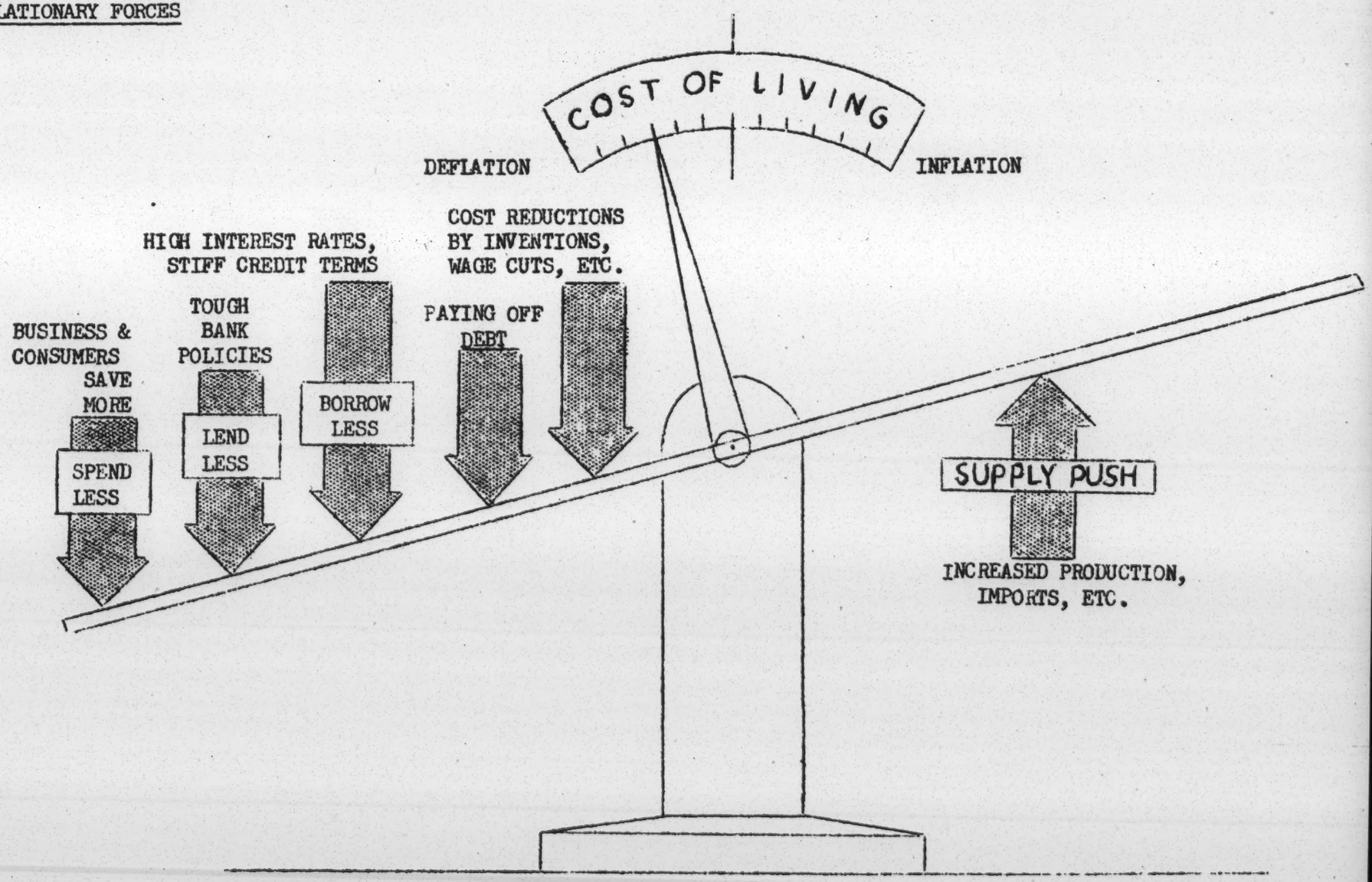
DEFLATIONARY FORCES

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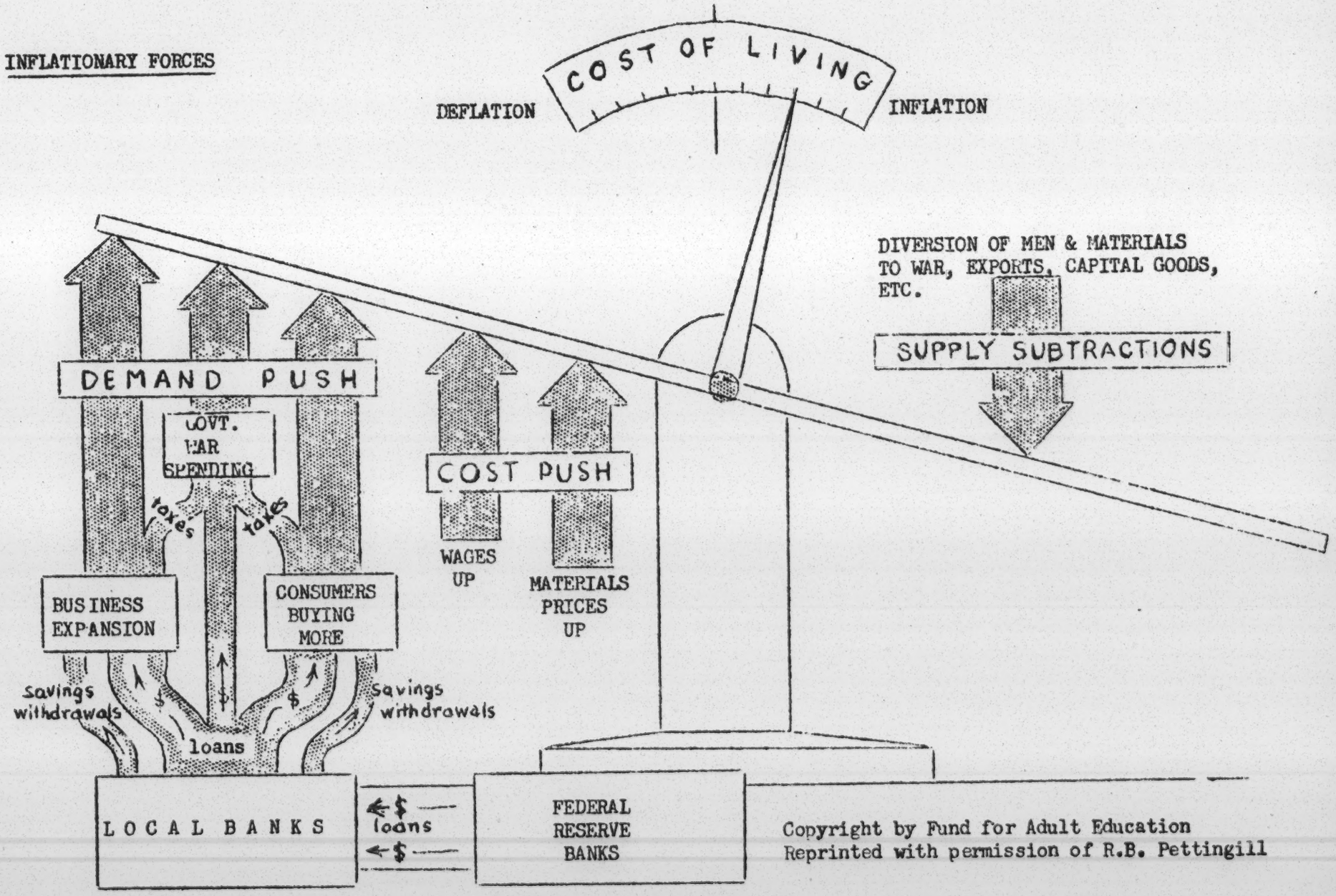


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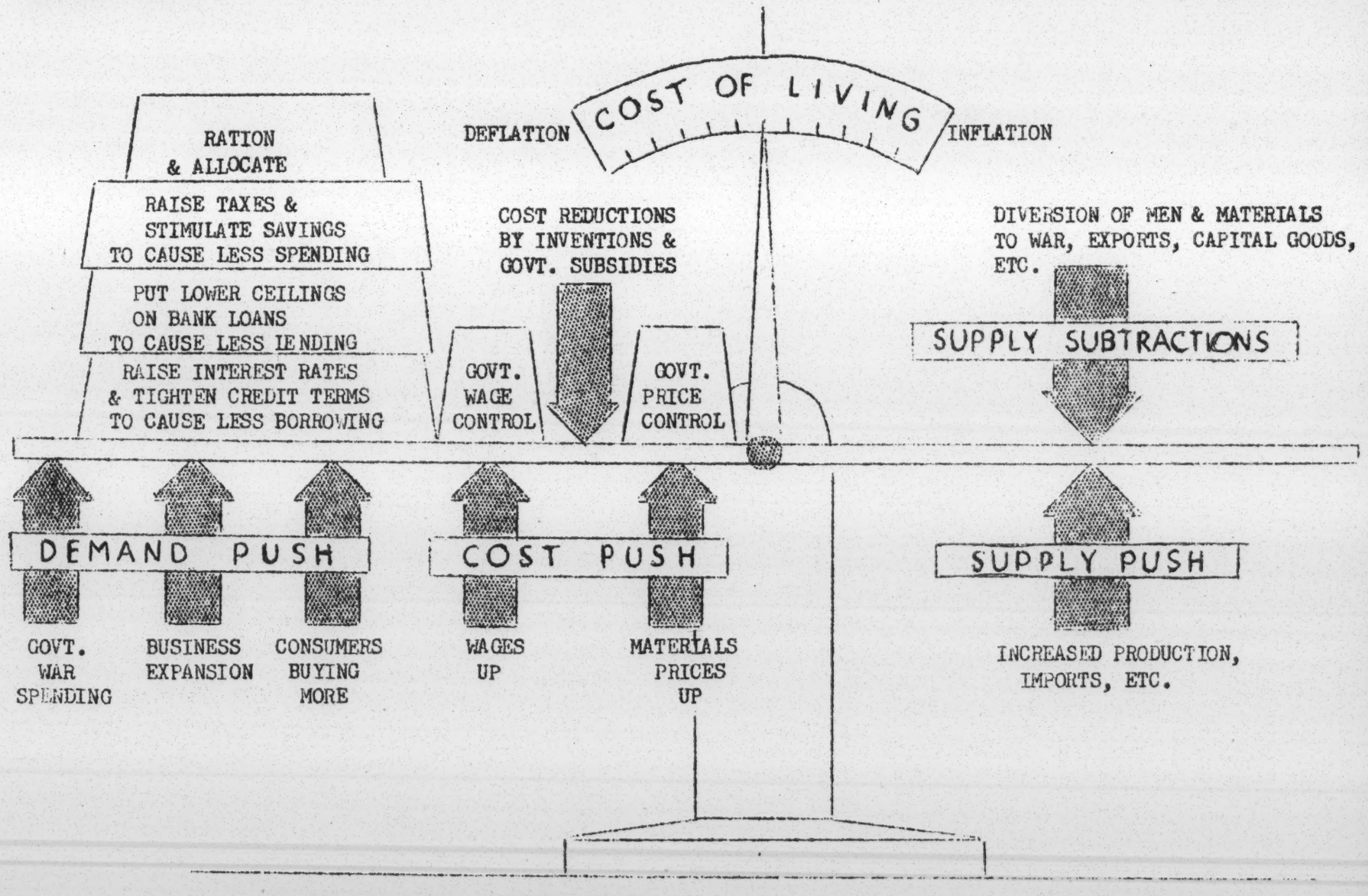


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SREB

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**Southern Regional Education Board** 130 Sixth Street, N. W. • Atlanta, Georgia 30313 • Phone: 875-9211

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATLANTA---The Southern Regional Education Board has announced its sponsorship of a regional program, now in its fourth year, of college student internships in resource development.

Dr. Winfred L. Godwin, SREB director, said 100 interns will work on projects for local organizations in 12 Southern states this summer, under grants from four federal agencies.

The interns will perform research, planning and services as directed by the local organizations, and with the guidance of faculty members at nearby universities and colleges.

Projects will cover the spectrum of social sciences relating to the development of human resources, from legal services and employment problems to community action programs, city planning, industrial and economic development.

Now being selected, the interns will be juniors, seniors and graduate students. Undergraduate interns will receive stipends of $65 a week for the 12-week period, and graduate interns $75 a week. Some will receive college credit for their work.

Federal agencies supporting the summer internships are the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Economic Development Administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor.

Originated in 1964 with support from TVA, the internship program was coordinated in 1966 by the Oak Ridge Associated Universities in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

William Ramsay has been named director of SREB's Resource Development Project and will supervise the program. He served with the Oak Ridge Associated Universities for 12 years.

He is an alumnus of Berea College, where he majored in history and political science, and he was a graduate fellow at the Universities of Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky under the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration.

SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . provide regional support and utilization of advanced programs.

Assisting him as internship coordinator at SREB will be Robert L. Sigmon, who holds an A. B. in liberal arts from Duke University and a B. D. from Union Theological Seminary in New York.

He also studied at the United Theological College in Bangalore, India, and served as a Methodist missionary in Raiwind, West Pakistan, for three years.

Michael Hart will serve as field representative in the internship program. He is an alumnus of St. Ambrose College and has done graduate work in political science at the University of Tennessee.

He previously was a program analyst for the Tennessee Office of Economic Opportunity, and before that, an administrative analyst on the staff of the Tennessee comptroller.

****

PBM-5/25/67

file

# SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

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FIELD STAFF
SYLVESTER H. CHRISTIE
JOSEPH A. NICOLAS
DONDRA SIMMONS

November 24, 1967

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed,

I received a letter from Jack Minnis telling me that he had done some research for South Carolina in 1962 to 1963 which has some relation to the work that I am doing. It involves statistics on land distribution, crop land harvested, etc. Do you still have this information and would it be available to me?

I will probably see you in a week or two.

Sincerely

Donald A. Jelinek

DAJ/rlb

cc: Jack Minnis



ORGANIZATIONS LISTED FOR IDENTIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY

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AL ULMER
JAC WASSERMAN

FIELD STAFF
SYLVESTER H. CHRISTIE
JOSEPH A. NICOLAS
DONDRA SIMMONS

December 16, 1967

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

I have just read the fine SRC Report on Public Assistance in the South. Would it be possible for me to have half a dozen copies?

My best regards to you and the family for the holidays.

Sincerely,

Donald A. Jelinek

DAJ/rlb



ORGANIZATIONS LISTED FOR IDENTIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY

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# SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

SELMA, ALABAMA

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

MAY, 1968

# SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT, INC.


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Director

KATHLEEN A. VEIT,
Associate Director

DONDRA SIMMONS

U. Z. NUNNALLY

NANCY SCHEPER

ROBERT REMBERT

RIO L. BROOKS

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Tax-deductible contributions for SRRP should be made out to: "Alabama Council on Human Relations—SRRP," and mailed to P. O. Box 956, Selma, Alabama.

# FOREWORD

After Mississippi, Alabama is the poorest state in the nation. Yet very few people talk about Alabama or know much about it. It has captured neither the imagination nor the shame of the nation as Mississippi has; teams of doctors and civil rights workers have not poured into the state to help its black citizens. Yet black Alabamians have shared the same hardships as their brothers in Mississippi; they have lost as many or more men to the racial struggle.

While Mississippi has three full-time civil rights law offices with a dozen full-time lawyers to help needy persons, Alabama has not even one full-time civil rights law office. It has a dozen private lawyers who handle civil rights cases on a part-time basis and only **one** full time civil rights lawyer, the Director of the Southern Rural Research Project (SRRP). The Governor of Alabama even rejected and OEO legal services program (which Mississippi has) which would have provided some relief for the poor and cost the state nothing.

While **all** of Mississippi's 82 counties have pre-school Headstart Centers, only 20 of Alabama's 67 counties (30%) have Headstart Centers.

In the blackbelt counties of Alabama where Negroes make up as much as 80% of the population, black farmers had to set up their own organization (SWAFCA) in order to get the same benefits from the Federal farm programs that the white farmers receive.

"Civil rights," as it is popularly known, is secondary in importance to people who are starving; their main concern is survival. SRRP is **not** fighting for the right to vote, the right to go to the "white" school, restaurant or motel, nor for the right of the civil rights worker to demonstrate, etc. SRRP IS FIGHTING **ONLY** FOR PEOPLE TO HAVE A LITTLE FOOD, MEDICAL HELP AND OTHER BASIC ESSENTIALS OF LIFE.

The following report will give some idea of the projects engaged in by the SRRP staff during its first year; it will also outline its plans for the future. If they seem all-encompassing, it is because so much needs to be done and so little has been done in Alabama. We hope that we will be able to expand both our legal and field staff to ensure the success of our efforts.

Donald A. Jelinek

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# SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

## Purpose

The SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT (SRRP) is a civil rights research and law organization which has been operating in Selma, Alabama since May of 1967 for the purpose of combating day-to-day racial discrimination by southern-born, southern-bred, and **federally** salaried employees. Its aim is to have a significant effect upon Federal and state regulatory agencies which dispense millions of Federal monies in the South and do more than their share to perpetuate the poverty that keeps the Negro in bondage.

The Federal government has poured billions of dollars into its "War on Poverty" but is financing massive and organized subversion of that "War" by its own agencies in the South. SRRP was created to collect data documenting such misuse of Federal funds and to deal with the information by litigation and other means.

## Origins

SRRP was formed to fill the vacuum created by the removal of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC) from Alabama in 1966. In that year, LCDC brought suit in Washington, D.C. against the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) charging discrimination by one of its agencies in Alabama.

While achieving a limited victory, LCDC earned the ire of the plantation owners, their attorneys and the state of Alabama, which led to its eventual ouster. Not only was its staff counsel arrested and prohibited from practicing in the state courts of Alabama, but one witness who testified at the hearing in Washington was shot at and others were evicted from their long-time homes on plantations. The need for some group to challenge economic discrimination in the state of Alabama was immediately apparent.

## Staff

The present director of SRRP is Donald A Jelinek, who was the arrested LCDC lawyer. Mr. Jelinek (white) is a 34-year-old former New York attorney who has lived and worked in the South since August of 1965. He is also legal counsel for the Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative Association (SWAFCA).

Kathleen A. Veit (white), Associate Director of SRRP, is a 24-year-old graduate of Western Washington State College. She has been in the South since December of 1966, originally employed by LCDC in Selma to investigate jury discrimination.

Dondra Simmons (black), 19, is a community worker who has been with the project since the summer of 1967 when she left Queens College in New York to work full time with SRRP.

U. Z. Nunnally (black) is a 22-year-old Mississippian who was with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) in 1964 and then the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Alabama before joining SRRP.

Nancy Scheper (white), 24 years old, was a Peace Corps worker in Brazil, is now a full-time field worker for SRRP.

Robert Rembert (black), 20, has been active in civil rights in his native Marengo County, Alabama, since 1965, marched with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at the confrontation across the bridge in Selma, and is now full-time with SRRP.

Rio Lanette Brooks (black) is SRRP's secretary. She is a 17-year-old high school student, a native of Selma, Alabama.

Attorney Howard Thorkelson of the Center for Social Welfare, Policy and Law at Columbia University has been an active consultant for SRRP in the application of Federal programs.

## Backing

SRRP has the support of major civil rights organizations including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Urban League. It also has the backing of such support agencies as the Southern Rural Action Project (Citizens Crusade Against Poverty), the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the National Sharecroppers Fund.

# SRRP SINCE MAY, 1967

## 1967 Summer Program

As its first project, SRRP invited students from all over the United States to participate in a massive job of information-gathering in rural black areas of Alabama and Mississippi. Students, along with local persons, using a two-part, 23-page in-depth questionnaire dealing with agriculture programs and household conditions, interviewed over 1000 heads of households (representing over 5,000 persons).

The workers in each state received no more than $5 per week for expenses while living and eating as guests of local black families. Students were evicted from plantations at pistol-point, threatened on numerous occasions, and had questionnaires confiscated by the local police. One student was arrested for trespassing, and another had his room shot into. Fortunately no injuries occurred.

Certain general conclusions were evident from the information gathered in Alabama and Mississippi.

1. The vast majority of black farmers **fear** the employees of Federal farm programs,* a situation which results in a low level of eligible black participants in programs. The black farmer, conditioned by years of experience, views the farm program employee as the southerner who calls him "nigger," "boy," and "grandpa." The black farmer knows that if he goes to one of the agency offices, he will have to wait on a long line and watch while the white man is attended to as soon as he enters. He also knows that if he angers the local agent with his persistence, his credit with local merchants may be canceled.

2. The ASCS cotton allotments and subsidy checks for blacks are lower than those for whites. FHA loans for the purchase of land, equipment and the improvement of farm buildings are virtually unavailable for blacks, and the rejections are rarely recorded. The county agent of the Extension Service, whose job its is to pass on information acquired at the federally supported Land Grant Colleges, rarely does so for black farmers.

3. **Black farm families are hungry.** The vast majority of black farmers, whose limited income** is used up before

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*The farm programs involved here are: Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS), Farmers Home Administration (FHA) and the Federal Extension Service (FES).

**1967 was the worst cotton year since 1895 because of droughts and freezing weather. The poverty of black farmers in 1968 has never been worse.

winter, are typically forced to eat the following:

| Morning | Noon Meal | Evening Meal |
|---|---|---|
| Grits<br>Biscuits<br>Coffee | Vegetables<br>Cornbread<br>Kool-Aid<br>(Usually no noon meal after the harvest season) | Vegetables<br>(sometimes with pork parts mixed in)<br>Cornbread<br>Kool-Aid |

Free Surplus Commodities, when available, provide a limited supplement to the few vegetables grown in the family garden, but when free food in a county is replaced by food stamps, many of the poorest families cannot afford to buy the food stamps and are left with **no** government help for food. Even those who have borrowing power fall into further debt in order to purchase the benefits of the food stamp program (See Food Suit, p. 8).

4. A typical home is an unpainted three-room wood frame shack housing 3-5 adults and 8-12 children—all of whom sleep in three or four double beds. The floors and ceilings remain in disrepair along with loosely fitting wood shutters for the windows, all of which accounts for continual dampness during the rainy season and severe cold during the winter. Cooking and very limited heat are provided by a small wood-burning, pot belly stove.

The experience of the staff indicates that poverty in the black South is directly related to active discrimination by southern Federal employees of the USDA and passive acquiescence of the national USDA. They also witnessed the fact that in Mississippi and Alabama, and probably elsewhere, a prosperous nation is not feeding starving and near-starving citizens.

The results of the two-part questionnaire were analyzed and processed by the Division of Behaviorial Science Research, Carver Research Foundation at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. The statistical data of the Agriculture section will be ready shortly. The Household section was released in March, 1968; some of the results follow:

1. Nearly 25% of the black farm families interviewed eat no fresh meat of any kind at all. Another 25% eat meat only once a week.

2. Fresh milk is not used at all by 30.0% of the households.

3. Fresh fruit never appears in the diet of nearly half of the Negro farm families interviewed.

4. 18.5% never eat eggs at all.
5. Over one third of the children suffer from sores and scabs.

6. In 14.2% of the farm households visited, SRRP interviewers noted one or more children with very noticeably distended stomachs.

7. 12.7% of the women questioned who had had a pregnancy over the past 5 years had received no prenatal care. A third of the women had suffered at least one miscarriage. Two thirds of the rural Negro babies were born at home with the aid of a midwife.

8. One third of the mothers interviewed had lost one or more children; 68.0% of these children during their first year.

9. During the first year of life 20.4% of rural Negro babies received no medical attention whatsoever.

SRRP has prepared an analysis of the statistical results of the Household section: "BLACK FARM FAMILIES: Hunger and Malnutrition in Rural Alabama," released March, 1968.

### Cotton Election Suit

SRRP's Director-Attorney is representing a group of black farmers in Macon County, Alabama who lost representation in the 1967 ASCS election* by 39 votes out of approximately 5,000 as a result of fraud by the white ASCS committee in power. By "packing" the ballot with "picked" blacks to confuse and split the black vote, by adding white voters beyond the deadline date, and by invalidating the ballots of legitimate black voters, the Macon County ASCS denied black farmers their rightful representation in making decisions vital to their own economic life.

### Other Agricultural Litigation

As a corollary to the cotton election suit, SRRP is supporting farmers in obtaining Farmers Home Administration (FHA) loans

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*The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) operates the cotton program which determines the amount of cotton each farmer may plant (allotment), the amount of subsidy money each farmer receives (projected yield) and other decisions vital to the black farmer. ASCS elections are held once a year to elect the men who make these decisions. Even in counties with over 80 per cent eligible black majorities, no Negro has ever been elected. Discrimination has cost blacks the elections and has dramatically contributed to their poverty.

and in getting information and help from the Extension Service (FES).

In the near future, SRRP will represent farmers complaining about the abuses uncovered during the 1967 summer program, including the amount of the allotments and subsidy checks, the lack of FHA loans and a myriad of other USDA acts of economic discrimination.

### The Food Suit

**Peoples v. USDA,** Civil Action No. 544-68, U.S. District Court, Washington, D.C.

On March 23, 1968, SRRP staff accompanied 130 black Alabamians to Washington to offer evidence of starvation caused in large part by the misapplication of Federal food programs. The group ranged in age from 7 weeks to 75 years; one witness brought her 14 children.

Even before the people arrived, the USDA reacted to the first part of the suit and "forced" a food program into Elmore County, Alabama against the wishes of the local county government. This act, which occurred 12 days after the suit was filed, accomplished what the USDA had previously said it could not or would not do.

The law suit charged:

1. USDA permits the state of Alabama to offer food programs in some counties and not in others (besides Elmore, there are three other counties in Alabama without food programs).
2. USDA permits excessive charges for food stamps which (1) forces many recipients to borrow in order to pay for them, and (2) eliminates over 50% of the poor who cannot afford any stamps at all.
3. USDA, in its Surplus Commodities (Free Food) program, does not provide food which meets its own minimal nutritional standards for survival—to the detriment of those who depend entirely on the commodities for food.

The hearing was held on March 25, 1968, before Federal Judge George L. Hart, Jr. Among the potential witnesses, besides the 130 Alabamians, were three doctors who had previously testified about conditions in Mississippi before a U.S. Senate Committee: Dr. Joseph

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**Photographs by Joffrey Clark, for SRRP—**
**Rural Alabama, Summer, 1967**

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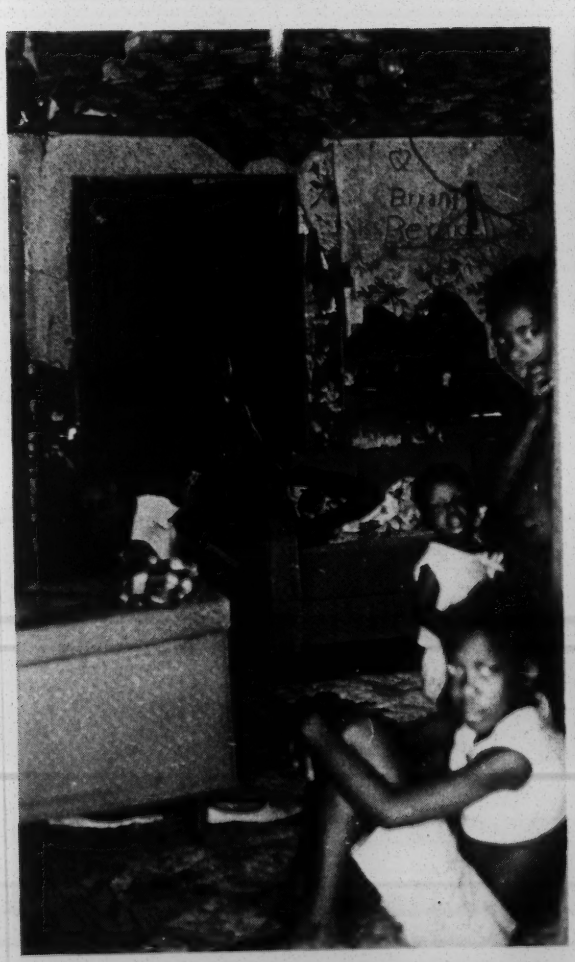

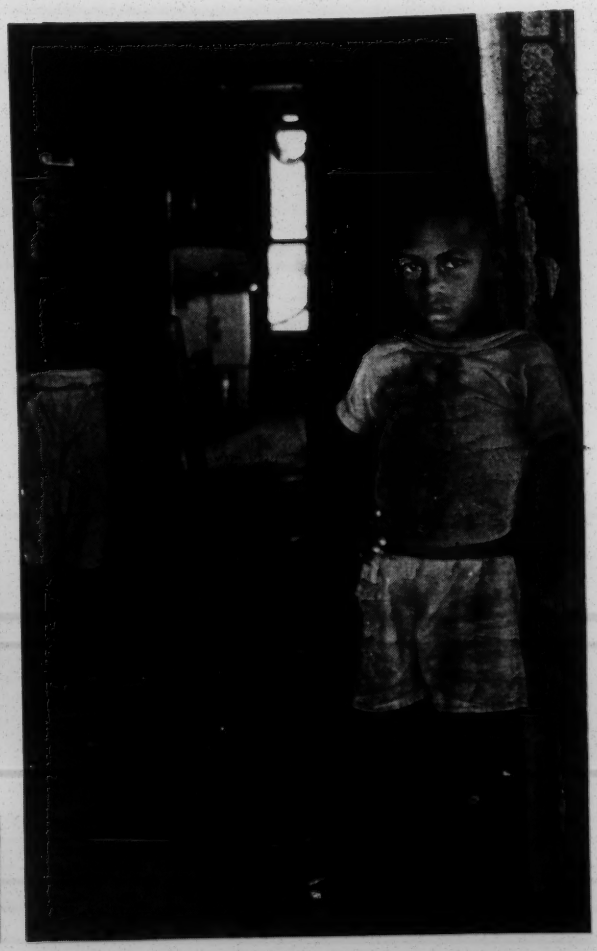

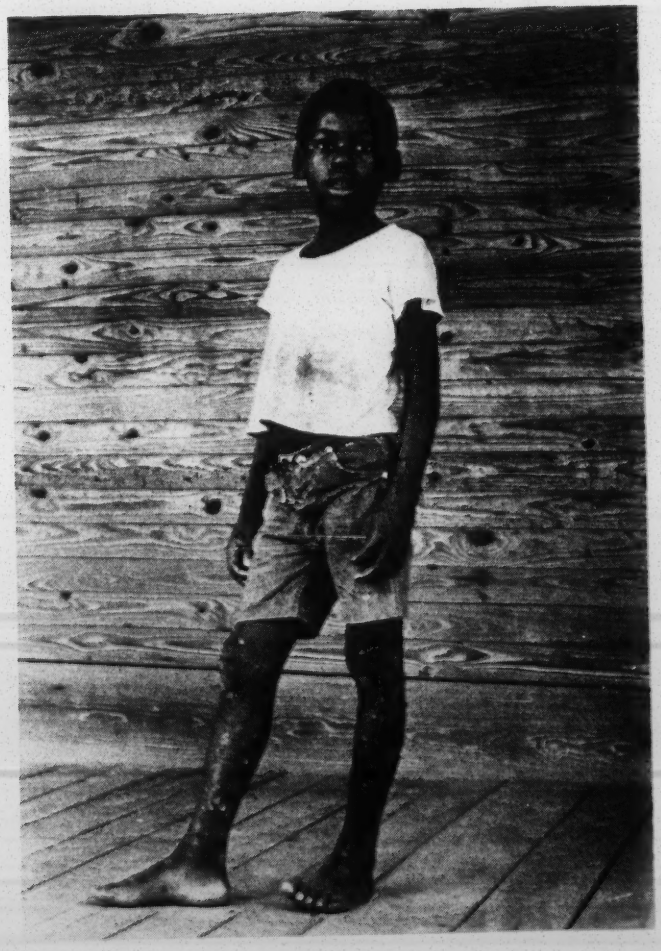

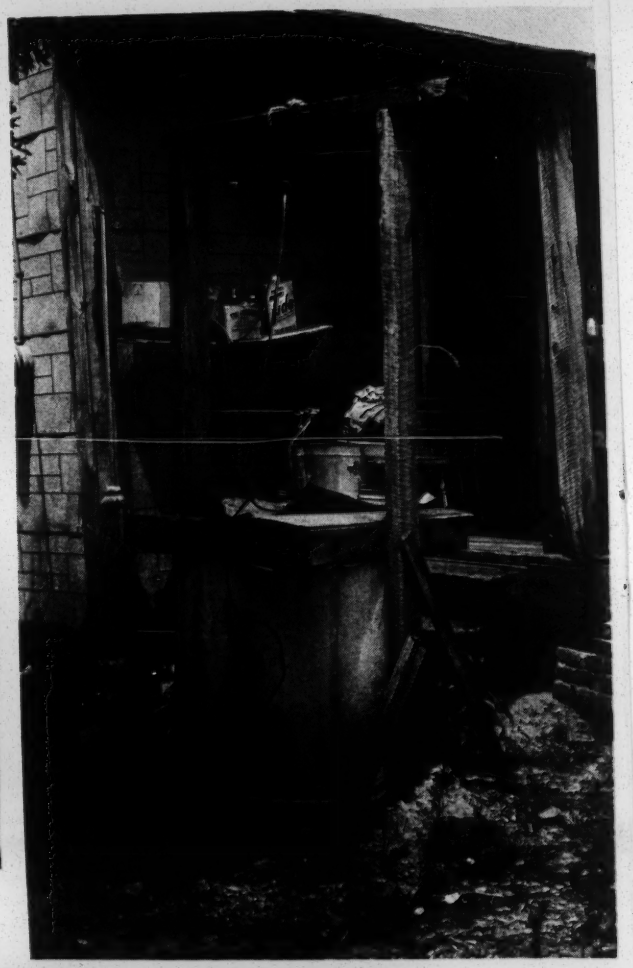

Brenner, Dr. Alan Mermann, and Dr. Raymond Wheeler. All were prepared to testify to the hunger and malnutrition in Alabama and to the inadequacy of the food programs to meet human needs. (The suit charged the Secretary of Agriculture has the power to eliminate these conditions but will not exercise it.)

Judge Hart rejected any live testimony but accepted the basic points of the lawsuit, that Alabama blacks were suffering hunger and starvation by malnutrition and that as a result they suffered severe mental and physical diseases. The hearing thus concerned itself with the legal argument as to whether the Court could interfere with the actions of a Cabinet member. While it evinced sympathy for the plaintiffs and outright criticism for the food programs and its operation, the Court declined to interefere with the Secretary.

Counsel for the plaintiffs (Donald A. Jelinek, Howard Thorkelson of the Center on Social Welfare, Policy and Law of Columbia University, and Edgar S. Cahn of the Citizens Advocate Center, Washington, D.C.) filed an immediate emergency appeal in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia which was heard a few days later. The three-judge panel denied both sides' motions but recommended a full-scale trial back in the district court to present more evidence; that trial will come up in the near future.

The **New York Times** (March 26, 1968) in an editorial on starvation in the U.S., and particularly Mississippi, referred to the suit as follows:

> As a court suit concerning the administration of the food-stamp plan in Alabama has made plain, too many county and state officials outside Mississippi as well as in it are shockingly indifferent to the hunger and privation of their own neighbors. It may be as Secretary of Agriculture Freeman contends—and as a Federal judge ruled yesterday—that the laws governing the food-stamp plan and the distribution of surplus commodities provide Federal officials with no leeway to intervene on behalf of hungry people if local officials refuse to cooperate. If that contention is upheld by a higher Federal court, Congress should move promptly to establish uniform Federal standards for programs and make certain that they are available to all who need them everywhere in the nation.

## Other Food Litigation

On the local level, SRRP has been successful in reducing the price of food stamps for individuals by accompanying the complainants to the local food stamp office in Selma, Alabama. This effort will be expanded throughout the state (See p. 15).

## Publications

1. As a corollary to the 1967 summer's work, SRRP prepared two booklets, "Food and Health Programs" and "Farm Programs: FHA, FES, ASCS." These booklets were handed out to those answering the questionnaires in an attempt to fill in some of the gaps of knowledge about programs and services that are available to the poor.

2. SRRP's analysis of the statistical results of the Household section of the questionnaire: "BLACK FARM FAMILIES: Hunger and Malnutrition in Rural Alabama," March, 1968.

# FUTURE PLANS OF SRRP

## Alabama 10-County Self-Help Legal Program

For those who work a full year on a farm without profit (or who have been automated off the farm), the Federal and state economic programs (for food, medicine, welfare, and agriculture subsidies and loans) are the major factor between survival and forced migration to northern ghettoes. Unfortunately, these programs in which white southern employees dispense Federal monies are the major sources of discrimination against needy black Alabamians.

The legal help needed to fight this situation is absent in Alabama (See Foreword). The few sympathetic black and white attorneys who have given years of service to provide aid on a part-time basis are hampered by their need to earn a living and, therefore, cannot handle many day-to-day problems. Yet the crying need for full-time legal assistance continues.

To attempt to meet this need, SRRP proposes to coordinate a self-help legal program for the 10 counties which make up the Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative Association (SWAFCA): Choctaw, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox.

One or two former full-time farmers in each county will be paid salary plus gas allowance to drive around the county to visit every farm family, ask questions from a prepared survey sheet which will demonstrate eligibility (and previous failures) for various programs, and then arrange for group visits to the "agency" office in town to apply. (The aide will, of course, be trained by the SRRP staff in the mechanics of the programs.) If there is a "rejection," the aide will handle the first "administrative" appeal (e.g., fair hearing in Welfare) as a representative of the applicant (no lawyer is needed). After this stage, SRRP's attorney will continued the appeal into the Federal Courts.

## Dallas County Survey

SRRP has revised its 1967 questionnaire with the help of Tuskegee Institute and plans to interview every black farm family in Dallas County, Alabama (which includes the city of Selma). This survey will include: a detailed breakdown of the exact food eaten in every household, including the size of portions; a determination of the true financial picture of each family by analysis of income and expenses; and a record of those relatives of Dallas County residents who have migrated North, the reason for their migration, their present situation in the North, and the circumstances under which they would consider returning to their southern homes.*

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*Of course, questions dealing with the Federal agriculture and food programs will be continued in an improved form.

The survey will also indicate areas lacking in telephones, paved roads, sewage, water lines, and transportation to town where the government offices are. By means of a small-scale, 3-dimensional model of the county, the great contrast between services offered the black and white communities will be visible. Dallas County has been chosen to represent in depth the problems that exist in other rural counties of the state and throughout the South.

## 1968 Summer Program

Utilizing the information gathered in the 1967 Summer Program, SRRP is now ready to take action in the area of health, as well as food and agriculture. With USDA programs denying the black farmer a chance to earn a decent living and with food programs not reaching many of the impoverished, it is only natural that poor people are suffering physically and not receiving medical attention.

This summer, SRRP plans a direct action program to fight to obtain money for poor families to see a doctor and to buy medicine (in addition to obtaining monies under the agriculture programs).

The summer's project will enlist the help of doctors, lawyers, medical students, law students, college students, and young people in general.

1. The Medical Aspect

There already exists in the South funds for doctors and medicine through state welfare offices which dispense Federal monies. Black families are unable to obtain these funds because white doctors (there are few black doctors in the South) refuse to certify their eligibility:

(a) because of the doctors' ties with the local county welfare officials; and/or

(b) because the doctors persist in believing that black people are inherently more capable of continuing to work with the same ailments that would incapacitate whites.

Medical experts will be brought down to provide the necessary information both to challenge the fairness and adequacy of the state health programs and to apply for OEO funds under a new law for rural medical aid.

2. The Legal Aspect

Lawyers and law students will analyze the applicable agricultural and welfare programs and apply the facts of each individual case to the laws and regulations as written. Then, they will make direct confrontations with county offices, appeal to the state and Washington offices and eventually move into the Federal courts. They will make appearances at hearings before the agencies to represent claimants, to present evidence and to argue issues of law. They will prepare applications for OEO funds to establish free medical centers and other medical service programs.

Lawyers and law students will also prepare "class" suits to seek injunctions and other broad relief aimed at the grievances uncovered and documented by the summer work.

Finally, they will assume the important function of explaining the various programs to the people and conducting meetings and workshops to train local persons to handle these problems within their own communities after the summer.

3. How the Summer Program Will Operate

With the approval and participation of the local community, field workers will gather information on eligibility, doctors will make examinations and evaluate eligibility, applications will be made for benefits and lawyers will handle rejection hearings, appeals and other litigation. The cooperation of sympathetic local physicians and hospitals will be solicited, and work with poor whites will be attempted. Most workers will live and eat with local black farmers.

In the course of their work, these volunteers will contribute information pertinent to that collected during the 1967 Summer Program, and legal action will be continued to work toward getting: money for poor families for food, doctors, and medicine; proper crop allotment and subsidy payments; loans for land, equipment and livestock; and expert agricultural advice.

## Litigation

SRRP will continue and expand on its efforts to obtain honest application of governmental programs, beginning with litigation challenging the discriminatory operation of the National School Lunch Program in Alabama.

## Publications

In the future SRRP will be publishing the following:

1. A newsletter written for local people in Alabama. It will explain governmental programs and keep people up-to-date on changes and additions in regulations and services. It will also provide news of specific interest to local communities.

2. A book for the lay-public describing the importance, legislative intent and actual operation of the Federal farm programs and their relation to black poverty in the South (and the resulting migration to the northern ghettoes).

3. An analysis on the results of the 1967 Agriculture questionnaire.

## Other Projects

1. SRRP will continue to collect and maintain a library of related materials for the use of SRRP and others working on agricultural problems.

2. SRRP will continue to provide speakers to groups interested in its direct action projects and investigative material.

## SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

### Financial Statement

### May, 1967—April, 1968

**INCOME**

| | |
|---|---|
| Rabinowitz Foundation | $ 5,000 |
| New York Foundation | 5,000 |
| Aaron E. Norman Fund | 2,500 |
| Rural Advancement Fund of National Sharecroppers Fund | 900 |
| Southern Regional Council | 700 |
| Fathers of St. Edmund, Selma, Alabama | 600 |
| Alabama Council on Human Relations | 500 |
| American Friends Service Committee | 400 |
| National Lawyers Guild, Detroit Chapter | 300 |
| Individual Contributions | 604.69 |
| TOTAL | $16,504.69 |

**EXPENSES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Salaries* | $ 3,119.85 |
| Office, rent, utilities & supplies | 6,046.27 |
| Automobiles (purchase, repairs & gas) and other travel expenses | 6,498.22 |
| TOTAL | $15,664.34 |

*Since SRRP began, salaries have been paid to 23 workers, including staff; the highest salary was $20 a week.

file

# southern rural research project

802 first avenue selma, alabama 36701

(205) 872-5562

1 May 1968

DONALD A. JELINEK
DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN A. VEIT
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

FIELD STAFF
DONDRA SIMMONS
U. Z. NUNNALLY

FROM: Donald A. Jelinek

RE: 1968 Survey for Dallas County, Alabama

SRRP will conduct this new revised survey exclusively in Dallas County, Alabama where we plan to interview the head of every single black farm family. Time expected-one year.

The new survey contains certain items which we bring to your attention.

Questions 35 and 36 detail the exact diet of farm Negroes and the results should introduce proof of the extent of malnutrition up to now unknown in the United States.* For example:

| Food | Wkly | Mthly | Yrly | Snly | Amt. of Food | Raise or Grow | Store Brought |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chicken breasts, legs, thigh, wings | | 4 | | | 1/12 | ✓ | |

indicates that chicken is eaten 4 times a month, that the chickens are home raised and that one chicken is divided 12 ways each time it is eaten.

SECTION III - Miscellanous - details the total income and expenses of a farm family. It is our experience that the poverty of black families is far greater and income far lower than the Census figures.

Questions 5a,18a,18b,23,30,$69,74-76 "trigger off" insertions on index cards for action on the part of SRRP on behalf of those not receiving benefits they are entitled to under the various programs.

Of course, the questions in detail about agriculture food, and welfare programs are continued.

We welcome your comments.

---

*In the 1967 Clark-Kennedy Senate hearing on "Hunger and Malnutrition in America," Dr. Stewart of the U. S. Public Health Service states "No. We do not know the extent of malnutrition anywhere in the United States."

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SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT-1968

Dallas County, Alabama

Survey

Name of Interviewer_____ #_____

Date of Interview_____

AGRICULTURE (and) HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

How many persons live here? (including yourself)

| Adults | | | | Children | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | | Female | | | |
| Name or Relationship | Age | Name or Relationship | Age | Name | Age |
| | | | | | |

I. AGRICULTURE SECTION

1. Do you own your own land, rent your land, share crop, or something else?
   (1) ☐ OWN LAND (2) ☐ RENT (3) ☐ SHARECROP (4) ☐ OTHER

2. How many in your family work with you on your farm? #_____

3. How old are the children who work with you?#_____

4. When do you start work; what time do you finish?
   A. Start_____ B. Finish_____ FOR INTERVIEWER: TOTAL HOURS WORKED____

5. Do you plow the land with a tractor or a mule?
   (1) ☐ TRACTOR (2) ☐ MULE

5a. Would you want a loan for a tractor? ☐ Yes ☐ No

6. Do you farm any land that is owned by someone else?
   (1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO (GO TO 7)

   A. Do you pay a certain amount in money for this land, or a certain part of your crop for the land?
      (1) ☐ PAY MONEY (2) ☐ PART OF YOUR CROP
      What Amount?_____ What Part?_____

   B. Where do you gin your cotton and why?

   C. Where do you buy your food, clothes and the things you farm with and why?

COTTON PROGRAM

| | As A Landowner | As A Tenant |
|---|---|---|
| 7. How many acres did you (or will you) farm in: | | |
| 1967 | # _____ | # _____ |
| 1968 | # _____ | # _____ |
| 8. How many acres of cotton could you have planted in: | | |
| 1967 | # _____ | # _____ |
| 1968 | # _____ | # _____ |

9. FOR LANDOWNER: Can you sell or rent part, or all of your allotment?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO (3) [ ] DON'T KNOW

A. How did you find this out?

(1) [ ] ASCS OFFICE (2) [ ] LOCAL PEOPLE (3) [ ] OTHER _____

10. How many bales of cotton did you make on the land you worked in 1967, # _____ on _____ acres; in 1966 # _____ on _____ acres; in 1965 # _____ on _____ acres; in 1964 # _____ on _____ acres?

11. How many pounds of cotton per acre were you told you were supposed to make (projected yield) this year? # _____.

12. Can you ask ASCS to change the amount they said you were supposed to make?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO (GO TO 16) (3) [ ] DONT KNOW

A. How did you find this out?

(1) [ ] ASCS OFFICE (2) [ ] LOCAL PEOPLE (3) [ ] OTHER _____

B. How many days do you have to do it? _____

13. Can you get part of your government check before you pick your cotton?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

A. How did you find this out?

(1) [ ] ASCS OFFICE (2) [ ] LOCAL PEOPLE (3) [ ] OTHER _____

B. Did you ask for it?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO (3) Why not? _____

C. Did you get it?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO (3) Why not? _____

14. Did you ever sign a paper giving your government check to anyone?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Who did you sign it over to? _____

B. What did you get for it? _____

C. Why? _____

D. Did this person tell you to sign it over?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Did anyone ever ask you to sign your government check to them?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

B. Who? _____

C. What happened? _____

15. Did you know that if you don't plant all the cotton land you are alloted, that you must give back the extra to the ASCS Office or your allotment will be cut for next year?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO (GO TO 20)

A. How did you find this out?

(1) ☐ ASCS OFFICE (2) ☐ LOCAL PEOPLE (3) ☐ OTHER _____

16. If you want more cotton can you ask the government for the extra land that other farmers give back?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO (GO TO 21)

A. How did you find this out?

(1) ☐ ASCS (2) ☐ LOCAL PEOPLE (3) ☐ OTHER _____

B. Do you want more cotton?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

C. Did you ever try to get more?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

What happened? _____ Why not? _____

ASCS ELECTION

Now let us talk about how the farmers elections work around here?

17. Did you get a vote (ballot) for the 1967 ASCS elections?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Did you get this when everyone else got it, or after complaining?

(1) ☐ WHEN EVERYONE ELSE

(2) ☐ AFTER COMPLAINING

B. Did you vote?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why Not? _____

A. Did you try to get one?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

What happened? Why not?

_____ _____

Did anyone help you fill out the ballot?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Who? _____

Did anyone collect your ballot?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Who? _____

18a. FOR LANDOWNERS: Is there anyone on the deed to your land who didn't receive an ASCS (vote) ballot in 1967? [ ] YES [ ] NO

18b. FOR TENANTS AND SHARECROPPERS: Is there an adult who works the farm who didn't receive an ASCS ballot in 1967? [ ] YES [ ] NO

19. What all do you know about the ASCS farmers election? (Do you understand how they work, what they mean? What problems, if any, do you have? Does someone other than yourself fill out the ballot? Do you know how to nominate (put someone up) for election? What are your feelings about the election?)

FEED GRAIN

Now we are going to talk about feed grain programs.

20. Did you plant corn, grain sorghums or barley this year?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

A. Did you know that there is a government program about these crops?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

B. Where did you hear about it?

(1) [ ] ASCS OFFICE (2) [ ] LOCAL PEOPLE (3) [ ] OTHER _____

C. Did you sign a paper at the ASCS Office to join this program?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Why Not? _____

21. Do you belong to the South West Alabama Farmers Co-operative Association (SWAFCA)? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Why not _____

_____

AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

22. Do you know about government programs that pay part of the money to help you with soil and water problems?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Where did you first hear of this?

(1) ☐ ASCS OFFICE (2) ☐ LOCAL PEOPLE (3) ☐ OTHER _____

B. Did you ever try to get government mony to do these things?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why not? _____

C. Did you get the money?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why not? _____

23. What problems with soil and water do you have that you could use help with? For example: a pond or soil tests.

24. Have you ever heard of the farm programs that will help pay you to stop planting cotton or corn and to start a pasture or something else to improve your land?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO (GO TO 38)

A. How did you find this out?

(1) ☐ ASCS OFFICE (2) ☐ LOCAL PEOPLE (3) ☐ OTHER _____

25. How are you treated in the office of Mr. O'Hara, the ASCS county supervisor, by him or any other person there you have talked to. (For example: How do they refer to you? How do they talk to you? How do they talk and act toward you as compared to white people you see in the office? How far do you have to travel to get there and do you have any transportation problems?)

25a. How are you treated in the office of Mr. Walden, the FHA county supervisor, by him or any other person there you have talked with? (For example: same as 25)

25b. How are you treated in the office of Mr. Scott or Mr. Brown, the County (extension) agents, by them or any other person there you have talked with? (For example, same as 25)

25c. Have you gotten <u>any</u> help or advice from any of these men in their office, your house or any meetings? ☐ YES ☐ NO
If YES, discuss.

F.H.A.

Now I'd like to have you tell me what you know about F.H.A. loans.

26. Have you ever gotten a small FHA loan?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How much? _____

27. Did you try to get any other FHA loans?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Did they write down anything about what you asked for?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

B. How much did you ask for and what were you going to use it for?

$_____ _____

_____

C. How much would they give you?

(1) ☐ ALL (2) ☐ PART (3) ☐ MORE (4) ☐ NONE

D. Did you take the loan?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why not?_____

E. How did the FHA people say you could use the money you got from the loan?

_____

F. How much did you really get?

_____

G. Did the FHA people say or hint that you were to spend the FHA loan at a special place or w/ certain people?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How?_____

H. Did you receive any help from FHA after you got the money?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

I. Did you have any problems paying the loan back?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

J. Did they help make it easier for you to pay it back?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

K. Did FHA people visit your farm?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

L. Did they tell you why it was turned down?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why?_____

M. Did you know that you can sign papers to try to get FHA to give the loan?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Did you try?_____

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

What happened? Why not?

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

N. Did they tell you where you could go to get other government money?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

28. Does FHA have loans to:

| | YES | NO | DONT KNOW |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Make soil and water better | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| 2. Build, buy or fix up a house or farm building | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3. Help buy land | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| 4. Help pay family or farming costs | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

29. If you have had any experience with FHA, discuss what went on in an attempt to get loans and after the loans were obtained.

30. Could you use loans for any of those things mentioned in #28.

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Which ones? _____

31. Did anyone ever test your soil? ☐ Yes ☐ NO
Did you ever ask them to? ☐ Yes ☐ No
Did anyone tell you which crops would grow best in your soil? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Who? _____

31a. Could you use information about what to plant, kinds of fertilizers, general farm improvement, etc.? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Which? _____

_____

31b. What kind of information do you get?

SECTION III. Miscellaneous

Income-1967

A. Farm Income:

Cotton:
spring check _____
fall check _____
sale (gin) check _____

TOTAL _____

Vegetables:
corn _____
cucumbers _____
tomatoes _____
okra _____
other _____
_____

TOTAL _____

Livestock:
hogs _____
other _____

TOTAL _____

Other:

TOTAL _____

B. Other Income

Salaries:

| Who | Job | Wkly Take Home Pay | Comments (Seasonal) |
|---|---|---|---|

TOTAL _____

Welfare or Social Security:

| Which | Who | Amt./Monthly |
|---|---|---|

TOTAL _____

Other:

TOTAL _____

GRAND TOTAL _____

COMMENTS: (Is there a time of the year when there is no money?)

Expenses-1967

| Farm Expenses | Weekly | Monthly | Yearly | Seasonally | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| farm rent | | | | | |
| seed | | | | | |
| fertilizer | | | | | |
| poison | | | | | |
| feed | | | | | |
| tractor rent | | | | | |
| plowing | | | | | |
| farm vehicle | | | | | |
| repairs | | | | | |
| gas | | | | | |
| farm loans | | | | | |
| other | | | | | |
| **Other Expenses** | | | | | |
| house rent | | | | | |
| fuel | | | | | |
| wood | | | | | |
| coal | | | | | |
| gas | | | | | |
| electricity | | | | | |
| own car | | | | | |
| gas | | | | | |
| repairs | | | | | |
| hired convenience | | | | | |
| school expenses | | | | | |
| insurance | | | | | |
| doctors | | | | | |
| medicine | | | | | |
| church | | | | | |
| home loans | | | | | |
| interest | | | | | |
| clothing | | | | | |
| cosmetics | | | | | |
| funeral expenses | | | | | |
| other | | | | | |

TOTAL: _____

Comments:

SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT-1968

Dallas County, Alabama

Survey

Name of Interviewer _____ # _____

Date of interview _____

AGRICULTURE (and) HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

How many persons live here? (including yourself)

| Adults | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | | Female | | Children | |
| Name or Relationship | Age | Name or Relationship | Age | Name | Age |
| | | | | | |

II. HOUSEHOLD SECTION

Surplus Commodities

32. Did you ever receive the free (surplus) food commodities?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

A. Do you eat the same, better or worse than since you stopped getting free food?

(1) [ ] SAME (2) [ ] BETTER (3) [ ] WORSE

B. Was the free food by itself enough to feed your family for the entire month?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

C. How much did you have to spend for food while you were receiving the commodities?

per week _____ or per month _____

Food Stamps

33. Do you now or have you ever received food stamps?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Why Not?

A. How long have you been receiving them? from _____ to _____

Months missed _____

B. How much are you paying for them now?

| Price | Bonus | Total Value |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

C. Has the price of food gone up since Food Stamps came into the county?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Discuss:

D. How do you get the money to pay for the stamps?

E. How much extra do you spend for food and related items with the stamps?

| Per week/Month | Food Stamp Items | Per week/Month | Non-Food Stamp Items |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |

F. How much did you have to spend for food when you were not getting the stamps or were getting commodities?

Per week_____ Per month_____

G. What do you now raise or grow to eat--along with Food Stamps?

| Vegetables | Livestock | Other |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

H. Do you shop in the same place now as you did before food stamps?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

What change?_____

34. How are you treated in the food stamp office? (For example: How do they refer to you? Do you have any problems getting there?)

35. Could you please tell me what kinds of things you ate yesterday or today for breakfast, lunch, and dinner?

| Breakfast | Lunch | Dinner |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

36. How often and how much do you eat of the following foods and do you raise, grow or buy them at the store? #eating _____

| FOODS | Wkly | Mthly | Yrly | Snly | Amt. of Food | Raise or grow | Store Bought |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Chicken** | | | | | | | |
| breasts, legs | | | | | | | |
| thighs, wings | | | | | | | |
| neckbones, gizzards | | | | | | | |
| chickenbacks | | | | | | | |
| **Beef** | | | | | | | |
| steak, roast | | | | | | | |
| stew meat | | | | | | | |
| ground beef | | | | | | | |
| **Pork** | | | | | | | |
| roast | | | | | | | |
| chops | | | | | | | |
| tails, feet, ears | | | | | | | |
| knuckles | | | | | | | |
| salt pork | | | | | | | |
| sausage, bacon | | | | | | | |
| neck bones | | | | | | | |
| chittlins | | | | | | | |
| **Lamb** | | | | | | | |
| roast or chop | | | | | | | |
| stew meat | | | | | | | |
| **Game** | | | | | | | |
| squirrel | | | | | | | |
| possum | | | | | | | |
| racoon | | | | | | | |
| rabbit | | | | | | | |
| other | | | | | | | |
| **Fish** | | | | | | | |
| **Eggs** | | | | | | | |
| **Fruit** | | | | | | | |
| apples | | | | | | | |
| oranges | | | | | | | |
| bananas | | | | | | | |
| grapes | | | | | | | |
| grapefruit | | | | | | | |
| pears | | | | | | | |
| watermelon | | | | | | | |
| other | | | | | | | |
| **Vegetables** | | | | | | | |
| okra | | | | | | | |
| collard grns | | | | | | | |
| mustard grns | | | | | | | |
| turnip grns | | | | | | | |
| spinich | | | | | | | |
| string beans | | | | | | | |
| butter beans | | | | | | | |
| corn | | | | | | | |
| sweet potatoes | | | | | | | |
| cabbage | | | | | | | |
| black eyed peas | | | | | | | |
| other | | | | | | | |
| **Breads** | | | | | | | |
| cornbread | | | | | | | |
| grits | | | | | | | |
| rice | | | | | | | |
| lightbread | | | | | | | |
| **Miscellaneous** | | | | | | | |
| milk | | | | | | | |
| butter/margarine | | | | | | | |
| cheese | | | | | | | |

37. How many persons eat with you most of the time?

Adults_____ Children_____

38. Do you feel that each person has enough to eat at each meal?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Explain:

38a. What else would you buy if you had more money?

HEALTH

Now I would like to talk about the health problems your family may have.

39. Does anyone here have high blood?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Who?_____(Relation)

40. Does anyone have sugar (diabetes)?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Who?_____(Relation)

41. Do you ever feel like you are falling out (fainting)?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. How often?_____

IF NO CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD GO TO 46A.

42. Do any of the children have sores or scabs anywhere on their bodies?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How many children?_____

Ages_____

43. Do the children have continuous colds and sniffles in the winter?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How many children?_____

Ages_____

44. Do the children sleep alot during the day?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How many children?_____

Ages_____

45. Do you think that your children are as healthy as they could be?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

What's wrong?_____

46. FOR INTERVIEWER: Did you see children with distended stomachs?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

How many children?_____

Ages_____

46a. How is the health of the entire family? (Is there anyone who is too sick to work--or work as much as they did. What problems do the family have with their health?)

47. Do members of your family see a doctor as often as they need to?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

A. Why not?_____

B. If you were able, what would you see a doctor for?_____

_____

47a. What is it like in the doctors office? (How are you treated? How long do you have to wait? Are there separate rooms and/or entrances for Negro and white? What are the fees and the price of medicine?)

48. Have you had any pregnancies within the last 5 or 6 years?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

48a. Would you tell me about medical care for yourself and the baby thru his or her first year and for yourself before and after the baby was born?

49. Where was the baby born?

(1) [ ] HOSPITAL (2) [ ] HOME (3) [ ] OTHER_____

50. Who delivered the baby?

(1) [ ] DOCTOR (2) [ ] MIDWIFE (3) [ ] OTHER_____

51. How many times did a doctor see the baby before he (she) was a year old?

#_____

52. Have you had any miscarriages?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

How many?_____

53. Are all the children you have ever had now alive?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

How many died? _____

How old were they? _____

Of what? _____

54. Can you get free baby care? [ ] YES [ ] NO [ ] USED

Can you get free shots or X-rays? [ ] YES [ ] NO [ ] USED

Have you used any of these? (FILL IN ABOVE)

55. How have you been treated at the clinic? (For example: How do they refer to you. How are you treated compared to whites you see in the office? Do you have any problems getting there?)

56. Does anyone in your family need dental (teeth) care?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

A. Why haven't they gone to a dentist?

_____

B. How many in your family have ever gone to a dentist? _____ (NUMBER)

C. What does the dentist usually do?

(1) [ ] FILLS TEETH (2) [ ] PULLS TEETH (3) [ ] OTHER _____

TO INTERVIEWER: DO NOT ASK ANY QUESTIONS WHEN YOU CAN ANSWER BY OBSERVATION IN THOSE INSTANCES FILL IN THE CORRECT ANSWER AND PLACE AN "O" NEXT TO IT.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Finally, I have a few questions about your house.

57. How many sleep in your house usually? # _____

58. How many rooms do you have in your home? # _____

A. How many do people sleep in? # _____

59. What does the family sleep on?

(1) [ ] MATTRESSES ON SPRINGS (2) [ ] MATTRESSES ON FLOOR

How many do you have? # _____ How many do you have? # _____

(3) [ ] OTHER _____

60. Do you have sheets and pillow cases?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. Do you have enough? (1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

B. What about blankets?
Do you have enough? (1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

61. Is your table big enough so that the whole family can eat together?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

62. Do you have enough chairs so everyone can eat together?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

63. Do you have enough dishes, glasses, and silverware so that everyone can eat together?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

64. Do you have any problems with things like rats, fleas, lice?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

What is the problem? _____

65. Does you house have a floor with no holes, a floor with holes, or no floor?

(1) ☐ NO HOLES (2) ☐ WITH HOLES (3) ☐ NO FLOOR

66. What sort of stove do you have?

(1) ☐ GAS (2) ☐ ELECTRIC (3) ☐ WOOD/COAL (4) ☐ OTHER _____

67. Do you have a regrigerator, ice box, or something else to keep food cold?

(1) ☐ REFRIGERATOR (2) ☐ ICE BOX (3) ☐ OTHER _____

(4) ☐ NOTHING

68. Is the house heated in the winter?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

A. How? _____

B. Do you have enough heat for all the rooms?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

69. Do you have a telephone?

(1) ☐ YES (2) ☐ NO

Why not? _____

_____

71. Where do you get your water supply?

- [ ] City pipe connected indoors.
  - Do you have hot water? [ ] YES [ ] NO
- [ ] Outdoor city pipe.
- [ ] Pump.
- [ ] Cistern (for rain water)
- [ ] Well
- [ ] Spring or stream (How far from your house_____)
- [ ] Other_____

71a. What do you use for a toilet?

72. Has the woman from the county office (FES home demonstration agent) who talks about the things you do in your home such as canning and preserving, etc., ever come out here to talk with you or at local meetings?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Which:_____

72a. Was she white or Negro?_____

72b. How often did she come last year?_____

72c. What did she talk about?

72d. About how long did she stay each time?_____

WELFARE

73. Is there anyone in the family who receives either Welfare or Social Security?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

| Name/relationship | Social Security | ADC | OAA | AD | AB | Other | Amt. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | |

74. Is there anyone in the family who should be receiving Social Security or Welfare who is not?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

If so, who, why do you believe they should be and why do you believe they are not?

75. Have you ever been denied or taken off of Welfare because of the welfare regualtion about a man in the house or for any other reason?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

Explain:

76. How are you treated in the Welfare Office (For example: How do they refer to you? How are you treated compared to white people you see in the office? Do you have any problem getting there?)

77. What school expenses do you have? per week_____ per mo._____
(What are they and for whom, no. of children in school.)

78. What kind of insurance do you have, how much cost, benefits?

79. Has the Census taker Mr._____or Mrs._____ ever been to your house?

(1) [ ] YES (2) [ ] NO

80. Who in the family has left Alabama? (When, at what age, why, and where did they go?)

81 What is the highest grades of school completed in the family?

~~SNCC~~ SSOC agency

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**35c**

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This edition of the NEW SOUTH STUDENT was cooperatively edited by the Nashville staff in the absence of Bob Dewart, former editor, who left staff the first of the year. We apologize for the lateness of the issue. We are looking for another full-time editor. Interested persons are urged to contact this office.


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# OPEN LETTER

The Right Honorable Lester G. Maddox
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Maddox:

We as Georgians, students and citizens of the new South are vitally concerned about our state and region. In uncompromising affirmation of "the right of each person to speak out," in affirmation of the "right of dissent," we are compelled to speak to a crucial issue facing all of us--the future of education in Georgia.

In your Inaugural Address, you pledged to build a "system of education adequate to the needs of the twenty-first century...and available to every youth capable of profiting by it." By severely cutting education expenditures, you have reversed your position of political and economic progress.

We demand that you be faithful to your pledge.

As long ago as 1963, the Governor's Commission on Higher Education completed their survey of the university system of Georgia. They called for a state expenditure of $103,000,000 for the 1967-1968 school year. This amount was needed simply to keep the system's head above water. An additional $13.6 million per year was called for if higher education were to advance. Governor Sanders cut this back to $10 million per year; you cut it still further to $5 million. Higher public education in Georgia looks almost a lie.

> 451,000 Georgians are college age, less than 80,000 go to college.
>
> In the Armed Forces Qualifying Test to determine "eligibility" for military service, 41.2% failed, against a national average of only 20.2%
>
> The average white Georgian has no more than 10.3 years of school. The average black citizen has no more than 6.1 years of school.

Georgia education is in a crisis.

Our primary concern in writing is not with the impact of educational stagnation on business and scientific interests, great though that impact will be. We are politically motivated students working toward the establishment of a freer intellectual and cultural climate in the South. The necessary and long overdue social changes called for in

# TO MADDOX

the South cannot be accomplished outside the development of enlightened centers of unfettered inquiry and active criticism. The movement for progressive social change in Georgia must fight to protest and improve the university system if that movement is to grow and prosper. The simple restoration of the Commission's proposal is not enough. We will not be bought off. Our vision for education is larger than the construction of a few classrooms, new science libraries, and business administration buildings. We work for the time when all people in the state--no matter their race, creed, or economic class--will have free and equal access to as many years of education as they might want. The future demands tuition-free state colleges and universities and scholarships for any high school students who otherwise could not stay in school.

We demand more money for education. The leaders of our society do not have this vision; they are not prepared to allocate the needed funds. So in an economy of lavish, if not sickening abundance, we escalate defense spending and make even more problematic the question of whether there is much to defend.

Even an unlimited amount of money, wrongfully given and improperly spent, will not build the New South. If money is given to silence rather than to free the university, the students, Georgia, and the South will lose. If students think education is a privilege to be conferred on a select few, instead of a right to be provided for all, they have been bought off. Southerners, students and workers alike, must learn from the Black Power Movement that the only way people achieve justice and freedom is by working for it and demanding it.

We trust that students all over the state will take whatever action they feel appropriate to demonstrate their solidarity in opposition to your educational cutback. To be in good faith, you must meet such demonstrations with approval, for we want to build a New South.

Unless Georgia education gets the money it deserves, beginning with the restoration of the $8.6 million cutback, we will call for Georgia students to mount a continuing campaign of pressure by whatever means necessary.

We await your response.

Respectfully,

Atlanta Chapter-at-Large
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 15474
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

# WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

## ARKANSAS

Little Rock, Arkansas: A southern mountains peace walk, scheduled to pass through a five-state area, will get underway in Little Rock on Feb. 3. The project, initiated by members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, is to be an individual rather than an organizational undertaking, with emphasis on personal contact and consideration of the basic questions of nonviolence and human relations. The participants, numbering less than ten, will be seeking opportunities to visit community groups, colleges, schools, and churches. The scheduled route, subject to change, includes Little Rock; Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee; Lexington and Ashland, Kentucky; Huntington and Charleston, West Virginia; Richmond, Virginia; and Washington, D. C. Communication with the peace walkers will be handled by New England CNVA, Rt. 1, Box 197 B, Voluntown, Connecticut 06384.

## FLORIDA

A tour of several Florida schools and cities is planned for the last of February and the first of March. Prospective speakers include Nancy Hodes, of SCEF's Operation Open Debate, David Nolan, SSOC, and Tom Gardner, NSA Southern Project. The focus of the program will be the foreign policy of the U.S., particularly in regard to China, Southeast Asia, and South America; its effect upon the individual; the draft laws; and the complicity of the university in formulating and executing foreign policy. Contact: Tom Gardner, NSA Southern Project, 41 Exchange Place, Room 703, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Gainesville: Plans are underway at the University for a Florida Days of Protest during the week of March 18-26. Activities being considered include teach-ins, speakers, peace parades, and a peace marathon which would involve delegations moving in relay fashion from town to town, climaxed by a march into Fort Lauderdale during the Easter vacation.

Other activity of the Gainesville left focuses upon a "National Security Seminar" scheduled to be held at the University in the near future under the chairmanship of the President of the University. In a mode contrary to the seminar concept, there will be no opportunity for questions, dialogue, or refutation of the ideas presented at the gathering. University students fear the use of the program for rightist propaganda under the official auspices of the University, and are planning some type of counter-seminar in protest. Contact: Nik Levin, Box 13636, University Station, Gainesville, Florida.

Tallahassee: Students at Florida State University met recently to form a SSOC chapter. They hope to recruit members from other Tallahassee colleges and become a city-wide group. Projected activities include the running of campus political party candidates on a university reform platform. SSOC and the Young Liberals plan to coordinate and man freedom schools in conjunction with the second NAACP-sponsored school boycott on Jan. 30, 31, and Feb. 1. Contact: Phil Mullins, 439 West College Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

## GEORGIA

A delegation of Emory University and Georgia State College students, representing the Atlanta Chapter of SSOC, presented Governor Maddox's Executive Secretary an open letter protesting the scarcity of funds for education in Georgia. (See "Open Letter," pages 1 and 2.) They have contacted campuses across the state on this issue, and are presently circulating a statewide petition. Those interested should contact Jody Palmour, 1580 Dantzler, Apt. 2, Atlanta, Georgia.

* * *

## NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill: An hour-long silent vigil protesting the war in Vietnam began on Jan. 4 and will continue on a weekly basis until the war ends. Sponsored by the Friends Meeting of Chapel Hill, the vigil drew 120 participants, whose numbers were made up of professors, undergraduate and graduate students, businessmen, and housewives. By Jan. 18 this number had grown to 170. The leaflet of the peace vigil reads simply: "Until Americans stop killing and being killed in Vietnam: a silent vigil every Wednesday noon to express our sorrow and our protest."

## VIRGINIA

Charlottesville: Students at the University are making plans to begin publishing an independent weekly newspaper. The paper is conceived as a way of introducing moderate and liberal students to different points of view on issues both within and outside of the academic community. Contact: Howard Romaine, 405 Altamont St., Charlottesville, Va.

The hearing on the case of John Buenfil, charged with failure to report for military induction, has been postponed until Feb. 2, in order to allow Buenfil sufficient time to secure a lawyer.

Richmond: On Jan. 6, 7, and 8, a group of 60-75 students gathered to hear various speakers, including representatives of the NAACP, AFL-CIO, ACLU, the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and the Charlottesville poverty program, as well as liberal Virginia educators and politicians. Discussion centered around the social and political conditions in Virginia and possible methods for change. A second meeting is planned for Feb. 11-12 at which specific plans for action will be formulated. Summaries of the conference are available upon request. Contact: Patti Marella, Box 2662, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

* * *

## VANDERBILT STUDENT SHOT AND KILLED BY POLICE

Nashville, Tennessee: A first-year graduate student at Vanderbilt University, Ramsey Windley Hall, was shot and killed by policemen on Jan. 18. Hall's landlady had called police to report that he was acting strangely and beating on the door to his room. Three policemen sent to investigate approached Hall's room and were asked by him for a search warrant. Hall then came out of his room and pushed his landlady down the stairs. He began struggling with the three policemen and was knocked unconscious by one of them. The student regained consciousness quickly and, already partially handcuffed, began struggling again. The policemen began hitting Hall with their nightsticks, one of which splintered on his head. When Hall picked up the broken nightstick and started advancing on the police, one of them pulled his gun and began firing. Hall was struck in the chest, throat, and stomach by six bullets. He died immediately.

More than 1,400 Vanderbilt students and professors have signed a petition calling for an investigation of the incident as well as a thorough reevaluation of the entire police department.

Several city groups have issued statements deploring the killing and maintaining that this is but one of a long series of incidents indicating improper police training and a resulting hostile attitude of policemen toward the public. The ACLU, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the Nashville Community Relations Council, SSOC and Vanderbilt Student Association raised these issues in a meeting with Mayor Beverly Briley

# MIGRANT UNREST

by Nan Guerrero

Since last spring, the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO has been working with Florida migrants in an attempt to create a counterpart to the organizing of farm workers in California, spearheaded by Caesar Chavez. SSOC recruited seven students who spent the summer working full-time with IUD organizers, traveling to migrant camps along the east coast and in the Great Lakes region and spreading the idea of a union among the workers who would return to Florida in the fall.

Back in Florida, IUD organizers have spent the fall contacting workers, organizing meetings, and laying the groundwork for the building of a union. Their efforts have been coordinated with those of liberal church and civic groups in the state concerned with the plight of the farm worker. The Farm Workers Committee of Florida has been organized and is soon to be incorporated.

During the first week of January, twenty women walked out of a celery field near Belle Glade, Florida over a dispute with the farmer and labor contractor about wages. Apparently the women were promised one wage rate before they got on the bus to go to the field and were told when they got off the bus at the field that they would receive a different lower rate for harvesting the celery.

When the women struck, Tommy Martin, one of the student participants in the summer student-labor project and now a staff member of the IUD, went immediately to Belle Glade to work with the protestors. In a confrontation, Martin was struck in the face by the labor contractor and subsequently pressed charges, which were rapidly dismissed by a Belle Glade judge.

Word of this incident spread rapidly through the migrant community and the strike in the field grew to involve more than 2,000 workers. It was known as a "general workers' holiday" and was planned as a brief strike in a show of unity and strength against the farmers. According to the Belle Glade police chief, the strike was 90% effective and the growers suffered monetarily to some extent. After two days out of the fields, the strikers returned to work with the plan being to call a general strike within ten days if the farmers did not appear willing to negotiate.

At this point, the growers seem somewhat open to talking terms and the ten-day deadline has been extended. However, the possibility of a large strike within the next month is very likely. More than 250,000 people have signed up with the union since the strike activity began and there is a mood of real militance among the workers.

The workers' demands center around shorter working hours, show-up pay, insurance coverage, check-off, job security, and dignity on the job. Though the situation varies according to the region of the state, the crop being picked, and the season, most Florida migrant workers receive less than $10 per day for a 12-hour day, getting on the buses at 5:30 am and returning home at 5:30 pm. Workers are often contracted to do a job, arrive at the fields, and are told to wait, without pay, for days or weeks for the crop to ripen. The demand for show-up pay would obligate the grower to begin paying wages on the date for which he contracts workers to begin picking. Adequate insurance coverage is a necessity as statistics show that agricultural work has the third highest accident rate of the nation's industries. Check-off would require the grower to allot directly to the union from wages the dues of every union member. It is a must for the survival of any union. An over-riding concern of the workers is that they be guaranteed dignity on the job. The Florida migrant force is made up largely of Negroes and the nationwide prejudice against migrants is compounded by elements of the most blatant racism.

(see following page)

Should a general strike occur in the near future, and that possibility is great, the workers will need supportive action from the outside. Following the first two-day strike, ten people who were blacklisted by the farmers have been working as full-time organizers with no pay or means of support. In a massive strike, this problem will be multiplied one hundred-fold. As part of their preparation for a possible strike, workers are making advance rent payments and stocking up food supplies.

Groups should begin organizing now to implement the workers' efforts. In the event of a strike, there will be no time to waste in setting up a structure for support. The important groundwork must be done now in order that the crucial food supplies and donations can be raised and sent at a moment's notice. The organizers are anxious to establish contacts and begin corresponding now with groups who may be able to provide support in the form of food, money, letter writing, telegrams, and demonstrations. Contact: Tommy Martin and Mike Lozoff, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, P.O. Box 703, Belle Glade, Florida, phone: (305) 996-7475.

* * *

# LYNCHING LEGAL STYLE

by Janet Dewart

"My life is at stake! I'll say what I please."
---Charles W. Elliott

Law and justice have again reigned supreme. Once more a nigger has received his just reward for touching a white woman. Or as headlines blazed in the Nashville Tennessean, NEGRO RAPIST GIVEN CHAIR. Good. Now he can join the other six prisoners who await execution in the Nashville penitentiary.

Funny thing about the color of"justice." All seven men on death row are black. And it seems that the last man executed in Tennessee was black. Seems that he was also convicted of raping a WHITE woman. Another headliner.

Two years ago, five black men were on death row for the same charge. Through massive protest about capital punishment, their death sentences were changed to life imprisonment. Pardon is the legal term for an act which came after the legal intimidation of death was used to place fear in the black community. Rats, poor education, shacks and outside unsanitary toilets have not taken a high enough toll.

Charles Elliott, the latest victim of Tennessee justice, was ordered by the judge to restrain himself when Elliott shouted, "That's not true!" to the prosecuting attorney's closing argument. "My life is at stake! I'll say what I please," was Elliott's reply. Criminal Court Judge William O. Beach ordered Elliott from the courtroom and recessed the trial for 15 minutes. The Nashville Tennessean (Jan. 18, 1967) reported that Elliott was returned and made no further outbursts while Bagwell (the prosecuting attorney) concluded his summation. Must have law and order. Respect for a system trying its best to smother you in the ghettoes, sacrifice you on the front lines in Vietnam, and welfare you to death.

What convicted Charles W. Elliott? The evidence? Hardly. The papers reported one side of the story. But an interview with Attorney Roscoe Hamby, one of Elliott's attorneys, gave information that was reported during the trial but failed to reach the papers.

Hamby said that the testimony of doctors who examined Mrs. Byhilia Huddleston five hours after the rape supposedly took place said that their evidence

(Continued from page 7)
showed that she had not been sexually molested.

The papers reported that samples of flower particles found in Elliott's trousers matched golden rods found at the scene of the attack. Trial evidence proved that the soil on Mrs. Huddleston's clothing did not match the kind found on Elliott.

The forty-five year old mother of six also testified that her attacker made her disrobe. After the supposed rape, she was then choked unconscious and was found stumbling along the highway six-tenths of a mile from the scene of the crime, completely dressed except for her shoes. When asked how she was able to dress completely in a semi-conscious state, she claimed "absence of recall." During the trial Mrs. Huddleston said that she could not positively identify her attacker. (Guess all black men look alike.) But she did recall that her assailant had a moustache and wore a narrow-brimmed hat. Defense witnesses testified that Elliott has never worn a moustache.

Let's add the ingredients that justify taking a black man's life: (1) Insufficient evidence; (2) Absence of recall; (3) Hysterical testimony of one WHITE woman.

## Twin Injustice

The Elliott case is nauseatingly similar in tone to the Wansley trial in Lynchburg, Virginia. Southern Conference Educational Fund reports that authorities there are continuing their four-year effort to execute 21-year-old Thomas Wansley, a Negro, on rape charges. The case began four years ago when Wansley was accused of raping a Japanese woman, and raping and robbing a white woman. He was convicted on all three counts, although he testified that he had previously had sexual relations with the Japanese woman and although the white woman could not positively identify him at the first trial.

He was given two death sentences plus a 20-year jail sentence on the robbery charge. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals overturned the convictions and ordered new trials in 1964, after statewide and national protests about Wansley's treatment.

Only 17 when the case began, Wansley has spent the last four years in prison, including 18 months on death row. He is still facing two capital charges. During the same period, a white man who was convicted of raping an 11-year-old Negro girl was sentenced to five years in prison. He has already been released.

It is important to note that during the period between 1930 and 1964, over 500 black men in the South have been executed for the charge of raping white women, convicted largely on the testimony of one woman and the persecution of the court which makes certain that the black community is kept in its place through fear and legal intimidation. Less than fifty white men have been convicted of similar crimes.

Taking these two cases together, it should be obvious that the charge is not rape, but being black. The bloodstained glasses of southern justice see only in black and white.

## What To Do

Several individuals in Nashville are initiating protests about the Elliott case and the general crime of capital punishment. An anti-capital punishment bill will be presented to this session of the state legislature.

Hopefully Virginia groups interested in human rights will protest the injustices of the Wansley trial. Inquiries about this particular case should be sent to Southern Conference Education Fund, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky. SSOC will answer inquiries about the Elliott case.

# VIETNAM: CLERGYMAN'S DILEMMA

Clergymen and laymen throughout the country have received a call to "Vietnam: The Clergyman's Dilemma, an Education-Action Mobilization," to be held January 31 to February 1, 1967 in Washington, D. C. Since many SSOC members and friends will be interested in hearing about and participating in this activity, we reprint for your convenience the call, the agenda, the sponsors, and the southern contact list of "Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam."

"A Call to 5,000 Clergymen"

Scripture warns that "Where there is no vision, the people perish." The failure of vision regarding Vietnam is a blindness to realities no less than to ideals. The threat of this moment is a preoccupation with the enemy that destroys our society's power to understand itself or its foes. In such a time leaders in the religious community of this nation must risk the displeasure of the powers that be in order to challenge dogmatisms that imperil ourselves and our world.

We want YOU in Washington with us on January 31-February 1 to gain new insight for local involvement through workshops, to meet with both elected and appointed government officials, and to stand with members of all faiths in a vigil for peace.

DR. JOHN C. BENNETT
President, Union Theological Seminary
RABBI ABRAHAM HESCHEL
Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America
FATHER JOHN McKENZIE
Notre Dame University
DR. ROBERT McAFEE BROWN
Professor, Stanford University
REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR.
Chaplain, Yale University
RABBI MAURICE EISENDRATH
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
BISHOP JOHN WESLEY LORD
Methodist Bishop of Washington, D. C.
RABBI JACOB WEINSTEIN
President, Central Conference of American Rabbis
DR. HARVEY G. COX
Associate Professor, Harvard Divinity School
FATHER JOSEPH F. MULLIGAN
Dean, Graduate School, Fordham University
FATHER DONALD CAMPION
Former Editor, America
FATHER PETER RIGA
Professor, St. Mary's College
SISTER MARY CORITA

Agenda for the Mobilization

Tuesday, January 31

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:30 - 10:20 | Registration |
| 10:20 - 10:35 | Opening remarks |
| 10:35 - 11:25 | Briefing on style of Congressional visits |
| 11:25 - 12:05 | Informal lunch |
| 12:05 - 1:15 | Silent vigil in front of State House |
| 1:15 - 2:00 | Walk to Capitol for Congressional visits |
| 2:00 - 5:15 | Congressional visits |
| 6:00 - 7:30 | Meal of Reconciliation (tea and rice) with offering for relief. |
| 7:30 - 8:30 | Major address |
| 8:30 - 10:30 | Discussion by participants on specific issues related to War. |

Wednesday, February 1

| | |
|---|---|
| 7:30 - 9:00 | Breakfast |
| 9:00 - 10:30 | (Assigned workshops: |
| 10:30 - 12:00 | ( Vietnam and the Local Congregation. ( Vietnam and Community Action. ( Vietnam and Public Officials. |
| 12:00 - 2:00 | Luncheon and concluding Address |

(continued on page 10)

CLERGYMAN'S DILEMMA (con'td from pg. 14)

Purposes of the Mobilization

Sponsors of the Mobilization list the following three purposes for the mobilization:

(1) Workshops related to the Vietnam crisis will aim at assisting clergy in areas of preaching, draft counseling, political action, developing community concern, etc.

(2) A vigil against the war by members of all faiths will be an outward sign of our inner anguish and penance ("I should like to be able to love my country and still love justice").

(3) We will meet with elected and unelected government officials regarding the war and, specifically, the enormous allotments of funds being allocated to this war which "nobody wants."

Sponsors will provide free housing for all those who bring a sleeping bag or the equivalent. Transportation arrangements will be handled by the southern contact persons listed below. Don't hesitate to call on them if you want further information.

W.Va. - Mr. Hardin W. King, 1676 5th Ave., Huntington; 523-1718.
Mo. - Rev. Ralph C. Abele, 1528 Locust St., St. Louis; CE 1-3770.
N.C. - Rev. Jack Crum, N.C. Council of Churches, Raleigh, 828-3273.
S.C. - Dr. W. Lee Prince, Trinity Baptist Church, Seneca; 882-9396.
Tenn. - Rev. James Lawson, 653 Alston St., Memphis.
Rev. Tom Baker, 1108 17th Ave. S., Nashville; 256-1424.
Ky. - Rev. David Brown, 322 York St., Louisville; 587-1721.
Texas - Garnet Guild, AFSC, 4714 Crawford, Houston; JA 6-1069.
Ark. - Rev. Bill Halton, 6401 Osage Dr. N. Little Rock; TE 5-1217.
Fla. - Rev. John Papendrew, 7701 SW 76th Ave., Miami; 667-3697.
Okla. - Mr. Joe Dempsey, 2433 E. 33rd St., Tulsa; RI 7-1796.

For states in which no official contact person is listed, members might contact the state office of the National Council of Churches for information, or the national office of Clergy& Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 475 Riverside Dr., NY, NY, 10027; Attn: Richard Fernandez.

* * *

# THE CHILDREN OF VIETNAM

"A million children have been killed or wounded or burned in the war America is carrying on in Vietnam. Not many of them even get to hospitals,but if they do, they may lie three in a bed or on newspapers on the floor. Flies are in the wounds. Materials for the adequate treatment of burns--gauze, ointments, antibiotics and plasma--are usually non-existent. This contrasts with the incredible speed and efficiency with which American troops napalmed by mistake are given elaborate first aid and flown to a Texas hospital for treatment.

"When Terre des Hommes, a Swiss humanitarian organization, asked for American assistance in flying wounded children to Europe for repair, our officials refused, explaining that children were unhappy when separated from their families. The fact is that a third of all Vietnamese children in institutions have already lost both parents or been abandoned. Can America, which manufactures and delivers the efficient napalm that causes deep and deforming burns, deny all responsibility for their treatment?"

...from the preface, Dr. Benjamin Spock, The Children of Viet-nam

Copies of this pictorial essay, reprinted from Ramparts, January, 1967, are available from SSOC at 25¢ a copy. For bulk orders of more than 100, write Ramparts, 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California 94133. Rates: 101-1000 for 20 cents; over 1000 for 10 cents each.

COMMENTARY

# PEACE CALLED WAR

## LYNDON JOHNSON'S POVERTY PROGRAM

by David Nolan

In 1964 when Lyndon Johnson was playing liberal and posing as a peace candidate, he called his goal "The Great Society" and outlined several of its component parts. But as the work of the Great Defoliator became more and more demanding, the Great Society programs went out the window.

To speak of the War on Poverty at this time may be to kick a dead horse, but for the record, we might discuss some of the reasons why it failed.

We must first examine the context in which it was created. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has written that Lyndon Johnson is "compelled by a malign fate to struggle with problems beyond his intellectual interest or control." Johnson entered politics in the 1930's as a New Dealer. He had repeatedly voiced his admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt and it can be assumed that he would like to follow FDR's path to greatness.

To quote Schlesinger again, "he knows that a great president must do great things, but unlike the Roosevelts or Wilson or Kennedy, he does not know what those great things should be." So rather than develop great new ideas himself, Johnson has borrowed from the ideology of the New Deal and applied his legislative skills to getting bills passed that are thirty years old in their conception. These laws, tailored to another age and not taking important changes into account, have not sufficed.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, the bureaucratic embodiment of the War on Poverty, then, suffers from problems of conception and scope as well as the publicized failures in implementation.

### Conception

The poverty program is designed to fit people into a society that is seen as basically good--whose only fault is that it does not yet extend its benefits to everyone. Working from this basic assumption of superiority, the goal is to change people rather than society in sort of a mass psychoanalytical approach. It has no provision for giving people money directly, but rather concentrates on teaching them skills, which it is assumed will make them qualified for existing jobs. Or it tries to make the conditions of poverty more liveable by such devices as recreation centers.

One of the tragedies of the program is that people who have been retrained have not been able to find jobs, or else were only able to find marginal jobs that will no longer exist in five years because of automation. Are we then to force people to undergo retraining every five years? It is a truism that businesses are reluctant to hire people over 40 or 45 anyway, so then what do we do?

### Poverty vs. Powerlessness

In order to understand OEO, we must differentiate between the problems of poverty and the problems of powerlessness. As the law was written, providing for "maximum feasible participation of the poor," it could conceivably affect the latter, and to the extent they are related, the former as well. This, however, is working on a result rather than a cause of poverty. Even so, it is possible that this would be better than nothing.

Think, for instance, of a small southern town, divided 50-50 racially, where the whites own all the businesses, most of

PEACE CALLED WAR....Cont. from Page 11

the land, and hold all the public offices. If an OEO community action program were set up in this town controlled by the poor (most, if not all of whom would be Negro because of the refusal of whites to participate) it could in many instances be a counter government financed by the federal government, and would certainly be a source of power to the poor. If white banks refused to loan Negroes the capital to set up businesses, this could be done through the poverty program. If the white school board refused to allow the teaching of Negro history, a poverty program could be set up to teach it to adults and children. If Negroes constantly caught the short end of white justice in the courts because of inadequate legal aid, the poverty program could provide sympathetic legal assistance for them. Negro cooperatives and credit unions could be set us with poverty program financing as a means of offsetting white economic control.

But these possible radical implications of the poverty program did not escape the attention of white southerners bent on preserving their privileges. The poverty program could equally be used to preserve the status quo, to further consolidate white power, and to provide tremendous profits, direct and indirect, to white businessmen. It all depends on who controls the poverty program. Money might be used to start a Negro cooperative or credit union, or it might be used to build a community center on land owned by a white man, with building materials from a local white firm, providing jobs for local whites.

## Implementation

It is a sad commentary that given these alternatives, the Office Of Economic Opportunity, under political pressure, decided to discard the provision for "maximum feasible participation of the poor" and permit local poverty programs to be run by whites who profited from poverty by owning slums, underpaying workers, gouging debtors, and the like. This is the built-in contradiction of the War on Poverty.



The poverty program in Brunswick County, Virginia is an example. Brunswick County is 60% Negro. 80% of the Negroes and 40% of the whites earn less than the government's poverty level of $3000 a year. By any standards, the poverty program should have been run by Negroes and by those earning less than $3000 a year. However, when Brunswick Community Action, Inc. was set up, 19 of the directors were white, 11 were Negro, and none earned less than $3000. The process of democracy was satisfied by having the all-white County Board of Supervisors appoint the Negro representatives in BCA, with predictable results.

Petitions with over 500 names were sent to Washington to protest this situation and an OEO investigator came to Brunswick County. He talked first with the whites, and then, rather than consult the Negroes, he went to a white civil rights worker to find out the opinion of the Negro community. The man from OEO said that the racial balance in BCA could not be changed because then the whites would refuse to participate. When the "maximum feasible participation" section of the law was brought up, he said that he considered one or two (out of 30) to be "strong minority group representation". When asked if he considered whites to be a minority group in Brunswick County (since they form only 40% of the population), the investigator became flustered and left.

It was obvious from that point on that OEO was not concerned to see a meaningful poverty program in Brunswick County. It was found that an OEO employee in Washington was feeding information and names of Negro protestors to the whites of BCA, whose reputation was hardly sterling, was appointed a state official of OEO. Compromises which were later made in BCA were in the direction of giving Negroes more token representation but never control of the program as they should have had.

## CDGM

Recent developments with the Child Development Group of Mississippi are another example. CDGM was organized by SNCC workers and has been recognized as one

of the most effective programs in the country in terms of involving the poor in the poverty program. But this was severely frowned upon by Senators Stennis and Eastland, who promised to raise havoc with congressional appropriations if CDGM was not stopped. What was OEO's response? Did they defend this highly successful program?

An article in the New York Times on October 4, 1966, gives a clue to OEO's actions:

> Clarence C. Ferguson, Dean of the Howard University Law School, has complained to Sargent Shriver, director of the poverty agency, that some of his students, working as summer employees of the agency, had been "misused" in connection with the Mississippi investigation.
>
> Several of these students reported that they had been instructed to disguise themselves in their "movement clothes"--dress that would identify them with a civil rights organization--and find derogatory information about CDGM.

The subsequent renewal of the CDGM grant was the result of pressure by its supporters, including Walter Reuther's Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty, and the National Council of Churches. Without its powerful supporters, CDGM would have been crushed by the no-so-sonscientious poverty warriors of OEO.

## The Other War

Those who are students now have lived all their lives in the Cold War. This is the period where the politics of fear developed the balance of terror, where men like Herman Kahn calmly calculate the difference between 40 million deaths and 80 million deaths, where over half the national budget goes for "defense", and where we live in a "permanent war economy". Fred J. Cook has written a book calling America The Warfare State.

It is not surprising that in this period the military terminology has come into wide use, and that the justification for actions has been presented in terms of the "national defense". Thus, when money was desired for higher education in 1958, the bill was called the National Defense Education Act, and was justified because more education made America a mightier nation, not because education was a good thing in itself.

Similarly, for several years, one of the arguments for civil rights was that racism tarnished America's image with the nonwhite countries of the world and gave the communists a propaganda trump--rather than saying that racism was wrong in and of itself, whether the world approved or disapproved.

So we should not be surprised to see the poverty program cloaked in the military terminology of a "war on poverty", nor should we be surprised that Adam Yarmolinsky, while in the Defense Department, was one of the architects of the poverty program, nor should we be surprised that there is still a close relationship between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Defense.

Time magazine recently redefined the American Dream in the following terms: "the armed forces remain the model of the reasonably integrated society that the U. S. looks forward to achieving in another generation."

Since the Office of Economic Opportunity is concerned with the fulfillment of the American Dream, it is not, then, out of place for the Job Corps to train people to the point where they can qualify to be drafted, or for the Defense Department to allot 10% of its contracts to poverty areas to provide jobs in America's biggest business, and it is justifiable to fire VISTA volunteers who inquspiciously protest the war in Vietnam.

## The Problem of Relevance

In the final analysis, the question we must consider is whether the poverty program, with its conception firmly based in the thinking of the 1930's, is relevant to the problems of today which are being influenced and will increas-

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The economist Robert Theobald has written: "We must comprehend that the emergence of the cybernated era based on full education means the end of the industrial age based on full employment." In other words, our present concept of full employment is on the way out--"The drive to provide toil is obsolete...the true challenge is to educate people in such a way that they can live a life which will appear meaningful to them, and to their fellow-men."

The poverty program is geared, if anything, to a society where there is a direct relationship between work and income. But through the process of cybernation, most of the presently existing jobs and be taken over by machines, and increasingly this will be done. The problem then is how to distribute income when it is no longer necessary for people to work in the sense we now know it. A guaranteed annual income seems the most reasonable proposition--where the profits from the work done by the machines is divided up among the people, with a constitutional guarantee (to prevent political hanky-panky) that each person will have enough to live on.

We see, then, that even if OEO were to perform its job satisfactorily, it does not have the necessary scope to meet the great technological changes that will shape America's future. And these changes will make irrelevant the work of the poverty program.

# A PLEA

FOR JOHN LOVE
SELMA SNCC, 1964

Strange an era to be born into,
when a student, seeking wisdom,
is told that no one has it.

In other times, everyone said they had it.

Those who do have it today must be lying,
or silent.
Is that the difference?
I do not believe them;
I hear their silence.

So strange a time when wisdom
flowers in old abandoned orchards,
or at the bottom of deserted mine shafts in Kentucky,
or behind the wheel of certain half-dismantled chevrolets
carrying Negroes, driving through central Alabama
in the terrifying night.

Tim Hall

# NATIONALIZING OUR RESOURCES

by Philip Young

Nationalization of America's natural resources is not the kind of an issue around which concerned people are rallying. It does not move people to action as does racial or economic injustice; it has driven no one out of the country or to jail, as has America's military injustice. But the damnable thing about many of the social, economic, or military wrongs in this nation is that their current manifestations are more temporarily than permanently relevant to humanity.

A growing number of Americans, however, representing both the scientific elite and the poorest white mountain resident of Kentucky and West Virginia, are alarmed at the extensive corruption of what most of us have always taken for granted--the physical world around us.

## Upsetting the Natural Balance

For the scientist, and to an increasing extent the federal planner, random technological advancement is the most frightening thing we must face in the near future. There is no random way of dealing with our physical environment. To the contrary, there are delicate balances and natural forces which scientists now believe are upset only at great costs to all of life. Unfortunately, we have paid no attention to these balances. Lake Erie is a magnificent cesspool; the air over our major urban centers is substantially poisonous.

An increased demand for coal to feed power plants continues to threaten the very existance of thousands of families in Appalachia who happen to live in those areas where strip-mining now goes on. During the winter months, story after story is told of immense earth slides that carry away roads, fields, and occasionally inundate homes. All year round, sulphur-stinking water flows into wells and streams sickening people, killing wildlife, and destroying tomorrow's resources.

## Why Nationalization?

There are at least two significant reasons why full consideration should be given to the nationalization of our resources. First, because there is mounting concern among citizens and scientists, the federal government is going to do something about water and air pollution very soon. Without some real protest, this federal regulation will be only that which is acceptable to the industrial concerns affected by controls. In his 1967 message to the industry, Joseph Moody, President of the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., indicated very clearly that the coal industry--both labor and management--is determined not to let the Department of Health, Education and Welfare "force on the nation an air pollution abatement program far more strict than medical evidence justifies and without due regard to..... what their affect may be upon various fuel industries, such as coal."

From the automobile industry, and the drug industry, to name two of the more flagrant examples of industrial meddling in the setting of Federal standards, we have long since learned that industry has little concern for the best, long-range interests of the people, let alone their physical health and safety. It seems to me that a different premise must be injected into all of the discussions about pollution: all of the natural resources in this nation belong to the people. This means that no right of private ownership exceeds the right of the people to the best use of all their

RESOURCES.....Cont. from Page 15

resources. It is quite clear that national planning is absolutely essential, whether we are talking about using our land to feed the world, or simply about using our air to draw a safe breath.

### The Second Reason

Secondly, no issue comes closer to being critical to the rural poor than the use of the land on which they live. If America is to be serious about rural poverty, it must recognize that there is a clear relationship between the land and the people who live on it. Understanding the people trapped in poverty in rural areas requires an understanding of their sense of belonging to the land.

To know that major floods occur in the mountains regularly, and that minor flooding is a semi-annual problem, is to recognize that we have not taken seriously either the people who live in these areas or the billions of gallons of water that are annually wasted by floods. It may be legal for strip miners to deprive families of the use of their land without remuneration or due process of law; but it is also wrong.

Successful organizational attempts in Appalachia must reflect these issues, or they will be irrelevant to the people who live in that region. Poor schools, inadequate health facilities, political chaos, no job opportunities, as intolerable as they may be, are not the kinds of issues to which poor white mountaineers are now responding. But they do have a sense of relationship to the land upon which they live, and an understandable horror of rising water or sliding mountains. If the people and the natural resources are related, it must be made clear that the people's rights exceed the broad-form deed in face, as well as in theory.

### Fairytale

I am well aware of the gap between morality and legality in America. If that were the only critical issue here, it could be bridged by simply legalizing what is apparently moral. Industry and government could be called upon to act



responsibly in dealing with all of America's natural resources; and because they represent a portion of the people, they could be relied upon to deal fairly with the future of all the people and their resources.

### The Real Crisis

Even swallowing that crass fiction, America's larger problem has always been a massive disjunction between what is right and what is economically and politically possible. Nothing less than the crisis which we have unwittingly brought upon ourselves--the impending collapse of the physical atmosphere in which we live--can make us deal realistically with the whole matter of what is right for America's future.

A suffocating thermal inversion over Los Angeles, the total pollution of Lake Michigan, the destruction of a mountain town in West Virginia by flood or mud, any major failure of our natural environment can no longer be considered as only remote, isolated possibilities.

### National Values

Some concept of national planning, built upon social values, is absolutely necessary. And the crisis in our use of natural resources provides the occasion for working toward that end.

And even if this were not so, the misuse of natural resources comes closest to being the natural issue around which the rural poor will organize.

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C O N F E R E N C E

"Black University Reform Through Extra-Curricular Activities"
Tuskegee Institute
Feb. 10 - 12, 1967

For further information, contact:
Gwen Patton, NSA Southern Project
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Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

# NEOCOLONIALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD

by Jody Palmour

An early lesson movement people learn is not to judge anything simply by its color. One has to get to know a situation before one can see what's happening.

In our time, freedom is something we do not judge lightly because it is not easy to find or even to see. Those looking at it most passionately are probably preoccupied just now with the Vietnam war and with the policy of our foreign involvements.

The neo-colonialism we see standing out like dilated veins across the face of the free world, describes the political economy of most of the world's hungry masses. Its critical analysis could well point to the way Americans can gain freedom with the rest of the world.

## Let's Pretend

Neo-colonialism is essentially the "Let's-Pretend-Game" played on a small under-developed country scale. The rules are that the subject state must assume the appearance of independence with all the appropriate ceremonies and functions--save one. The blindfold or unmarked-dice of the game is that the state can control EVERYTHING about its development except those activities in any way related to its political-economy.

In economic policy matters, the Neo-colonial state is controlled from the outside. And those mainstays of the free world doing the controlling are economic determinists who believe the backbone of political freedom to be free enterprise.

To their minds, any political decision that would encroach on their rights freely to strip the subject state of her natural resources is an attack on the free world (read free enterprise) and is open to their veto. The only free states are the ones encouraging free enterprise or, less euphemistically perhaps, their own rape.

The successful veto is a veto enforced. An early example which we have forgotten --the Chinese haven't. The war was about opium. John Quincy Adams explains:

> The moral obligation of commercial intercourse between nations is founded entirely, exclusively, upon the Christian precept to love your neighbor as yourself...But China, not being a Christian nation...the fundamental principle of (their) empire is anti-commercail...It is time this enormous outrage upon the rights of human nature, and upon the first principles of the rights of nations, should cease.

We must remember that the actual military presence dominating the affairs of the kept state is an extreme situation representing a break-down in the normal functioning of the exploitative machine.

We need to see the engine working efficiently if we are to see the real threat it poses. We need to see the face of unfreedom cleanly shaven and smartly pressed.

## Trickle-Down Theory

Neo--colonialism rationalizes itself around the classic "Trickle-Down Theory" of social amelioration. Even the Mellons, Rockefellers or Englehards are probably a little uncomfortable describing their third world activities in terms of monopoly controlled, profit motivation.

They can point with pride to color photographs of great mining sites, tro-

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BEAUTIFUL BEAST.....Cont. from Page 17

pical plantations and oil derricks, reeling off as they go the number of jobs created and the amount of money injected into the little nation's economy.

What he will not do, though, is outline the terms on which that money was invested or compare the profits taken out with the slight stipend returned and what the difference could mean in the lives of the impoverished.

Small countries aspiring toward independence (and their fractured size and isolation is an integral reason for the ease of their exploitation) must accrue capital as rapidly and as best it can if it is to meet the primal needs of its people. The government's very existence is at stake as expectations rise at the granting of independence.

Development Contracts

Bountiful resources of bauxite, tin, petroleum, etc. would seem ample to provide the initiating capital for a new economy. So the government either signs itself or encourages groups within the country to sign development contracts for those resources hoping to utilize the gained revenue for community development.

What such contracts imply is that the state government has become, in effect, an agent of either a particular firm like Firestone, United Fruit, or Rand Mines, or more probably, of the great combinations of many interrelated and jointly owned corporations like Anglo-American.

Their monopolistic position means that affiliated corporations can dominate individual, if not all the major capital enterprises in a country; can set prices and wages directly (the government cooperates in combatting unions); and can determine taxes and tariffs indirectly.

They can and do schedule the development of a nation's industry for the enrichment of their inter-continental financial empires, not for the principal benefit of the nation's people who built



and work those mines and plantations.

They set the terms and the price of the resources leaving the country and of the finished goods returning to the country. All accomplished on this side of the iron curtain. And this pattern of exploitation is most often perpetrated by the freest of all possible worlds--needless to say--us.

Problems in Development

An underdeveloped country faces many of the same problems a developed one does except they are closer to the throat of government. People need income and consumer goods and it is to the government they turn.

The natural path of such a government would be to encourage the development of industry in a way, to maximize its distribution of income and its propagation of other industry in the nation. In other words, socialism and its consequential co-ordinated planning is the most desirable path for the government of an underdeveloped state.

Most governments would follow this route out of self-protection if investment capital were available for the independent development of their resources. But, since the large investment houses dominate the development corporations, no funds are available for political and economic independence.

The government learns to keep the dogs from its throat through various military assistance programs.

Two formulations of the same question are pressed upon us:

Will the exploitating powers be able and willing to channel enough of their profits back into the country to keep up with rising living standard expectations? (Time is all-important. If what could be painlessly granted in ten years is demanded today, revolution occurs.)

Will the insurgent movements demand more than a welfare check from their foreign masters, demand what cannot be given--the popular ownership and management of the mines and factories that are all

rightfully theirs?

Ours cannot be an idle concern for the answer.

With the nuclear detente between the great powers, the triggering device for the last war has been dismantled and hidden in the mountains and jungles of one or a combination of the under-developed countries. And the marines are prepared to storm the beaches in search for it.

Time does not permit the luxury of impotent awe before the inter-continental monster with a thousand deceptive faces. The situation of neo-colonialism has determined our task. We must work at home explaining what is happening in the third world. As business grows overseas --the military will grow. Increasingly difficult will be the task of humanizing our own society as military expenditures strain the federal treasury and social development is farmed out to big business. The two hoary heads of government and business are drawing closer together. Their mating breeds facism.

If we picture the beast when its tentacles are cut off, our people won't bleed. Its death throes will uncover ugliness. They might even stab at its heart themselves.

(Next Month: The Neo-Colonialized Mind in the South)

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# RANGOON

by Richard Butwell

Burma today is as regimented a state as it has probably ever been. Indeed, older Burmese look back on the days of British colonial rule as an era of comparative freedom and prosperity.

"Of course, they do," a young major explains. "They can no longer get all the imported luxury goods to which they became accustomed. They must learn to stand on their own two feet--which is no easy task."

What he did not say was that today's Burmese must ask his ward or village party representative's permission to do the one hundred-and-one things he used to do without asking anybody.

"If somebody stays at my house overnight, I have to tell the party man," a middle-aged Rangoon woman stated. "If my husband wants to buy a shirt, he has to check with the party representative--even if he wants to buy a can of milk!"

## Empty Shelves

And the chances are that he will not get his shirt--or his canned milk. For the government-run "People's Shops" are more often than not, empty or scantily stocked. Most of the one-time well-supplied stores in the capital of Rangoon are today shuttered.

Rationing is in effect for most commodities, including rice, and prices are high--in some cases two-and-a-half times what they were four years ago.

One woman wrote in a letter to the government-operated "Working People's Daily" that she used to spend only four kyats (less than a dollar) a day to feed her family. Yet even the cheapest kind of fish today costs eight kyats a viss (the standard Burmese measurement)--"and cannot be had."

## One Party Politics

Of political freedom there is practically none. Only one party is permitted-the official Lanzin party, the renamed Burma Socialist Programme Party. It has

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only 20 members, 13 of whom are the soldier participants in the ruling all-military Revolutionary Council. Of the more than 99,000 "candidate members," one-third belong to the armed forces.

The list of those who have been detained by General Ne Win for one political reason or another reads like a who's who of pre-1962 Burmese public life: former Premiers U Nu and U Ba Swe, Dr. Ba Naw (Burma's titular leader under the Japanese), Brigadier and one-time Socialist politician Aung Cyi (formerly the right-hand man of Burma's present ruler General Ne. Win), ex-Deputy Premier U Kyaw Nyein, and internationally known journalists U Law Yone and U Sein Win--among others.

U Nu was released October 27--together with Ba Swe apparently on the understanding that he go abroad. But Nu's subsequent interview with an Indian reporter strongly suggested that he might resume political activity at an early date.

### The Insurgents

The "multi-colored insurgencies," as the Burmese have called them since they began in 1948, continue. The Communist-led National Democratic United Front is probably the largest of these with followers in the field numbering about 2000 (their seemingly eternal strength). The Shans, Burma's most numerous minority, are also partly in revolt against the government but are badly divided. Some Karens belong to the pro-Communist NDUF, but even more probably support the nascent Committee for National Liberation, led by 58-year old former Brigadier Saw Kya Doc and 47-year old Brigadier Bo Yan Naing, son-in-law of Dr. Ba Maw. The CNL, which numbers no more than 500 men as yet, is said to have supporters in the army, but this is most unlikely. Kachin rebels also remain in the field, but the government has extended its authority in this area of the country considerably in the last year.

The fact remains that the government actually governs in the rebel -infested areas only as long as its armed forces are physically present.

### Economic Problems

The rebellions cost money--probably more than most people have realized through the years. And they disrupt the government's crash socialist programme--which is in enough trouble without help from the insurrections.

The truth is that Burma is one of the most economically upset states in the world today. Food, clothing, cigarettes and other commodities lie in warehouses while a fairly austere rationing system--austere, that is, for a land of traditional plenty--functions so badly that distribution committees must conduct lotteries when goods exist in shorter supply than their anticipated recipients. A thriving black market exists, and peddlers with unexplained quantities of scarce products are almost daily arrested on the streets.

The problem is largely one of mismanagement, born of inexperience, but there is also no little profiteering taking place even among the proprietors of the "People's Shops."

### Controlled Indirection

There is central control, but no central --or other--direction. Some consumers committees direct "People's Shops" proprietors to sell goods only if they have them in sufficient quantity for all would-be buyers. Others advise the managers of such shops--all retail trade in the country having been nationalized--to sell whatever goods they have. Some stores have goods of one sort beyond the ration allowance of their patrons--others have no such goods at all. There is literally nation-wide confusion--this in addition to declining production, and so, export of many of the products on which Burma's livelihood as a country depends.

But none of this is news, of course, to the Burmese--not just because he is experiencing it but also because he reads about such shortcomings in his newspapers daily. And the leader of the country has repeatedly admitted the state of

the nation's economy is "very bad."

That leader, wartime resistance hero, General Ne Win, paid visits to the United States and Japan in September.

Very few leaders could leave their country in such circumstances and be assured of returning as leaders (or at all, for that matter).

Even privately, the older upper-class Burmese admit that Ne Win is honest, sincere, and willing to do anything he can to improve the lot of his countrymen.

There is much inconvenience and even some hardship--but not suffering of any significant sort--in Burma today. General Ne Win's nationalization and socialist actions have thrown the economy into turmoil. But nobody blames Ne Win. Indeed, it is widely believed that he will ultimately come up with a solution to the problem.

Support of Ne Win

This popular support of Burma's soldier-leader is more than matched by the loyalty accorded him by his fellow members of the Revolutionary Council and the services' junior officers and enlisted men. A "colonels' revolt" is most unlikely. Nor is there any sign of an overly anxious would-be heir apparent in the military wings.

Least of all is Brigadier Tin Pe a rival of Ne Win's. They are old friends, and Tin Pe is usually left in charge when Ne Win is abroad--which has been frequently the last year-and-a-half--as now. Tin Pe is Trade Minister--the chief architect, with the onetime Communist U Ba Nyein, of the policies which produced the present economic difficulties. Burma's second ranking military officer, Tin Pe, probably could not muster sufficient support within the Revolutionary Council to succeed Ne Win if tragedy or relinquishment of his authority should require this.

Indeed, it is said in Rangoon that Ne Win gave Tin Pe a kind of "last chance" earlier this year to improve things economically by the time he returned from the United States. If not, the story goes, Tin Pe will be pensioned off as ambassador to one or another country. This seems highly unlikely in view of the ties between the two men and General Ne Win's public espousal of as much responsibility as anyone else for the "mess."

Problems of Transition

It is also unlikely, however, that Burma can continue as it is doing today economically. This is not to suggest the imminence of economic collapse. But General Ne Win is endeavoring to build a better Burma and, while he has ended alien domination of the economy, he has not otherwise uplifted the welfare of his countrymen to date.

Ne Win is practical, and he undoubtedly will make some changes of economic policy in the near future. A modest decontrol of trading in locally produced commodities, particularly foodstuffs, is possible--but will have to be carefully managed to avoid the re-entry into retail trading of overseas Indian and Chinese elements still in the country.

An overhaul of the government's pricing system is another possibility--but not one which so far appears to have received much thought among either Revolutionary Council members or government economists. The black market flourishes in part because of the modest prices paid the farmer for his produce by the government. The agricultural peasant also sees no reason why he should engage in extra and harder work--which the government wants him to do--when he benefits so little, if at all, by such labor.

Many of Burma's problems, of course, are those of transition--from a half-hearted only modestly implemented sort of socialism to as vigorous a representative of the species as is to be found in the non-Communist world today (and from an alien-dominated to a Burmese-run economy).

Both changes are momentous ones. It is little wonder Burma is experiencing the economic difficulties it is. The true test of General Ne Win's leadership is still to come--whether he can lead Burma to a victory over these difficulties.

* * *

SSOC AND

# WHITHER

A LONG HARD LOOK. . .

Ed Hamlett, out-going staff coordinator, presented the following address at the recent Durham membership meeting. Ed has worked with SSOC since its inception and is leaving to return to school.

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A review of the history of SSOC reveals several major weaknesses: 1) A reliance on the North; 2) Heavy conference orientation; 3) Drift in community organizing; 4) Over-dependence on SNCC; and 5) Failure to define constituency.

Reliance on North: SSOC has leaned on SDS for programs, ideas, literature; it has looked to the North for speakers, when often there were those here at home who could have done an admirable job; and, finally, virtually all of the financial resources have come from the North and particularly New York City. It might also be argued that we have not recruited sufficiently in the South to maintain a southern born and educated staff, thus forcing SSOC to look northward in this respect as well.

Conference Orientation: There have been at least twelve SSOC-sponsored conferences and seminars since spring, 1964. A major portion of finances have gone into the support of these meetings. Furthermore, the staff has devoted a considerable amount of time to planning, arranging, and travelling in setting up the affairs. This travelling is not thorough campus organizing, but superficial "Paul Revere-type" announcing. Finally, the worst sin is the lack of follow-up to these conferences which take so much of the staff's limited time and the organization's usually scarce resources.

Drift in Community Organizing: By my count SSOC has supported, to some degree or another, six community organizing attempts. One was a candle-making coop in the black community; in two instances we don't know what happened; a fourth died after moderate success; and two of them are still active. Though we received a mandate at the 1966 spring conference to do poor white community work, such an effort has yet to be made.

Over-Dependence on SNCC: In far too many instances SSOC has looked to SNCC for opportunities of involving white moderates in direct action or organizing campaigns. Furthermore, if SNCC seemed to disapprove of our recruiting on Negro campuses, we worried about the consequences if we went ahead with our plans. There were also times when we hoped that SNCC would carry through with its professed plans to organize Negro campuses when we knew that the chances of this happening were not good and when we should have done it ourselves.

Failure to Define Constituency: For most of our existence we have claimed that our desire was to reach the "moderate to radical" active students of the South. What we have found, however, is that we reach neither the moderate nor the radical to any appreciable extent, but those somewhere in between. There is nothing wrong with this if this is what a group decides to do, but we never decided to do that and we were always concerned that SDS got those at one end, and the human relations councils those at the other. This indecisiveness made internal democratic decision-making difficult.

At this point, I would like to list some

# SSOC

. . . by Uncle Ed

of the good things about SSOC, as well as indicate instances in which we have moved to correct some of the obvious errors.

It is clear to me that SSOC did arise from a movement of students at predominantly white colleges in the South and that a number of these students have provided direction, out of their experience and knowledge, for the organization. The driving force behind SSOC has been southern.

With respect to community organizing, the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee's project in Southside Virginia remains the only one that I know of in which college students from a state have taken it upon themselves to organize and support a community project which has shown some tenacity. The North Nashville Project, which we were instrumental in starting, is one of the few urban ghetto efforts that has shown some promise.

The New South Student is without doubt an important publication on the American left and is virtually without competition, unfortunately, in the South. While it could certainly be much better, it is important that it be continued.

Generally speaking, SSOC has provided active southerners with a place around which to rally to "do good things." It has raised issues where others were silent and which would not have been raised had SSOC not taken on the task.

Finally, our involvement in the effort to relate concerned students to progressive forces within the labor movement has been a source of encouragement to good folks in the North as well as in the South.

Now that SSOC is a membership organization, there are several things which should be done. First, we could let inertia carry us along as we have been doing. We could merge with SDS as has been urged by some. Or we could chart a new and aggressive program.

To achieve this latter objective we must stop reacting solely to other groups like SDS and SNCC, and continue to build a group of committed Southerners, hopefully into an identifiable Southern New Left that speaks to our ideals about the New South. Internal democracy must be a serious concern if this is to happen. The following are the components of an aggressive program for the organization:

1) The White Community Mandate should be taken seriously. Some members of SSOC are planning a conference on white organizing for February in Washington. SSOC should ask to co-sponsor the conference and help finance it. We should decide to support at least one white community project. Furthermore, SSOC should attempt to act as the secretariat for all white community organizing work in the region. That means acting as coordinator and channel for communication between the various efforts as they emerge, helping to raise money and keeping others informed of the work that goes on.

A second part of the white community involvement should be with the southern church. SSOC must be inventive in confronting the church with its hypocrisy

and involving students in the confrontation. While education is important, we should not exclude direct action as a possibility.

SSOC should continue and expand the efforts already begun to engage students in the labor movement. This should include activities on campus in organizing non-academic employees as well as workers in the larger community. Certainly migrants should receive continued attention.

Finally, we should not neglect the middle-class white community. The people working in Atlanta should communicate with others in the South. We must attack racism at all levels. Groups in the North are mounting offensives against prejudice that begins with the school system and the omissions in curriculum that aid this cancer. We can conduct similar campaigns here and students can aid them.

2) The second part of the program should focus on the war in Vietnam and its significance for the South. The results of the National Selective Service exams demonstrate the position of the South in the national educational system. While in the country as a whole about 17% of those tested failed, in the South 48% flunked. Without taking into consideration the elite and protected position of students in our society with respect to the war machine, we can readily see that the war has special consequences for the southern student. This means that a higher percentage of our young men can be drafted out of college, and that to avoid this they will have to go to jail or to Canada, especially since it appears to be considerably more difficult for Southerners to obtain C.O. status than is the case in the North.

Another effect of the war is the reliance of the Southern economy on defense and space spending. Aside from the moral questions involved, the dependence on the whims of the Defense Department and Congress in defense spending is uncomfortable and unhealthy for the communities affected.

Lastly, the effect is very great on the Negro community. There, a young man who can't get a decent job in civilian life and who is constantly emasculated in the jobs he can get is forced into the armed forces where he is trained in guerrilla warfare while fed the propaganda that he is fighting for democracy. It is likely that all of us will have hell to pay when those who return discover that things are no better in the urban ghettoes and rural slums out of which they came.

One of the sad things about the effects of the war is that a campaign to "End the War" could be one of the most frustrating ventures in which we might involve ourselves. It is probably much wiser to set an "End the Silence" as our goal in the South. Our region needs democratic discussion of the war and U.S. foreign policy. These discussions must be based on more facts than we are given in our daily newspapers and in our classrooms.

3) Thirdly, we must not neglect the reform of the university to which we have given so much attention. We need to be considerably more aggressive in this phase of our program than we have been in the past. If speakers have been barred from a college we need to go on that campus with the support of ACLU and AAUP and get arrested if necessary.

We need to set up the speakers' bureau that we have talked so much about. We could cut transportation costs and build a sense of movement and excitement by setting up more tours of stimulating speakers.

In this period of malaise, we must do something to shake people out of their lethargy and depression. To continue as we have been during these days can be disastrous since we do not have a rapidly growing movement with lots of momentum to carry us along. Therefore, we must be even more creative. I hope that some of the suggestions I have offered can be put into effect.

* * *

SSOC NEEDS AN

# AGONIZING REAPPRAISAL

by Dward J. Toynbee (alias Bob Dewart)

At its recent membership meeting in Durham, SSOC made two decisions, with which I disagree, which will basically affect the future course of the organization. Since I consider no decision to be irrevocable, I will herein voice my objections to these decisions in the hope of starting a movement among the membership to reconsider them by means of a referendum.

## I. Salaries

The first issue consists of paying different staff people different salaries. I see this as the complete undermining of the society of equals that I believe SSOC ought to be.

At present all staff members are paid $20 per week salary, which is meant to provide subsistence. In addition to this, it has been the longstanding policy of the organization to pay for travel, housing, and emergency expenses.

In Durham a new perspective was added to the picture. The argument in favor of graduated incomes ran something like this:

(1) In order for the organization to increase its effectiveness, we should outline our programs and establish priorities for them.

(2) Then we allocate a certain percentage of our budget to each program according to its priority.

(3) This done, we go after good staff people to implement the programs. If we want someone who is not willing to work for $20 a week, we offer him whatever (within the limits of our budget) he demands to come on staff. In other words, we buy him.

Since all of a person's really legitimate needs are met under the former staff policy described above, a very interesting rationalization was advanced in favor of the buying procedure.

It was suggested the people have various "life styles," or economic levels of existence. Some people need more money to maintain their life styles than do others, and SSOC should therefore be willing to pay them accordingly.

I would question whether SSOC, or any movement organization, should expend its resources in an attempt to maintain the inflated life style of the American middle class. The proper function for staff salary is to provide subsistence, and $20 a week does this nicely. In fact, I have suggested on several occasions that salaries be reduced to $600 per year ($12.98 a week) so that staff would not have to pay federal income taxes, but this was laughed off.

## Middle Class Radicals?

The question we must ask ourselves, is whether we too have not swallowed the middle class ideal. Are we going to demand the material rewards of a materialistic society we claim to oppose? Are we not being caught up in the Madison Avenue-promoted rush to consumption? How many of our needs are genuine, and how many are imposed upon us by clever advertising techniques?

There is much talk among SSOC staff members about finding a radical vocation. Working for SSOC is never even consider-

ed. What is sought after is a middle class pay scale for radical activity. People from SSOC gravitate to more lucrative positions with UCM, AFSC, NSA, the IUD or what-have-you, even though their flexibility of action is thereby vastly impaired.

It was suggested at Durham that we make a "quality publication" out of the New South Student by going professional and hiring an editor with credentials, at say $5,000 a year. What basis is there for the assumption that money can buy dedication or ability?

I think that we must decide what our proper position is on the question of property. Should our ideal be to achieve the middle class comforts of life, or should it be the independence from property exemplified by Gandhi ? Should and could SSOC compete for talent in the market of material pleasures? I think not.

## II. Organized Labor

A decision-making membership meeting was appended to the educational seminar at Durham in order that SSOC could make programming policy in light of the knowledge gained during three days of learning about the southern economy. How well did this idea work out?

The most impressive resource person that spoke to us was Robert Theobald. His message to the movement was very critical; we have lacked an overall radical perspective on American society; we have too often been guilty of putting our resources into backwater areas (such as rural blackbelts, for example).

### The Problem of Cybernation

Theobald's watchword for the future is cybernation, which is an advanced form of automation coupled with computers in which virtually no human labor is necessary. Cybernation will not come over night, but it is even now making archaic the concept of a full-employment economy. A new backwater is about to develop--organized labor--and SSOC had decided to go down with the ship.

SSOC voted at Durham to allow one of its staff members a free hand in spending a large portion of its available funds on labor activities. This was the project, incidentally, that received a priority for hiring staff at accellerated salaries. Have we taken leave of our senses?

### Three Objections

Let me list just briefly my three major objections to tying SSOC to organized labor in the South.

First, as mentioned above, we are again putting resources into a backwater area.

Second, organized labor in this country has so much more money than SSOC will ever dream of having, that for us to spend money on them is ludicrous. Labor should be spending money on SSOC, (which it has done to a limited extent, and to which I have no objection).

Third, unions are hardly a radical force in present society. George Meany, who heads the entire AFL-CIO, is a major supporter of the American war of aggression in Vietnam. This is not very surprising. Unions are by nature, from their very conception, first, last, and always, self-interest groups. That is how they are organized; that is how they function. Since the war provides jobs for Americans, it is only natural that the unions should support it, regardless of the moral issues involved.

We must decide how we relate to the American system. One might well imagine from the evidence of the Durham meetings that SSOC had decided that its proper role was to help bring the dispossessed people of the South into the fold of the American system. I would suggest that our proper role is a committment to the overthrow of that system, which exists solely for its own benefit as a parasite upon the rest of the world.

I will outline my proposals for a student movement which comes to grips with the problem of the American system in a future issue of the New South Student.

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Steve:

I would like to make two comments about your article, "Working With Liberals" (Nov. 1966 NSS). You state, "the civil rights movement has won nearly all of its battles for legal rights.". This has been one of the major short-comings of the present movement. Having developed the traditional set of legal maneuvers including removal, defense of sit-ins, etc., we have sat back and kind of gone along with your prior statement.

Aside from the remaining litigation on mixed marriage laws, defacto school segregation, teacher tenure, broad academic freedom, and numerous other legal causes, there is the whole field of affirmative suits against white sheriffs, politicians (such as the suit in the Supreme Court against Jim Eastland), etc. which must be explored. More important, however, the radical-liberal movement should be urging the generally finky lawyers to try and show some imagination and explore new legal attacks. The spate of litigation we have just gone through in the early 60's has been generally the judicial versus legislative branch of government.

The last few years, with the advent of the Law Students' Civil Rights Research Council, the New Neighborhood Legal Services groups, etc. has brought massive legal manpower to the cause of the poor, especially by comparison to the pitiful few lawyers we have in the civil rights struggle of the last several years. This new legal manpower should be induced into finding new concepts to now use as judicial power against the power of the executive branch of government.

I must agree whole heartedly with your ideas that the radical elements must not abandon their radicalism, but must also refrain from rejecting society. I have long felt that we must place greater confidence in the freedom of speech and of the press. Perhaps if we would stop pushing our causes so strongly and instead try by some means to induce the people we are trying to reach to explore these issues, they will ultimately conclude what we are saying anyhow. I hate to be naive, but I believe we have to be more subtle.

Sincerely,

Philip J. Hirschkop

# STAFF NEEDED

The ranks of the SSOC staff have recently been considerably depleted, and we are looking for capable people who might be interested in working on staff. We are presently looking for a full-time editor for the New South Student, who should have some journalism and movement experience. In addition, we need both office and field workers. Interested persons are urged to contact SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee 37212; Phone: (615) 291-3537.

# NEW LITERATURE

## VIETNAM

Children of Vietnam, photographic and written observations, reprint from Ramparts, 25¢.

How to Investigate War Profiteering In Your Area, a How-To-Do-It paper from the DACC Newsletter, 5¢.

Is Your University A War Contractor? A list of universities with major contracts, NCCEWVN Vietnam News Service, 5¢.

Selective Conscientious Objection; a discussion by the American Civil Liberties Union, 10¢.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

Power and Racism, a discussion of black power by Stokely Carmichael, reprint from New York Review of Books, 5¢.

SNCC Trends: Challenge to White America, Anne Braden, reprint from the Southern Patriot, 5¢.

## ECONOMICS AND POVERTY

Decay of American Cities: Alternative Habitation for Man, by Percival Goodman, 10¢.

Deliberate Depopulation of Whole Areas: A Protest, by Albert Solnit, 10¢.

Misdeal in Appalachia, by Harry Caudill, reprint from The Atlantic, 10¢.

Poverty and Affluence - Appalachian Wonderland, reprint from the Appalachian South, by Harry Caudill and William Blizzard, 25¢.

## THE UNIVERSITY

Political Meddling and the Florida Board of Regents, a power structure study by Nik Levin, 10¢.

## LABOR

Davy Crockett in Little Egypt, a story of labor struggles in the South, by Vera Rony, 10¢.

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# THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT

VOL. IV NO. 2

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# THE SOUTH: A SEARCH FOR MEANING

# THE SOUTH: A SEARCH FOR MEANING

THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT
Vol IV, No2/March,'67

TO: C. VANN WOODWARD and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Each, in his own way, was an inspiration to us in the decision to undertake this edition; they are, of course, not to be held accountable for what follows--we assume that responsibility. The Editors

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE publishes THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT each month (nearly) from October to May in Nashville, Tennessee at 1703 Portland Ave., 37212; Telephone (615) 291-3537 Please mail things to Box 6403, 37212 Subscription? Donation-$3. per year Labor is donated.

THE COVER was designed by Ed Hamlett, aided by Bill Myers, a free-lance artist in Nashville. (see page 5) We apologize to Bill for not crediting him with last month's cover.

THE GOOD GUYS (mostly)

BOB BAILEY is a graduate of the University of the South; after an M.A.T. at Harvard,he joined the English faculty of Miles College in Birmingham.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS is the President of the Committee of Southern Churchmen and past President of the Southern Regional Council. His latest book is Who Speaks for the South?

DAVE DOGGETT, a student at Millsaps College, has lived all over Mississippi, 'cause he's a preacher's kid.

ED HAMLETT, ex-SSOC-staffer, is the slow-ass who got this NSS out late.

J. ANDREW LIPSCOMB is the Program Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. He went to Vandy Divinity School and Birmingham S'thern.

JODY PALMOUR, a Georgian, is leaving the SSOC staff to return to Emory.

ED RICHER teaches things at St Cloud State in Minnesota sorta like he did at the University of Florida; while in Gainesville he was a founder of the Free University of Florida.

J.W.S. WISE is a Woodrow Wilson Fellow in Southern history at Univ. of Virginia. He's also SSOC Chairman.

JOHN STRICKLAND, a student at Harvard, is from Savannah, Ga. He was on the White Folks' Project in Miss.

We are grateful to EARL WILSON, who, almost singlehandedly, took care of the production end of this issue.

# ABOUT THIS ISSUE: TO BUILD THE ARK

People in and around SSOC have talked for the last three years about "Southerness" but never in a rigorous and systematic way. The editors have tried here to bring together some of the thinking and "feeling" that's been done by a wide range of people, some Southern, some not; some members, and others who aren't.

This issue of The New South Student does not pretend to be a statement of SSOC policy on Southern Identity or Nationalism.

As a systematic attempt to suggest answers or even define the questions surrounding the meaning and political possibilities of working and living in the South, it is easily judged a failure. We think it does succeed, however, as an effort to legitimize the discussion of major issues of personal identity, political strategy and organizational alliances within the context of our own experience in the Movement in the South and within the context of the historical experience of the South as a whole.

But even as an introduction to the major problems facing us in the South, not enough is said about the pressing problem of building a functional relation between the different groups already working here. Mention is made of the broad relation between black and white radical organizations, but while this will ultimately prove the most important strategic question, there is a prior consideration that forces itself upon us: How will the predominately white organizations structurally and programmatically relate to complement each other's work? As distressing as it is to face, SSOC and SDS in the South aren't together. Neither are we adequately 'together' with the Appalachian Volunteers, the University Christian Movement in the South, and other elements of the Southern Left such as the Student Human Relations groups and various independent bodies. The radical identity of all working in the South is needlessly fractured thereby.

We feel that any fruitful evaluation of where the Movement in the South has been and where it's going, both of which considerations are fundamental in the creation of a radical Southern Identity, must face the major structural question of relating local organization to regional and national strategy, planning and resource allocation. Our intentions for this edition have been weakened by the absence of such an evaluation. Hopefully, in-depth discussion of the question of regional strategy and the other questions raised herein will be carried on within SSOC and wherever "good folk" get together to build the Ark.

Jody Palmour, Atlanta April, 1967 Ed Hamlett, Nashville

# NATION-MAKING RIGHT AND LEFT

--BY ED RICHER--

There is much poverty of forms in English expository writing: how does one write a congratulatory essay? The theme of Southern neo-nationalism makes me want to express the vitality of the point in a way as latterly new as the concept; I am probably looking for a Southern folk-gesture, and being a Yankee who was "re-born" in the blood of the Southern lamb, I don't know yet what I'm talking about; I don't yet know the folk-medium which this message requires to be revived if it is to be communicated. And by "communication" I don't mean that pallid liberal Anglo-yankee bleep, that lifeless and bloodless idea of message as informational signal; I mean that the message of a sovereign South needs extension into history; it needs a medium, a social corpus vitae! The communication of a political idea presupposes community, and means a hammering and tickling at the recalcitrant human resources from which history is made. The communication of a political idea without historical intentions aforethought is like trying to make babies through masturbation: maybe you can, but it takes more faith than I got!

THE VASECTOMY OF COMMUNICATION

It would be interesting to stop here to speculate why "communication" came to mean something altogether technocratic and ahistorical to the American middle class, why it volunteered for vasectomy. Maybe one reason is that what we here say is truly intended by "communication" is very nearly revolutionary in its understanding of what history-making is all about; the bourgeoisie as we know them cannot endure the idea; for them only technology and science make revolutionary history. For the American liberal, the national culture has no more leaping to do, no more history to make (Senator Eugene McCarthy, liberal extraordinary, announced the other day that as far as he could see there was no further need--ever?--for new legislation in Congress; all that was needed was amendments, the perfection of the structure as it is: a refinement, we suppose, of Title Two of the McCarran Act!): history is to be made only by those "underdeveloped" peoples who are struggling upward through the primeval official past to become like us. (One is reminded of the self-image of perfection among residents in Thomas More's Utopia.)

Perhaps, then, one does not know how to talk about a Southern liberation movement because this culture will not permit us media--even-words!--for the communication of revolutionary--even history-making--intentions. If we want to make history instead of run in ever-more-perfect circles we are presupposed crazy, foreign, alien, or "alienated" (what's the difference?), in effect not able to communicate. But this can be the case only if we accept their idea of com-

munication, play by their rules of history-making, surrender to their definitions of human possibilities. We are safe, I think, in assuming that they are not gods, and so I think history might forgive us the temptation to make a move, a movement, of our own.

## A WILL TO LEAP

All that is needed to clear the rim of the box they have lowered us into is a suppleness of spirit, a will to leap; admittedly, the will to make altogether new rules is a mystery, its resources are hidden; but that it is "will" we are talking about is no mystery; its presence in nation-making is inevitable. Of course there are dangers here: the more unprecedented and globally ambitious the national program, the more crudely dependent the message is for its communication on will and will alone. Hence Nazi politics may have been literally impossible, a canvas from the art of the absurd, and therefore the prerequisite for its realization globally was a fashioning of national media so grossly willful, so trusting of will itself, that the effort was (is?) tantamount to a suicidal idea of what a nationalized people is capable of. The boldness of Hitlerism was not in the idea that Germans were Aryan gods whose succor depended upon a global cannibalization, but rather in the idea that by a willful global cannibalization the German people, through such unprecedented national struggle, would make gods of themselves. A will to leap takes a god's morale, more or less, and the possibilities here for self- and national-deception are mysteriously manifold.

## A LEFT-WING CONFEDERACY?

Beyond a doubt, with Germany in mind, what needs demonstration is that the will to Southern independence speaks with a richer voice and a more fullsome spirit than that voice or spirit which asks only to escape, by an act of will, the present national shape of the human box. A neo-nationalism, a left-wing confederate spirit, needs to make historical sense; if it is not to be an empty barbaric gesture toward the present it will require a history, a past of its own that once liberated toward creativity becomes a program and a viable future. All new nations discover or invent an unjustly suppressed past the liberation of which justifies the rough struggle that accompanies nation-making. This discovery (we need not invent it!) will not be easy to do, since a lot of Southern leftists are snobbishly anti-intellectual, the young ones especially. I suppose this is the case because they see Afro-Americans as models of revolution, and these white youngsters are so unconsciously racist that they misread the Afro-American as will-without-program, body or rhythm without mind, future without past, a barbaric present. It is little better than White Trash ideology...yet such anti-intellectual communication pervades the Southern New Left, or has up until very recently at least; I hope this movement toward a new Southern sovereignty is a sign of changing times.

## WEIGHTS FOR THE BALLOON

It's not just youthful Southern leftists among whites

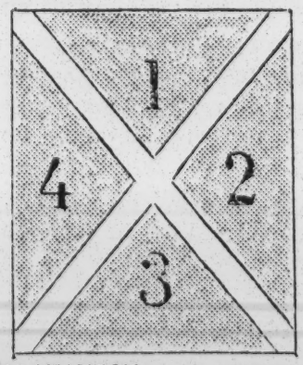
that pose a problem: still active older Southern leftists are U.S.A. nationalists, whether they are Marxists or not. But you can still find a historically relevant ally if you can locate the hibernating leftover of the Southern agrarian: his political tradition is indigenously anti-capitalist, sectionalist, and he is bi-racial in his populism. Once found, recognize him for what he is: a white community base for a Southern insurgency. This rare gem might be made to see that his political tradition was shaped when America, as an idea to be communicated to history, was new and unspoiled (or so it seemed); but that now America is something else again, and what that older Southern autochthonous Left wanted has to be changed into something other than sectionalism, something more like de-colonization and separatism.

There must be tens of thousands of Southern whites who can be made to see that America is going down the historical drain, and that it is time for them to think in terms of their Ark. In any case, aside from the will to break away, this movement for Southern independence has its leftwing past; in a sense, cultivation of that past, recruitment of its descendents, will provide the weights that will keep this revolutionary balloon from floating off to the moon. As ideological resource, it would be the movement's Right.

FROM WHENCE THE MOVEMENT LEFT

What's left to be said, of course, is what the present resources are; what is there in the present trend of events (aside from discovering a tradition) that makes Southern separatism a communicable cause? I have some ideas on this, but I am going to keep them to myself until I hear, one way or another, from the "youth international" in the American South. While I am confident that I know where the Right will come from in a movement for Southern liberation, I am worried about its resources for a Left. I know what I hope for from the young in this regard, but for a change I'd like to hear them say it for themselves. -end-

# THE COVER




AN EXPLANATION:
Sections 1 & 3: In LARGE type appears a list of organizations active in the South at one time or another; also included are a few periodicals. In small type two statements appear: Sec. 1--Southern Conf. for Human Welfare; Sec.3--SSOC
Section 2: LARGE type--Books about the South; small type--"catch phrases" from the books.
Section 4: LARGE type--some Southern folk, good and bad, who have helped to shape our history; small type--A few statements from some of them. Can you find the inconsistencies? Are you familiar with the folk, groups and books?

# SOUTHERN MYTHOLOGY POLITICS AND IDENTITY

--BY JODY PALMOUR--

Those who set the dominant interpretation of a people's history determine the bounds within which they can control their own lives. As someone working for an economically and politically democratic and decentralized society, I urge a reinterpretation of the Southern experience.

I wish to argue the question strategically with the clear assumption that our involvement in SSOC, SDS, etc. is not from a vague desire for "social change". We must want to do more than affect the way others are going to control society. We, or those who share our assumptions about democracy and the individual, must hope to dominate the development and allocation of society's resources and institutions. We must be confident about the ulitimate triumph of our vision of popular sovereignty and individual liberty. In that confidence of triumph we must search for a pattern of activities and symbols that will secure our objective. I consider the development of a radical Southern identity as a major strategic possibility for the American radical movement and that it is the responsibility of those of us in the South to develop such an identity.

We know from trying to organize people around specific problems that the solution to a problem must be in the interest of the person involved. More pointedly, the person must recognize the change to be beneficial for him before he will actively involve himself. We say, for example, that it's in the best interest of students to determine with faculty the material they will study together and the regulation of their common life on campus. Very few students, however, see their interests in this way, so few are involved in university insurgency. The others see students as expendable elements in the process of the university and know of no instances in which students have played creative roles in university planning.

Without a knowledge of university insurgency in the history of education, students have no terms with which to express or even consider their anxieties as legitimate community and political problems around which to organize themselves. (They have no terms unless they are capable of abstract or generalized thinking that relates their situation to those already struggling in other institutions.) Their problems, they are told, are personal ones and therefore private and not subject to community discussion and political solution. Students then don't get together, and at best one or two individuals encourage some mild campus reform that few people ever learn occurred.

Continued

THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT LESSON

Another example of the role one's view of his situation plays in determining his actions would be the Negro Freedom Movement. We see there that as long as people accept what others say about them, they will conform to these expectations. Call a man a smelly, lazy, old nigger and make it impossible for him to gain economic status comparable to your own and thereby independent of you, and he will quite probably become the very person you tell him he is already.

The Negro's history in America shows many instances of individual advancement prior to the Montgomery boycott and the Greensboro sit-ins. Individual Negroes have always competed successfully for jobs and a degree of social acceptance. But these successes were greatly the exception to the general experience. And although a better job was clearly in the interest of the man involved, his getting the job had at the least one major detrimental effect on the condition of the Negro people as a whole.

If Negroes and their white supporters became convinced that the Black man's freedom could be gained through programs stressing individual initiative and personal improvement, they quite effectively surrendered the possibility of their success. It is statistically impossible for all Negroes to have decent jobs and homes within the present structure of American society. It is simply impossible for everyone in this country to have initiative and self respect as these terms are commonly defined. The economy won't permit it.

Leaders in SNCC recognizing this fact read history differently. Instead of self improvement for individuals so they could apply for jobs that did not exist, their emphasis became the creation of political power to force society to create the jobs required.

They said in what was a wholly different reading of their situation: We've been lied to about our own history and the history of the country. The Western tradition is the record of a few whites dominating the world's colored peoples to exploit them. We did not sit back idly while you had us in iron chains and will not sit back now that those chains have been changed into economic and psychological ones.

Black Power was very consciously developed as a myth or interpretation of history to provide an orientation for racial (national) liberation. The very ability to act presupposes some orientation to external events. The political question is whether that orientation is an adequate response to reality given one's objectives or goals. SNCC saw that the dominant myth of the Negro's life in America had to be subverted. The old myth crippled all efforts at attaining SNCC's goal of democratic and political freedom for the Negro because the impediment to success was pictured as a personal problem of nonpreparedness for the general competition instead of a societal problem that could only be solved through united political action.

The new myth, or more properly, symbology, was a new history

giving a robust flesh to the skeletal framework of Negro facts in America and Africa. Parts of that history weren't mentioned much before, like the slave revolts, and most of the well known is rewritten. Booker T. Washington remains a great man, but his individual self-improvement is not going to lead anybody to their freedom, and, SNCC adds, it never was.

Politically, SNCC has learned, the event is not so important as is its interpretation. The politically dominant are those who retain control of the interpretation of events, or better still, history as a whole.

An example is SNCC's attack on the military. Many Negroes see military service as better than staying on the block and maybe even as a good way to get in the good graces with the country, open a few doors, be honestly patriotic, etc. The military provides a release valve on the ghetto by permitting individuals a minimal degree of success and allowing steam to escape from what is essentially a pressure cooker. SNCC wants to close that valve. They define as Black Mercenaries those willing to kill for pay and status and explain that they're killing people struggling for their freedom from the very Man who's held them down. Kinda puts you in a bind if you have seen the Army as an out if the going gets much worse.

The theory is that tightening the valves in a ghetto enough to raise the pressure considerably, could produce the force to gain control of the ghetto and direct its development toward political, economic and personal freedom for those who live in it. The people would take over their own city.

> TOM WATSON ON THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR:
>
> National bankers will profit by this war. The new bonds give them the basis for new banks, and their power is prolonged.
>
> The privileged classes all profit by this war. It takes the attention of the people off economic issues, and perpetuates the unjust system they have put upon us.
>
> Politicans profit by the war. It buries issues they dare not meet.
>
> What do the people get out of this war? The fighting and the taxes.
>
> Quoted in Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel by C. Vann Woodward, New York, 1963 pp. 334-35.

The process of gaining control is called de-colonization. SNCC is no longer a Negro organization but a Black, Afro-American one. It's part of a world-wide movement of national liberation throwing off the yoke of neo-imperialsim, fighting the same oppressor. SNCC victories here become victories for the Vietnamese, the South Africans, the Guatemalans, etc.

SNCC is attempting to develop an interpretation of the struggle of 20 million racially distinguisable Americans that would give it world-wide consequences for the freedom of all exploited men. They are doing this by defining the symbols

with which people see themselves in radically political terms with a deep internationalist underpinning. (I refer of course to the fullest expressions of Black Power by the SNCC leadership and not to what Time magazine would have us believe they mean.) While their political meaning is internationalist, that meaning is couched in a phraseology uniquely relevant to the Black Community where SNCC works. There is no reason to expect SNCC to speak in terms relevant to the poor southern white because that's not where SNCC is at.

SNCC and COALITIONS

SNCC doesn't talk much about coalitions because there's no group of congruent insurgent symbology with whom to coalesce. Coalition with those who haven't expressed the deep desire for de-colonization would fracture the growing consciousness among Blacks that they are a colonized people. It's a case of the wrong allies being a more insidious enemy than one you've flushed out into the open.

Bad faith is often charged against the SNCC leadership--that they at least should be open to strategy sessions with other radicals. But perhaps one of the dynamics of national liberation movements is underscored here. White Americans are the simplest designation of the colonial power exploiting Black folk. If whites are to be other than morally concerned sympathizers with the underdog, i.e., unreliable bystanders when the struggle gets tough, they must be seen as building in the same direction, in terms with the same meaning, for the same ends, i.e., an overthrow of the dominant established institutions of exploitative society and the creation of a free society based on democratic self-interest revealed through the struggle. It is possible for SNCC to say then that the white radical leadership is in bad faith because they've not consciously begun the process of de-colonized thinking and strategizing. Bad faith is related to effective action just as much as to sincerety of motive.

(Two other decidedly important considerations about coalitions and organizational integrity are: 1)the structural immaturity of the American left that causes coalition to mean a vague sense of working together instead of coordinated strategy and tactics in jointly-defined local situations with integrated levels of administration in programming; and, 2)the latent racism in both white and Black groups that is exaccerbated by the vagueness of operation.)

It seems to me that all of us working to gain control of our society have to consider the strategic importance of what SNCC is trying to do with myth, symbol-making and the reinterpretation of the Black man's history in America. And if we agree to its importance, we must search for the ways in which their experience and that of the insurgent movements throughout the world can be related to our own work.

Continued

BUY SOUTHERN

## INSURGENCY & INTERNATIONALISM

I am now working in the South and plan to remain for the foreseeable future (at least until we win). The context of our work here is suggested by the experience of people we're working with and by the way they interpret their situation. I don't mean their interpretation of single, specific problems but rather their total, general sense of who they are socially and politically, not that the welfare worker is impolite and cold but that the whole society knows a life different from theirs and is out of reach.

I am searching for material with which to build a deeply insurgent understanding of living in the South. I'm not expecting to find a clearly formulated revolutionary symbology from what is at best a potentially revolutionary situation. I believe that C. Vann Woodward's work for example, especially the first and final essays in his The Burden of Southern History, points to greatly promising elements of the South's past that could be molded into an insurgent, internationalist, mythology.

## THE UNDERDEVELOPED SOUTH

Vann Woodward maintains that the South is different from the rest of America because the South has experienced what the country as a whole has not. In his view, it is precisely this body of experience that can save America from its growing alienation from what is the reality of contemporary living for most of the world's people.

The South is much akin to an underdeveloped country. Southerners have known with their third world counterparts the flushed anger of living in wastelands of poverty dotted with islands of flagrant opulence. Sensitive Southerners have also known the provincialism and backwardness that has frustrated and numbed the desire to democratically develop so many other underdeveloped areas.

Extending Vann Woodward's analogy and making it even more politically relevant, the South also knows about national and international industries moving in, telling half truths as they come. We get the same line as does any other underdeveloped area. There are indeed going to be new jobs and opportunities, but with those jobs will come outside control of cities and counties, natural and human resources.

## WHO CONTROLS?

The important consideration here is not that many elements of this alien presence will be more liberal than the present undemocratic local control. The fact is that the question of Who Controls? can be raised ever so much more easily when an outside presence is involved. And once an onslaught has been mounted against a structure controlled from the outside, attacks can be made against similar structures that are controlled locally but which work under the same alien principles.

By attacking a plant on specific issues of workers' rights and responsibilities, but doing so with terms pointing to

alien control and stressing the principle of decolonization, one could prepare the way for local control and popular sovereignty. Our goal is local control--by the people involved. By relating the function of the corporate structure of top-down decision making to outside control, the energy we know we can exercise against Them Damn Yankees just might be turned against the corporate structure itself. To the chagrin of the AFL-CIO, workers might start talking about worker control again.

Phrasing the whole struggle for unionization or campus community government, etc. as an insurgent act against the basically neo-colonial power of the corporate-liberal establishment (but obviously not doing so in a wooden fashion) could accomplish two strategic objectives. First, it heavily underscores the basic difference in self interest between the established and the insurgent forces. This is an old problem in the South where the Black and white oppressed were both made to think their interest was the same as the man in the Big House. The difficulty of maintaining the conflict of interest is probably the dominant strategic consideration under the American system of corporate liberalism.

Continued

The second consideration is that insurgency against a common opponent breeds alliances and a consolidation of self interest against the established power. At a time when the social question is being raised more forcefully and threateningly on the international rather than the national level, we must be developing a powerful base of identification with the struggle (and not simply the humanity) of all working for de-colonization.

REINTERPRETING "THE WAR"

A radical, insurgent Southern Identity could well work in service to this end. As rightfully frightened as some might be of the idea of exploiting it, the South has been militarily, economically and politically dominated by what are organically the same forces interested in the perpetuation of the Vietnam War. To utilize this awesomely powerful fact for our radical ends, would require a reinterpretation of the Civil War.

Remembering the general premise of this piece to be that those who determine the dominant interpretation of history set the possibilities for action in the present, we can look at the popularized history of the Civil War to see who was effectively calling the shots then and how we might start calling them now.

It is quite broadly agreed among historians that in the years preceding the war the leaders of southern society made a burdensome decision. They agreed in effect to wage the coming conflict on the

TOM WATSON ON WORLD WAR I

It was Watson's idea that "big armaments, instead of insuring PEACE, insure WAR." He denounced compulsory military training as an effort to have the republic "transformed into a German military camp."

--Agrarian Rebel, p.453

terms most advantageous to the North. They agreed that insofar as the Southern people were concerned, the basic point of dispute was the defense of slavery. The "Peculiar Institution" that had been so much attacked by Southerners at the start of the 19th century was, in the face of rising northern attacks, elevated to being the king pen of Southern society and culture. The white South closed its eyes and fought with dumb tragedy to its still bleeding exhaustion.

We know now that the United States government was not fighting to free the slaves and that the deciding issue in the conflice was who would control the development of the nation's economy. For the Southern white to see that the North has never been motivated to free the Negro except insofar as it was "good business" to do so, that the North used the slavery questions to inflame northern opinion against the South in preparation for war, that Southern leaders played the white off against the black to hold them both down and to fight the land-owners' war, for him to begin to recognize this as a truer interpretation of his past suggests a whole new understanding of alternatives for present action.

The Southern white has been unquestionably duped. And as political organizers we must overcome the disgust and/or fear we have for his frustrated actions and passions. He already knows that somebody on the outside is probably not working in his best interest. We can and must build on this primitive sense of colonization and develop it into a truly insurgent revolutionary consciousness that can identify with the world-wide freedom movement.

Lord knows the South's experience provides ample evidence of betrayal and exploitation. Our heritage is rich with lessons which we must learn. If in our own minds we can gain a sense of what the New South, growing out of that mangled, bitter/sweet past, might mean, I am confident we can build a movement to bring the South to life. The insurgent student movement must become the interpreter of Southern history.

END

## ONE MAN'S SOLUTION

"Firmly convinced as I am that there can be no peace on our continent so long as the Southern people exist, I don't much care whether they are destroyed by emancipation, or in other words a vigorous system of guerilla war carried on by negroes on our side, or by the slower and more doubtful measures of choaking them with their own cotton."

--Henry Adams, 1862

# THE SOUTHERN POTENTIAL

--by ED HAMLETT--

I shall recognize as tests of sectionalism all of those methods by which a given area resists national uniformity, whether by mere opposition in public opinion on the part of a considerable area, or by formal protest, or by combining its votes in Congress and in presidential elections, and also those manifestations of economic and social separateness involved in the existence in a given region of a set of fundamental assumptions, a mental and emotional attitude which segregates the section from other sections or from the nation as a whole. Sooner or later such sectional influences find expression in politics and legislation, and they are even potential bases for forcible resistance.

--Frederick Jackson Turner[1]

Announcing this issue of the NEW SOUTH STUDENT, I said that "Raising the banner of Southern Nationalism is both difficult and dangerous for one who advocates a New South." I am not proposing a "War Between the States for Southern Independence." On the other hand, I do advocate the development of a positive and stronger consciousness of the Southern region among the people of the South.

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In its earliest public statement SSOC said that it was interested in creating a "new and democratic South for all the world to emulate, not ridicule." Why is it that the region was singled out, especially given the malaise in the nation as a whole? It is because those who framed that statement were Southerners. They, their friends, associates, relatives, and the rest of the nation saw them as Southerners. They were somehow <u>different</u> from other people in the country. L. Reissman points out:

> Constitutionally, of course, the South has been part of the nation except during the Civil War. In sociological and psychological terms, on the other hand, the South has long persisted in maintaining its identity separate from the nation. Consider, for example, that only the South, unlike any other region, has its own flag and its own anthem to serve the purposes of sectional patriotism. Consider also that only in the South would local police powers be used to challenge and resist federal police powers, presumably with the support of significant segments of the South's population. I will not go so far as to claim that these examples are signs of a distinct Southern nation, but at the very least, they do convey the strong and viable sectional loyalties that have gripped the region.[2]

STAR SPANGLED "DIXIE"

Throughout my high school days I heard the national anthem in the morning and "Dixie" each afternoon. I don't remember

anyone ever questioning this policy. Cash say, "the peculiar history of the South has so greatly modified it from the general American norm that when viewed as a whole, it decisively justifies the notion that the country is--not quite a nation within a nation, but the next thing to it."[3] Allen Tate referred to the South as "Uncle Sam's other province."[4]

It is not only that the people of the South and many outside it view the region as being different; many natives see it as somehow special, and better.

COLUMBIA'S ARROGANCE

One of the greatest problems that the United States faces is what a Southerner from Arkansas calls "the arrogance of power." Further, the powerful master simply cannot identify with the vast majority of the world's people. If they are to advance economically it is with the crumbs that fall from Columbia's bounteous table after she has eaten her fill; she has no notion of what those crumbs taste like or of how difficult they are to gather and swallow. Perhaps the saddest thing is that most of the people in the U.S. don't give a damn.

THE SOUTH--EMPATHY OR APATHY

I believe (or perhaps I would like to believe), in contrast, that the people of the South have within them the potential for empathy; furthermore, I believe the potential to be qualitatively different from that of any other section.

Since the Civil War, the South has been at the mercy of the North for its sustenance and growth. The resources, human and natural, have been exploited by outside capital--some foreign and the rest northern. Even today, our petty politicians go begging in the North for an industry, construct a building for it with our tax money, allow it to be used tax-free for years, and conspire with management to keep labor from organizing--all this, and our workers bring home $1.50 per hour or less. This helps the South about as much as it does the workers in the North who lost their jobs when the plant "escaped" to Dixie. The money thus "saved" goes into the pockets of the absentee stockholders; the northern workers are out of a job; and we down here get the crumbs.

But lest we despair, alternatives are being sought by the boys downtown; at the last meeting of the Southern Governors Conference, the primary topic of discussion was the promotion of tourism.

A DIFFERENT VIEW?

If people view themselves as being different, then the chances of their behaving differently are enhanced. If Vann Woodward[5] and others who point out that our history has equipped us in special ways are right, then our ability to empathize with the people of the world is increased. In addition, our ability grows in inverse proportion to the extent to which we identify with the goals, policies, and actions of the national political, military, and financial establishments.

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I view the South as an underdeveloped area. In an article on the financial page of the Atlanta Constitution entitled "South Cannot Overtake U. S. Per Capita Income," Jim Montgomery had this to say: "...Georgia's projected 1966 per capita personal income of $2,345 winds up some $590 below the projected national average of $2,935. In 1965, Georgia trailed by $587; since 1960, Georgia has not trailed by less than $575; and the state hasn't trailed the nation by less than $500 in 14 years. Put another way, the gap between Georgia and the national average has widened from $462 in 1948 to nearly $600 now. The entire South is in the same fix." (my emphasis).

One hundred years of varying policies within the South by the North, including the federal government, has not brought the South into parity with the nation. In fact, our relative position, as is the case with the underdeveloped world, is getting worse. There are no prospects for a change in the situation in the forseeable future.

A SOUTHERN ALTERNATIVE

Democratic forces within the region must move forthrightly for a Southern alternative--that is, we must begin now to define new policies for development for ourselves. Southerners must begin to act toward the South in a responsible and self-conscious manner. States' rights must be emphasized responsibly. In short, we must make our own cultural, social, political, and economic revolution, taking control of state and local governments in our region. -continued

THINK SOUTHERN

Since financial resources are in short supply, then ways must be devised at the state level of obtaining new sources of revenue. For instance, corporations that exploit the South for the benefit of "foreign" stockholders must be "persuaded" to leave a far greater portion of profits in the South either through increased wages, increased investment, or simply as taxes.

A NEW MISSION

But of course much more than money is needed. If a viable alternative is to be implemented, the people of the South must work, and work hard, for it. The people must be imbued with a new sense of mission. Mission is certainly not a term that is unknown in the region, but it must be construed to apply to the domestic front. People can perform veritable miracles if they truly believe in a cause. It would seem that programs for their own benefit would be a cause about which they might be convinced and excited. Many people have made much over self-interest and economic issues as rallying points; on the contrary, it is my opinion that moral questions should be emphasized. Finally, increased identification with the "Third World" must be encouraged.

TOWARD SPIRITUAL SECESSION

I am a seccesionist--I urge moral and spiritual secession. One of our goals must be the development, by example, of an alternative for the northern and western U.S. to emulate. Contact with decent elements outside the South must always be maintained. (Who knows, S. Dakota might one day join us.) Further, we must continue to

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# SOUTHERN SPHINX AND SOUTHERN NATIONALISM

by J. W. Stephenson Wise

> Tell about the South. What's it like there. What do they do there. Why do they live there. Why do they live at all?
>
> You can't understand it. You would have to be born there.
>
> William Faulkner
> Absalom, Absalom!

And even if you were Southern-born, there is no assurance that you would understand. For generations Southerners have claimed a distinctiveness for their region and for themselves, but they have continually disagreed about the substance and nature of that distinctiveness. For outside observers--foreigners--, the South and its people have remained mysteries, curious enigmas. In the words of David Potter, a native son, "...the South has been a kind of Sphinx on the American land." In the attempt to understand the Southern Sphinx both Southerners and outsiders have devoted much time and effort in explanations of Southern distinctiveness.

The theme of Southern distinctiveness has been one of the most pervasive and enduring features of both popular and academic mythology. But Southern separatism is also a reality; for instance, there eexist innumerable organisations entitled "The Southern.. ." this-or-that, among them the Southern Student Organizing Committee. Why the distinctiveness, the separatism? We all know of the growth of white pro-slavery support, indeed a religion, from 1820 to 1860. We all know of the futile battles fought to preserve a hopelessly immoral institution. We all know of the myths of Reconstruction--the white myth of a horrible era, the black myth of a golden age. And we all know of the separate South as the land of racism, rampant Negrophobia, bloody violence, disease, poverty, a sex-crazed, Bible worshipping populace, the Sahara of the Bozart. We all have had our fill of Vardamans, Bilbos, Heflins, Talmadges, Byrds, Wallaces, Sheltons, et al. So why now Southern Nationalism?

I believe the unfurling of the banner of Southern Nationalism is an impulse that comes from the very depths of the Southern soul, from the intense and profound feelings for the rootedness of a society, no matter how much corrupted and still corrupt, which possesses certain values of deep meaning to human beings. Those certain values establish for the Southerner a vantage point from which he can, and often does, criticise the utter sickness and hypocrisy of the dominant American society.[1] But it is not only as a tool for the critique of American soci-

Man must invent his future if his future is to have any meaning. Although this declaration increasingly is accepted by those who study the impact of new technologies upon man, our society directs minimal effort toward this goal. Most of our study, planning, and actions continue to be based on the assumption that the future will resemble the past.

Robert Theobald, Motive, March/April, 1967

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ety that the Southerner revels in his distinctiveness. It is also that he conceives his values and his vision of society to be so remote from the attainment of the Yankee and so dear to him, so that separatism becomes the only method for realising his values and his society. And, although he is aware of the grandeur intrinsic in his isolation and stubborn individuality, he is troubled by the ironic loss of individuality inherent in a species of nationalism. Nevertheless, to the question, "Can we fight again, but for those 'peculiar virtues' that are vague yet real in our souls?" the Southern Nationalist answers in the affirmative.

## "A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY"

There have been many explanations for the phenomenon of Southern distinctiveness, explanations which sought to explore the enigma of Southerness. A number of the insights provided by these explanations are relevant to Southern Nationalism and therefore ought to be examined. An appropriate starting place is the well-known essay, "The Central Theme of Southern History" by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips.[2] Phillips' thesis was that the dominant theme of Southern history has been the common resolve of the white people, "Whether expressed with the frenzy of a demagogue or maintained with a patrician's quietude," to maintain the South forever as "a white man's country." Phillips explicitly ruled out as central themes agrarianism, religion, states' rights, slavery, the Democratic Party, and one-crop agriculture. None of these were adequate explanations for the essence of Southernism. To support his thesis, Phillips presented considerable evidence of the opinions of white people during the secession crisis. This evidence, he asserted, showed that all levels of white society--rich and poor--were resolved to defend slavery not only "as a system of racial adjustment and social order," but also "as a guarantee of white supremacy and civilization." He even claimed "that sundry free negroes gave warm endorsement to the project of Southern independence." Although concentrating largely on the secession crisis, Phillips concluded his essay with a brief sketch outlining the continuance of the white people's resolve to maintain white supremacy during the Reconstruction era, the Populist insurgency, and the first decades of the twentieth century.

## THE LIBERAL AGRARIANS

In these days of the backlash, when we are witnessing the death throes of the Civil Rights Movement, we are inclined to admit without question the validity of Phillips' thesis. White people still have almost all of the power in the South; and they are still resolved, though perhaps

with not as much frothy fervour as in the past, to maintain white supremacy. And at present we are inclined to view the history of the South, at least since 1820, as having revolved about the racist desire for white domination. Yet it is a curious phenomenon that twentieth century Southern liberals very often neglected or avoided Phillips' thesis. One obvious reason for the avoidance was that they wished to shun identification with Phillips who essentially favoured white supremacy, albeit expressed with the "patrician's quietude."

Another reason, perhaps more basic, was that agrarianism held a greater attraction for liberals than did white supremacy. Liberals were attracted by the agrarian theme because, unlike white supremacy, agrariansim affirmed that there was something of value in the Southern tradition. Agrarianism was identified with Jeffersonian democracy, which so obviously was a Good Thing. The South thus became the progenitor of democracy, Jeffersonianism, American egalitarianism, etc.

As David Potter pointed out, agrarianism had yet another function: it posed an alternative in the twentieth century to the predominately industrial American way of life. Most importantly, it posed an alternative that was not Marxist. The dissatisfied liberals could maintain their respectability as "responsible" dissenters, since a non-Marxist Agrarianism was within the American tradition.

TWELVE SOUTHERNERS

Yet the best known literary creation of Southern Agrarianism was not, for the most part, written by liberals. In fact, to most of the twelve authors of I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition, their manifesto was written to oppose the tenets of liberal progressivism. Indeed, Robert Penn Warren wished to entitle it Tracts Against Communism. In general, the twelve Southerners voiced a protest against the dominant values of liberal, industrial, progressive America; in its stead, they proposed that the nation, or at least the South, adopt values which they identified as those of an agrarian society. Although their conceptions of "economics" have been justifiedly criticised, they were not so much interested in the economic basis of society as in the spiritual. They saw American people in the business "civilization" of the twenties engaging in a frantic struggle for material possessions, being spurred on by "the gospel of Progress." And they asked, Why? Toward what end was all this struggle devoted? They asserted that the industrial system was brutalising, fragmenting and despiritualising man. Progress and Industrialism were causing man to lose his contact with nature, were stifling man's creative, aesthetic, and religious impulses, and were thus dehumanising him. In the place of Industrialism, they advocated the agrarian community--a community where man communed with nature, where man felt a sense of rootedness to the past, where man existed serenely and harmoniously, and where man was aware of his own finiteness and of the infinity of nature.

The twelve Southerners observed that the South was beginning to hanker after the false ideals of Progress and Industrialism, against which they cried out so earnestly. John Crowe Ransom, in

the book's first essay, "Reconstructed But Unregenerate," declared that the central "question at issue is whether the South will permit herself to be so industrialised as to lose entirely her historic identity, and to remove the last substantial barrier that has stood in the way of American progressivism; or will accept industrialism, but with a very bad grace, and will manage to maintain a good deal of her traditional philosophy." Ransom implicitly recognised that the industrialisation of the South was a fact; but he denied that the industrial values must necessarily supplant the historic values of the agrarian South, if the South would maintain a determination to retain its values. To prevent the dehumanisation of men, the South must be so resolved, for, said Ransom, "A man can contemplate and explore, respect and love, an object as substantial as a farm or a native province. But he cannot contemplate nor explore, respect nor love, a mere turnover, such as an assemblage of 'natural resources," a pile of money, a volume of produce, a market, or a credit system."

It has often been pointed our that the champions of agrarianism, whether liberal or conservative, have not sufficiently recognised the limits of their thesis with regard to the South. As David Potter wrote, agrarianism "envisioned a subsistence economy, agricultural diversification, a wide distribution of small landholdings, a large class of independent husbandmen, and an unstratified society. The cold fact is that none of these features has ever been dominant in the South." The importance of the manifesto of the twelve Southerners for a present-day Southern Nationalism, however, does not reside in how accurately they portrayed the Southern society of the past. Its importance, rather, rests in the validity and relevance of the values which they thought necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a humane society in the South. They sought to draw such values from the Southern past and from Southern tradition.

AND VANN WOODWARD

In this modern age of alienation and anomie, what relevant values can be drawn from the Southern past and traditions? C. Vann Woodward, in a remarkable and pioneering essay, "The Search for Southern Identity,"[3] provided an answer to that question. Southern distinctiveness, said Woodward, rested in the history of the South, "the collective experience of the Southern people." That collective experience had distinguished the South from the rest of America in four ways. America has been conspicuous in its economic abudnance; "but the history of the South includes a long and quite un-American experience with poverty." Success and victory have for long been a part of the American way of life; but the South has known "large components of frustration, failure, and defeat." American opulence and success have combined to nourish the peculiarly American legend of innocence and virtue (witness the liberals' holy war in Vietnam); but the South, living with the moral and social evils of slavery and segregation, has been preoccupied with guilt. Lastly, mobile Americans are characterised by abstraction, by a relation to everybody, everywhere, and always; Southerners, on the contrary, have a fear of abstraction, and feel themselves related to the concrete, to place, locality, community. Elsewhere, Woodward remarked that these four distinguishing characteristics of the Southern collective experience were much closer to "the common experience of the rest of mankind" than the American experience.

To explain Southern distinctiveness David Potter, in his essay "The Enigma of the South,"[4] suggested the concept of the folk culture which the South possessed "long after it succumbed to the onslaught of the urban-industrial culture elsewhere. It was an aspect of this culture that the relation between the land and the people remained more direct and more primal in the South than in other parts of the country. . . . Even

in the most exploitative economic situations, this culture retained a personalism in the relations of man to man which the industrial culture lacks." Yet, it should be noted, this explanation like the others focuses on the past. What of the future?

FOUR TRENDS (MINUS ONE)

If a mythology of Southern Nationalism--an interpretive myth to explain our human and Southern existence--is to be created and formulated, it must obviously be built upon some of the roots of the Southern past. Yet it must also absorb and give meaning to the changes accompanying the future. To fathom the future is, of course, a rather tricky task at best. Nonetheless, there are a few current trends which appear to contain some significance for the future. One such trend is the increasing sophistication of modern technology. The industrial basis of society is being rapidly transformed by automation and cybernation. Another trend is the growth of an articulate, positive race consciousness on the part of black Americans. The goals of black consciousness, however, have yet to be formulated clearly. A third trend is the increasing extent of the controuls exercised by the minions of the American military-industrial complex upon the resources, governments, and peoples of the world. The increasing controuls of this complex result in a growing powerlessness on the part of the affected peoples, who consequently are frustrated in the attainment of desires not in accordance with the aims of the American military-industrial complex. And lastly, the trend of increasing urbanisation in the South appears to be a consequence of the increasing industrial development of the region.

THREE TRENDS + HISTORY = DIFFERENCE?

It has often been assumed that, with the exception of black consciousness,[5] these trends would tend to make the South indistinguishable from the rest of the country. In fact, some commentators have proclaimed that as an accomplished deed. There is, of course, some validity to the claim; the South has been changing in some ways similar to the changes which occurred earlier in the North. Yet I think the claim is overstated. The plan facts are, as Woodward pointed out, that the history of the South has been different from that of the nation; and that the Southern people regard their history in a fashion different from that of the American people. The burden of their history still rests upon the backs of the Southern people, and it inevitably affects the ways in which they act upon their environment. Thus the subjective judgements which the Southern people make upon the many objective changes in their society--changes which appear to be similar to earlier changes in Northern society--will often vary from the judgements made by non-Southerners. The consequent variances have ensured and, most likely, will continue to ensure a Southern distinctiveness.

SOME PARTIAL ANSWERS

Given the continuing phenomenon of Southern distinctiveness, the crucial question for Southern Nationalism with regard to the future is: How will Southern Nationalism[6] relate to or deal with the four large trends discussed above? In partial answer, I wish to suggest briefly and tenatively a few ideas, which may serve to outline how aspects of the Southern past may be fitted into the future.

Cybernation and the new technology make possible, ie economically feasible, the decentralisation of the economic basis of American society. If both political power and socio-economic power were decentralised, then the peoples of the world should be enabled to seize the powers and controuls presently exercised by the military-industrial complex. They would recover the possibilities of building societies based upon their own culture and history. By

decentralisation, I do not mean that old liberal bugaboo of states' rights. Rather, I think that the loci of power should be in communities--all possessing equivalent amounts of power--whose limits would be defined by the people living within, so long as the rights of communities without were not offended.

With the legacy of white supremacy (see Phillips) and the growth of a positive black consciousness, there would probably be very few bi-racial communities in a decentralised society.

The new technology also makes possible the physical decentralisation of cities. Potter's conception of a folk culture in the South probably would continue to have meaning and relevance to a South once more physically decentralised. The Agrarians' natural, non-industrial values would have increased validity in a physically decentralised society with a cybernetic socio-economy that would be qualitatively different from the urban-industrial culture.

ROOTEDNESS or ALIENATION

The special rootedness of Southern society would likely be strengthened in communities based upon those naturual, non-industrial values. And these new, yet old, communities would help to preserve that peculiar historical consciousness of Southerners, whose experiences, as Woodward noted, have been similar to the common lot of mankind. Hopefully, a renewal of their collective historical experience will enable Southerners to be possessed of a sense of the frailty of the human species--a sense of frailty that impels the realisation that their historic roots can be the basis of a humane society in this age of alienation and anomie.

NOTES

1. Eg, see Richard Hofstadter's analysis of John C. Calhoun as "the Marx of the Master Class" in The American Political Tradition (New York: Random House, Vintage edition, 1948), pp. 68-92.
2. The American Historical Review, XXXIV October, 1928, pp. 30-43.
3. The Burden of Southern History (New York: Random House, Vintage edition, 1960), pp. 3-25.
4. The Yale Review, LI (Autumn, 1961), pp. 142-51.
5. I except black consciousness because it has been so little discussed in the past.
6. It will be seen from the discussion below, that my advocacy of decentralisation on a community basis makes the term "Southern Nationalism" a misnomer. Nevertheless, for want of a better term, I continue to use it. Also it will be seen that the "loss of individuality inherent in a species of nationalism" is not so much a problem when the "nationalism" is decentralised.

A NOTE ABOUT THE ARTICLES THAT FOLLOW BY J. STRICKLAND AND J.M. DABBS:

The editors contacted John Strickland and James McBride Dabbs about the possibility of their responding to the questions of Southern virtue, "Southernness" and Southern Nationalism. In a letter to Mr. Dabbs we asked if he thought the South should be "striving to catch up with the nation in all respects." We also wondered if there were not "things in the South which we are proud of and wish to preserve." John was asked to speak specifically to the question of "Southern virtue." The replies to these requests were contained in letters to one of the editors. They follow on pages 22 (Strickland) and 25 (Dabbs).

# TOWARD THE MEANING OF OUR VIRTUE

--BY JOHN STRICKLAND--

(I have tried to write the article I promised but it has come out in a form which is not as clear as journalistic prose. But in many more important ways it seems to me much clearer. So I am writing it more or less as it came to me.)

...One begins to suspect Fate when coincidence is so strong. I just looked up for a moment to think about my next line and my eyes rested on a book title opposite my writing table: The South As It Is--1865-66. I won't bother to open it. The title fits the thought I have: the South as an entity, a unity of men in thought and action, really existed only once--during the Civil War (or as my "Georgia History" teacher would have it, The War Between the States). The South as a mythic unity owes its existence to that troubled period. There have only been echoes since that time. If you wish to begin with myth, you have no choice but to begin there. For, insofar as you appeal to the "South," you appeal to dusty memories as well. I cannot see how we escape that. Only an intransigent faith in the principles of "modernity," of political economy or political sociology, can keep a man blind to the burden of the past. But what shall we do with the dream of nationalism which died so feebly and ignominiously in 1865? Rather than dying a noble death, this dream lives on, a stupendous joke, a gray-uniformed soldier mimicing the act of dying for over a hundred years. And what is even more a joke, some still rally to his side waving mass-produced replicas of the Confederate battle flag, hoping vainly or cynically that the old soldier will stop his heart-rending mime and lend honor to their path of bigotry and pusillanimity.

From Ode To the Confederate Dead

> ...Shall we take the act
> To the grave? Shall we, more hopeful, set up the
> grave
> In the house? The ravenous grave?
>
> Leave now
> The shut gate and the decomposing wall:
> The gentle serpent, green in the mulberry bush,
> Riots with his tongue through the hush--
> Sentinel of the grave who counts us all!

To pursue the "myth of the South," I know no better way than to look at Cass Mastern, one of the characters in Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men. In my reading of the book, Cass represents the past honor of the South. I won't describe his quest in

detail--it's much better when read--but I will attempt a summary by saying that his life represents all that is good in the South. He joined the Confederate Army to get himself killed, to try to relieve himself of the tremendous burden of guilt which his sense of justice imposed. All the moral conflicts imbedded in the "South" drove him to self-destruction. He constantly questioned himself and the South, as in this excerpt from a letter:

> ...I reflected that Mr. (Jefferson) Davis was a good man. But the world is full of good men, I now reflect as I write these lines down, and yet the world drives hard into darkness and blindness of blood, even as now late at night I sit in this hotel room in Vicksburg, and I am moved to ask the meaning of our virtue. May God hear our prayer!

It is difficult to read this without a tremor of recognition, for it reflects the constant self-agonizing search that is the birthright of every man conceived in the guilt-ridden atmosphere of the South. The narrator describes this beautifully in the novel when he talks about Cass:

> ...Cass Mastern lived for a few years and in that time he learned that the world is like an enormous spider web and if you touch it, however lightly, at any point, the vibration ripples to the remotest perimeter and the drowsy spider feels the tingle and is drowsy no more but springs out to fling the gossamer coils about you who have touched the web and then inject the black, numbing poison under your hide. It does not matter whether or not you meant to brush the web of things. Your happy foot or your gay wing may have brushed it ever so lightly, but what happens always happens and there is the spider, bearded black and with his great faceted eyes glittering like mirrors in the sun, or like God's eye, and the fangs dripping.

This passage is one of the most powerful images of Fate I know. It overwhelms, in my opinion, the conclusion reached in the book in which the paralysis which this insight brings is rejected. The last sentence contains the thoughts of a mind set to negate what seems now the illusion of Fate:

> ...soon now we shall go out of the house and go into the convulsion of the world, out of history into history and the awful responsibility of Time.

I am not unsympathetic to this ethic but it is one which I feel I cannot honestly recognize in myself. It is related in my mind to what I imagine to be the brief period of consciousness Sisyphus experiences at the bottom of the hill--just before pushing the rock up again. Perhaps that's how the "issue of the South" must be seen--in light of the <u>Myth of Sisyphus</u>. Condemned forever to push a rock up a hill only to have it roll down again so it is necessary to push it up again: perhaps this is the plight of the Southerner who would heed conscience.

However, I believe that Penn Warren holds a somewhat more romantic view than is expressed in the ethic of Camus. Partly, I am influenced by a poem written twenty-two years before All The King's Men appeared.

TO A ROMANTIC
(1924)
To Robert Penn Warren

You hold your eager head
Too high in the air, you walk
As if the sleepy dead
Had never fallen to drowse
From the sublimest talk
Of many a vehement house.
Your head so turned turns eyes
Into the vagrant West;
Fixing an iron mood
In an Ozymandias' breast
And because your clamorous blood
Beats an impermanent rest
You think the dead arise
Westward and fabulous:
The dead are those whose lies
Were doors to a narrow house.

I think the relevance of the statement to Penn Warren's philosophy may be dated; but I also think, dated or not, it bears great relevance to the spirit expressed in my own reflections against the spirit expressed in the last line of All the King's Men. I am drawn to the harsher view which I understand to be expressed in Tate's poetry; although I wish for more than the harsh vision--I also confess "clamorous blood"--I don't believe in "movements." They have become for me the "false light," the IGNIS FATUUS:

...
To the green tissue of the subterranean
Worm I have come back, two handed from
The chase, and empty. I have pondered it
Carefully, and asked: Where is the light
When the pidgeon moults his ease
Or exile utters the creed of memory?

I take great liberties with this poem. I freely interpret "When the pidgeon moults his ease" with the election of Lurleen Wallace and Lester Maddox and all that may be associated with that pair of phenomena. And I also identify this letter--or attempt at a letter--with what happens to an "exile" who attempts to "utter the creed of memory." But I am reminded that I never did believe in "movements." My commitment to act was never from within that faith. More fundamental is a faith of a deeper and more inarticulate sort.

In short, Ed, I have lost the faith I never had. But to say that is only to say something about where I've been--not where I'm going or what I will do. I hope my letter is not interpreted as a negative act or as a refusal to act. I mean it to be a preparation for acting wisely. I'm sorry for so many "poses" (or quotations); it was the only way I could express what I felt with ease. It just came out that way. Perhaps now I've unburdened myself, I can begin to work toward understanding "the meaning of our virtue."

Yours in faith, John

# ON OUR VIRTUE

A LETTER FROM JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

Dear Ed:* December, 1966

In regard to Southern Nationalism, I like the idea your're trying to develop but not the phrase. The South tried to become a nation in 1861; I'm glad it failed. It's not going to try again; the ties that bind us all together in the U.S. are far stronger than they were then, but reactionary Southerners still mouth the old words. To think of Southern Nationalism is to set up an idea opposed to American nationalism. I'm perfectly willing to move toward internationalism, but not backward to a regional nationalism. I've always been satisfied with the term regionalism; but there may be something in your mind that regionalism doesn't cover.

I imagine that you and I are pretty close to agreement that the South has something valuable to preserve, something which it shouldn't lose as it becomes increasingly a part of the nation. We probably differ somewhat on what this is and on how to cherish it.

## TO UNDERSTAND AND CHERISH THE GOOD

Leave for the moment what it is. As of now, SSOC's approach seems to be primarily to root out the evils. This has to be done. But my main interest is in realizing and cherishing the good. To some degree--not entirely, of course--evil will disappear as good is cherished. Why did I join SSOC? Partly because I was ashamed of receiving all that mimeographed stuff and not helping pay for it! No, I was interested in SSOC from the beginning. Here, I thought, is movement that will involve white college students, maybe whites and Negroes together; SNCC had of course included whites, but relatively few. I assumed the predominately white group would be more conservative, mainly because it had suffered fewer injustices. It might therefore be relatively more concerned to understand the whole problem.

I'm an activist, but most indirectly. I find myself continually asking of a proposed idea, will it work? But I am willing to take a long time understanding the roots and relationships of an idea, in the belief that the better we understand, the better our chances of making it work.

I have always felt that poor education and lack of understanding were fundamental to our problem. I began The Southern Heritage with the words: "Like the rest of the South, I am confused." I have said again and again that we need students, students who really wanted to understand and who were now far enough removed from the old South to think without too much prejudice. So that I have been sympathetic to SSOC from the beginning. (I have also been sympathetic to SNCC, but I felt it easier to identify with SSOC.) continued, p.26

*This is in response to a letter from the editors, see page 21.

## ON INDUSTRIALIZATION

One of the greatest faults of the South today is its defensiveness. This probably goes for white and Negro Southerners. The white South, of course, has defended the wrong things--impossible things--and is always being defeated. This makes some people more stubborn. It should make thoughtful people more intelligent, more determined to discover what within the South is worth defending. For the most part, this doesn't need defending, since few people are attacking it directly. But the modern, industrial world, well represented by the rest of the nation, is eating it away. Industrialism eats away our virtues indirectly by eating away the solid person who is their core. I doubt if industrialism is particularly dangerous to Southern life. It is dangerous to human life by its tendency to reduce the solid human being to an abstraction, to depersonalize him. In a machine economy, the person tends to become a function of the machine. Only that part of a man useful for production is developed; the rest is neglected. The solid man becomes an abstraction, a shadow. He becomes a "hand". But the whole Southern economy has been based upon "hands", you say. I know it, and I don't defend it. I happen to think that the loose Southern system had more loopholes for human development than the tight modern industrial system, but I'm certainly not defending the old system. Indeed, I want to see industry come in; I want a modern industry in our own community. I'm only saying "Be careful". It will surely bring a higher standard of living, but all that glitters is not gold. We shall have to humanize industry, or die of boredom.

## ON THE VIRTUES OF THE "SOLID PERSON"

But what are these virtues of this "solid person"? Who is this Southerner? Begin with Vann Woodward's statement[1] that the South is the only section of the nation that has been defeated in a great war, suffered long-continued poverty, and feels a general sense of guilt. (Note also Robert Coles' interpretation that the Southerner is the only American who feels a sense of shame.[2]) What has all this taught us? Not enough, but something. A certain humility--in spite of vaunted Southern pride, mainly pride of person--a certain humility before life, a certain tentativeness, sometimes deeply hidden by aggression, a pervasive sense of humor, both to protect us from too great pain, and to indicate our feeling that life is never what it seems, a tentative, undeveloped sense of the tragic quality of life, a sense of compassion for man's hard and confused lot, a sense of our implication with others--even whites and Negroes together (we fight partly because we're such close kin), an attempt to soften the blows of life--and also to hide our own inner crookedness--by words, gestures, all that we mean by manners. Of all Americans, we are the most complex, the most lovable and damnable, the most human. This is one reason why we're still religious--I don't necessarily say Christian. If the solid person is eaten away, then you cannot have true humility, or compassion, or humor, or a sense of tragedy, or real involvement with others. You might have some manners left, but they'd be pretty shoddy.

The only way that all of this can be saved--if it can be--is through understanding and appreciation. I rarely ever feel defensive about the South, even when speaking in the North. I am too sure of these excellences which are deeply built into our natures. I've never decided, like you, to stay in the South; I've just stayed. Now you could hardly pry me out.

Continued on Page 29

# THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RADICAL STUDENTS

--BY J. ANDREW LIPSCOMB--

No one can doubt that innumerable documentations exist about the intricate interweaving of Southern culture and Southern religion. The South--one of the last existing strongholds of a classical example of "Christendom"--has had as its major pillar the forces of the Church. The Southern white church, perhaps more than any other institution in the South, has served as the conservator of the "Southern Way of Life"--even helped to create it. Excluding the involvement of the Negro churches in the Freedom Movement, the Church in the South cannot even be considered a neutral factor in the struggle for justice, but in almost every case is seen as a belligerent force to contend with. In the name of the Church and in the name of Christ atrocities have been committed and then secretly applauded, if not openly condoned, on the part of vast majorities of the Church members across the South.

And yet some strange facts point out a paradox. One of the places in which white youth in Southern culture, for example, can come into contact with concepts of social justice is in the camping programs of some of the churches. In many cases with the white student who has been "awakened," the roots of their awareness and actions lie in these youthful contacts with some of the men of integrity in the churches. And when these teenagers arrive on campuses in the South, the natural place for them to gravitate is toward the campus religious centers. This perhaps explains the fact that many campus travelers for radical or liberal groups make initial contacts easiest among the constituency of the local Wesley Foundation, Newman Center, or Westminster Fellowship.

Almost inevitably one is apt to find among student religionists (even among ministerial students?) a person or persons who is amenable to dialogue and/or action about the wide range of interests among the left-of-center concerns. Why is this? Why is it that a Wesley Center or Baptist Student Union which gains support from countless Rocky Mount Methodist Churches or Mount Moriah Baptist Churches across the Black Belt--how can it be that these groups serve as one of the very few places on Southern white campuses where dialogue and action can occur on civil rights, peace, and university reform? Over and over again an ever so tiny dribble of radicals and revolutionaries wander onto campuses from Vacation Church Schools into picket lines and teach-ins--honestly believing that stuff about thou shalt not kill and love thy brother. What is it that has led these individuals from a small Methodist church in the hills of East Tennessee or a Baptist church in the hot pine forests of the Bible Belt or even a Church of Christ in a small town on Sand Mountain in North Alabama into the

Movement? What is it that has led them to a common understanding of the injustice of the Southern Way of Life, to a common guilt, a common confession, and a common commitment to what must be done?

Quite simply to me (I'm sure a sociologist might be able to give a more "scientific" answer), it is satisfactory to say that they have been converted. Indeed, this is actually what has taken place. Most of "us" religionists still have families where nothing more serious than the weather can be discussed. We have been converted from the racist background of our parents, friends and neighbors. How has this conversion come about?

Leadership is the key factor in understanding this phenomenon. And I refer here to ecclesiastical leadership. With the possible exception of an infrequent school teacher, a minute group of clergy has been the one element in a major institution of Southern society in which there has been a continuous involvement in social justice and righteousness.

For example, Andrew Sledd is a name held sacred among Methodist clergymen in South Alabama. Few of these men who revere that name ever knew him--but that is unimportant. Dr. Sledd was a minister around the turn of the century in South Alabama and a professor at Emory. In 1902, while at Emory, he published an article in the Atlantic Monthly in which he attacked Jim Crow law as incompatible with fundamental human rights. For that, he was immediately dismissed at Emory. He later became president of Florida University; before he died he returned to the Emory faculty.

Andrew Sledd has come to represent for many men what the Christian faith in actuality is, has come to represent a tiny thread of integrity and prophetic witness in the burlap of Southern ecclesiastical history.

During the Selma march, little was heard of involvement of clergymen and church leaders in Alabama. By and large a mass condemnation is deservedly heaped on this segment because there was little if any involvement except that of reaction and reflex. Yet men were crucified and no reports appeared in the Washington Post or the New York Times. About the only public notice given was a small inconspicuous note in the organizational poop sheets that Reverend Good had been transferred to another pulpit in another conference; that Reverend Allbright had decided to return to seminary; and that Reverend Young had been forced to retire for his health. Some lost the "right" to a pulpit altogether. Granted that this happened only very infrequently.

But these are the very men who have influenced those of us who find ourselves on the side

of social justice. These are the men who got hold of us in our "home" church or at Camp Sumatagga and told us what the Faith was really about. In spite of the abominable lack of involvement of the Southern white churches in the fight against the denial of human rights (or more simply stated, in the world itself), there remains even after Selma and Bogalusa that thread of commitment which runs from the local church on the edge of town to the small centers of the Movement on red brick campuses across the South.

There is really no greater figure to pity today than the white Southern clergyman in a parish ministry. But pity is something that he doesn't need. In very few places have religious leaders of integrity had to tread the line more carefully than in the South in order to maintain even their residency in the region. In few places outside the South have the religious communities been more apt to render a clergyman a pariah if he speaks out. (It is with some sadistic satisfaction that these clergymen are seeing northern ministers now beginning to come under fire in recent years for what they have experienced for decades.) But be that as it may, this pressure cannot be an excuse for the leadership which the white clergy as a whole has failed to supply. Taken as a whole, the ministerial ranks of the churches are racist, reactionary, anachronistic, and even demonic as is the culture which it generates, reflects and supports.

Having written the title of this article, perhaps I should have stopped there. If I have degenerated into an analysis of the white ministerial martyr, when I should have been talking about radical-religious students, it is because there's not much to be said about the latter. -END-

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DABBS, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 26

We in the South come to industrialization late. We know, therefore, the dangers: depersonalization and abstraction. We have behind us a life, for all its vices, concrete, full-bodied, rich. We should be careful not to exhange this for shadowy modern man. I don't know what to do. I simply say, keep your eyes open on what we are and on what we may become. I'm not in favor of a nationalist movement in the South. I am in favor of a Southern movement. With all of our mouthing about the South, we don't love it enough. Certainly not intelligently enough. We need "a better mind in our hearts," as my four-year-old daughter once prayed.

Sincerely,

James McBride Dabbs _____ Mayesville, South Carolina

Footnotes for Dabbs' article

1. See article by Steve Wise in this issue, pages 16-21.
2. See article by Dr. Robert Coles, "Is there a Mind of the South?" in the Winter, 1966 issue of New South, So. Regional Council, Atlanta.

# TO LIVE AND DIE IN DIXIE

## by John Beecher

A REVIEW: by BOB BAILEY

There are poets who are radical, and there is some radical poetry, but the latter stands in poor proportion to the former. Politics is not supposed to be the stuff of poetry. Robert Lowell speaks at a teach-in and refuses an invitation to a White House dinner, but his poetry shies from the nitty gritty (an unpoetic word.) The New Left, if that is what we are, has produced very little radical poetry from its experience. This particular sterility, in the long run, is probably to our credit. The political bag is an impossible place to write poetry from, but this is no time for anyone to get out of that bag. The bright exceptions are the poems by Jane Stembridge and those by Todd Gitlin in the latest issues of Liberation.

John Beecher is a radical poet. Although he says he is a poet first, I think I could disagree and call him a radical first without deprecating his poetry. He is not of the New Left, but he is generally with it; which is to say, he has not undergone the usual depressing metamorphosis from young radical to old liberal. He was born in Birmingham, a descendant of the abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe. He left this American Bavaria a long time ago to the great relief of the city fathers. He was most recently in California, as an associate editor of Ramparts. Now he has come home, but not to roost. Between creative writing classes

at Miles College he has been barnstorming Alabama, reading his poetry at every place that would have him. The combination of Alabama and Beecher's poetry makes the readings a very political gesture. At Samford University, a very conservative Baptist school in Birmingham, only a faculty protest restrained the adminstration from cancelling Beecher's invitation. Even so, the boy who invited Beecher found himself on probation for "being drunk." Currently Beecher is on a reading tour in Florida. This summer he did a benefit reading for SDS and he has been a friend of SSOC from the beginning.

I suppose that I'm trying to prove that Beecher is both a radical and a radical poet. To Live and Die in Dixie is his second volume of poetry. The title comes from a sequence of ten short poems about the Birmingham of Beecher's boyhood. Unfortunately, that brutal Birmingham is as durable as Beecher himself, and may outlive him yet. Auden says:

> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives
> Only in the valley of its saying where executives
> Would never want to tamper;

Perhaps he is right, but we are lucky John Beecher doesn't believe it. The second poem of the title sequence may remind you of Bob Dylan, the late radical poet:

> Old Maggie's sweat would drip and sizzle
> on that cast iron range she stoked
> but she was grinding at the handle
> of our great big ice cream freezer
> that day she had her stroke
> It put a damper on my mother's luncheon
> All the ladies in their picture hats and organdies
> hushed up until the ambulance took Maggie off
> but soon I heard
> their shrieks of laughter
> like the bird house at the zoo
> while they spooned in
> their fresh peach cream

The rest of the book ranges from war to fraternities to even a few of those dirty personal poems. It includes a long dramatic narrative, "In Egypt Land," about a Negro sharecroppers' revolt in the thirties. This poem is twice itself when Beecher reads it.

Of all the Establishment poets, William Carlos Williams is probably closest to us in spirit, and Beecher is probably most like Williams. "Silent in Darien" should remind all the old English majors of Williams' "The Yachts." The poem is a view of the Canal Zone from the other side of the tracks:

Bloat-bellied, puny sex
exposed, his brood clamors about his shack
tin-cans and cartons built. Girls who survive
turn assets, spreading rachitic legs to ease
off-duty Yanqui personnel. His sons
besides the pimping trade will follow such
pursuits as untaught hands may ply for rice
and beans, fare foreordained, lucky those days
They feed. In crystal shrines across the fence
one sees prime cuts of beef--Por Dios!--milk,
the precious nuggets of the hen enclosed
in cunning boxes, bins of liquors, sweets,
rare nutriments whose flavors, even names
are mysterious, done up in shimmering foil.
The sky goes black as when a hurricane
lowers from the Caribbean. Unobscured
the sun glows bloody red. There will be wind.

In the SSOC library is a copy of Beecher's first volume, Report to the Stockholders, inscribed "To the White Folks' Project." The White Folks' Project in Mississippi in 1964 was where Gene Guerrero and Uncle Ed first told me to "get off my ass." They have said it since; so has John Beecher's poetry. That is what radical poetry is about. -end-

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HAMLETT--CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

wield and increase whatever national political and economic leverage that we now possess. Men like Patman and Fulbright must be applauded when it is deserved; men like Rivers and Eastland must be reformed or defeated.

UP FROM IMPOTENCE

I realize, of course, that racism, militarism, violence and illiteracy must be wiped out; the things of which Brother Dabbs speaks--humility, sense of humor, basic humanity, love and compassion --must be refined. Over 35 years ago, 12 Southerners had this to say: "If a community, or a section...is groaning under industrialism, and well aware that it is an evil dispensation, it must find the way to throw it off. To think that this cannot be done is pusillanimous. And if the whole community, section, race, or age thinks it cannot be done, then it has simply lost its political genius and doomed itself to impotence."[6]

We must name the "evil dispensation" of today. We must decide to "throw it off." People in the villages of Vietnam refuse to admit impotence against the mightiest force in mankind's history. I pray that we learn some lesson from them. — — — — — —

NOTES:

1. Quoted in essay by H.W. Odum in Folk, Region, and Society, edited by K. Jocher, et al, Chapel Hill, UNC Press, 1964. pp.181-82.
2. Reissman, "Social Development and the American South," Journal of Social Issues, Jan. 1966, Vol. XXII, No. 1
3. Cash, The Mind of the South, Vintage Books, New York, p. viii.
4. Cash, p. vii.
5. See articles by Palmour, Wise and Dabbs in this issue of NSS.
6. Ransom, et al, I'll Take My Stand, Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1962, p. xxx. -end-

# WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

## Freedom Elections

Sunflower, Miss.: In the homeland of Senator James Eastland and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the Sunflower County Improvement Association (a branch of the MFDP) is preparing for the special municipal elections to be held May 2.

The implication of these elections are many; they focus on the lack of federal protection for Negroes who want to vote in the South, and the lack of a sufficient number of federal registrars, etc.

Realizing this, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit on March 11, 1966 set aside elections in Sunflower Town and ordered the lower U.S. District Court to arrange for new elections.

Further questions about these elections may be addressed to:

Joseph Harris
Box 447
Sunflower, Miss.

## Student Power

Orangeburg, S.C.: 800 black students at S.C. State College protested the suspension of three students who had called a demonstration to denounce the school's dismissal of two liberal professors. These students held an all-night sit-in and staged a boycott of their classes.

The three students were members of the Student Action Committee (SAC), a group which presented a 6-point petition to the administration demanding repeal of in loco parentis regulations, and the reinstatement of the suspended students and faculty members.

SAC requests that supporting telegrams be sent to President B.J. Turner at S.C. State with duplicates going to SAC, c/o James Huggins, Rt. 5, Box 539, Orangeburg, S.C.

We note that a suit is being filed against Western Union which thus far has not delivered approximately 500 duplicate telegrams to SAC, in an apparent move on the part of the college and state authorities to cut off support from SAC.

## The Wansley Trial

Lynchburg, Va.: Hearings for 22-year-old accused rapist, Thomas Wansley, were renewed March 15th. Public indignation over the injustices involved in the black youth's unabated prosecution have aroused enough people to fill the courtroom and surround the court for a 3-block radius.

For four years the State of Virginia's efforts to kill Wansley have been largely ignored. But constant coverage of this trial by the Southern Patriot has finally begun to result in significant news coverage by major newspapers such as the N.Y. Times. More information about this case can be obtained from:

SCEF
3210 West Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky

## University of Virginia

Charlottesville, Va.: Philip J. Hirschkop, civil rights lawyer from Alexandria Va. recently spoke at the University of Virginia. Hirschkop is a former counsel to SSOC and a founder of the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council.

His speech centered around Virginia's two most controversial cases: the anti-miscegenation suit that will soon be argued before the Supreme Court, and the Wansley trial in Lynchburg, Va.

Carl Braden of SCEF, in a March 7th speech sponsored by U.Va. SSOC gave in detail the state's efforts to execute young Wansley, in what can at best be described as "legal lynching".

WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?, Cont.

## The Virginia Weekly

The Virginia Weekly, "A Weekly Journal of News and Opinion", has published four issues at the University of Virginia which have been well received. Ex-SSOC chairman, Howard Romaine, is one of the three editors of this independent, student operated newspaper. Howard requests that all those who wish to support the campus free press, send contributions to: The Virginia Weekly, Box 336X, Newcomb Hall Station, Charlottesville, Virginia 22901.

If you are interested in receiving sample copies of this publication, send 10¢ and a stamped self-addressed envelope to the above address.

## Focus Appalachia

Knoxville, Tenn.: A series of public programs devoted to Appalachia will be held at the Highlander Center between March 31 and April 14. The series is scheduled to precede the annual conference of the Council of Southern Mountains (April 12-14) to be held in Knoxville this year. Programs will include Appalachain history and economic development, labor history and songs, regional literature, music, folklore and crafts. Some of the resource people will be Dr. A. J. Sharp, Charles Counts, Florence and Sam Reese, Guy Carawan, Lee Pennington, Don West, Tom Ludwig, and Myles Horton.

## Walk for Peace

Memphis, Tenn.: On Thursday, March 9 members of the Southern Mountain Walk for Peace met with students from Memphis State and Southwestern College. They spoke about the inequalities of the draft system and the anti-war position of conscientious objectors. With the encouragement of these visitors, 15 people have now decided to hold weekly vigils which will begin the week following Easter.

## The Sheinbaum Affair

Southwestern students and SSOC members Barre Reed and Robert Orr requested the use of the campus auditorium for an appearance by Stanley Sheinbaum, consulting editor of Ramparts magazine. Dean of Men, Charles I. Diehl, son of a former S uthwestern president, replied that he "was not too keen on Mr. Sheinbaum". A week of administrative buck-passing ensued, ending with a flat refusal.

After receiving assurances that Mr. Sheinbaum was willing to participate in the face of the difficulties of the hostile administration, the Memphis group announced that it would bring Sheinbaum to the campus anyway. The administration did some dismayed foot-shuffling, and the hour before Sheinbaum arrived at the Memphis airport, extended the use of the student union to him personally thereby attempting to by-pass SSOC and avoid the issue of free speech. Mr. Sheinbaum did speak to about 50 people on "The University, the CIA, and the War".

## SSOC Executive Committee Meeting

Nashville, Tenn.: The SSOC Executive Committee met here during the weekend of Feb. 24-26. A major decision was to have the membership conference at the end of April or mid-May. The topic will concern SSOC's political position and activities with respect to the rest of the movement. More information about the Executive Committee meeting will be forthcoming in the next membership mailing, or can be obtained from the office.

Staff changes announced at the meeting are:

Shirley L. Newton: Office manager
Lyn Wells: Campus traveller for N.C.
Janet Dewart: Campus traveller
Earl Wilson: Nashville office
Dave Nolan and Tom Gardner: Campus travellers, Florida Peace Caravan.

## WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?, Cont.

Michael Welch: Memphis staff
Ronda Stilley: Staff C -ordinator
Jody Palmour: Atlanta staff (until Apr.)
Brian Heggen: Assistant editor of NSS
Gene and Nan Guerrero: Greensboro, N.C. working with Textile Workers Union.
Anne Romaine: Folk tour co-ordinator

### Capital Punishment

Students from Tennessee State and Fisk Universities accompanied by a SSOC staffer and the sister of the last man given the death penalty here (See Feb. NSS) had a half-hour discussion with Gov. Buford Ellington. They presented a petition of over 700 names, which had been circulated in Nashville and Memphis. A mailing was also sent to SSOC contacts in the state urging them to support the anti-capital punishment issue.

### Nashville Anti-War Activity

On the Ides of March, LBJ came to this town to make a "major policy speech concerning Vietnam." Anti-war demonstrations resulted in the arrest of 3 SSOC staff members.

Nashville SNCC and four individual staff members co-sponsored a demonstration which involved students from Fisk, Tenn. State U., Vanderbilt U. and Peabody.

Interest in the Vietnam war is higher in Nashville than it has been for many months. Divinity students at Vanderbilt have formed an independent anti-war group; law students have been raising the issues through campus forums and films.

The Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam sponsored two speakers: Russell Johnson, former conference director in S.E. Asia for the AFSC, and Stanley Sheinbaum, consulting editor of Ramparts. Each drew sizable crowds, and much interest was shown in faculty seminars, reception, literature, etc. The Committee is presently working on a full page ad in response to LBJ's speech, to be published in the two local papers.

### Nashville SSOC

On Saturday, March 18, a meeting of interested students from Vanderbilt and Peabody met with Nashville staff members to form an active chapter-at-large of SSOC. --END--

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## APOLOGY TO FEBRUARY CONTRIBUTORS

Many apologies to our contributors for not listing their backgrounds in the last issue of NSS. They were:

Richard Butwell: Patterson School of Diplomacy, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky; Noted scholar in Asian affairs.

Tim Hall: Formerly of the West Tennessee Voters Project. Tim is now working in Cleveland, Ohio.

Rev. Philip Young: Minister in Appalachia with the Board of Natl. Missions, United Presbyterian Church.

Ed Hamlett, Bob Dewart: former staff members of SSOC.

Dave Nolan, Janet Dewart, Nan Guerrero, Jody Palmour: SSOC staff.

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## SSOC Southern Festival of Song

Including: Mable Hillery, Hedy West, Bernice Regan, Rev. Pearley Brown, Guy Carawan; and Pete Seeger (for Lexington, Sewanee, and Nashville concerts only).

### Final Schedule

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Charlottesville, Va. | April | 1 |
| Hollins College, Va. | | 3 |
| St. Andrews College, N.C. | | 4 |
| Columbia, S.C. | | 5 |
| Gainesville, Fla. | | 7 |
| Atlanta, Ga. | | 8 |
| Lexington, Ky. | | 10 |
| Sewanee, Tenn. | | 11 |
| Nashville, Tenn. | | 12 |
| Tougaloo, Miss. | | 13 |
| Freedom City, Miss. | | 14 |
| New Orleans, La. | | 16 |
| Austin, Texas | | 19 |
| Little Rock, Ark. | | 21 |
| Memphis, Tenn. | | 22 |
| Tusculum College, Greenville, Tenn. | | 24 |
| Berea, Ky. | | 25 |
| Pikeville College, Ky. | | 26 |
| Evarts, Ky. | | 27 |
| Appalachian State, Boone N.C. | | 28 |

# McNAMARA IN MISSISSIPPI

by Dave Doggett

On the evening of February 24, Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara spoke at a Millsaps College fund drive convocation in Jackson, Mississippi. During the preceding three weeks anti-war forces in Jackson utilized McNamara's coming to organize a campaign against his presence in Jackson, and against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

On February 13 two Millsaps students (one a member of SSOC) spoke to a combined meeting of the Methodist Student Movement and the Newman Club (Catholic student group) at Millsaps presenting a history of the Vietnam war.

## Breach of Contract

A small group of Millsaps students collected $15 and bought an ad protesting the draft in the school newspaper. The ad was at first received by the editor. But he was subjected to pressure from the school administration and the paper staff, and refused the ad. Three weeks later, after the paper was threatened with a breach of contract suit, the decision to refuse the ad was rescinded.

On Sunday, February 19, about 20 people from the Jackson Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam distributed leaflets to people entering and leaving the churches in Jackson. Two white girls from Tougaloo were arrested in front of a downtown Baptist church. They had not broken a law, however, and were released after about an hour. That same night they went back to the church and were illegally arrested a second time and likewise were released.

On Thursday, February 23, 14 Millsaps students passed out leaflets to students going to weekly required chapel. The leaflets quoted contradictory and false statements made by McNamara and quoted American reporters on the war crimes and cruelties committed by U.S. and Saigon forces. The leaflet ended with the statements:

> McNamara has been dishonest with the American people. He is conducting an immoral and criminal war. Millsaps is prostituting its fund drive by gaining money through his reputation.

## Anti-Peace Activity

Late Thursday night a cross was burned on the Millsaps campus and another was burned at the coliseum where McNamara was to speak. It was thought that the Ku Klux Klan burned the crosses because they consider McNamara an "appeaser".

The next day two of the anit-war leaders at Millsaps were called in to talk with the president of their school. He warned them that they were in danger of physical violence if they demonstrated at McNamara's speech and that their names were being placed on some type of "subversive" list that would endanger their future. The students interpreted this as an attempt to frighten them from demonstrating and "embarrassing" the administration.

## The March

On Friday, February 24, a march in downtown Jackson climaxed the three week campaign. The march was composed of sixty-four people including students from Tougaloo, Millsaps, Jackson State College (a state Negro school), Alcorn A&M (state Negro school), and resident civil rights workers--this was twice as many as demonstrated against the war a year ago. The marchers marched down the main street of the black section of Jackson and picketed a Marine recruiting station located on the main street of the white section. The demonstrators wore black arm bands in sympathy and mourning for the one million Vietnamese children that have been casualties of American aggression in Vietnam.

* * * * *

For some of you, this issue marks the beginning of a complimentary three-month subscription to the New South Student. To insure that you continue to receive the newsletter, fill out the form provided below and become a subscriber or member of SSOC.

/___/ I would like to join SSOC ($5 a year, $7.50 per couple, includes newsletter)

/___/ I would like to subscribe to the New South Student ($3 per year)

/___/ I would like to pledge _____ per _____ to support SSOC.

/___/ I would like more information about SSOC.

Name _____

School _____

School Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Home Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

1703 Portland Ave., Nashville, Tennessee 37212, Box 6403, Phone: (615) 291-3537

Southern Student Organizing Committee
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Nashville, Tennessee
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Permit No. 1633

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

# EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

*. . . the AFL-CIO program*

## Introduction:

The AFL-CIO is for civil rights —without reservation and without delay.

The labor movement is dedicated to those truths that were self-evident to the authors of the Declaration of Independence. The rights so eloquently affirmed in 1776 are a sacred birthright of all in America, not subject to modification or denial because of race, creed or national origin.

Unfortunately, to the shame of the nation, discrimination still exists. It must be wiped out if the United States is to be truly the champion of freedom in a world where non-whites are an overwhelming majority.

Mere acknowledgment, mere lip-service to equal rights is not enough. The labor movement is committed to a positive program for translating principle into reality on every front. This means on the job, in the schools, at the polls, in housing and in all places of public accommodation—restaurants, hotels, everywhere.

Success will not come easily. The record of the last century proves that man's rights do not become established by declaring them to be valid; logic and reason do not automatically prevail over bigotry.

Unions know this well, out of their own experience. Unions were created to fight against injustice. They were instruments of protest, deplored by public officials and much of the citizenry. They were often accused of flagrant civil disobedience.

For example, many trade unionists no older than middle age can well remember when local ordinances or court injunctions forbade the holding of a union meeting, even on private property owned or rented by the union. The "right of the people peaceably to assemble" often had no local standing, despite the Constitution. Workers had no alternative; they followed the Constitution.

In the end the law was on their side. Local restrictions on the right of assembly were struck down by the Supreme Court. Civil disobedience has all but vanished as a trade union tactic because the rights of labor are now backed by the force of law. Surely the rights of man deserve no less.

It would be futile to pretend that the 13½ million members of AFL-CIO unions are without exception devoted to the cause of civil rights. They are a cross-section of America, and they reflect the diversity of the nation. But just as truly they reflect the American consensus. That consensus, expressed by AFL-CIO conventions and by conventions of the affiliated na-

tional and international unions, is the basis for the AFL-CIO's determination to abolish all forms of discrimination. It was the basis of our long and vigorous fight for enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and it is the basis of our continuing campaign for the full observance of that law, in letter and spirit.

The AFL-CIO constitution invites "all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization." We are pledged in equal measure to see that all workers share fully in every other aspect of American life; for our cause is the brotherhood of workers and the brotherhood of man.

George Meany

## *What rights does labor seek?*

The AFL-CIO seeks to guarantee to every American every one of his basic American rights.

This means breaking the vicious circle which condemns a baby born in a segregated neighborhood to a childhood of segregated and sub-standard schools; to an adolescense of mounting discouragement and inadequate training; to an adulthood of joblessness or menial employment. All because of segregation.

The circle has a wider radius. The Negro who breaks through the economic barrier may still find no decent public place to eat, to sleep, to watch a play or film —no place, indeed, to vote.

The denial of rights must be ended, whether the victim suffers all the injustices in the vicious circle, which is the rule, or even only one.

"These wrongs cry for correction," the AFL-CIO said in its convention policy statement on civil rights, "and it is the responsibility of all of us, individually and collectively, to work diligently for that correction." No sudden redemption will overnight dissolve the hate and fear within a racist's heart or give new faith to a householder whose veneer of tolerance cracks at the cry, "The colored are moving in." Laws cannot wipe out prejudice of the spirit; but laws, vigorously enforced, can abolish prejudice in practice.

The AFL-CIO seeks the total elimination of racial and religious discrimination from American society —the smashing of the vicious circle—by every possible democratic means.

## *Can labor achieve these rights?*

Yes—but not alone. Labor can play a vital role, but cannot do the job single handed.

Since its formative years the labor movement has sought, with considerable success, to broaden and extend all rights—economic, social and political. Among the first union goals, almost a century and a half ago, was a free, universal public school system. Unions proclaimed the objective. Unions lobbied for it in state legislatures. Union parents took the lead in community movements, organized to promote the cause. But the achievement was possible only because, as a result of labor's efforts, a majority of all the people came to support it.

This was true in the enactment of the civil rights bill; it has even greater truth in its implementation. The AFL-CIO can, should and does provide leadership, exert pressure, serve as a rallying-point for the forces of justice. But the ultimate victory requires the full and united efforts of all people of good will.

## *What has been accomplished?*

In the perspective of history the progress over the last two decades has been tremendous. Some triumphs have been dramatic; the unforgettable day of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation was one example; the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was another.

And during all this time, labor-supported (and often labor-initiated) measures have been enacted by states and municipalities, with painful and painstaking effort, so that today there are 25 states and scores of cities with fair employment practices laws, and dozens that outlaw discrimination in housing and public accommodations. Meanwhile, beyond the statute books, innumerable communities have quietly obliterated the influence of anti-catholicism, anti-semitism and Jim Crow.

Yes, in the last 20 years—against the background of the previous 80—the gains have been spectacular. But quite properly we of the AFL-CIO look, not to history, but to the here and now. A new law has been enacted, at long last, which represents a comprehensive breakthrough in civil rights on almost every front. But the law is a beginning, not the end. It asserts rights; it does not give them day-to-day reality. The law's success is in the hands of the people.

## What does the AFL-CIO intend to do now?

Immediately after the civil rights bill was signed into law, the AFL-CIO started work on a program to insure its full effectiveness. The basic elements of this program include the following:

### ☆ EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Utmost efforts will be exerted to achieve voluntary compliance with this section of the law before it takes official effect in July 1965. Employment rights are, of course, a major concern of unions. But it is an indisputable fact that unions do not control employment—employers do.

Nevertheless, unions can and will—in both organized and unorganized establishments—make a significant contribution to the achievement of voluntary compliance with this section of the law, Title 7.

Our objective in the AFL-CIO is to achieve the spirit and intent of the law now, not months from now. So particular attention must be paid to the voluntary institution of fair employment practices.

Non-discrimination clauses have been negotiated in many union contracts and have been enforced through contract grievance procedure. All affiliated AFL-CIO unions are again urged to step up their efforts in this direction. But unorganized companies

must not be allowed to evade their responsibilities. Careful note must be made of those employers who comply with the law and those who resist it; the latter should naturally be the focus of enforcement.

In this community endeavor, the state and city central bodies will clearly play a key role, and the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights will assist them in fulfilling it and will coordinate their efforts. Contacts ought to be made with employers in each area in an effort to enlist their cooperation.

Meanwhile the AFL-CIO will continue to press for the indispensable prerequisite to genuine equality of opportunity—jobs at good wages for all. It is an empty gesture to give Negroes an equal chance at jobs if there are no jobs to be had.

## COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Close working relationships have been established in recent years, both nationally and locally, between AFL-CIO and other organizations devoted to civil rights. These relationships must be maintained and strengthened. Bi-racial committees have been set up in many communities; AFL-CIO central bodies have been active participants. Such committees should be established in every community. Efforts must also be made to expand them by bringing in groups, such as employer organizations, which remained aloof while civil rights legislation was pending.

To this end the operations of the community task forces set up in the AFL-CIO Department of Civil

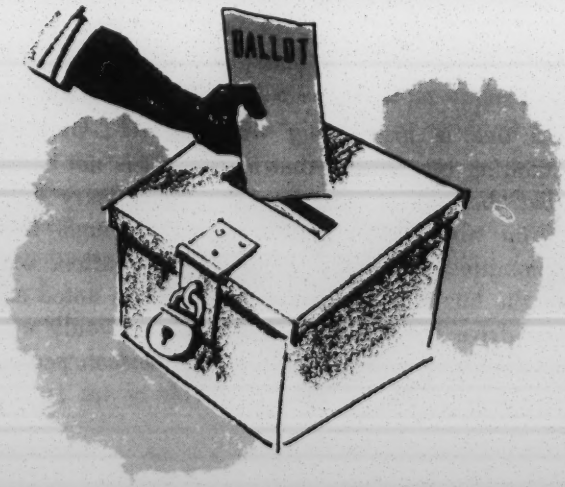
Rights will be greatly broadened. The major role of these task forces is to assist AFL-CIO state and city central bodies in establishing community-wide committees that will facilitate the attainment of equal opportunity in the schools, in all public facilities and in places of public accommodation. For the year it has been in operation, the task force experiment has proved its worth. It will now be greatly expanded, and many more teams will be sent into the field.

All this is in keeping with the AFL-CIO's long-standing recognition that legislation is not enough—that there must also be a complementary effort to bring about community action, through bi-racial committees, to eradicate all discrimination, whether in the bus depot or the classroom. As noted earlier, the drive for civil rights will succeed only when it has enlisted a consensus of the American people—as we believe it now has.

Throughout America the AFL-CIO, with its 130 national and international unions, its nearly 900 state and local central bodies and the 60,000 local unions which are the basic units in the labor movement's structure, is helping to mobilize this kind of consensus. What is said in Washington has little meaning unless it is given direct application in the community. It is the responsibility of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department to coordinate with civil rights representatives in central labor bodies and in international unions on specific projects and long-range programs. In each community, unions are urged to carry out vigorous civil rights programs of their own and expand on these through their central labor bodies and civil rights-minded organizations.

## ☆ EDUCATION

Essential to the success of the objectives above, and to all other phases of civil rights, is public under-



standing. All staff departments of the AFL-CIO, and its regional directors, have been enlisted in a wide-ranging educational program to make sure that all citizens, including union members, know what the law provides and how its various provisions are to be enforced. The affiliated national and international unions are also a part of this program, being responsible for its application within their own ranks.

## ☆ ENFORCEMENT

Many a good law has been hobbled by inadequate funds or indifferent administration. The AFL-CIO position was made clear in an Executive Council resolution:

"The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will insist upon adequate funds and vigorous administration of the Civil Rights Act. We will not allow the act to be emasculated by lack of funds, a back-door attack which has hobbled so many social measures in the past. This must not be the fate of the greatest social advance in a century."

## ☆ NEW LEGISLATION

The AFL-CIO will watch with great care the operations of the Civil Rights Act in the months ahead. If unexpected loopholes develop, or if the administrative and enforcement processes prove to be unworkable, the AFL-CIO will not hesitate to seek from Congress whatever changes in the law that experience proves to be necessary.

## What is being done inside unions?

In all AFL-CIO unions, every member is equal, and enjoys all the rights enjoyed by any other member. This alone is not enough, of course, and unions have long been aware of it. To be a union member a worker must first be hired; this is why a legal ban on discriminatory hiring has been an AFL-CIO goal for so many years. But in the meantime, unions have fought to negotiate non-discrimination clauses covering hiring, wage rates and upgrading; such agreements are operative in every geographical area, and their numbers increase yearly. This process will soon be reinforced by law, and properly so; and it is being reinforced today by the application of AFL-CIO policy.

In scores of plants throughout the south, once-separate Negro and white locals have been merged and seniority lists consolidated. There is no color line in the benefits provided by union contracts. Union meetings and the facilities in union halls are generally unsegregated, often in defiance of local custom and even local law.

Major unions that have apprenticeship programs forbid discrimination both by constitution and contracts. Some now offer schooling to help Negroes and others with sub-standard educations to catch up and be better able to meet apprenticeship requirements.

The AFL-CIO has forbidden its own subsidiary organizations and departments to hold meetings, con-

ventions or conferences in segregated facilities. This ruling is binding on state and local central bodies, COPE area conferences, educational institutes and all other functions directly under AFL-CIO control.

All this is not meant to suggest that unions are blameless. There was even a time when discrimination was "respectable" in some national unions as it was in most of America. But today, as George Meany has expressed it, discrimination in the trade union movement is a "bootleg product," sneaked in by the back door and nowhere condoned.

In the labor movement even a little discrimination is too much. To the AFL-CIO the important consideration is not how much has been accomplished but what remains to be done.

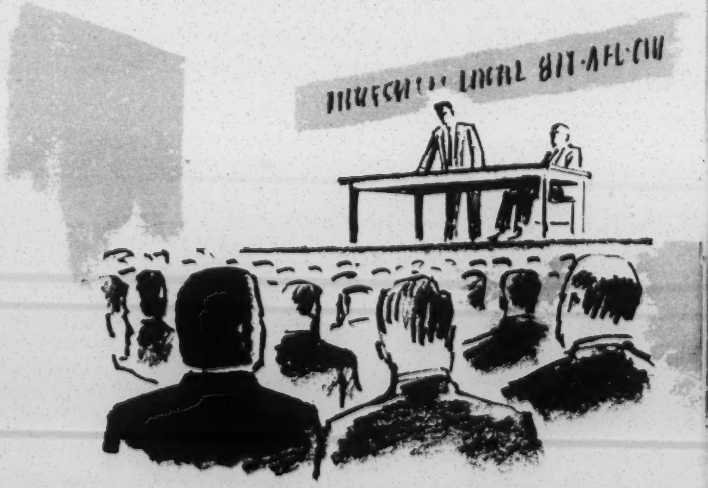
## Is there AFL-CIO machinery for handling civil rights grievances?

Yes, and not just on paper. The AFL-CIO Civil Right Committee, headed by the federation's second ranking officer, is charged with the obligation of carrying out the uncompromising declarations of the AFL-CIO conventions.

A special subcommittee on compliance hears, investigates and acts upon all complaints. It utilizes the staff

of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights to explore the issues and make initial referrals to the unions involved. Final action, if necessary, is determined by the full Civil Rights Committee; and ultimately by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The Civil Rights Committee also works closely with appropriate federal agencies concerned with civil rights. It will, through the Department of Civil Rights, be in constant touch with those charged with enforcing the new fair employment practices law.



## *Is the civil rights issue turned against unions?*

Yes indeed; it has for nearly a generation been the chief weapon of union foes in the south, and more recently has become the favorite bludgeon of right-wing extremists everywhere.

The very fact that unions believe that "all men are created equal" was an anti-labor weapon long before the Supreme Court took the same view. Race-baiting of the most virulent kind is standard practice in any southern organizing campaign, and has been widely employed in attempts to disrupt established unions. Labor's stand on civil rights has even been injected into wholly unrelated legislative issues.

AFL-CIO President George Meany gave labor's answer in an address several years ago—an answer that still stands. He said:

"If we have to practice discrimination to organize

workers, then organizing will have to wait until we educate the unorganized.

"If we have to lose a vote in Congress . . . because we take a stand on civil rights, that is a price we are prepared to pay."

Currently the radical right has taken up the segregationist outcry, charging that fair employment practices means an artificial quota system that would force the discharge of senior white workers to make room for Negroes. This, of course, is absurd.

It is true that a seniority system which systematically discriminates against Negroes can now be overthrown. The AFL-CIO is in full accord with that.

But the seniority system itself, where fairly administered, is left untouched by the law. The AFL-CIO is in full accord with that, too. The job safeguards built up by the labor movement over the years—including the seniority system—are important to all workers. They are color-blind.

These safeguards have special importance to members of minority groups, who might otherwise be subject to discrimination by an unthinking majority in times of stress. To destroy these safeguards would be an inter-racial disaster.

## *What is the AFL-CIO's relationship with civil rights groups?*

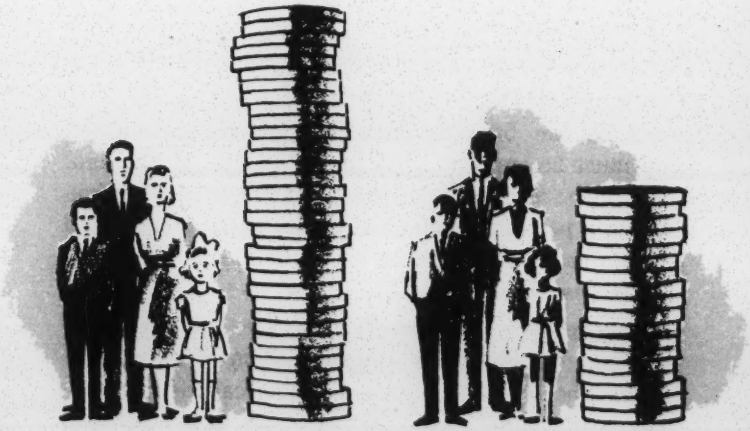
The AFL-CIO works with all men and organizations of good faith, of proven adherence to the spirit and substance of democracy, whether they be special local committees, permanent civil rights organizations, church groups or government agencies. This has been the policy of the AFL-CIO on all issues.

## *What is the employers' record?*

The answer to this question is a sad and shameful reflection on the leaders of American business and industry. There are, to be sure, a number of employers who for many years have followed a fully non-discriminatory policy. But all the major organizations which purport to speak for employers, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Retail Federation, openly and actively opposed fair employment practices legislation.

Newspaper stories early in 1964 told of a growing alliance between employers and right-wing extremist organizations, with opposition to FEP as the chief goal. Some employers tried to justify their position on the grounds that an FEP law would be "excessive government interference;" yet they made no move to eliminate discrimination themselves.

In some cases, at least, the disgraceful attitude of employers may have had an economic motive. According to a Department of Commerce survey, the average income of a white family in 1961 was $5,570; the average for a Negro family was $2,908. This spells low Negro wages; this is what some employers want. Where equal employment opportunities have been won by Negroes, the record shows that unions have in almost every instance led or actively



participated in the fight—almost always against last-ditch resistance by employer spokesmen. And unless protected by union contract or by law, the Negro generally continues to be the lowest paid, the last hired and the first fired.

## *Can legislation alone win the rights struggle?*

No. The legislation just enacted was a major step forward, but a law standing alone is meaningless. There must be vigorous action on two other fronts before the words of the law can become facts of life.

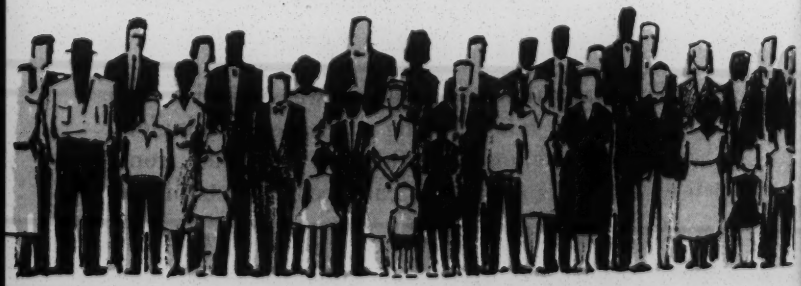
On the technical, legalistic front, there must be effective enforcement machinery supported by adequate funds. Congress has failed to do this for earlier civil rights measures; it must not fail on this one. In

a very real sense, the mechanism for enforcing the law is as important as the law itself.

And on the broader front of public opinion, the law must be supplemented by full community action. Those who opposed the law argued that discrimination is a personal rather than a statutory matter, and to eliminate it, there must be a change in the minds and hearts of men.

In one respect they were right. The law should—and does—brand racial discrimination as an offense against the basic principles of American democracy. This is the plain truth. But in order to prevail, the truth must be understood and accepted.

The community programs of the AFL-CIO, described earlier, are one means toward this end. There must be many more, in and out of the labor movement. The quest for true brotherhood in the hearts of men has been pursued too long for any among us to expect instant victory. Yet it is a quest to which the AFL-CIO is irrevocably dedicated.



**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.**

**GEORGE MEANY, President**
**WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer**

**Publication No. 133**
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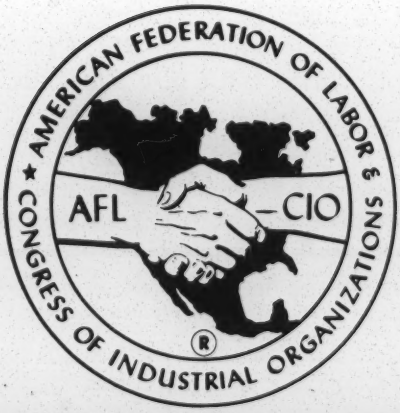
# CIVIL




# RIGHTS

*Statement adopted by*
*AFL-CIO Executive Council*
*Chicago, Aug. 4, 1964*

One month ago the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became the law of the land. That historic event, so long awaited, marked the beginning of a new struggle to translate the rights thus confirmed by Congress into living reality in every phase of American life.

This new struggle will demand even greater dedication, even closer unity, even harder work and even more patience than the legislative effort itself. To that end the AFL-CIO pledges its unremitting efforts.

A first requisite is to keep in being the spirit of unity in the ranks of civil rights supporters, in which the AFL-CIO proudly served, and to enlist new adherents to this cause.

There are many organizations—civic, business and professional—which over the last year and a half have either been in opposition to certain aspects of civil rights legislation or have stood aloof from the struggle. Now the circumstances have changed. The issue today is not whether there should be a civil rights law, or what it should embrace, but rather its orderly implementation. Therefore the time has come for participation in civil rights affairs of organizations which have not participated up to now.

All these, and law-abiding citizens everywhere, should be drawn into a drive to make the national consensus a national reality. It is true, and properly so, that behind this new Bill of Rights for America there stands the enforcement powers of the fedeal government, and those powers should be fully applied. Yet to be truly effective, to fulfill its high aspirations, the Civil Rights Act must rely upon the goodwill of friends and neighbors in every community in our land.

In all of this the labor movement has a special obligation, as the AFL-CIO has long recognized.

That obligation is especially keen with respect to Title 7 of the law, relating to equal employment opportunities.

The record confirms beyond dispute that the labor movement—AFL and CIO separately, and the AFL-CIO since merger—has, since World War II, been the major advocate of equal employment opportunities legislation, applicable to unions and employers alike.

The law as written delays enforcement of equal employment opportunities for a year. The AFL-CIO cannot and will not wait on the letter of the law; the spirit of the law looks to voluntary compliance and so do we.

Therefore we hereby call a national conference of union leaders, including the officers of national and international unions, of state central bodies and of such local central bodies as shall be designated by the president of the AFL-CIO, to meet in Washington, D. C. on September 2, at a time and place to be designated by the president.

This conference will be charged with the responsibility for formulating and planning the implementation of the following measures, among others:

1. The education of union members and other citizens as to the actual terms of the Civil Rights Act. The Departments of Civil Rights, Legislation, Education, Public Relations, Community Services, and Publications, are instructed to draw up a program, with the assistance of their colleagues in the affiliated unions, to make sure all union officials and members understand the facts of the law and their meaning. All departments of the AFL-CIO and its regional directors are instructed to see to it that such a program of education is effectuated.

2. The work that has been carried on by AFL-CIO community task forces is to be greatly broadened. Achievement of equal opportunity in our schools, in all public facilities and in all places of public accommodation is a cause on which all elements in our communities must and should unite. The state and city central bodies of the AFL-CIO can make a significant contribution to this work, operating through community-wide committees with religious, civic and civil rights organizations.

3. As we noted above, promotion of equal opportunity in employment is a major concern of unions. Unions, of course, do not control employment. But unions can—in both organized and unorganized companies—make a significant contribution to achieving voluntary compliance with this section of the law long before the effective date of Title 7. Therefore, particular attention will be given to the voluntary achievement of fair employment practices, among organized and unorganized employers alike. Non-discrimination clauses have been negotiated in many union contracts and have been enforced through contract grievance procedure. All AFL-CIO unions are again urged to step up their efforts along these lines. But the unorganized companies must not be allowed to evade their responsibilities. Careful note will be kept of the employers who comply with the principles of the law, and of those who do not. The latter should clearly be the focus of enforcement.

4. The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will insist upon adequate funds and vigorous administration of the Civil Rights Act. We will not allow the act to be emasculated by lack of funds, a back-door attack which has hobbled so many social measures in the past. This must not be the fate of the greatest social advance in a century.

5. In the months ahead, every AFL-CIO organization, at every level, is called upon to observe the workings of the Civil Rights Act, so that any inadequacies which may develop in practice can be presented to Congress for further legislative action. It is our hope that if the other steps in this program are fully carried out, such action may be unnecessary.

★ ★ ★ ★

All the foregoing is said in the full realization that the practical realization of the goals set forth in the Civil Rights Act requires more than vigorous enforcement, more than full compliance with the law itself.

It cannot be said too often that for equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, there must be full opportunity as well; full employment, full educational opportunities and all the rest. The right to be hired is empty indeed when there are no jobs to be had; the right to be served in a restaurant or hotel has no meaning for those with no money to spend.

In that sense the fight to create jobs for all, and to abolish poverty in America, are themselves civil rights campaigns, indispensable to the success of the law which bears that title. The AFL-CIO will press for these goals as vigorously as we campaigned for the Civil Rights Act itself.

The AFL-CIO is uncomprisingly opposed to racial discrimination of every sort, in every place and at every time. And we are determined to stamp it out, not only through the full implementation of the law enacted a month ago, but also through the elimination of the economic and social weaknesses which are so largely responsible for it.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.**

**GEORGE MEANY**
President

**WM. F. SCHNITZLER**
Secretary-Treasurer

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# Civil Rights: Facts vs. Fiction

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a new bill of rights for everyone, regardless of race, creed or color.

This basic fact has been overlooked, ignored or distorted by those who are opposed to equal rights for anyone.

This is—in capsule form—what the act provides:

**JOBS:** Starting in July 1965, discrimination and segregation in employment, or in unions, is forbidden. Complaints will be processed through state agencies; the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission acts only if a state fails to act.

**PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:** Effective at once, every hotel, restaurant, theater or other facility catering to the general public must do exactly that. Thirty-one state laws, already in effect have even stronger provisions.

**SCHOOLS:** The Attorney General of the United States has greater power to implement the Supreme Court decision of 1954 prohibiting segregation in public schools.

**VOTING RIGHTS:** Both the federal courts and the Attorney General are instructed to make sure registration and voting rights are safeguarded under uniform, reasonable standards.

There are other provisions in the law; a detailed analysis is available free of charge from the AFL-CIO. But these are the basic points.

Enemies of civil rights, enemies of labor, enemies of democracy itself are spreading lies about the terms of the act in order to play upon the fears of homeowners, parents, employers and workers. Here is the truth about the kind of lies that are told:

**FICTION:** "If you sell a house, you have to sell to a Negro."

**FACT: The AFL-CIO believes that discrimination in housing should be ended. But there is no reference whatever to housing in the Civil Rights Act.**

**FICTION:** "Your children will be sent out of the neighborhood to some Negro school."

**FACT: Local school boards in some cities, operating under state and local statutes, have instituted pupil transfers in an effort to achieve better racial balance in their schools. But there is no such requirement in the Civil Rights Act, which provides only that schools must not be segregated.**

**FICTION:** "A certain number of Negroes will have to be hired on every job, even if white people have to be fired to make room for them."

**FACT: This is a myth. The law will properly put an end to discrimination in employment —including discrimination in seniority systems. But it does not in any way interfere with existing job rights. There are no "quotas" established. As a matter of fact, "inverse discrimination," even if intended to offset past evils, would actually be a violation of the law.**

In short, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in letter and spirit, is dedicated to justice—to the principles of democracy and fair play which are in the highest American tradition.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

NY TIMES 8/31/64
LABOR

# UNION MEN WARN ON ETHNIC QUOTAS

## New State Law to Regulate Apprentice Plans Scored

Construction union leaders charged yesterday that new state regulations on apprentice training programs might lead to ethnic quotas.

The law, which goes into effect tomorrow, sets objective standards as the criteria for admission of apprentices to union. It is aimed at ending discrimination by some unions against Negroes as an outgrowth of giving apprentice preference to the sons and other relatives of members.

The new law was criticized by speakers at the closing session of a two-day convention by the New York State Building and Construction Trades Council at the Commodore Hotel.

Their criticism came after an address by the State Industrial Commissioner, Martin P. Catherwood. Under the new regulations, the State Labor Department has the power to review the joint employer-union programs that are registered with the state.

Mr. Catherwood said that the new regulations involved a "complex, emotion-charged, delicate area," adding: "It takes a Philadelphia lawyer to understand all of the angles of the regulations."

### Called Totalitarian

William Sorenson, business agent of the Dutchess County Local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, described the regulations as "totalitarian."

George Grimm, secretary-treasurer of the Westchester Building Trades Council, said most unions were making "substantial strides" to overcome discrimination and that the new law was unnecessary. "It will cause more difficulties than do good," he added.

Criticism was also directed against State Supreme Court Justice Jacob Markowitz for his ruling last week involving Sheet Metal Workers Local 28.

Justice Markowitz had upheld a finding by the State Commission for Human Rights that Local 28 had [illegible] and exclude [illegible] in doing so [illegible]

training to the relatives of its members.

Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, said yesterday that Justice Markowitz's ruling was "only the opinion of one judge and can be appealed."

Nepotism in union training was defended by John Lyons, general president of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

"We are entitled to give some preference to the sons of our members," he declared.

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# Most of South's 567,000 Textile Workers Likely to Be Affected by Wage Increases

Econ. - So 9/2/64

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—A spreading pattern of wage increases appears likely to soon cover nearly all the South's 567,000 textile workers.

Harriet-Henderson Mills, Henderson, N.C., apparently set the trend last month when it announced a 5% increase for its 1,100 employes. Cannon Mills, Kannapolis, N.C., followed 10 days later with an announcement it would make a "pay adjustment" for its workers. And the same day, Alice Manufacturing Co., Easley, S.C., said it also was giving its 1,250 employes a 5% increase.

A number of additional textile producers rapidly followed, including Cone Mills Corp., Greensboro, N.C., which announced bigger paychecks for 13,000 workers but declined to specify the amount of the increase. H. W. Close, president of Springs Cotton Mills, said pay rises for nearly 16,000 employes would add $2,650,000 to the annual payrolls of the parent company and its subsidiary, Scotland Mills.

Burlington Industries and J. P. Stevens Co., are announcing increases on a plant-by-plant basis. A recent tally showed three Stevens facilities and two owned by Burlington Industries affected by the pay boosts.

Many companies said the increases reflected the industry's improved economic health following passage of the one-price cotton law passed by Congress earlier this year. The new law provides for equalization payments to U.S. mills, enabling them to produce cloth as cheaply as foreign competitors who had benefited from the ability to purchase U.S. cotton well below the domestic price.

Though company officials have declined to acknowledge union pressure, the equalization payments have been cited by union organizers to recruit new members. The Textile Workers Union of America is continuing distribution of a pamphlet entitled: Your Employer Has Grabbed All the Benefits for Himself."

Scott Hoyman, assistant coordinator of the AFL-CIO industrial union department in Charlotte, termed the pay rises "a side effect of our organizing drive. It has been a tradition that many companies give raises to keep people from seeking union help." At the present time, only about 15% of Southern textile workers are represented by unions.

No one actually knows how many workers have been affected thus far. But in North Carolina, the leading textile state with 165,000 workers in basic textile plants, one industry source estimates that between 75,000 and 100,000 employes have gained pay boosts.

"If this wage increase follows the pattern of previous increases, it's likely to be general throughout the industry," said an official of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc., a trade organization. "A mill can't stay in business unless it follows the pattern of other mills."

Prior to the recent increases, hourly wages in textile mills nationally averaged $1.71; the industry's total annual wages and salary payroll was $3.7 billion.

It's also likely the pay rises will affect related industries. American Thread, Clover, S.C., and Kayser-Roth Hosiery Co., Burlington, N.C., for example, are among companies that have announced 5% increases. Rock Hill Printing and Finishing Co., a division of M. Lowenstein & Sons, also said it was increasing pay of 3,730 workers by 8 cents an hour. And Hanes Dye & Finishing Co. of Winston-Salem boosted wages 7 cents to $1.76 an hour.

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# Direct Effects of the New Civil Rights Bill on Trade Unionism

WASHINGTON (PAI) — What impact will the new Civil Rights Bill have on trade unions?

Louis Sherman, general counsel for the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, has prepared a factual digest to answer this question.

The digest follows:

1—*Effective Dates:* The sections of the bill, as passed by the Senate, which establish unlawful employment practices by employers, labor unions and employment agencies and provide for legal enforcement proceedings do NOT become effective until one year after the date of the law's enactment. For employers of less than 50 workers and for unions with less than 50 members, these sections of the bill will be delayed four years from date of enactment; employers of less than 75 and unions of less than 75, three years' delay; employees and unions of less than 100, two years. However, unions with hiring halls or referral systems, regardless of the number of members; becomes subject to these provisions of the law one year after enactment. Unions with less than 25 members, not operating a hiring hall or referral system, are not subject to the provisions of the bill at any time.

2—*Immediately Effective:* Those provisions which provide for (1) the establishment of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of five members, which is empowered to cooperate with Local and State agencies and others, to conciliate, to refer legal matters to the Attorney General and to prescribe record-keeping regulations (2) posting by employers and labor unions of notices prescribed by the Commission which set forth pertinent excerpts from the Civil Rights Bill and information concerning the filing of complaints, and (3) the convening of conferences by the President of the United States to acquaint leaders of groups affected by the bill with its provisions and requirements and to plan for the

3—*Unlawful Employment Practices:* The bill prohibits discrimination against any individual because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and specifically prohibits the following acts:

*By a Labor Union*

(1) Discriminatory exclusion or expulsion from membership.

(2) Discriminatory segregation or classification of membership or referral practices which tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect employee status.

(3) Causing or attempting to cause an employer to discriminate.

*By an Employer*

(1) Discriminatory failure or refusal to hire or discharge, or other discrimination with respect to compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment.

(2) Discriminatory segregation or classification of employees which tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect employee status.

Joint Apprenticeship Committees or employers or unions are likewise prohibited from discrimination in admission to or employment in any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

Employment agencies are prohibited from discriminatory failure or refusal to refer for employment.

4—*Quota System Banned:* The bill does not require any racial "balance" or quota systems. The specific language of the bill provides that:

"Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or group because of the race, color, religion, sex or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to to total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, munity, State, section or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section or other area."

5—*Further Exceptions:* The bill excepts from its provisions cases where "religion, sex or national origin" is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the particular business; where an educational institution controlled by a particular religious group employs persons of such religion; where the discriminatory action taken is with respect to members of Communists or front organizations; where national security is affected and where preference may be given to an Indian living on or near an Indian reservation.

6—*Enforcement Procedures:* Adequate opportunity is given to State and local agencies under State and local anti-discrimination laws to work out complaints of discrimination *before Federal Action is taken.* The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is empowered to investigate charges and to seek conciliation of discrimination cases when the State and local agencies have not been able to accomplish results.

7—*If Conciliation Fails:* Then the individual complainant may sue in the Federal courts. The District Judge may, in his discretion, appoint an attorney for the complainant and allow reasonable attorney's fees to the prevailing party in the case, except when the Federal Government itself prevails. In the case of "intentional" violation, the court may enjoin the violation and order hiring or reinstatement of employees with back pay. The Commission may institute proceedings to compel compliance after a judicial decree has been issued.

8—*The Attorney General* also is empowered to step in and bring a civil action in the Federal courts when he has "reasonable cause" to believe that any person or group, including labor unions, "is engaged

fied for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any com-

## AUTOMATIC WORRY

LONDON (PAI) — A study released by the British Medical Association here shows that assembly line technology has produced anxiety in the average worker.

He is bored, concerned about the dangerous work around the machines, fearful of unemployment and just downright worried about his future in the age of automation.

and judicial appeal. Certainly, the claimant has the opportunity to refute this new information, but what about the resulting delay? What about the economic hardship for most claimants in such a situation?

Upon asking at the Employment Department for information about filing an appeal, including the procedure, admissibility of written statements, availability of transcripts, etc., he was told that the only information available would be printed on notices received by mail, "and this information has amounted to practically nothing. Thus, in an appeal, the claimant goes virtually unprepared to face the combined resources of his former employer."

Noting that his costs will be far greater than the two weeks of compensation involved, the businessman says he will "pursue this matter, if necessary, all the way through the Industrial Commission and a civil court action."

But he asks:

"Over and above the factor of damage to professional reputation and work history, what about the factor of delay? This claim already has taken more than seven weeks to process and we are really no farther along than when we started. What if I had not found another job?"

of the rights secured by this title (Title 7)." In any criminal contempt proceeding, brought when a defendant is alleged to have violated a court decree, the accused shall have the right to a jury trial and the maximum penalty shall be a $1,000 fine or imprisonment for six months.

Supplementing the preceding digest, the following comments excerpted from an analysis of the problem of equal rights in employment, prepared by J. Albert Woll, counsel for the AFL-CIO, contain some pertinent information:

"Some 25 states now have laws, of one kind or another, forbidding discrimination in employment. In addition, the Supreme Court has ruled that a labor organization serving as a statutory bargaining agent under the Railway Labor Act or the National Labor Relations Act has an obligation to represent all employees in the bargaining unit fairly and impartially. An employee whose right to fair representation is violated may bring a civil action in Federal Court against the union and any employer joining in the union's wrongdoing. Finally, the National Labor Relations Board has taken the position that it may revoke the certification of a union which practices racial discrimination in the representation of employees. Existing statutes, voluntary union procedures and Federal administrative practices thus provide a wide range of weapons which can be brought to bear against racial discrimination in employment."

"Title 7 (of the Civil Rights Bill) would not apply retroactively . . . Mathematical equality is not the goal of the bill. Neither is the righting of old wrongs by the process of perpetrating new ones. The bill looks to the future, not the past, and does not endeavor to discriminate against whites tomorrow because Negroes were discriminated against yesterday."

"If members of one race, because higher seniority or any other legitimate employment qualifications, should wind up with a disproportionately large number of jobs on a particular project, this would not constitute a violation of the proposed legislation."

Ask L E Baker

9-14-64

# History or Chronicle?

**ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY**
*By Philip Taft*
*Harper & Row. 818 pp. $12.50.*

*Reviewed by*
**BEN B. SELIGMAN**
*Author, "Main Currents in Modern Economics"*

PHILIP TAFT, an indefatigable burrower among files, documents, diaries, notebooks, old magazines and other assorted archival artifacts, has produced another enormous chronicle of American labor. For bulk and detail, it stands very well next to his huge two-volume history of the AFL published a few years ago. No doubt it will be an important source for those who want to verify obscure facts about labor's past. But whether it provides a sense of history, or a feeling for the palpable human thrust that seeks to create a movement, is moot.

Professor Taft's industry is prodigious and in some ways quite admirable, but unfortunately he is not able to distinguish between history and chronicle. Organization after organization parades before the reader; the names of sundry officers are listed; the numerous conventions are tabulated and the debates summarized—yet after all the items have been neatly packaged, one still does not really know the place of organized labor in American history.

Unionism's sole function for Taft is in the work place. American unions, he asserts, always have been exponents of "business unionism" and always have eschewed broad programs of social and political change. Curiously enough, his own recitation belies this judgment: The Workingmens' Party in the 1820s, the old AFL's concern with legislation, the Farmer-Labor Party after World War I and the present Committee on Political Education suggest that there is more to trade unionism than the old walking-delegate philosophy. True, Taft has put all of this into his book and more besides, but at no point is he able to reach the essential spirit that moved men to form themselves into organizations for protection against the crushing burdens of an expanding industrialism.

Unions can hardly become viable institutions if they limit themselves *solely* to job issues. There are those who would argue that unions should help meet the broader needs of their members, for only by doing so can they enhance their abilities to organize and to bargain collectively. For it is evident that no line can be drawn between the worker as employe and the worker as citizen, between the union as bargaining agent and the union as social institution.

In fact, there are any number of problems confronting unionism today—such as automation—that in no way can be solved through ordinary "business" methods. Politics affects such matters as minimum wages and labor law as much as it does the decision of a company to resist union demands. And workers willy-nilly must be concerned with taxation, Social Security, housing legislation and the myriad of economic questions perennially weighed by Congressmen. Despite the several chapters in his book on politics and legislation none of this seems of great import to Taft. It is all submerged by a vast flood of isolated facts.

I really don't know why Taft writes this way; after all, he has been publishing books on labor for over 30 years now. Perhaps the problem stems from his insistence on the continued usefulness of the sort of economic history offered by John R. Commons, one of his revered mentors. Commons, it will be recalled, had argued, rather naively, that alterations in market structure underpinned economic change. Thus the development of retail and wholesale markets in the 17th and 18th Centuries, thought Commons, explained how it was that workers were separated from their tools to become mere employes. Eventually, to protect themselves, they were impelled to organize into unions, through which the characteristic market orientation of capitalism could be expressed as pressure for "more and more."

This now archaic interpretation results in a number of curiosities: The Molly Maguires were just a gang of cutthroats and murderers whose actions had no relation to the harshness of their lives in the mines; the early steel unions had been overly militant at the turn of the century; the unions' fear of Chinese immigration stemmed solely from job fear rather than racist sentiments; Taft-Hartley was a "non-punitive law which scarcely affected the position of organized labor"; and incidents such as Haymarket really had little to do with unionism and the labor movement.

I may be forgiven perhaps one somewhat personal observation: My own organization, the Retail Clerks International Association—one of the larger affiliates of the AFL-CIO—has had a regular and steady growth since 1944 and now speaks for over 400,000 employes in the white collar field. In existence since 1888, its history is fairly interesting, at least interesting enough to have been the subject of two recent studies as well as innumerable student dissertations. Yet Taft can find nothing more to say about the RCIA than a slighting reference to an incident that occurred around 1898! My point is this: If the future growth of the American labor movement is to be in the white collar field, as many contend, then ought not labor historians say something meaningful about union developments in that area?

Taft's book once again demon-



The New Leader

strates that the writing of history —any history—requires many more gifts than ordinary *sitzfleisch*. At the very least the perceptions of the sociologist, economist and political scientist must be brought to bear on whatever facts are to be exhumed from ancient documents.

# Rites of Admiration

**A READING OF PROUST**
*By Wallace Fowlie*
*Doubleday Anchor Books*
*307 pp. $1.45.*

*Reviewed by*
**GEORGE WOODCOCK**
*Author, "The Paradox of Oscar Wilde," "The Writer and Politics," etc.*

THE LITERARY guide for the uninitiate has become a genre characteristic of the '60s. Easy introductions to Eliot, Faulkner, Joyce, and Yeats proliferate, and they are understandably popular among publishers, since there is a ready-made market among the thousands of undergraduates who are seeking quick and simple ways of understanding at least the obvious points about the authors they are expected to study. Wallace Fowlie has already provided two such guides, to contemporary French literature and to the contemporary French theater; now, in *A Reading of Proust,* he performs the same service for one of the most important modern French writers.

To addicted readers of Proust everything in his vast novel seems so clear within its convolutions, so irradiated with inner light, every connection seems so appropriate and every clue so necessary, that the idea of anyone needing a guide to this world of the shaping imagination seems extraordinary. But an hour struggling to explain the ordered complexity of *A la recherche du temps perdu* to an audience of sophomores is likely to make even a Proustian realize the usefulness of some kind of chart to direct unaccustomed readers along Proust's devious and multitudinous paths.

In providing such a chart Professor Fowlie follows the obvious and probably the best expository plan by first placing Proust in the context of French literary history, next recording basic biographical facts with the caution that, as Proust himself contended, a successful work of art stands in the end as a distillation but not a mirror of its creator's life, and finally by dealing consecutively with the six volumes of *A la recherche du temps perdu*. He ends with a summarizing chapter discussing "the Esoteric in Proust."

A paraphrase of any work of literature is a poor substitute for the real thing, particularly when the real thing is as rich and intricate and as dependent on the reader's response to metaphor and allusion and verbal texture as Proust's great novel. Yet for those to whom *A la recherche* is merely a student's task *A Reading of Proust* will be useful and informative, and for others Fowlie's exposition may provide a bridge to that point where the novel itself will take life in their imaginations in a way that even the best guidebook could not have led them to expect. For the real understanding of any work of art involves a communication between observer and artist which is direct and in every case unique.

But Fowlie is too deeply immersed in his subject to leave *A Reading of Proust* as a mere literary guide; the incidental judgments he makes regarding Proust both widen the scope of his survey and diminish its objectivity. Most obvious is his attempt to place Proust in the hierarchy of modern French writers. Here Fowlie reveals himself as the ardent admirer, anxious at all costs to present his subject in the most flattering light. He sees Proust as the *semblable* of the great Baudelaire, "the most universal French writer of the 19th century," and seeks to establish parallels by illogical comparisons of this kind: "Baudelaire transformed his experience of evil (*mal*) into flowers (*fleurs*), and Proust resurrected his past life (*temps perdu*) and reconstructed it in a novel (*temps retrouvé*)." All that Fowlie actually tells us in this confused statement is that Baudelaire and Proust, like all artists, transmuted actuality as they saw it into forms of art, but he deludes himself into imagining that he has indicated a special correspondence between the two writers which in some way enhances Proust's stature. On just as shaky foundations, he also presents Proust as the heir of Balzac.

Nor does Fowlie stop at finding close affinities between Proust and the other French writers he admires most. He has wider claims to make. "Proust," he tells us, "is unquestionably the most widely read and admired French writer of the 20th [century]." In my experience, for every one person who has read and admired Proust at least three have read and admired Camus, but the point is surely irrelevant, since even more people have read and admired Simenon. Popularity, even after a generation, is no criterion of excellence. But Fowlie is full of the anxiety of the true believer, and urgently grabs our sleeves as he assures us that "today Proust even more than Gide seems to be the great liberator from convention by his faithful and relentless depiction of it." Proust would have been amused to hear such didactic triumphs accorded to him, but again the statement is irrelevant to the discussion of Proust as a literary artist or to the kind of judgment we should make of him.

There are points in *A Reading of Proust* where one begins to suspect that Fowlie does not even understand some of the most obvious statements of his hero, so blinded

REPORT ON LABOR

HOUSTON CHRONICLE 9/20/64

# Bigotry Charged In Iron Firm, Union

BY BOB TUTT
Chronicle Reporter

Agents of the National Labor Relations Board regional office are investigating charges that Cameron Iron Works, Inc., and a union have discriminated against Negro employes.

The charges were filed in behalf of 69 Negro workers who allege there is discrimination with respect to job training and classifications, advancements, rates of pay, transfers and other conditions of employment "because of racial considerations."

Lodge 12, Dist. 37, International Assn. of Machinists, represents about 1600 production and maintenance workers at Cameron's large steel products and oil tool manufacturing plant, Katy Rd. at Silber. Roughly 200 of these workers are Negroes.

Both Cameron and the union deny any discrimination.

The Negroes charge that the company has failed to bargain in good faith with the union because equal treatment allegedly has not been guaranteed for all workers.

The union is accused of causing Cameron to discriminate against Negoes and of failing to represent all the workers fairly and impartially.

After the regional NLRB office completes its investigation the findings will be forwarded to the NLRB's general counsel in Washington, who will decide whether the evidence merits prosecuting the case against Cameron and the machinist union.

John B. Ogden, Cameron vice-president and manager of industrial relations, said, "Our position is that there has not been any discrimination, but I can't speak further until the charges, which are stated in very general terms, are made more specific."

Representatives of the presidential committee on equal employment opportunities have inspected Cameron's work practices and been satisfied there was no discrimination, Ogden said.

Fair employment practices are required of companies holding government contracts such as Cameron.

Selection of workers for training programs and promotions is strictly on the basis of qualifications, not race, Ogden said.

Johnny C. Hampton, business agent for IAM Dist. 37, also maintained that the union gives fair representation to all workers, regardless of race.

James A. Kennedy, a general laborer at Cameron, signed the charges in behalf of the group of Negroes.

He said the purpose of the action was not, as in the recent case of Hughes Tool Co., to get a union removed as bargaining agent, but only to get what he described as equal job opportunities for Negro workers.

tunities for Negro workers.

## Won't Take Away Anyone's Job Rights

RWDSU Record 9-20-64 CR file

# Labor Hits 'Myths' on Civil Rights Law

WASHINGTON (PAI)—A grass-roots program to counter unfounded myths about the new Civil Rights Law and to secure voluntary compliance with its actual provisions has been launched by the AFL-CIO.

Some 300 delegates from international unions and state and local central bodies attending a National Civil Rights Conference here gave their enthusiastic approval of the plan. Exec. Vice-Pres. Alex Bail represented the RWDSU at the conference.

Two of the worst distortions of the law, countered by most speakers, involved employment. The facts are that:

- The Civil Rights Act in no way affects the seniority system and will not take away anyone's job, and
- The law will not give preferential treatment to Negroes or to anyone else.

"The fears expressed about the Fair Employment section of the act are proving groundless," AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declared. He stressed that what the AFL-CIO seeks and the law provides is equal and fair treatment of all citizens.

He warned that those who seek to distort the law, those who fight it at every turn, have historically fought trade unionism and the rights of the workingman.

"Many members of White Citizens Councils," Meany said, "have been associated with 'right-to-work' drives and they work through business organizations to entice runaway industry from the North to the South, promising an abundant supply of cheap labor."

The AFL-CIO leader outlined five steps the AFL-CIO will take to bring about "peaceful compliance" with the law:

1. Each international union will make available one member or officer to work with local central bodies.
2. Each international union will assign one officer to head a civil rights unit which will, among its other activities, work to incorporate non-discrimination clauses in contracts.
3. Each local and state central body will set up a similar committee.
4. The National AFL-CIO will set up a committee to help non-union workers faced with job discrimination.
5. Area conferences on civil rights and human rights will be held.

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept., under Dir. Don Slaiman, has prepared a manual "to provide meaningful guidelines for affirmative action" in the civil rights field by local and international unions as well as state and local central bodies.

Meany said that although the FEP sections of the Civil Rights Bill will not go into effect until 1965, "we don't wait until next year."

Two conference speakers warmly praised the labor movement for its leadership in the fight for equal treatment of all citizens—former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service under the Act, and Roy Wilkins of the National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People.

Collins declared that the AFL-CIO "leadership role has been growing ever-stronger. And I salute you for it. You were among the first who saw clearly the need for action in this area. When President Kennedy called upon the leadership resources of the nation, you were at the forefront, asking what you could do for your country."

Wilkins recounted the NAACP's "fine relationship with union labor, a sort of, you might call, family relationship."

## What the New Law Says on Job 'Preference'

WASHINGTON—Answering the charge that white workers would be discharged to make jobs for Negroes, under the new Civil Rights Act, NAACP Exec. Sec. Roy Wilkins read to the AFL-CIO meeting Sec. 703 (j) of the law, as follows:

"Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer . . . in any community, state, section or other area."

NY Times (RE)

IURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1964. Labor - Soc

# Civil Rights Group Backs Scripto Strike in Atlanta

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Dec. 16—At 6 o'clock this morning, a dozen Negro women appeared at gates of the sprawling block-square Scripto plant here and began picketing in the chill Georgia dawn.

"It's my feet that get cold first," one of the women said. She pointed to white socks she was wearing over her stockings.

Muffled in an array of coats, scarves, slacks and knitted wool caps, the pickets carried placards bearing such slogans as "We're Human Beings — Not Machines" and "We Won't Be Slaves No More."

Thus began the 20th day of a strike against Scripto, Inc., makers of pens and cigarette lighters, by Local 754 of the International Chemical Workers Union.

Some 700 production line workers, all of them Negro women, are on strike. But Scripto's 117 skilled workers, including six Negro men, remain on their jobs. The plant continues to operate under Georgia's right-to-work law.

### Started in Negro District

The plant was started in 1923 in a small building in a Negro residential area, and its unskilled workers, who assemble parts in jobs requiring little training, traditionally have been Negro women in the neighborhood.

Some white men and women now have been hired by the company to replace some of the Negro women who walked off their jobs. The strikers received $57.00 a week, on the average, plus some fringe benefits.

For many Negro women, a job at Scripto has been preferable to working as a servant in some Atlanta home for lower pay and longer hours.

The Chemical Workers Union received certification in June to represent Scripto employes. But only Negro women working in unskilled jobs have joined the union.

Meanwhile, contract negotiations are continuing between th union and the company.

An unusual factor in this strike is a strong link forged between the union and the civil rights movement.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whose Ebenezer Baptist Church stands only two blocks from the Scripto plant, has set into motion a nationwide boycott of Scripto products by his civil rights organization.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. King, is distributing handbills saying "Don't buy Scripto products."

The handbills picture a Santa Claus with tears running down into his beard.

### Thanksgiving Day Vote

Dr. King, who accepted the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo last week on behalf of the civil rights movement, is not expected to return to Atlanta until next Monday.

Meanwhile, some members of his church are marching with the Scripto pickets.

Union members voted to strike on Thanksgiving Day. They began picket duties the next day, Nov. 27, at the red brick Scripto plant, a mile and a half east of Atlanta's business district.

The two major obstacles to a contract were wages and the union's insistence for a dues checkoff, under which the company would collect dues for the union.

Management takes the view that the dispute is essentially a matter of economics.

"Another issue—that of racial discrimination—was injected by the union after the strike was called," says James V. Carmicael, 54 years old, chairman of Scripto.

Jerry Levine, 34, the union's special representative, counters by saying, "We feel the wage offer discriminates against the Negro employe."

He is a short, earnest man who grew up in Brooklyn and has worked for unions in the South for the last 10 years.

Both men are heavy cigarette smokers. Mr. Carmicael lights up with a Scripto Vu-Lighter that shows when the fuel is low. Mr. Levine uses book matches.

"Some mornings we have choral groups out here," says Mr. Levine. "We sing union and freedom songs like 'We Shall Not Be Moved,' and 'We Shall Overcome.'"

In the daytime the aroma of baking berad, from a nearby bakery, hangs over the Scripto plant.

Around the plant are parked automobiles filled with Negro women who relieve the pickets at intervals. The heaters keep going in the autos and when the door opens a radio plays "Tis the Season to Be Jolly."

The strike has frayed tempers thin and some Scripto employes still on the job have received telephone threats. One applicant for a job reportedly was beaten and robbed of her $189 wig.

"I think the company can withstand the strike and the boycott," says Mr. Carmicael. "But I am concerned over the situation which is dividing the Negro community."

Scripto's profits have been declining in the last two years. The company cites increased labor costs and the highly competitive nature of its business.

One of Scripto's directors is Douglas Fairbanks Jr., the movie and television performer who also has extensive business interests.

Any future alliance between civil rights organizations and labor unions may hinge upon the outcome of the Scripto situation.

The union and the rights conference say they have reached a "working agreement." The union approached the civil rights organization.

In a television interview here on Dec. 4, in commenting on the Scripto strike, Dr. King told a reporter:

"We have decided that now is the time to identify our movement very closely with labor."

"Can we then assume that this is only the first?" Dr. King was asked.

"That is right," he replied. "There will be many more to follow."

Labor - Gen 12-19-64

(26)

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATU

# N.L.R.B. IMPOSES RACIAL PENALTY

## Orders Local to Aid Negroes in Grievances at Goodyear

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 — The National Labor Relations Board imposed today the most severe penalty it had set in a case involving a union local found guilty of engaging in racial discrimination.

For the first time, the board ordered a local to propose to an employer contract provisions to prohibit discrimination in terms and conditions of employment, and further to bargain in good faith to obtain them.

The 3-to-2 board decision involved Local 12 of the United Rubber Workers of America at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company plant at Gadsden, Ala.

Eight Negro members of the local, aided by Robert L. Carter, general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, filed charges with the board in 1962 asserting that the local had refused to handle their grievances.

The workers had sought to desegregate company facilities, such as restrooms, a cafeteria and the company golf course. They also sought pay for a period during which they were laid off while white workers with less seniority continued to work.

Despite a ruling by George Burdon, the president of the local's national union, that the grievances should be processed by the local, the local refused.

### Unfair Practice Charged

The three-member board majority, made up of Boyd Leedom, Gerald A. Brown and Howard Jenkins Jr., ruled that the local had refused to process the grievances because they were filed by Negroes. This violated the local's duty under the Taft-Hartley Act to represent all employes in the bargaining unit without regard to race and was an unfair labor practice prohibited by the act, the majority held.

Frank W. McCulloch, chairman of the board, and John H. Fanning, a member, dissented. They said that Congress had not made it an unfair labor practice for a labor organization to violate its duty of fair representation, as such.

Congress, in the section of the Taft-Hartley Act banning certain unfair labor practices by unions, did not intend that the board police all unfair conduct by a labor organization, the dissenters said.

"On the contrary," they continued, "it intended to subject to the prohibitions of that section only such conduct which is motivated at least in part by union membership considerations, or the operation of some union rule, obligation or authority."

A union that discriminates against Negroes can have its board certification as bargaining agent revoked, they said, but this is not a sufficient basis for finding an unfair labor practice violation.

The board majority noted that Local 12 and the company, under pressure from the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, had verbally agreed in 1962 not to interpret their labor contract in such a way as to result in racial discrimination.

But the majority concluded that the local should bargain to achieve written antidiscrimination provisions because of its long history of "invalid interpretations of contracts" in a racially discriminatory way, its failure in 1962 to reach more than a verbal agreement with the company and its "continuing resistance to its duty of fair representation."

The majority also ordered the local to process the grievances on which the initial charges were made.

The board orders may be appealed to the United States Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. If upheld, they may be enforced by the appeals court on pain of a possible contempt finding.

Thus, the board's action in today's case is potentially a more direct remedy than simply revoking Local 12's certification would have been.

### Major Significance Found

Robert L. Carter, general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that the N.L.R.B. decision was of major significance in the effort of Negroes to obtain equal job opportunities.

"The decision," he said, "makes the union's refusal to process a grievance concerning the Negro members' complaint as to discrimination and unequal treatment in respect to terms and conditions of employment an unfair labor practice.

"Moreover, it reads the act as placing an affirmative duty on the union to fairly represent all workers in the bargaining unit, including its own Negro members. It has no discretion to act or refuse to act where the terms and conditions of employment are affected by racial considerations."

Mr. Carter, who represented the Negro workers in the case, expressed the view that Negroes generally now had "a formidable weapon" with which to protect themselves against discrimination by unions certified under the National Labor Relations Board.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

# Three Issues Jell In Scripto Strike

Protocol, racial discrimination and wages emerged as the issues in the strike against Scripto, Inc., Saturday as Local 574 of the International Chemicals Workers Union continued their walkout for the second day.

The local called the strike Thursday after employes unanimously rejected a company contract offer the union termed "Racially discriminatory."

The contract called for 2 per cent raise for unskilled workers and a 4 per cent raise for skilled workers. Of the company's 900 employes, 700 are Negro, and only five or six are classified as skilled.

Meanwhile, Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, said he would call for a boycott of Scripto products "if something isn't done to rectify the unjust conditions."

**IN TELEGRAMS** to Scripto President J. E. Aderhold and Board Chairman James V. Carmichael, Dr. King said reports from Negro workers at Scripto "have me greatly distressed."

He said he affirmed his full support of the striking employes and pledged the support of "our entire organization in the event that any of them are fired or otherwise intimidated in their quest to bargain collectively."

The Negro leader then said that if something isn't done, "I will have no alternatives but to call upon all of our supporters and people of good will over the nation to wtihdraw their eco-supprt from Scripto products."

**THE STRIKE** started Friday and was termed 85 per cent effective, according to union spokesmen. They said that even more persons stayed away from work Saturday.

In a release Saturday Scripto said that "Production continues slower than normal, but is improving hourly." Supervisory personnel are working on the production lines alongside the workers who reported.

The union has said it will continue the strike until "We get a decent union contract," but emphasized that "We have a standing offer to meet with the company any time."

**SCRIPTO** takes the position that it has made a "complete proposal" and is waiting to hear from the union. The union says that the proposal was rejected Thursday, and the company should make new recommendations.

The company also said that it "regrets that a charge of racial bias has been made." It rejected the charge as not true, and continued "The company has a record of being a leader in the area of race relations of which it is and has a right to be proud."

Scripto's release further noted that "Numerous threats are being made to our employes," and asked that any such incidents be reported to the company.

The union denied instigating any incidents, and said that it is unaware of any.

Local 574 has been representing Scripto employes in the three Houston Street plants since November, 1963. Contract negotiations have been under way since last June. Workers are not members of the union legally until the contract is negotiated.

# RACE BIAS CITED IN SCRIPTO STRIKE

By KELLY MANSFIELD

A strike of employes at the Scripto Inc. plant in Atlanta with the union charging discriminatory practices against Negro workers began Friday. The strike was called by Local 574 of the International Chemical Workers Union.

Picket lines were established at 6 a.m., an hour before the first shift was to report. Union officials said the strike was "about 85 per cent successful."

The company employs about 900 workers.

J. E. ADERHOLD, general manager of the company, said at noon Friday, "We are in production and I hope it is going to continue to improve."

The union won bargaining rights for employes at the company in a National Labor Relations Board election in September, 1963.

A union spokesman said negotiations for a contract began in June, 1964 and have not resulted in an acceptable contract with the company.

The spokesman said more than 700 of the 900 employes at the plant were Negroes. However, he said, only about six of the Negroes were classified as "skilled" workers. The large majority of the Negro employes, he continued, earned about $1.25 per hour.

THE COMPANY has offered a pay raise of 2 per cent to nonskilled workers and a raise of 4 per cent to skilled workers, the spokesman said. Thus, he continued, the raise proposals were discriminatory against the Negro employes as a group.

He said Scripto officials "made it quite clear" that the raises would be granted only at the expense of Christmas bonuses the following year. Thus,

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# SCRIPTO

Continued from Page 1

he said, "the offer was only a transfer of funds for the Christmas bonus of 1965 and spreading it out over the entire year."

ANOTHER contention, he continued, was that the company had refused a voluntary deduction of dues from the employes' paychecks.

Mr. Aderhold said, "Scripto is ready and willing to continue negotiations in an effort to arrive at an agreement which is fair to both the employes and the company and the union has been so informed.

"Scripto has a job to do and obligations to meet. Therefore the company's production of merchandise will continue. All three shifts will be operated on schedule and all employes reporting to work will find work to do.

"Further statements will be made when the situation requires them. At the present time, there is no further comment."

A DELEGATION of nine persons, men and women members of the union, called on Mayor Ivan Allen at 10 a.m. Friday for the purpose of expressing their wish to reach an agreement on the strike.

Mayor Allen said the union members wanted him to be "conversant" with the problems they are confronted with.

The mayor said the group also wanted to thank the city for the orderly way in which the city police have handled picket lines at the plant.

Mayor Allen said, "I would like to see all strikes concluded here and all persons gainfully employed and all firms actively engaged in earning a profit.

He urged both workers and management to attempt to reach an agreement as soon as possible.

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# MORE RECRUITING URGED ON UNIONS

## Labor Leader Warns of Federal Regulations

By EMANUEL PERLMUTTER

A top labor official warned construction unions yesterday to widen their apprentice training programs or face Government regulation of their membership policies.

The warning came from Peter T. Schoemann, general president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States. He said that in the last several years "we have fallen down on the job" of apprenticeship and training to meet the industry's needs.

Mr. Schoemann, speaking at the seventh annual convention of the New York State Building and Construction Trades Council in the Commodore Hotel, called attention to recent Federal legislation appropriating funds for training apprentices as part of the President's anti-poverty program.

"The big danger is that with all that money flowing around," he said, "and so many agencies in on the act, they're going to look for ways and means of spending it, telling us that we ought to be training five times as many people as we are, and that if we don't do it, the Govment will have to seek other means of doing it."

Although Mr. Schoemann made no reference to exclusion by some of these unions of Negroes, the construction unions have been criticized over alleged discrimination against nonwhites in recruiting members.

### Urged to Recruit Negroes

Another speaker, Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the New York City Central Labor Council, also called on the unions to recruit more Negroes.

Mr. Van Arsdale, who is a member of the President's Community Service Committee, a group trying to inprove job opportunities for Negroes, said he was making the appeal to the construction unions as a member of that committee.

"We may have overlooked the fact that we can strengthen our unions by admitting more Negroes," he said. "I don't know of unions that do discriminate, but if Negroes feel that they are being excluded, it's our responsibility to improve their opportunities. I think it's time we did something about the problem."

Mr. Van Arsdale also urged that efforts to increase voter registration be intensified. He said most of those who did not vote were of the lower-income groups. He stressed these potential voters would oppose Senator Barry Goldwater, whom he described as "a very reckless fellow" and an enemy of organized labor.

Another speaker who urged increased union membership for Negroes was Walter Colleran, lawyer for the council. Mr. Colleran said that although many of the construction unions had Negroes there were "some pockets" among them that had none.

"Changes are going to have to be made," he said. "Unions without Negroes will have to admit some. It will be a good thing for all of us when this happens."

# VIRGINIA GOVERNOR TO VETO JOB CORPS

YORKTOWN, Va., Aug. 29 (UPI)—Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. assured residents of this historic community today that he would veto any local antipoverty project not acceptable to them.

Russell Carneal, a Virginia legislator, met with the Governor at nearby colonial Williamsburg to discuss the furor that has developed since the Federal Government announced it wanted to set up a job corps camp in a national park here.

"I will veto any part of this program where the local community objects," the Governor said.

"Then I'd say the outlook for having a camp in York County is dim," Mr. Carneal declared.

Residents of Yorktown, where the last battle of the American Revolution was fought, fear impoverished youths, including Negroes, brought into the camp would roam the community when their day's work was done.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps, was advised of objections by local residents. He said they were "grossly misinformed about the job corps.

"Job corps camps will not be composed of all Negroes or all Spanish-speaking Americans, or of all rural white or of all anything else," he said, adding:

"Every member will be carefully screened and will be the kind of American that could be welcomed in the United States. Every boy will be supervised, trained, and counselled by some of the most talented men from the National Park Service, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and similar agencies."

### Racist Closes Restaurant

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Aug. 29 (UPI) — James H. Whitson, a local restaurant owner, has closed his business in preference to serving Negro as well as white customers. He explained that he thinks the government has no right to tell him whom he must serve. The city had a public accommodations ordinance in effect 10 months before Congress enacted the Federal Civil Rights Act. A case is pending in the Kentucky Court of Appeals against Mr. Whitson, charging him with violation of the city ordinance.

# SPECIAL REPORT

**SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL**
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

037

# C H A R L O T T E

BY

PAT WATTERS

May, 1964

POPULATION

| | 1950 | | 1960 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Charlotte | Mecklenburg County* | Charlotte | Mecklenburg County* |
| Total | 134,042 | 197,052 | 201,564 | 272,111 |
| Negro | 17,587 | 23,769 | 57,059 | 66,761 |
| Percent, Negro | 28 | 25.4 | 28 | 24 |

This is an effort to tell of the progress Charlotte has made in race relations. It is confined to the accounts and views of those who participated in the progress, the leaders and people of Charlotte. In brief, these people tell what happened, how it happened, why it happened, what the situation is now, and what is the outlook for the future. How the people directly involved view these things seems to us an important dimension of what actually has and will take place.

The City Hall of Charlotte covers a square block on East Trade Street, in an area of the downtown devoted to

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*The metropolitan area of Charlotte comprises all of Mecklenburg County.

government buildings (the massive Mecklenburg County Courthouse is on the next square block), an urban renewal project clearing out a Negro slum called Brooklyn which had been regarded for many years as the city's worst, and a few blocks of small businesses, including a fish and oyster market, and pawn shops, one featuring in a window a gold-framed, tinted photograph of the late John F. Kennedy for $7.50. A little farther on, beyond a railroad overpass, East Trade joins Tryon Street at the "square," the shopping and business and financial center of the city. Here, the white-glinting Wachovia Bank Building dominates a grouping of old and new skyscrapers which, along with dressed-up windows of the smartest shops, invoke the mood and tempo of the standard American city. (A planning consultant's firm warns that despite its strengths, the downtown needs more attractions, high-rise apartments, better parking to avoid debilitation from surburban shopping center competition.) A fine planting of old and city-blackened trees are on the lawn of the big, concrete city hall, with its massive round columns, and in some of the trees there are bird-houses. One of the first things that stands out when you enter the high-ceilinged, wide-hall main floor of this southern city hall is a young Negro woman among the clerical staff of the Water Department,

seated behind the bill-payment counter. (In another government building across the street, a Negro man asks where is the welfare department, facing a sign, "Entrance--Welfare Department.")

It is here amid the typical trappings of the seat of municipal political power, including the grimly painted police department with its grisly display of burglar tools in a glass case, and the pastel-tinted, sunshine-lit offices of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Education Department, that a study like this begins. From here, like the dozen of intersecting and right angling streets that form patterns and squares and rectangles off the main arteries of downtown, the story moves out of the city. It moves to the big office buildings, the offices of Negro professionals the fashionable homes of civic leaders, a noise-surrounded slum, the city rooms of newspapers, with tempting sidetrails off into the legend of Daddy Grace and W. J. Cash, and into the living legend of the cluttered office of Harry Golden, into banks, stores, restaurants, the omnipotent Chamber of Commerce, Negro funeral homes, churches, all of these interconnected and influencing one another, like criss-crossings of streets.

On the second floor of City Hall in an old-fashioned office with modern design furniture, Mayor Stan R. Brookshire, dapper in a business suit and richly polished loafers, a man of medium height with graying blond hair, heavy-rim

glasses tinted faintly blue, talked easily, genially, carefully.

It was, he said, a combination of "social consciousness, civic pride, and economic considerations" which moved Charlotte in the Spring and early Summer of 1963 to desegregate voluntarily its leading hotels and motels, "90% of its restaurants," and its first class movie theatres.

(Previously, the city had desegregated its auditorium and coliseum, lunch counters, its schools, library, buses, bus drivers, police department, parks and their swimming pools, community services, Medical Association, to some extent its colleges and hospitals, and its ministerial association.)

Mayor Brookshire told of how a new wave of demonstrations in the Spring of 1963 was sweeping through other North Carolina cities, "terrifically embarrassing those cities," and how negotiations were underway on desegregation of Charlotte's public accommodations. Owners were all "a little afraid to move independently," fearing economic repercussions. Then he recalled the proud story, familiar to all Charlotte, of what happened next.

The mayor and J. Ed Burnside, Sr., wealthy small-loans financier, then president of the 4,500 member, vigorous Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, had a talk on Sunday, May 19.

They agreed to call the Executive Committee of the Chamber together to see what could be done about the danger of a demonstration crisis. Eleven of the 15 members of the committee were present for the meeting. Mr. Burnside asked what they thought should be done. A motion was made and passed unanimously, and the next day the Chamber's board of directors, 24 of the 39 members, was confronted with a one-sentence resolution: "We, the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all business in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color." It was passed unanimously. Expression of dissent was encouraged; none came.

Then there were meetings with the owners of the segregated accommodations. "We wanted them to know that the business leadership of this community felt that this was the right thing to do," Chamber Executive Vice President Charles Crawford was quoted as saying, in a behind-the-scenes story in the Charlotte Observer by City Editor L. M. Wright, Jr.

Desegregation followed: first, the hotels and motels; then the restaurants; then the theatres. Reluctance of many restaurant owners was overcome when one of them suggested that the Chamber officials bring the first Negroes to lunch or dinner as guests in a staged "trial" desegregation. This was done, with arrangements for these

public appearances made by the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, a bi-racial organization to improve race relations. White and Negro leaders who participated in these impressive, staged desegregation dinners recalled them with pride, and a certain amount of awe. "A few people glanced up, then went on eating. There was no trouble," said Mr. Burnside of his party's entrance into a hotel dining room.

The mayor's Committee also organized test attendance by selected Negroes for the first desegregation of movies. For some reason, there was a good deal of concern built up in Charlotte over the emotional impact of Negroes being seated there in the dark of the movie theatres, a fear that in this city, which had already desegregated its swimming pools without incident, white reaction would be strong. It failed to materialize. "We saw a lot of terrible movies," said a Negro who participated.

Mr. Wright's story summed up the situation thus: "Charlotte chose a different way. In Birmingham, hundreds were marching in the streets. Closer to home, protesters sat all day in the mayor's office in Greensboro, and were carried out by police when the time came to close the office for the day. In Raleigh and Durham they marched, and they were arrested. In Wilmington, in Fayetteville, in Lexington, they protested. But Charlotte chose a different way..."

That Mayor Brookshire played a key role in what happened and in creating a climate in which it might happen is generally agreed upon in Charlotte. The turning point for Charlotte, according to Charles M. Lowe, another prominent businessman who is chairman of the county commission, began at a meeting of the Chamber's Executive Board "six or seven years ago." Mr. Lowe, active in the Charlotte Council on Human Relations and considered a liberal on race, had received permission to appeal to members of the Executive Board for merit employment. He said he knew that privately all there agreed with him. But Mr. Brookshire, a sales engineer who grew up in the small North Carolina town of Troutman, was the only man there who got up and said so publicly. So when Mr. Brookshire was elected mayor, said Mr. Lowe, and with his friend Ed Burnside at the head of the Chamber, he felt assured of good things for Charlotte.

"The mayor and Burnside did it," said Mr. Lowe, "People thought they were such fine men they would not lead them astray."

Mayor Brookshire handed over a story about his receiving the silver medallion of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on 1964 Brotherhood Day. It told of his gradual realization after the Supreme Court decision on schools that racial discrimination was unchristian and unjust. Mayor Brookshire cited the circumstances of his

election for a first term in 1961 as an important key to what he has been able to achieve. He did not receive the support of the majority of Negro voters. This went instead to a woman candidate, Mrs. Martha Evans, who had long been outspoken in support of liberal causes, including Negro concerns. Mr. Brookshire, who had been chairman of the United Appeal in 1956, head of United Community Services in 1957, president of the Chamber in 1960, was an accepted part of the business "power structure." He conceded that his decision to run in 1960 had "tie ins" with businessmen's doubts about other candidates, including Mrs. Evans.

The lack of Negro support, he said, enabled him to act on race relations without unfair political interpretations. He had "no commitments" to the Negro vote; he could act "in the best interests of all citizens."

The second time he ran, in the Spring of 1963, he had the Negro vote. Probably one of the most revealing facts about Charlotte's general frame of mind is that, despite Mr. Brookshire's record on race, and despite the fact that the build-up to a showdown on public accommodations had begun, race was not an issue, was not mentioned during the campaigning.

The astonishing and heartening reaction to the desegregation breakthrough was described by Mayor Brookshire. (He pointed out -- and all others agreed -- that there is no

organized segregationist movement in Charlotte and no vocal segregationist leader.) There were only a few local telephone calls and letters of protest. There was national acclaim, even international, with radio Free Europe and Voice of America doing special programs on the achievement, and write-ups in national magazines. Conventions have increased, and new industries have come in, as a result of the action, he said and, most importantly, the people of Charlotte responded with cooperation and pride.

Things, he said, have worked out splendidly at the desegregated facilities. There is a general feeling that Negroes wanted the rights more than they wanted to take advantage of using them. There had been recently, in February 1964, trouble at a few restaurants still holding out. The most notable of these were high-toned, supper clubbish places, nine in all, and all with Greek owners. There were various theories in Charlotte as to reasons for their reluctance, including one that they feared resultant prejudice against themselves. City Editor Wright in an interview said most had been about to go along in 1963, but they had got together at a Greek wedding on the weekend before a decision had to be made, and among themselves agreed to hold out. A sit-in had occurred in February at a recently opened place, the

House of Beef. When the owner turned the sit-ins away, all his Negro help quietly walked out. Mayor Brookshire expressed confidence it would all be cleared up through communication. "If we can keep the confidence of one another," he said, "we are in good position to handle problems intelligently, a good position for racial accord."

The likeliest future trouble spots, he said, will be in contacts among individuals. "People get excited." (A cursory reading of news stories over the past ten years shows an occasional burst of raw violence among individual Negroes and whites in Charlotte -- fist fights, rock throwing, even shootings. These seem isolated, unconnected with any desegregation development of the moment.)

"Our Negroes," Mayor Brookshire also said, "in Charlotte take considerable pride in their own race... They prefer their own churches. There is no effort to cross to white churches... They have some fine neighborhoods, and are anxious to preserve their quality."

On jobs, the mayor said, there are "more doors of opportunity open on merit basis than we can find Negro applicants for." Utilities, banks, the governments, he said, were actively seeking qualified Negro clerical help. He spoke with pride of Negro police and of the Negro employe of the water department "in plain view."

He talked of the Mayor's Community Relations Committee as the largest factor in continued good race relations. When he came into the office, there was a mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, appointed by his predecessor during the original sit-ins of 1960. It had been dormant since then, and, in Mayor Brookshire's terms, was largely a thing "to put out fires." He "reconstructed" it for "productive efforts to correct causes of trouble."

Asked what the city had learned from its experience with such a committee, Mayor Brookshire said the most important lesson had been the necessity that all negotiations be in good faith. There has to be "understanding, good will, and cooperation." This can create the necessary climate in which progress can "be made, accepted, and supported." The other important thing learned, he said, is that race relations is a matter of dealing with people. "When Negroes approach with militancy and threats, it is a matter of saying to them: 'Look, we can't fight and cooperate... Which do you want to do?'"

Behind all the recent progress, the mayor said, has been the previous record of the city. "We got past many problems early that are still bothering other communities."

Why? "It is probably just a willingness of this community to be more progressive, to accede to reasonable requests," said Mayor Brookshire. At another point, he conceded that "to be basically honest," he would have to

say that the city had not moved on any recent racial progress "without threat."

What of the future? The mayor handed over two of his recent speeches. The following quotations from them typify the spirit and the approach of the mayor of Charlotte:

> Two hundred new manufacturing concerns, 900 new retail and service outlets and 450 new wholesale firms, together with growth and expansion of old firms, have provided 55,000 new jobs in Charlotte which we did not have 15 years ago.
>
> Total employment in Charlotte now stands at 135,000, producing an annual payroll of more than 400 million dollars. It is interesting to note that 17,000 people from surrounding counties commute to Charlotte to work...
>
> Charlotte's retail business comes to 350 million dollars per year and our wholesale sales exceed two billion dollars annually, representing an increase of 75% during the past 15 years... More than 36,000 new dwelling units have been built in Charlotte in the past 15 years.
>
> Charlotte is a regional city, populous, prosperous, and progressive, with a proud past and a promising future, enhanced by the trend towards urbanization, occupying a strategic geographic position almost in the center of the two Carolinas, midway between the mountains and the seashore, and equa-distant between Richmond and Atlanta... At our present explosive growth rate we should have near one-half million by 1980, and perhaps a million by the end of the century...
>
> * * *
>
> The current movement of Negroes to secure equal citizenship rights and opportunities is just, and by the same token, discrimination based on ethnic differences is wrong -- both morally and legally...
>
> Although current racial problems are national in scope, each and every community must face them

and seek to find its own solutions...

The best approach is through bi-racial cooperation, with an involvement of total leadership, both white and Negro...

Progress is limited to the speed with which attitudes can be changed and voluntary cooperation can be gained...

The overall problem of racial conflict can be converted to an opportunity of raising the level of citizenship and building better communities, by making more of our citizens self-respecting, self-supporting and responsible members of society, thereby attacking many of our civic problems of poverty, slums and crimes...

Many hundreds of community agencies in Charlotte, most prominent of which is our Chamber of Commerce, through strong leadership, are making contributions to the on-going of our city and region.

Tangible efforts to build a better city, and to meet the challenges of both present and future, can be seen in our programs of slum clearance, zoning, thoroughfare planning, expansion of city services, fiscal matters, race relations, and our attack on crime, delinquency and poverty.

(The mayor also handed over a copy of the Declaration of Independence of Mecklenburg County. It is dated May 20, 1775, a year before the one of all the colonies. Historians argue over its authenticity, but there seems to be no question at all that Charlotte is the place called by Lord Cornwallis during the Revolutionary War "a damned hornet's nest of insurrection." The Charlotte of the past immortalized this in its city seal, fastidiously omitting the "damned." Such local hall marks of American antiquity seem entirely left out of the consciousness of the new

Charlotte with its glass and brick skyscrapers, its regional headquarters and financial centers, and its movement of industry toward chemistry and computers. The ancient cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church occupies a square block in the center of the business district, but many of its old headstones are toppled and broken. The church, built in 1832, rebuilt in 1894, occupies the adjoining square block, sending a thin spire fragilely up among the skyscrapers. The first settlers came in 1748; "Charlotte town" was chartered in 1768; it knew a gold rush in the 1890's, with a federal mint established (now an art museum); it knew plantations before the Civil War, the last meeting of Jefferson Davis's Confederate Cabinet, and cotton mills as its main industry until relatively recently.

Like nearly everyone in Charlotte, Mayor Brookshire had his own version of the immediate events leading up to the big desegregation breakthrough in 1963. (Everyone agreed on what happened in public. Disagreement was on such matters as motive.)

Said Mayor Brookshire: through the Mayor's Committee there had been a tentative agreement in early Spring of 1963 for desegregation of hotels and motels during the International Trade Fair (another of the civic feathers Charlotte had plucked for its hat). But when the fair was over, things reverted to segregation as usual. Negroes,

mainly the student protest movement at Johnson C. Smith University, were threatening to picket. But "there was not a single demonstration in Charlotte last year." The only thing approaching one was the holding of services on May 20 by Negroes at the courthouse in honor of Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence Day. Not it, but the pressure and the events across the rest of the South prompted the action by the Chamber of Commerce.

Many things about Charlotte's past, present and future can be seen by comparing the mayor's version of 1963 with that of Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, a Negro dentist and ordained Presbyterian minister. The name of Dr. Hawkins inevitably comes up in a discussion of Charlotte race relations. He is either condemned as a hot-head (and highly effective) stirrer of trouble, or praised as the most effective of Negro leaders, responsible for most progress. Interestingly, the praise more often comes from white liberals than Negro leaders.

Here is how Dr. Hawkins, in an office of his modern glass brick clinic across town (with stylized African glass statuary on the waiting room walls), recalled the same events described by Mayor Brookshire.

Hotels, the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and others were asked by the Negroes before the 1963 Trade Fair began to consider desegregation. They gave a "wavering response."

In April, there was a "dry run" on the Johnson C. Smith campus of a demonstration for possible staging during the fair to embarrass the many national and foreign dignitaries expected. Governor Sanford, said Dr. Hawkins, asked for a delay of the demonstration; "he felt he could get the power structure to move." So, Dr. Hawkins said, he went before the students and asked them to delay a demonstration planned for a Saturday a week before the Trade Fair was to open. He said he gave the city leaders an ultimatum that the demonstration would occur the following Saturday unless desegregation occurred by Thursday. Eight hotels and motels, he said, agreed but they wanted anonymity. They were tested during the Trade Fair, but nearly all, he said, denied being desegregated.

Plans were underway to attempt to swear out warrants under an old innkeeper's law of North Carolina requiring service by hotels to all seeking it. Then came Birmingham, and, in the midst of its atmosphere, the March on the Declaration of Independence Day (May 20). Dr. Hawkins said that at the time, city leaders were "threatened" with a march of 10,000 later in the month when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would be in the city to speak at the Johnson C. Smith Commencement, unless desegregation had occurred by then. He also claimed that the Chamber of Commerce resolution had been written before May 20, with his participation in drawing it up.

"They are lying when they say that they did it all on their own," he declared. He said "they" were angry about being forced to act, until praise from the rest of the country poured in. "Then they dehumanized me -- said they did it in spite of me."

He also said: "Everything that's been done, I've had a hand in forcing... everything that they praise themselves for. They give no credit to me. It's the old pattern of dehumanization."

Dr. Hawkins said he considered his civil rights work in Charlotte a mission of his ministry and expressed the hope that by the time he is 50, in 14 years, he can be retired from both dentistry and civil rights and become an overseas missionary, perhaps in Africa or Latin America.

A native of Charlotte, he graduated from Johnson C. Smith, and went on to Howard College for the D.D.S. degree. He served in World War II and the Korean War, and during this military experience -- partly out of the influence of a Jewish roommate who used to discuss religion with him -- came his strong turn to religion. He went back to Johnson C. Smith and earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree. He is active in Presbyterian Church work, including its regional race relations organization. He also holds an honorary LL.D. from Johnson C. Smith.

"We will keep at it in Charlotte," Dr. Hawkins said, "until we get an open society. This is the human approach;

it includes all the people. They [the white leaders] don't like to be coerced, but they are happy afterward. Then there is reconciliation." He also said: "I was the first ever to challenge them and beat them. There were vicious reprisals... But now they are coming around because I've built up political power." He said he had organized enough Negro voters to "swing any election."*

Dr. Hawkins conceded that in the recent past "we have had success in Charlotte. We can tell of breakthroughs in every area..."

He said that he had used "administrative procedures" to force desegregation, as far as it had gotten, at Memorial Hospital through pressure from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

He said he had protested voter registration hours, including none at night or on Sundays and holidays, and what he termed the firing of registrars he had gotten to take registration on holidays. He said he had caused an FBI investigation of such charges and of another that several thousand Negroes had been dropped from the voting lists because letters delivered to their registered address had been returned, they having moved elsewhere in the city. He said he had filed a suit to desegregate the local Dental Society, not winning the suit but forcing the society to give up appointive powers to state boards.

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*According to May 1964 estimates, there are approximately 15,000 Negro voters in Mecklenburg County, equalling about 15% of the total electorate.

He said he had warned against establishment of two segregated city colleges; the previously all-white one is now desegregated and the Negro one down to 66 day students. And he said he has written housing officials concerning desegregation of public housing.

The problems, he said, are all interwoven. In politics, schools, housing, hospitals, the YMCA, even professional societies, the people he has to deal with are the same.

Charlotte, Dr. Hawkins said, is presently a dangerous city, "more immoral than Birmingham." He said breakthrough come under pressure only, and then it's back to business as usual. Like the others, he listed as major problems, unemployment, housing, and schools.

Charlotte, he said, is as ripe for a campaign against tokenism as were Atlanta and Chapel Hill, scenes of protest demonstrations at the time of the interview. "We don't want," he said, "these other cities like Jackson, Birmingham and the cities in eastern North Carolina to become like this one."

His understanding of the mood of the white community was that it would budge no more in any area unless forced by him.

Then he outlined his "new approach" for making the white community budge. He said it was through the

"administrative procedure" approach he had used on hospitals. ("Demonstrations can take many forms, like bringing in the federal government...") He said he had been studying federal government regulations back over 16 years, and he knew which agencies could do what, and had access to them.

A crisis, he said, must be provoked through demonstrations or administrative procedures. "Negotiation first is no good." He pointed to negotiations then underway on the Greek restaurants and an airport motel (on urban renewal land) as a result of the walk-out the previous week of kitchen help at one of the Greek restaurants. He said he engineered that.

"We've never had a demonstration siege here," he said. "And this approach has worked."

He said he didn't expect any violence in Charlotte, because of "mutual respect" of whites and Negroes. "They know I'm not violent... If we keep moving, there'll be no violence, but there must be no letting up."

As for the approach of the mayor's bi-racial committee (of which he is not a member): "Other Negro leaders have been won over... City Hall and the power structure want people who will say what they want to hear... They tried it on me -- honors and all. But they haven't come to me with the American Dream -- equal opportunity, the right to vote, respect for my human dignity..."

"I am not satisfied with Charlotte as it is," said Dr. Hawkins. "I will not cooperate with an evil system."

"Woe to them," said Dr. Hawkins, quoting the prophet Amos, "who are at ease in Zion and to those who feel secure in the Mountain of Samaria."

The office of J. Ed Burnside in a new modernistic building which he owns, is quietly splendid, with plenty of shelves and space. One wall is decorated with beautifully done model automobiles, another with plaques and certificates honoring him, including an "Outstanding Community Service Award," and a "Man of the Year" award.

He said that the secret of what had happened in Charlotte was the extraordinary influence of the Chamber of Commerce. "Anything they back goes over."

As outgoing president, he had to appoint 51 committees involving every aspect of governmental and public life in the community. "Of all that I asked to serve as chairman, only one refused and he had a good excuse," said Mr. Burnside. "That's what makes it tick." Through efforts of previous presidents, said Mr. Burnside, the Chamber by the time he became president was the prestige organization of the city.

That's the thing that helped the mayor put it over, he said. "The prestige leaders took a stand."

He recalled that his own preacher, Dr. Carlyle Marney of the powerful Meyers Park Baptist Church, said, after watching the Chamber Board of Directors approve the desegregation resolution, "The Temple has moved downtown."

"He might be right," said Mr. Burnside. He emphasized the unanimity of business leadership in the action. At the executive committee meeting, "I brought up the question. I didn't tell where I stood." One man made the recommendation, the vote was unanimous, and a committee was appointed to draw up the desegregation resolution. It was approved unanimously the next day by the board of directors. "There was not a single vote of dissent. No one even suggested hesitation."

Reaction, he said, was almost universally favorable. Ninety per cent of the City Club membership congratulated him afterward, said it was the best thing he had ever done. (The City Club is the exclusive downtown luncheon club in Charlotte, with its own dining room, complete with a special roped-off "bull-pen" where members who come alone can find luncheon companions.) Hundreds of letters poured in from all over the country. New industries were attracted, including the Eastern Air Lines Computer Center, which -- given federal policies and attitudes -- probably couldn't have been without the race relations breakthrough, he said.

Through it all, though, Mr. Burnside said, it was emphasized that the move was made because it was morally right -- not for economic reasons.

Mr. Burnside echoed Mayor Brookshire in making another point. "I don't believe this is a church problem. It has to be solved downtown." A church, he said, is a group of people who combine because they like each other socially -- and he didn't mean that they are country clubs. In practice, there had been no trouble at Charlotte churches. Negroes had come to services, been seated and didn't return.

He told of attending a discussion with a Negro group, headed, "by a young man named Willie Davis." He was invited as the only white man into a Negro home to discuss race relations with a group of Negroes. "I told them there are many whites who have never seen a Negro Ph.D. There are many instances where white persons have told me, after meeting prominent Charlotte Negroes, "those are as nice people as I have ever seen." He said he went on to tell the Negro group "there is more segregation in your own race than between whites and Negroes..." He told them the story of how he had taken his own Negro chauffeur and yardman to the annual Chamber of Commerce dinner, and how this man had been snubbed by other Negroes ("big shots") at the table. (The Chamber of Commerce is desegregated, he pointed out, with 22 or 23 Negro members "with all privileges.")

Mr. Burnside told how he had been moved to action in behalf of better race relations. He spoke softly: "In Japan, I met a Japanese couple and their son. They wanted him to go to Duke. I agreed to sponsor him. When he got here, I had him over... took him to church with my family. Now his family had killed our American boys in the war, and here I was giving him benefits -- and I wasn't doing anything for the boy who is black..."

As for the future, Mr. Burnside said there is only one agitator in town, and that he has "no more than two per cent" of the Negro population in his following.

Negroes ought to be on the city council and the board of education, he said. One factor that has prevented it is in-fighting among leaders.

The gap between white and Negroes, said J. Ed Burnside, a self-made man, a South Carolinian who has, by his own words, "come a long way," in race relations and material success, can be overcome if all concerned will "shoulder their responsibilities."

"We must carry our part of the load."

The Chamber president who succeeded Mr. Burnside is John Belk, president of Belk Stores, headquartered in Charlotte, and operator of one of its largest department stores. He was less communicative, saying he preferred to be interviewed over the telephone.

He said the only problem in Charlotte was "colored people." In explanation: "The Lord made some white and some colored..."

Basically, he went on, the race problem is an economic problem... "It's like a man and his wife, something that will never get solved." But: "We have some real nice colored gentlemen to work with."

There are a lot of advantages Negroes never had which they deserve, Mr. Belk said. But there are some people who just want to cause trouble. With those not so motivated, he said, "we are willing to work for common goals." He said the Mayor's Committee is the agency "to put things across -- if the people want them..."

He said, too, he had met and talked with the Negro discussion group, from eight until midnight recently. "They think they would like to be white... They've made a lot of headway. But the offended brother is hard to heal... I don't see how he is offended..."

He complained of the many varieties of Negro leaders, mentioning the NAACP and CORE, and expressing relief that Charlotte didn't have as many Communists and "Moslems" as other towns... "We've got the best people in the country..."

He said civil rights had certainly become a big thing. "Politics is on a rat race with it. Education is on a rat

race with it. Charity is on a rat race with it. Religion is on a rat race with it. The solution is economic..." He gave charity as an example. "The whites are willing to help. But we'd like the colored race to help too... It takes time..."

Asked about the hope by Charlotte to receive money from the North Carolina Fund, an effort across the state to attack the roots of poverty, Mr. Belk said that the Bible says we will always have poverty. "It can't ever be eliminated." Shouldn't anyone try? "If we give up, we might as well be dead..."

Concern in Charlotte over race, Mr. Belk concluded, is a temporary thing. It will be shifted down. He described as the important things facing his Chamber administration, the development of regional planning for the Charlotte area, and the development of a university in Charlotte as part of the state university system. He discussed them at some length, and spoke also of efforts to bring the Metropolitan Opera to Charlotte for seven days.

In the middle of all Charlotte's race problems (and at the center of most of the interviews) is the Mayor's Committee on Community Relations. Charlotte's first bi-racial council was established during the sit-ins, in March 1960. It was called the Mayor's Friendly Relations

Committee. Mayor Brookshire changed its name and the membership and put it on a regular meeting basis, but he did not change the chairman. Having it headed by Dr. John R. Cunningham, distinguished former president of Davidson College, eminently respected and respectable, is considered a master stroke. At the dignified office, in the city's biggest building, of the Presbyterian Foundation, Inc., of which he is executive director, Dr. Cunningham, thin, gray, austerely genial, spoke the language and the accent of refinement which distinguished higher reaches of southern education and religion of a generation ago.

He had only recently moved to Charlotte, on retiring from Davidson after 16 years as president, when he was asked to head the Friendly Relations Committee. "I never dreamed it would be more than the lunch counter thing... It has come to be almost a half-time job... I never dreamed we would be facing up to a revolution."

He said he was very glad Charlotte had responded to the Mayor's foresight as it had. The chief duty of the committee had been to serve as a channel of communication. "A lot of problems are solved by this alone."

A fact sheet, which Dr. Cunningham wrote about the committee, lists 27 members -- one-third Negro, two-thirds white, representative of the population proportions. Members past or present have included, among whites, editors

of both papers, a member of City Council, two ministers, two doctors, a Douglas Aircraft official, three churchwomen; and among Negroes, two ministers, a banker, an undertaker, an insurance man, a doctor, a teacher, a professor's wife. (Dr. Cunningham said in the interview that extremists of either race were avoided.)

Subcommittees are on economic opportunities, housing, education, health, and crime... The Committee meets every second Tuesday "in the beautiful Board Room of the Duke Endowment." Dr. Cunningham wrote, "I would emphasize the importance of regular meetings. Even when there is no tension and when we have no special problem before us, we discover that meetings usually result in constructive proposals, reports on conditions locally or elsewhere and so forth. The committee has come to feel a bond of united concern and a warmth of personal relations which are great assets."

The fact sheet also praises Mayor Brookshire for his support, and his speaking and writing about better race relations. "Another very great advantage we have had has been the intelligent support of our two newspapers." It pointed out that at first the committee gave no publicity, but that later, as during the 1963 breakthrough, "it has been decidedly advantageous to be able to announce progress after a limited number of days of experimentation."

(Newspapers generally would chafe at holding off from such a story, even for a limited time to allow experimentation,

as the two Charlotte papers did when the Negro and white leaders were dining together to break segregation's ice at the restaurants. Asked about it, Observer City Editor Wright admitted some of his staff were disgruntled; Perry Morgan, managing editor of the News, claimed no one on his paper complained. A television station that tried to cover the event was told that if a camera were at a restaurant, the desegregation teams would not be, and the station would be responsible for blocking progress.)

"At the present time," Dr. Cunningham's fact sheet said, "practically all areas of the city's life are integrated at least in token form. We see no reason to question that, as the months come and go, the barriers of segregation will be gradually and fully removed. We have much to do in strengthening the Negro's position economically, educationally, politically and religiously...

"It is a tribute to the climate of our city and the quality of our citizenship that all these steps have been taken without a single incident of violence or public embarrassment." In the interview, Dr. Cunningham gave as an example of community response a statement by the president of a civic club to which he had described activities of the committee. "I'm from the Delta of Mississippi. But I believe all of what I heard today," the man said.

Dr. Cunningham acknowledged that "nothing is finally, completely desegregated," and that "we must make more

progress." He said the committee was working on the situation of the Greek restaurants. "Dr. Hawkins," he said, "furnishes us with splendid ammunition. He threatens and we use it" in negotiations. (Of Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Cunningham said: "He is such a difficult person. He has never recognized our committee in any way, form or fashion....")

Dr. Cunningham described what happened during the 1960 sit-ins. The committee worked from March to July for a breakthrough. The chain stores put it to the leading department stores, Ivy's and Belk's -- saying they would do whatever these local stores did. The two local stores were reluctant. Students met with them to put their position across -- the logic of demanding food where they were served in all other departments. Finally -- and Dr. Cunningham said unexpectedly -- he got a call asking him what would be the best day for the stores to desegregate lunch counters. He named a day.

"That was the beginning... Now in any area, as at a concert, people are used to it... we are not at the point where desegregation gets the ill will of the better citizen. They see what the community has gained the other way. People are over the fear of being called "nigger lover," now. Especially the younger people..."

He said a main problem is helping the Negro help himself and his own race. "They've talked about rights,

they must talk about their responsibilities. The Negro doesn't assume responsibility for his own people..."

As did nearly everyone, he listed main problems as education, jobs, housing. Of housing, he said the danger in urban renewal was that in closing out one slum, two or more were created. He described efforts to open jobs, and spoke of the difficulty in communicating opportunities. He told of speaking on the subject on television, and getting a phone call from a Negro job applicant before he left the studio.

As for the future: "What took place here with the Chamber of Commerce and the leadership is a real tribute... to all of them... We would have to have a complete turnabout of the climate of the whole community before the government or business would think in terms of turning back. They were so relieved we did not have a Little Rock or Jackson, that I can't imagine them turning back."

Dr. Cunningham's opinion was that the ministers had been a very strong influence. "Of our 27 members, if one of them is not a dedicated church member, I don't know it."

He handed over a stack of reproductions of all the minutes of committee meetings. They are a study in the slow but steadily effective work of such a group, and of its human processes of talking to one another and of discovery of one another and self, which may be its most important contribution.

"I took this job to serve my community," Dr. Cunningham said, "with some assurances of the support I would get. I've never thought of myself as an extremist. Maybe that's a reason I was asked to take it. I will do all that I think is right, but I hold to the practical. It can't all be done at one meeting or in one month... The committee is completely relaxed. Members can say anything they think. There is a spirit of utter good will..."

In all discussions, the Alexander brothers, Fred and Kelly, are described as important Negro leaders. Fred Alexander, a forceful man of middle age, balding, with heavy topped glasses, a thin moustache, talked late into the night about his city, his own life as the son of a Negro undertaker when few Negroes attained middle class. He talked of his people, and the problems past and future of Charlotte race relations. He is a member of the mayor's committee and a member of the county welfare board -- first Negro named to an appointive board. The interview was in the den of his large, modern, tastefully expensive and beautifully furnished home in a Negro suburb on the western outskirts of Charlotte.

"We've had some progress," he said. "We've moved because a fairminded group of whites -- or one or two -- were convinced not to let the situation fall in on them."

The election of Mayor Brookshire was the first move, Fred Alexander said. A change in the Chamber of Commerce attitude was the next. It was a combination of these things that allowed sitting down and talking about problems and trying to avoid disaster.

He praised Mayor Brookshire, his willingness to be helpful and give leadership, "his going into the neighborhoods and hinterlands preaching this philosophy."

You've got to talk to businessmen across the board, said Fred Alexander. "Some feel the scare technique will work. I was born and brought up here. I've seen the rough days. It's stupid to think you can scare people who build 50-story buildings. You can be a nuisance. But you can no more scare them than you can come in my house and scare me. It's a matter of whether I want to listen to you and see if there is sense in what you say." He continued:

"If it had been fear alone, Charlotte would be in the throes of a demonstration still. The willingness of the power structure and the mayor to sit down and talk was the key thing -- the ability to find Negroes and whites willing to see if the conference approach would work.

"The Mayor's Committee is not a committee of handkerchief heads. I'm in the NAACP. My brother is on the board, and state chairman. We don't sit around and

make it easy for everybody. We say what we think." He said white membership was also "top flight." The committee has been the first means by which such men would sit down and talk with Negroes. "You can't get anywhere dealing with the poor white man. He's just like the Negro -- struggling."

Fred Alexander described the first year of the committee as a cat and mouse game. What did it accomplish? "The fact that Negroes and whites sat down together and stayed together twelve months was an accomplishment."

He said the committee members learned not to be afraid of each other, and that this opened doors that otherwise would have been closed. "So--we got the eating places." He said the committee counts 98 of them open to Negroes, but there had been no recent recheck to see if all were remaining open. "We have the major ones. We have enough so that Negroes don't have to wonder."

He said that talks on restaurants began about a year before the 1963 breakthrough. These were "feelers through individuals -- one or two contacts."

He said there are some "fringe places" still closed. "It's a waste of time to battle them. You could spend that time on something worthwhile."

The Mayor's Committee, he said, could handle the situation of the Greek restaurants. "The other element

wants the knockdown way. Give us a chance to officially confront them... Then, if that doesn't work, I say let's organize a demonstration of the first rank. Not a hit and run thing... just to get somebody's name in the paper... and cause foolish talk. You can't do that /have a first rank demonstration/ if all you want is flapjack publicity... 'I did this and I did that...'

"The community battle of status," he continued, "goes right along with the battle of human rights. You can't control it. It's part of the mores of Negro development. You can't wipe it out. You will find it in every community."

Dissension and lack of a broad base of leadership is the cause of the Charlotte Negro's ineffectiveness in politics, he said. The Negro vote is not organized, not cohesive. He denied there were any bars to registration. "It's lack of interest in doing the most important thing the Negro can do... You can't feel politics in the palm of your hand. We must teach the Negro what politics can do." White politicians are naive, he added. A professional slickster could easily take over.

Asked at one point whether the Mayor's Committee wasn't an excellent place to get rid of anger, Fred Alexander talked at greath length on how personally he had long ago rid himself of all anger in dealing with white people, and of what a struggle it had been. "When I want to disarm an opponent," he said, "the first thing

I do is needle him and make him mad. He blows up. I let him have it...

"I move in relation to my white bretheren with steps of caution... Not with anger or righteous indignation." At another point, he said: "Some may say nothing has been accomplished here. I say something has been accomplished in Charlotte. Why use a fist when words will do it? I exterminate you just the same... The fist penalizes me and nothing is accomplished. When I break your neck with words, I deflate you and get some response from you... This isn't an overnight process or tomorrow overnight... I, as a Negro, am chafing at the bit. But I can't kill this chicken that is laying the golden egg. I've got to get a lot more eggs... I'm not saying they've done all they should do. But we're making progress..."

He criticized the multiplicity of Negro organizations. "If you've got to have noise for existence, your effectiveness is gone." Referring back to the Trade Fair negotiations on hotels, he said, "The hotels were almost crystallized... This was almost blown up in a minute by the actions of another group. We were trying to do it quietly... We were able to smooth it out."

Then he addressed himself to the overall white leadership. "The leadership is always smart enough to ease up the pressure before something happens. This is the worst kind... We'd be better off if we were where we could see it

and battle it, instead of having to look for it, hunt it before we hit it."

Negroes from surrounding areas move to Charlotte, he said, thinking it is a mecca. "There is comparatively little police brutality. The man from the country can stand on the streets at night. There are no bad raids on juke joints. Nobody's going to snatch his beer and hit him with a blackjack. He's in heaven."

The city, he said, has "no big labor problems." Asked if he didn't think unionization might help in the race struggle, he said scornfully that labor unions offer little or nothing in the struggle for Negro rights in the South, not even membership.

He described Charlotte's emergence as a financial and distribution center, with increasing white collar influence, and said that "if progress in human relations is to be made in North Carolina it is fit and proper that it be made in Charlotte."

"But," he went on, "we are yet to make a dent in employment, in segregated housing and schools."

He said the effect of current urban renewal efforts and other forces was to herd Negroes together in separate housing areas as never before, and that this in turn reinforced segregation of schools. Negroes, he said, couldn't afford financially to attempt to move into a stable white

neighborhood. Blockbusting occurs with little tension, he said, in transitional areas. He said the center city was increasingly Negro, and criticized a Salvation Army plan to close a mission in a previously all-white area when there were now many Negro families within sight of its doorstep desperately in need of its help.

Housing and jobs, said Fred Alexander, would be the last-ditch battles. "It's the old social bugaboo... If you live and work together, then you'll be sleeping together..."

As for employment, "there are one or two Negroes hither and there where there were whites, as in the water department. This is too slow." It's not enough for the needed change of the image of the Negro. He needs to be able to aspire to more than the professions of preacher or doctor or school teacher or lawyer. "If we're going to be successful in directing kids to the right schools, they must see Negroes in the right jobs.

"This is a problem for the Mayor's Committee to wrestle with. I told them, 'You've got to stop talking about whether there are qualified Negroes. How are you going to find qualified Negroes when a whole generation of Negroes grows up without aspirations?'"

He said he was for reverse segregation - "put Negro boys and girls in a job over the white boy and girl... a Negro must be on front of a bank just because he is a Negro--

so other Negroes can see this...and be inspired."

What would the Mayor's Committee think of this? "They are willing to think. They haven't been hurt by what has happened so far... Talk and think... It's not as fast as I want... but I'm willing to work for it... to keep bringing it up."

Fred Alexander told how the Chamber of Commerce happened to be desegregated, he having been the first of the initial group to be signed up. "They wanted Dean Rusk to be speaker at the 1962 Annual Meeting, so they invited us to join..." He told how the Chamber of Commerce officials elaborately and tactfully arranged that Negro members would be seated with white members friendly to their cause at the first annual banquet they attended.

Then, with feeling, he tried, as a background for understanding dissension among Negro leaders, to explain some of the psychological grounding of growing up in the culture he has known in Charlotte. He talked of the deliberate patterns in slavery time whereby the white owner of slaves convinced those he owned that they were the best slaves, and all others were of no account, and of the continued tradition of whites convincing Negroes who work for them to turn to them, the whites, for all assistance, and depreciating any efforts by Negroes to help themselves or each other. He described the effect upon himself and his brother of growing up in a home owned by their parents, with "no white rent man" at the door, and of having parents

not employed by whites... "I grew up independent..."

He told of his efforts to help other Negroes in Charlotte to know the freeing influence of owning a home, his encouragement of a white contractor to be the first to build Negro homes, and sell them at a low margin of profit. (Now, he said, since that contractor got rich, any contractor in Charlotte is glad to build Negro homes.) The children of these people, he said, have a chance to grow up without a white-induced inferiority complex. (His business is housing. He is manager of a Negro apartment project whose construction he also encouraged as the predecessor to the private homes.)

Fred Alexander also described the base of Negro leadership in Charlotte as being extremely narrow. He said there were just not enough men with money and education to get things done, compared with such a southern city as Atlanta. He said lack of money prevented attraction of any great Negro preachers, explaining the absence generally of preachers among the leadership. He said educators tended to be concerned only with their schools. Summing up, he said: "Jobs and housing and education -- these are the keys. Our doom is sealed without them."

And: "Much depends on how long we can keep in office the type of men we have now..." (He included as very important the chairman of the county commission, Charles Lowe.)

And: "The North Carolina Fund will help too. All poverty is wrapped up in segregation and ignorance... for whites and Negroes... It transcends race."

And: "If adult Negroes ever go into the streets here, something bad is going to happen. So this should be the very last resort..."

He returned once more to the question of anger. He told of how his daughter at the age of eleven, home from a northern, integrated situation, chided him about not taking her to the airport park. She said she knew why he kept putting her off. "I don't believe," she told him, "that I like white people down here." That, said Fred Alexander, was when he had to talk strongly and truly to her. "I don't want her to grow up with any feeling of hate in her."

He also said this of his dealings with whites on the Mayor's Committee and otherwise in Charlotte affairs: "I know that they too are fighting their consciences, as I fight mine to maintain feelings of strength in belief of the goodness of their motivation..."

Fred Alexander has described himself and his brother as sort of a team. His brother, Kelly, he said, as an NAACP official was regarded by some as a radical, wasn't a member of such things as the Mayor's Committee. Those who didn't want to talk with Kelly, he said, could just come to

see him and vice versa. In an office of the family funeral home, which he now runs, Kelly Alexander, darker, with a heavier moustache, talked rapidly, directly, organizing his thoughts carefully.

To understand progress in recent years, he said, required knowledge of the historical background for it, and this required knowing that until a few years ago the NAACP was "the only voice crying in the wilderness." He went on to outline NAACP involvement in getting Negro police, golf course desegregation, other recreational facilities, including swimming pools (which to date have never been much used by Negroes), voter registration, desegregation of the Democratic Party on the precinct level, and Negroes on policy making boards. He described his own two races for the city commission, claiming that whites pitted Negro opposition against him to split the Negro vote.

He described an NAACP survey of educational needs in 1947 which in effect demanded really equal separate schooling. After the 1954 school decision, the NAACP, he said, spearheaded efforts to desegregate schools. This came in 1957 in coordination with desegregation in Greensboro and Winston Salem.

He depreciated the effect of threatened demonstrations on the 1963 breakthrough, saying the real cause was the first

election of Mayor Brookshire which he said was done with the help of the NAACP. He also praised the Mayor's Committee.

The NAACP program for the year, he said, includes objectives of electing Negroes to public office, "from the legislature down," particularly the school board, and increasing and expanding desegregation. The program also includes integration of public housing. Its objectives in terms of equal job opportunities is the closing of the educational gap -- following, said Kelly Alexander, the recommendations of the NAACP study of 1947. There is also a need to motivate and stimulate Negro youngsters into new skills, and continuing a battle to open new jobs.

Negroes already hold such jobs as telephone operators, bank blue and white collar workers, postmen, and higher and maintenance positions at Douglas Aircraft. There have been some in-roads in textile mills. (A notable addition to Charlotte banking was the opening in 1963 of a branch of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, first such Negro-owned institution in the city. At dedication services, Lorimer D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta, a Negro-owned institution, declared: "Where there are no active banks there are no rights except the right to spend... The do-gooders don't get the job done. Politicians understand only money and power and they have to have one to get the other...")

Kelly Alexander said the attitude of the administration of Governor Terry Sanford had been important in Charlotte's achievements. He said Governor Sanford understood that the state could gain only by improving the status of Negroes.

About dissension among Negro leaders, he said: "I don't have to do things at my age some people seem to think they have to do." Differences, he said, are only on technique and strategy. "We are in the minority," he said. "We must have allies." And:

"I understand what it means for a white man to come to the point where he says he will do something. My long experience in civil rights makes me appreciate a mayor like Mayor Brookshire..."

He said, he thought dissension among leaders did no more harm than fallings out that might occur between Senator Eastland and Rep. Smith of Virginia. "The difference is not sharp enough to throttle and impede the drive to freedom... My dedication to the NAACP would make me less than a leader if I didn't at all times seek to sell our position..." He said the NAACP had backed Dr. Hawkins's suit against the dental society even though he had resigned from the organization.

"There will never be a roadblock to keep any Negro from using the facilities of the NAACP to advance Negro rights..."

The buildup and background to the 1963 Charlotte breakthrough was discussed in passing by nearly everyone interviewed. Probably the most detail was given by Dr. Raymond Wheeler, a leader in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, whose activities he outlined.

With the strong leadership of the late Harry Jones, executive director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, he said, the Charlotte council was active and effective in a range of activities, from writing letters to the editor to making statements before any group that would listen. He mentioned the early effort by Mr. Lowe, a strong member, to get the Chamber of Commerce to take a position on open employment.

"The Council put people on the spot and was turned down time after time, but kept coming back."

Early desegregation in Charlotte included the library, the Medical Society, the recreation facilities, the auditorium and coliseum, the United Appeal, the Unitarian congregation, and (while barring Unitarians and Jews) the Ministerial Association.

Part of the atmosphere that contributed to the 1963 breakthrough harks back to the 1957 school desegregation, and guilt attached to it. Dorothy Geraldine Counts, 15-year-old daughter of a Johnson C. Smith professor and

minister, the Rev. Herman Counts, was one of three Negroes assigned to three schools. Hers was a tough one. Newspaper accounts of the time tell of a white woman in the crowd the first day when Miss Counts came to the white school, crying, "Spit on her, girls." They did -- when she entered and when she came out. Remarks were hurled and sticks thrown. "Dorothy Counts never lost her composure or her dignity. The whole thing could have been stopped by proper policing." She withdrew from the school.

The Council on Human Relations had tried to get the police department and the school board to act against the unruliness. This was unsuccessful. Then worldwide indignation over the treatment of the young woman poured into Charlotte. It was printed in the local papers. "There was a resolve it would never happen again," said Dr. Wheeler.

He cited long-running controversy over hospitals and city colleges as examples of Charlotte at its worst on race relations.

In 1955, a committee of white and Negro leaders was appointed as a social planning council to make recommendations on hospital needs. Outside consultants were brought in, and after careful study a report was rendered to the city council that hospital facilities for Negroes were wholly inadequate. In the main, these consisted of an

Episcopal Church-owned hospital, then called Good Samaritan. The report to the city council said it was in such poor shape it would be impossible to renovate. The report urged a bond issue to add 250-beds to the then all-white City Memorial Hospital to be operated on a non-discriminatory basis, and that Good Samaritan be closed as soon thereafter as possible.

The city council in effect pigeon-holed these recommendations until 1959. A bond issue was subsequently passed on the basis of the report, reflecting a community concern about standards of health care for both races. Negro leaders supported it on the supposition that the recommendations on Good Samaritan would be followed. Then, as the 250-bed wing of Memorial neared completion, a committee from the Hospital Authority, representing boards of both hospitals, appeared before city council -- at first suggesting that Good Samaritan be rebuilt at a cost of $1,500,000, then retreating in the face of community protest to a recommendation that it be refurbished at a cost of $800,000. This would be temporary -- while yet another 250-bed wing was added to Memorial. In the Spring of 1960, another bond issue was voted which was regarded as accepting this interim idea.

The renovation of Good Samaritan, however, was delayed, reasons including difficulties over spending bond funds on a church-owned institution. Then when construction began on the second wing at Memorial in 1962,

the plan for a virtually new building at Good Samaritan was revived by the Hospital Authority. Instead of $800,000, funds amounting to $1,300,000 were put into this. Matching funds from the federal government could not be had. Approval could not be obtained from the North Carolina Medical Care Commission which administers Hill-Burton funds. In its opinion, the hospital could not be brought up to minimum standards without unreasonable expenditure of funds. Some doctors, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, and, for the first time, the Charlotte Observer, protested. They pointed out that white doctors do not use the facility, Negro doctors do not have enough specialists among them to staff a hospital adequately, and that there are no accredited schools in the state to supply it with either Negro nurses or laboratory workers. Nevertheless, the construction went on, with the idea of keeping the facility (now called Charlotte Community Hospital and now theoretically but not in practice desegregated) going another ten or 20 years.

Memorial, meanwhile, is also, because of such pressures as inspections on specific details by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to some degree desegregated. Its clinics, including emergency clinics, are. But admissions are keyed to 75 or 85 beds on separate floors or wards for Negroes. Nearly all Negro indigent patients, their right

to be there and their bills assured, use Memorial, leaving other Negroes to wait or to go to the inadequate Charlotte Community Hospital. Its load has decreased, and to meet bills it has to keep going back to city council for more money. To date it has no full time radiologist or pathologist, and no anesthesiologist at all, and no prospect of getting any of them.

All of this, said Dr. Wheeler, indicates a long-range and deliberate effort, "brilliantly executed," over the years to keep a segregated, all-Negro hospital in the face of factual evidence that this is financially unwise and means second-rate medical care for Negroes. The result is to reserve the best medical care for white patients, when all might, as is their minimal due, have it.

A similar story emerges on the city's colleges. From 1944 to 1959, after they were dropped from the extension system of the University of North Carolina, Charlotte College for whites and Carver College for Negroes were operated by the city's board of education. They previously had met at night in high schools and their faculties were mostly from high schools. The white college changed to day classes and became accredited as a junior college. The Negro school continued with primarily a high school-parallel curriculum, with a few graduates going on to Negro colleges. In 1959, a board of trustees over both was formed, and a bond issue proposed to build a campus for each: $575,000

for the Negro institution, $1,375,000 for the white.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and others questioned the wisdom of voting money for separate schools when segregation was being abandoned in state institutions of higher learning. A letter to the board of trustees was unanswered; talks with members got nowhere; finally a letter to the editor of one of the papers was published. Members of the Council on Human Relations were told they were endangering the bond issue and the negotiations with the state legislature in Raleigh for state funds. It was hinted that if they would leave the matter alone, they would eventually get what they wanted, with the Negro campus turned over to the city for a high school.

When it was announced that the contracts had been let to build the Negro college, the Council on Human Relations, with Ernest Delaney serving as spokesman, led a group of citizens before the board of directors to protest the waste of money in obvious duplications. In reply to a board statement that the Negro community wanted the Negro school, they presented a petition with 1,000 names of Negro citizens protesting it.

They were accused of being more interested in social engineering than education, and told that they were falsely injecting a racial issue into the situation.

In 1961, contracts had been let to build both schools. A suit seeking to prevent this lost in state courts. One of the schools was still called Charlotte Community College, a liberal arts, junior college. The other was called Mecklenburg College, ostensibly a vocational training institution. They were called desegregated, and the rationale for building two was that they offered different programs. But investigation proved both to have identical curricula, the only difference in them being an all-white faculty at the one, all-Negro at the other, one located in a Negro area, with students from the one being sent to the white hospital when ill, and at the other to the Negro hospital.

By 1963, enrollment at Mecklenburg had dropped so low that classes were discontinued. Students were transferred to Central Piedmont Community College, a desegregated trade school, and the college, with 13 classrooms, an administration office, and a library stands empty. Charlotte Community College meanwhile has admitted Negro students, and in 1963, some $92,000 worth of renovations was ordered there.

The pattern of clinging to a Negro institution, changing its name, and calling it desegregated did not work here as with the hospital, but in the process another large amount of money was wasted.

Against this backdrop, Dr. Wheeler said progress in the future can come only by "more hard work and different approaches."

Dr. Rufus Perry, president of Johnson C. Smith, 1000-student liberal arts and divinity school, filled in another chapter of race relations background. He described how the sit-ins came to Charlotte three days after they started at Greensboro in 1960. He read about that historical first one on a Thursday, set a faculty meeting for the following Tuesday in anticipation of sit-ins spreading, like panty raids, to his campus. They reached there on Monday, the day before the faculty meeting. His reaction? "For 30 years I had been teaching human dignity, Christian living, and brotherhood... When these people went out to attain them, I couldn't say no." His only restriction, he said, was that academic standards be maintained.

He said rapport was excellent with the police and merchants during the sit-ins. (Others, including Dr. Sidney L. Freeman, pastor of the Unitarian Church, who led the few whites participating, confirmed this.) At that stage, students didn't particularly want to be arrested, he said. Only three of his students ever were -- and charges against two were dismissed.

He and others on campus received bomb threats and other abusive communication from whites. "We ignored it." The students also had considerable support, he said, from large segments of the white community, including many who withdrew charge accounts from stores being picketed. Despite warnings that Johnson C. Smith would lose financial support, the fund campaign of the year of the sit-ins was more successful locally than it had ever been.

Dr. Perry said he thought one generally overlooked factor in all the discussion of the student movement had been the role of the influence of Negro colleges over the years -- "the sound, wholesome training." He said the highest aspirations and ideals of the student movement were simply a dramatic expression of what had been "deep in the educational philosophy of most southern Negro colleges for the 90 to 95 years of their existence..."

(The dramatic success of the sit-ins still can be startling in retrospect, to see it leap out of old news clippings from the midst of years and years of delay and slowly inching progress in other areas of racial change. Sit-ins came to Charlotte on February 9. On February 20, students were served at one lunch counter. By July, most in downtown -- seven -- were desegregated.)

Dr. Perry said there was intermittent student activity on hotels and theatres from 1961 until the Mecklenburg

Independence Day march of the Spring of 1963. Dr. Hawkins, he said, was mostly on the sidelines -- lending his car, offering advice -- until 1962 when he became "highly vocal." Since then, he had emerged as "the most vocal" Negro leader. He expressed general support of him, but said he disagreed on Dr. Hawkins's charges about voting. "It's not encouraged, but if a Negro takes the initiative to register, he can with no trouble."

Of the 1963 breakthrough, he said: "It was the same thing that happens in any community. When the power structure speaks, all opposition gives way."

Like nearly everyone, he said the immediate problems are jobs, housing, and education. (He showed a signed postcard he had received that day, for whatever it might be worth in assessing the immediate mood. "Dear Mr. President," it said. "I want you and the mayor and Harry Golden to help us colored folks. They is pushing us around too much. Please come out in the newspapers of Charlotte that you is all behind us.")

His view of employment: there had been "tremendous response" among employers to appeals to hire Negroes. Yet for specialized jobs -- engineers, for example -- there were no qualified Negroes available. He blamed "years of deprivation." As an educator, he said he knew the difficulty of motivating students to train for jobs they knew they

could never get. Jobs requiring no more than a high school education -- clerical work, sales, lower-level managerial -- need opening up. "They complain of difficulty finding good clerical help. I know this is true. But it's not a racial problem. There has to be opportunity to train on the job. That's what is done -- white or Negro."

On housing, his school has applied for a $3,000,000 federal housing loan for a 300-unit low-income apartment. It will be non-segregated in policy. Until recently, he said, real estate people have succeeded in blocking most public housing.

He talked at length of overcrowding at Negro public schools, telling of the experience of his daughter in one of them. Her classes are small -- a rare thing -- because she is in a selected scholarship group, but she often misses lunch because the cafeteria is too crowded to get in.

He, too, saw the North Carolina Fund as a key factor in solving race problems of the future, and spoke of his own interest in research into the culture of poverty. With his Chamber of Commerce membership plaque on the wall behind him, he said the basic issue for the future was unity -- the concept of human rights and the fully integrated society.

Dr. Sidney L. Freeman at the Unitarian Church added these recollections of the sit-ins. They had extraordinary student leadership from Clyde Carter, Charles Jones, and Robert Gore. (The latter two have made names for themselves in national civil rights organizations since.)... Students would call police before a demonstration, in effect got an armed guard. Police maintained real order with great impartiality... The police chief then, named Jesse James, called Dr. Freeman in and expressed concern over "white ladies" getting involved with Negroes in the demonstrations. "He didn't urge against it, but he wanted me to be aware of the danger..."

Dr. Freeman, a transplanted Northerner, described how little practical power in Charlotte attaches to "old families" and "old wealth" per se, and how much it goes to men who are successful in business and assume civic leadership roles. The criterion is strictly success, he said. He also described what others noted and what became apparent in conversations: Charlotte's sense of rivalry with Atlanta in business and in cultural affairs. (Invariably, the fancy shopping centers would be compared with Atlanta's.)

Dr. Freeman also said: "The opposition provided Mayor Brookshire in his first race by Mrs. Evans may have

been crucial. She forced him out on the racial question, "perhaps more than he intended."

Charles Lowe, both as president of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and personally, had a big effect on creating Charlotte's good atmosphere on race.

Mr. Lowe, a heavy-set, energetic man, is chairman of the Mecklenburg County Commission, a position not often in the South aspired to or held by a man outspoken for better race relations. How did he happen to get in politics? "I was an adopted child," he answered in a sort of telescoped use of words that seems to be characteristic. "So this might be considered noblesse oblige."

He said he hadn't particularly enjoyed politics, but felt it was something he should do. He apparently has spent much effort getting others to run. He said the calibre of the county commission is now such that there is no longer a tendency to pass the buck to the city, and there is a willingness to use planners and modern methods on problems.

The county now hires Negroes as farm agents, laborers, nurses, and welfare and juvenile court case workers. The commission is discussing Negro deputy sheriffs and secretaries.

People in the county, particularly low-income, rural whites, are less inclined to accept desegregation than

those in Charlotte, he said. (This is a problem cited by school officials; the city and county systems are combined.) Mr. Lowe said he thought part of the trouble is fear of something or someone they don't know. He recalled how in his business, an electrical distributing firm in a warehouse-like building out from the downtown, he called in his force and asked if they would object to his promoting a young Negro maintenance man to a fairly important job. The man knew the duties, and was capable, he told his other workers. Sure, they responded, because they knew him, we'd like to see him make more money.

Mr. Lowe talked of a move afoot by the personnel manager at Douglas Aircraft to get all agencies together interested in hiring on merit for regular meetings to discuss problems. He showed a letter giving results of such a meeting -- an agreement to seek North Carolina Fund money for a placement bureau to be run by the East Side Council on Community Affairs headed by the young Negro leader LeRoy Polk, and an agreement to seek a seminar by the Mayor's Committee on employment of Negroes.

Many people, he said, think things but are afraid to go out on a limb. This sort of thing gives them courage.

(As an indication of the complex interconnections of people and events in Charlotte race relations, Dr. Hawkins was critical of a written presentation on the Placement

Bureau prepared by Mr. Polk's organization. He called it a means for the white employer to get the "monkey off his back" and termed Uncle Tomism a paragraph which said: "the only 'cause' the Bureau will advocate is JOBS. The only thing it will 'propagandize' for is JOBS. The only 'marches' it will join are marches to WORK. The only 'advancement' it will advocate will be job advancement through merit. The only 'right' it will plead for is the right to WORK!")

Mr. Lowe said that the approach needed and possible in Charlotte on jobs, as on all other aspects of race, is the one used by an intelligent community on any other problem -- a sitting and looking at the problem and working out rational solutions. "We need to sit and look at the race problem just like we do any other problem... Figure out how to solve it... Set up a timetable... and work at it..."

Like most others, he said the North Carolina Fund is a key to the future, that the day is closing when poor whites and Negroes will allow themselves to be pitted against each other, when their problems are the same. He, alone among those interviewed, mentioned labor leaders in the area, praising them. He said they were doing as well as they could on race and other activities. He singled out for praise Floyd Henderson, president of the Charlotte Central Labor Union.

Of Dr. Hawkins, he said there was honest difference of opinion. The white man's view is that he has done a lot of good and harm. "He pushed us faster than we wanted to go." He made many mad. "Some think he hurt race relations. But in his own way, I expect he helped. I tell my white friends if we were Negroes, I expect we would say things are too slow." He said Negroes in good positions tend to like the status quo as much as their white counterparts. "The youngsters challenge them as much as the whites. It's like competition in business. It's human nature. How to get all people to look at problems objectively, instead of what's in it for me -- that's what we need."

The future, said Charles Lowe, will see some leveling off -- no continuation of the "tremendous" progress of the past few years. There will be gains but not as fast. Negroes will need "to study harder, to toe the mark, to seek jobs on quality, not on the basis of race...

"In the past, it's been dog eat dog. Now, it's live and let live. Within the next ten years, we may have 'live and help live.'"

Mr. Lowe, in discussion of how the good atmosphere for the breakthrough was built, said churches had not been in the forefront, but had done much good behind the

scenes. He, like many others, singled out Dr. Carlyle Marney, pastor of the Myers Park Baptist Church, as one who was outspoken, who didn't seem to share the feeling of many preachers that gestures costing loss of a job accomplish nothing.

In his book-lined, paneled office at the magnificent church in Charlotte's finger-bowl district, Dr. Marney, a happy-faced, middle-aged man who has published Structures of Prejudice and other books, said yes, he carried his resignation around in his pocket.

He introduced the attractive young Negro woman who is one of the church secretaries, showed the Negro children in an integrated nursery school, and described activities of the church, including a regular Sunday morning TV program on race relations, a mission program to help "mamas with nothing but 300 years of hopelessness to give their children," and plans for sending the youth of the church into the slums to help a family apiece. He described some of the special presentations members of the church have been faced with, including a program in the format of a radio show in which four Charlotte high schoolers from behind a curtain, unseen, talked feelingly of their ambitions in life. There was a gasp in the congregation when the curtain was pulled away and two of the high schoolers were revealed to be Negroes. (The congregation is not desegregated.

When it does become so, Dr. Marney said he feared it would be only by Negroes "of our class.")

Dr. Marney said he didn't create what was in the church -- which includes in its membership many of the rich and powerful men who made the 1963 breakthrough possible. It was there when he came, he said. He related what he told the committee which came to hire him: "They asked what I thought of them and I said you're a bunch of nice fellows down here at this cross-roads. When the tracks came through from New York to Atlanta, you said the Lord gave it to you, and you wanted to show your appreciation to Him. You know it was the devil, but you went on, built something beautiful for the Lord anyhow with this church. And now you want somebody to lacerate you every Sunday so you can brag about not firing him..."

He said he told them he didn't believe anyone of them knew himself. One spoke up: "I know who I am. I'm a bastard. And if somebody doesn't change me, I'm going to die that way..." He accepted their offer.

Charlotte, said Dr. Marney, "is in very grave danger. The danger is that we're not going to get anything done... after this great breakthrough."

Nearly everyone who discussed the breakthrough in light of past accomplishments and future developments

spoke of how slowly Charlotte schools had moved on desegregation after the initial action in 1957. Of 70,000 pupils (about 50,000 white, 20,000 Negro), 490 Negroes are officially designated as being in desegregated schools. However, 418 of these are in one school which has seven white pupils. The other 72 are in seven of the 103 schools. In all, 38 schools are said to have pupils assigned on the basis of neighborhood residence, 31 of them evidently in all-white or all-Negro neighborhoods. Under the Pearsall Plan by which desegregation has been guided, white pupils may request transfers out of schools where Negroes have gained entrance -- a so-called "safety valve."

Dr. William C. Self, assistant superintendent of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System (they were combined in 1960), discussed the situation in a pleasant, quiet, disengaged sort of way. He said there was "smooth sailing" in the schools, that the neighborhood plan was working out well. Asked about such charges as Dr. Hawkins's that neighborhood groupings for schools are gerrymandered on the basis of race, he said that if there was gerrymandering it was in order to fill up classrooms. Asked about integration of faculties, he said the board of education's whole direction of movement was in terms of the neighborhood plan. Asked if the

neighborhood plan had anything to do with faculty desegregation, he said it did not. Asked again about faculty desegregation, he was noncommital.

At another point, he did say that a summer school for children with special interests and talents in 1963 had one Negro teacher, a male teacher of mathematics. There was no trouble, he said.

He seemed to think Charlotte's centering its North Carolina Fund plans around schools was a good idea. But he said community problems could not be solved by schools -- that if other forces in the society didn't work on them, if they were left to the schools alone, they wouldn't be solved.

He said one of the biggest problems of schools was keeping buildings up with population growth. With a growth rate of 3,600 new pupils a year, the system, despite extensive construction, is still 4,000 to 4,500 pupils behind. Mobile classrooms and partitions of available space fill the gap.

He cited the record of Charlotte voters on school bonds, an impressive bit of evidence of the state of civic health: separate issues were approved in 1946, 1950, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1961, and 1963 -- all told, 66.6 million dollars worth.

An article in the February 1964, issue of The Nation's Schools, somewhat disapproving of Charlotte's

lack of much deliberate speed on school desegregation, pointed out that Negroes heavily supported the bond issues, including the most recent, for $15,600,000 in December 1963. The same article quoted Harry Golden, outspoken weekly newspaper pundit and nationally known author of works often centered on the race question, as saying of the school situation: "They've done something in Charlotte, but they could have done it all. You must think of North Carolina in terms of great disappointment, because it is the most liberal state in the South. The folks were ready for desegregation; they were merely waiting for direction... They had the opportunity to lead the South by starting a tradition. They could have built a reputation that would have lasted forever..."

In an interview Mr. Golden said the Charlotte School Board (before the merger) had been "as cruel an outfit as any in the South." He was particularly scornful of the procedure for handling Negro children requesting transfers --"they were made to bring their parents and were asked questions about 'Aren't you happy with your own people?' -- questions that would give pause to Freud."

Dr. Freeman confirmed this, recalling one of the first such sessions which he witnessed. A Negro student and his parents were before the board, under

questioning which "presumed them guilty until they proved themselves innocent." The youth, he said, kept his head and outtalked them in answer to such questions as why did he want to leave his friends and go to a school where he knew no one, and wasn't his school a good one, etc. "This has mellowed," according to Dr. Freeman. The PTA and League of Women Voters sends observers to all meetings of the board.

A Negro told of the experience recently of the two young ladies who are the only Negroes in the high school which serves the most exclusive white neighborhoods. "The acceptance has been just beautiful. They've been invited to senior parties in homes, and picked up to attend all the games." One white youth tried to give them trouble, and the other kids "got on his back." A tradition for this was established earlier at the school when the senior boys let it be know that anyone who bothered a lone Negro youth admitted to the school would have them to contend with. This youth won a scholarship to college; the two girls are doing well in their grades.

A Negro teacher described conditions at one of the Negro schools, an ancient one: Negro pupils pass by white schools to attend it. There is no real equality of equipment. The school might have as good microscopes, but while it has two, its white counterpart would have

20. Classes in white and Negro schools are overcrowded. Pupils at the Negro school, from low to middle class homes, are not really well motivated, have not experienced the kind of stimulus that would cause them to seek quality training. A good kid from a bad family does well the first four years, begins to lag behind, goes down, finally drops out. Another problem is that administrators of Negro schools are themselves Negroes of the "old school" and incapable often of independence, while teachers are often people who have struggled up from the same environment that cripples their pupils. They regard their job as an ultimate achievement, and have had no opportunity to find their way into the main streams of today's education.

David W. Harris is chairman of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School Board. He was vice chairman of the county board when the merger came. In his brokerage office (with an indoor putting-practice rig by his desk) at the modernistic Charlottetown Mall shopping center (with stores with open fronts and a display in the mall of surprisingly good high school art), Mr. Harris talked with the urbanity and charm of his occupation and stage (middlish young) of life:

"They say we have done as little as possible, and it may be that we haven't done all we could. But it's

safer to take the conservative course than to push to the danger point. There was a great deal of fear that was without foundation about desegregation. This is what we wanted to prove -- that it was without foundation. We wanted to show that it could be done, not how far we could go and how fast. If you want to build a house, you don't build the roof first...

"That's what we've been working on... We're in a position now to move... We don't want to risk a Birmingham. We've avoided bombings. It only takes one to get you in trouble.... This is something we didn't create; we inherited it...

"I'm not real happy with the progress we've made; but we will do a great deal more." (Reaction of several Negroes when asked about this promise was an almost cynical "When?")

Specifically, Mr. Harris said that "percentage-wise," the number of Negroes in desegregated schools would accelerate "considerably" during the coming year. Acceleration is possible now "because the pattern is set."

He also said: The neighborhood assignment policy was what Negroes asked for at first... Opposition to desegregation was not publicized but it was heavy from groups and individuals. This was part of the reason for going slow... Only one parent took his child out of the

special summer school class with a Negro teacher... A good school here and there is not the answer. One bad school in the system hurts all schools... White and Negro low income areas are generally served by the poorest teachers. There is serious consideration of assigning them the best teachers... School walkouts by Negroes would do great damage; there seems little likelihood of this so long as Negro leaders have open communication with the white leadership... An integrated faculty will "come in time." It is regarded as a "major change." ...

"As a school board," said David W. Harris, whose father was a teacher all his life, and who himself started out as a teacher, "we would like to do away with segregation tomorrow. But we're convinced we couldn't get away with it. We would lose the progress we have made."

(In the mall outside his office, the high school art on display ranged from carefully conscientious realism to abstract portraiture. Pictures of farm houses and city streets showed a feeling for regional flavor. Shoppers were caught by the art as they hurried by, and would turn and bend to the pictures, studying them. One of those carefully studying a pointillist technique in a painting of a big house and yard was a Negro youth, extremely neatly dressed. He looked of high school age

and as though he had come out to the shopping center just to see the display.)

Invariably when Charlotte people talked of the race relations of the future, they pinned hopes on the efforts to include the city in the North Carolina Fund, a foundation-financed, matching-fund program attacking poverty. Awareness is high that race problems are linked to the problems of poverty which transcend race. Not so high is the awareness of the extent of white and Negro poverty in the city, and while there are many groups "trying to do something," there is virtually no coordination. The North Carolina Fund would indeed be a way for Charlotte to move into some of the more complex, deeper cultural causes and results of discrimination, after its success with surface desegregation.

The proposal for including Charlotte in the program contains the set of dismal statistics becoming familiar in descriptions of what ails most American cities. Here is a sampling: while Charlotte is the largest city with the greatest economic power in the Carolinas, with the highest median income, it also has more poverty, a higher crime rate, more public assistance cases, more overcrowded dwelling units, more illegitimacy, more tuberculosis and venereal disease, more cases in Juvenile Court, and the

largest adult population with less than five years of schooling.

A total of 14,000 families make less than $3,000 a year, 3,000 of whom make less than $1,000 a year. Median income for white families is $6,440, for Negroes, $2,904. Three-fourths of the Negro families make less than $4,000. Half make less than $3,000. Fifty-five per cent of school children are white, but of the three-fourths of dropouts attributable to poverty, 47% are Negro, compared with 24% white. There is a 3.2% unemployment rate, low by national comparisons, and a shortage of skills: stenographers, machine operators, auto mechanics, welders, draftsmen. Recent attention to urban renewal and public housing and tighter enforcement of a tighter housing code has not dented 4,000 blighted houses, 6,000 in need of repairs. An impoverished family with six children cannot get public housing, and only the worst of private housing.

In 1962, the crime rate was 15.9 per 1,000. (A newspaper account gives breakdowns. Murder and non-negligent manslaughter: nine whites arrested, 29 Negroes. Forcible rape, five whites, 26 Negroes. Armed robbery, 17 whites, 70 Negroes. Police Chief John Hord, who wears a civilian suit in his little office cluttered with the trophies and sentimentality of the professional police officer, said that the high crime rate follows the inhabitants of a slum cleared by urban renewal to whatever slum they go

to. He talked of efforts of the Chamber of Commerce Crime Committee and the Mayor's Crime Committee to study causes and cures of crime. He said his men "enforce the law as fair as we know how. We treat colored just as we do white as long as they'll let us. If one jumps on an officer, though, we don't care how we get him off." He spoke of the traditional generosity of police to poor families, and from his professional knowledge of the situation, spoke feelingly of the plight of Negro and white slum children: "No father, and the mother works and he roams the streets. He's got no fair chance." As for poverty in general, Chief Hord said: "We're going to have to do something.")

The Charlotte Fund proposal says: "Special attention must be given to race as an important factor contributing to poverty... A practical astute achievement such as this /desegregation of restaurants, hotels/ delights us, but the disparity of opportunity is still very great with half of our Negro families falling below the poverty line. We are restless about the fact that traditional methods do not offer adequate solutions."

The proposal has an eight-point program to be administered in four neighborhoods, using junior high schools as centers. The eight points are (1) school readiness: a 6 to 8 week summer school, afternoon and Saturday programs, kindergartens; (2) health clinics

emphasizing preventive medicine (a pilot project by the Public Health and Welfare Departments administered oral contraceptives to 300 volunteers); (3) job opportunities: job training and Mr. Polk's placement bureau; (4) adult education: everything from the three R's to leadership training, with emphasis on home improvement; (5) a staffed youth program; (6) data correlation; (7) special services: teams of counselors, psychologists, and social workers; (8) neighborhood centers.

Pete McKnight, editor of the Charlotte News, is president of the North Carolina Fund. He said frankly he doesn't know whether Charlotte will be included. If it should be, it would follow the state policy of directly involving Negroes with whites in solving a common problem. (Since then Charlotte was selected to participate.) He said the two big problems are education and jobs, and that no one expects to "remake adults... The real hope is to cut off this generation of kids from the cycle of poverty." He pointed out, as had others, that whites as well as Negroes are among the impoverished, that the problems are the same.

The one man interviewed who didn't view the Charlotte Plan -- as presently conceived -- with total approval was Dr. Hawkins. He voiced as his first criticism that the group which conceived it had no Negro membership. He said that its first step should be announcement of integration

of schools, jobs and housing. He urged a reading program from age 4 to 6... an incentive program for adult education in the form of payments slightly higher and in lieu of welfare payments for attendance at schools... A commitment from every employer for equal employment to solve the job problem with responsibility on them -- "not us" -- to recruit and train personnel... open occupancy and rent control and tighter enforcement of the housing code to improve housing.

The Charlotte Fund proposal singled out what is at once the most difficult and most hopeful thing about Charlotte's concern with poverty. Noting what is readily apparent to an outsider, the tremendous activity by many groups in this area, it says: "Yet these projects are as fragmented as they are earnest, and they lack central direction, analysis and thrust. They are encouraged--but not powered--by the kind of concentrated community good-will that has built for Charlotte a solid reputation in business and industrial growth, progressive government and productive race relations. At the core of Charlotte's proposal to the North Carolina Fund lies determination to muster that 'will' and sustain it..."

* * * * *

Most of what the people of Charlotte, in discussing their race situation, talked about, argued about had already happened. It was in the almost off-hand appraisal

of future problems that they showed an exciting, almost unaware acceptance of an approach to the future unlike anything we have known before in the South.

Here, in telescoped form, are three more interviews to illustrate this, to round out this report, and -- because of a deliberate selection of disparate viewpoints and personalities -- to show again the drama of the human story of Charlotte, where people and events intertwine like the unplanned streets of an American town, unduly complicated, perhaps, not anywhere near as efficient or rational as a machine might make, but full of a wonderful variety and vigor and potential...

In an office full of books, records and momentoes of his successful career as enfant terrible of southern liberalism, Harry Golden, in a bright red sport shirt, with his paunch and his cigar, sat rocking and talking of Charlotte in sentences that could have gone down almost verbatim as an essay in The Carolina Israelite, his paper of opinion, if not in one of his many books of similar material.

"You've got to consider the structure. Start with at least 500 branch offices and warehouses managed by men making 15 to 30 thousand dollars, brought from the Midwest, Long Island, and Westchester County with political and economic values supported in the Midwest, Long Island,

and Westchester County. The distributing end is so big here that these men are the hard core of the power structure. Local merchants and manufacturers and distributors take from these managers with northern and midwestern backgrounds some of their political ideas. They are blended. The interests are the same. Some northern managers accommodate by taking on the sociological views of the South. But the connections are not deep. A man from IBM or Pitney Bowes comes in, and the first thing he does is sit down and write a letter to the editor -- 'what a beautiful city you have here... and one thing I've noticed is the controversy about integration. I know integration won't work. I'm from Ohio and I know...'"

The managerial class, he said, is one in economic and political views. Racial views are reflected by their Republican Congressman -- who never uses the word race. Politics are oriented to the society, and in heated elections and primaries, the candidates don't see fit to mention race.

"On this basis, my partly humorous comment is valid... They would elect Martin King or Malcolm X mayor if somehow one of them could give them a guarantee of no labor unions and no minimum wage for laundry workers."

He said he used the crack to make the point that "this city could have been integrated from top to bottom after the Supreme Court decision in 1954... Why they didn't has concerned me for years. My conclusion is

that while these people make a fetish of individual initiative and individual freedom of action, they are as enslaved to the section as any group in it, including Jews, Irish, and Negroes." They act, he said, as a unit. "They don't want to hurt Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama..."

He recalled the day when Dorothy Counts withdrew from the white school after the spitting incident. "Three or four of us went to her father to plead with him not to withdraw her... He showed us a pad of four pages of telephone calls of sympathy and condolences -- 48 names. They were the leading citizens. Any one of them expressing what they had said in public could have smashed things. But they didn't..."

The big point, he said, was that not a single measure of progress has been made in Charlotte without pressure, either from law, from demonstrations or the fear of demonstrations. "Negro militancy is the only thing that will do it." And:

"It's a city with more churches than any other with the possible exception of Glasgow... without ever being moved by Christian charity...

"Charlotte had such an opportunity for prestige... It could have been a byword for racial progress all over the world..."

Perry Morgan is another editor, with another approach. As managing editor of the Charlotte News (Cash's paper, once considered the more liberal, now the more conservative of Charlotte's two papers), he has had a hand in some of the things that have happened, an insider's view, and an influence on public opinion.

The ministers, he said, set the tone for the 1963 breakthrough. Just their presence at the executive committee meeting "added to the courage of those who spoke out."

The key to understanding it, he went on, is Charlotte's fundamental stability, its fear of excess. (The whole state is this way, he said.) "People don't like to be though of as anti-Negro... There are a few iron-headed segregationists here... and these are some of the finest and most civil people you'd want to meet... One had a Negro in a prominent position in his firm; he is a sincere segregationist but not a nigger hater."

Force has been minor in Charlotte's progress, he said. The real force is the consensus which says: "Be sure you know what you're doing when you move. Don't be silly. And don't shove us; tell us why."

Dissatisfaction with tokenism is manifested by only a minority of Negroes. The body of Negro leaders

tend to the same emotional characteristics as whites: "Work it out... Accommodate."

"I think they feel they're not in the Elysian Fields, and that Charlotte is not as progressive as whites think it is, but all the same, they feel they're better off than most... And they have the same pride in it."

He said he didn't think there would be renewed demonstrations, as at Chapel Hill. They key would be "young actionists from outside." They might try, "but they would be unable to carry the community... unable to achieve anything through force. 'Don't push me.' Dr. Hawkins would be the only one who would go along with them, and then only if circumstances were favorable..."

"The North Carolina Fund could be exceedingly important. It legitimizes a concern over poverty, and in Charlotte once a problem is brought into the arena, something will be done if it is needed... Just the fact of planning -- if it stops tomorrow -- is of great value..."

The important thing here is that "whites and Negroes would be grappling with the reality of the Negro condition -- poverty, ignorance, disease."

This is why, he said, he grew weary with the freedom rides (although he conceded their contributions to individual self-confidence.) They involved "so much agony

for a victory that means nothing to the mass of Negroes."

Liberals and conservatives alike use the cliche of the civil rights legislation to hide from reality -- "which is that this is a problem that will take an uncountable amount of work, wisdom, and years and years to solve."

The important thing with the Fund is that people actually face this, "with the power structure in the fore... You can't do anything without the power structure in charge. Here it can understand, and does understand, and is capable of leadership."

The need, he said, is to enter these things "freely and with good conscience..." If it is necessary for the solution of the problems of poverty to desegregate schools, this is preferable to doing it through courts and social dogma. It's the same with social contact. "I shrink from doing it for the sake of doing it. This implies acceptance of the premise that we must live and work and play together and I don't believe that is accepted anywhere... here or in the North."

It is a question of "integration on one base rather than another. People get used to ignoring color when the person is an obvious equal. But if it's just assertion of a writ, I don't accept it."

People grow into things. The way Charlotte is doing is far preferable to civil rights legislation. Growth is not at a "breathtaking rate... and when it happens, it stays."

He conceded that the 1963 breakthrough would not have happened without Birmingham. "But I hope pressure will stop short of force... that the momentum will continue... that we work it out and have it accepted as something we did. The tone is important: the absence of rancor and bitterness."

The next interview took place in the second floor office of a funeral home, with the dusk sounds of a Negro slum all around, children shouting, and wailing, adult cries, a fire engine shrieking danger through the narrow streets. Answering the questions were James K. Polk, son-in-law of the funeral home owner, educated at Johnson C. Smith and Temple University, young, urbane, and relaxed, and Willie Davis, an elementary school teacher, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, with a masters from Columbia, more intense, equally urbane. They are the leaders of the East Side Council on Civic Affairs, the group which has conducted conversations with the top white leadership and which organized the Charlotte Placement Bureau. Mr. Polk is spoken of by some white liberals as perhaps the new look in Negro leadership, someone able to resolve the dissensions, or transcend them. Characteristically, both the older Negro leadership spokesmen and Dr. Hawkins were less enthusiastic but generally favorable to these two new-comer young leaders.

Mr. Polk and Mr. Davis talked in turns, backing up or supplementing what the other had to say. Their thoughts are rendered here in direct and indirect quotations.

Polk: "They needed to attract business. They used a Negro on an industry hunting mission in the North. They knew they couldn't do it with poor race relations. I don't think it was a moral decision. I would hope they would add these things... We got in by the back door, but we must realize that this took courage... This is it when the Chamber of Commerce speaks... We were willing to go through all the trial periods -- to do what we had to do to break the ice."

Davis: "Charlotte has not done all it should. Its church-going doesn't show up in its behavior."

Polk: "Churches ignore the problem because if they faced it, they wouldn't be able to avoid their duty... We don't have time for their hearts to change... These influential people tell us inadvertently that they will do nothing unless forced to. They suggest demonstrations without realizing what they say."

They talked of the slowness of school desegregation, the lack still of any carefully defined plan upon which Negro expectations and reactions might be based. Was their group contemplating action?

Polk: "No. We are not to the point where we could influence boycotts or law suits. It's possible we could get to that, if we found it necessary."

Davis: "Jobs are still a big problem. There are many vocations still closed. For example, there are no Negro cab drivers, and few sales people."

Polk: "I think we're moving some. Some companies are opening. But there are still too few employees. They would have you believe it's a problem to find qualified Negroes. This means being head and shoulders above the white secretary at the next desk... But we're willing to accept this... to break the ice... solely for expediency."

Davis: "They are willing to train whites. But the Negro must be trained and experienced before he can be hired." There are no Negro plumbers and electricians. They are trained, but can't be licensed. They can be licensed in many North Carolina cities. Here, an apprentice must have two licensed people to vouch for him... So Negroes are hired as common laborers to do this skilled work at low wages. "How do you break such a vicious cycle without federal legislation?"

Polk: "We registered four or five thousand voters. We had to take them in: there's no telling what we could do if we could get registrars out in the precincts... We

are working on precinct and block voter organization."

Davis: Dissension? We're not moving for power... We have great respect for the other leaders. We don't want to steal anybody's thunder. But we will go in where nothing is being done...

Davis: "I hope those white leaders we /the East Side Council/ have met with left the meetings with the impression that we were using a diplomatic approach. We want to let them know how we feel as human beings."

Polk: "I think we are having more effect than the Mayor's Committee /of which he is a member/. We work harder. The committee people are busy. They don't have time for these things. In our meetings, we have time to sit and seek understanding of how things seem to us, and what can be done on such things as jobs, education, and beautification of the community. We talk with each leader in the area of his concentration. We spell out our hopes and aspirations. We don't tell any of them who else has been in to talk with us. It's all in confidence, to inspire their confidence. It is frank discussion. They have all said they would be willing to come back.

"There's no backing down on principle, regardless of their stature. The method and procedure is give and take...

"It's a beautiful experience for us, and for those men. Many of them never had an opportunity to sit down and have Negroes disagree with them. They're such big men..."

* * * * * * *

Three central facts stand out to form the pattern in Charlotte's race relations progress.

One is the ability of the city's leadership -- that almost mystical concept of contemporary sociology called the power structure -- to appraise racial pressures with relative dispassion, to make decisions about what the city must do, and, most importantly, to act upon them. This illustrates what may be a basic fact in civil rights -- that when the downtown elite really wants action, the city obeys. This is a commentary perhaps on the state of our democracy, and unfortunately more often seen in the South when the men of power speak evil, or by not speaking, affirm segregation and resistance to law, or, as of late in some cities, seem to speak for progress but do not really mean it. The leadership in many cities will tell you that they have done the kind of thing that Charlotte actually achieved. In others they will piously speak of "all we have done for our Negroes," at the very moment a fierce demonstration against intolerable conditions is going on outside their office windows. Unlike such leaders, the white leaders of Charlotte do not slide their eyes away when they make their hometown boosterism boasts. They have done what they say they have done; there is a pride in them about it. They are more likely to discuss what they

haven't done, and they are less defensive, more inclined to promise further change. And these attitudes are reflected among the people of the city.

The second fact is that constant pressure from Negro leaders -- most notably in the past from Dr. Hawkins -- is an acknowledged ingredient of all the progress that has been made. The orientation of Negro leadership has been toward getting results rather than plunging into protest expressive of despair. Strategy came out of research, and seemed carefully planned.

The third fact is the existence of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations as an apparatus for channeling the pressured decisions of the business leadership into acceptable action. It also serves as a conductor of the pressure and as a place for letting off steam by both sides, and, surely most important of all, as a setting where intelligent and sensitive representatives of races long estranged and blocked by invalid over-generalizations from one another may come to the knowledge, in the gradual way of the human mind and emotions, of the individuality of each man and thus to the real truth of the race problems with which they deal.

It is important, too, to say that all of this analysis about pressure and reaction to pressure is meaningless without awareness that working through it

at all levels are such unanalyzable attributes of the human heart as courage, dedication, moral commitment, intellectual honesty, devotion to duty, and simple kindness displayed in happy quantity by members of both races struggling with a great burden of the past in Charlotte.

Combined, these things form the pattern which has enabled the city, since the sit-ins, to act before demonstrations were considered necessary by Negroes -- and to whatever extent race relations are good in Charlotte, it is attributable to this pattern.

It is obvious that race relations are neither perfect nor particularly happy yet. The undercurrents of criticism and dissatisfaction which swirl in any conversation with Negroes are in part an expression, surely, of the similar undercurrent of distaste or doubt among many whites about the progress that has been made. It is becoming clear that in the long and arduous American adventure that is the race revolution, such undercurrents of antagonism are going to have to be accepted and handled by people as best they can as a normal part of the process of change.

The Negro dissatisfaction is an expression, too, of reaction to the instances where the white antagonisms to change have held sway -- most notably at the hospital, the colleges, and, to a degree, the public schools. Yet

these situations tend to bear out what has just been described as the pattern by which Charlotte has changed.

It was pointed out in various of the interviews as something of an explanation for the disparities in these areas that the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Hospital Authority, the Board of Directors of the Community College System, and the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education are not the same, for the most part, as the men out front and making progress through such an organization as the Chamber of Commerce.

While this is true, it is reasonable to assume -- and interviews confirmed this opinion -- that there are ties (business, social, and otherwise) between all four sets of men. It is also reasonable to assume that if the city's highest leadership had wanted to or needed to put a stop to the machinations involving hospitals, colleges, and schools, they could have, with the same thoroughness with which compliance on desegregation of public accommodations was achieved.

The point would seem to be both that the pressure was not applied as efficiently in these areas as it was in public accommodations by Negro leadership, and that these situations were complex enough to allow more maneuverability against pressure. In all three instances,

something beyond direct action or the threat of it was called for. Dr. Hawkins's efforts to get help from HEW on the hospital is indicative more than anything else of the kind of performance that has come to be expected of that agency of the federal government in such matters. They would investigate only one charge at a time, Dr. Hawkins said, rather than look at the hospital's segregation situation as a whole.

Aside from that, the failure of Negro leadership to apply efficient pressure -- as in, say, court suits -- must in some degree be attributable to the amount of dissension and antagonism among the Negro leaders. Where a concerted and cooperative effort seemed to be called for to develop a sophisticated strategy akin to business dealing or labor-management maneuvering, Charlotte's Negro leadership has been split and devoting much energy to battling each other.

This dissension is in the emergingly typical framework common to much Negro leadership at all levels in the nation: older negotiation-inclined, tolerant Negroes versus younger men who are full of impatience and inclined to action. One almost gets the feeling that the racial struggle in Charlotte has fallen into a battle of personalities that transcends race. Much at one time might have been achieved for mutual progress with the simple act of giving more recognition and honor to the contributions of Dr. Hawkins, and of acknowledgement from younger leaders of the achievements "back when things

were rough" of the older leaders.

At this writing, the dissension has broken into the open with charges and counter charges over registration performance and policy of the factions.

It seems crucial to future Charlotte progress that somehow all of this internecine battling be resolved.

The city, in part, seems settled in a pattern of amicable conference table competition between the races. In another way, it almost seems that the challenge to Negro leadership is not any more to keep up with what the white people are trying to do to them, but to keep up with white leadership in moves toward the kind of society that they, the Negroes, desire.

There will continue to be the need in the fight against de facto segregation, especially of jobs and housing, for concerted and effective Negro representation in the kind of day-to-day struggle of self-interest that is common to much of the American society's achievement in other areas. And there will continue, in Charlotte's attack on poverty, a great opportunity for Negro leadership to give invaluable assistance and to make sure that goals and results are appropriately within the framework of the open society. The challenge to much of the white citizenship centers on the need to find better reasons than pressure for living up to America's idealism.

In both cases, Charlotte seems about done with the southern battles of 100 and 200 years ago, and has moved its racial concerns into the mainstream of American thought and activity. One leaves it wondering if the leadership there, white and Negro, is capable of overcoming whatever blocks there are to a continuation of the kind of creative will they have mustered in the past. If so, not just the South but the nation might soon look to Charlotte for leadership.

# SPECIAL REPORT

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## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

# COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND POOR PEOPLE

March 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

# COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND NEGROES IN THE RURAL SOUTH

## The Economic Dilemma

The southern rural Negro is in a time of peril. The civil rights achievements of the past few years -- gains that have profited middle-class Negroes -- are only a list of laws on a piece of legal scrip for the Negro in poverty. The civil rights movement somehow went by the poor Negroes in the United States, and the southern rural Negro -- whether he is a farmer or a sharecropper -- is in a dilemma. The cause of this dilemma is an almost total lack of economic independence. Civil rights workers in the South have urged people to register to vote, or have advised them to put their children in a "white" school. A number of brave men did these things. The results thus far have not satisfied either the civil rights workers or the men they advised. Now there appears to be a concern (a long overdue concern, though one which perhaps had to wait until now) that the Negro cannot exercise the rights that legislation has awarded him unless he is economically free.

There is a growing interest in attempting to attack the problem of minimal economic independence of rural southern

Negroes through the use of cooperatives and credit unions. Recently organized co-ops and credit unions can be observed across the Black Belt of the South.

A Note of Caution

While we commend their basic philosophy as being admirable we think it is important that cooperatives and credit unions not be accepted as cure-alls for the southern rural Negro's economic problems. Instead, they should be closely examined to see what they are and to ascertain where they fit into what has to be a massive effort aimed at improving the economic position of the southern rural Negro. Two points can be made here: where a successful cooperative already exists it is preferable to JOIN IT rather than to begin another cooperative organization. If it is impossible to become a member of an existing cooperative or if there is no cooperative supplying the service required, then before a cooperative is seriously considered a FEASIBILITY STUDY should be made. Such a study would attempt to find out the following information:

-- the need for the cooperative
-- the potential membership in such a cooperative
-- the management skills needed to run the organization successfully

-- the facilities needed

-- the operating costs

-- the capital required

-- how or whether to incorporate.

It is natural that civil rights groups turned to cooperatives when they were confronted with the rural Negro's need for financial independence. Ideally, cooperatives offer an individual or a group the power to make decisions concerning their own lives. The civil rights movement is concerned with helping people achieve this same decision-making power, which is the integral substance of freedom. It is both natural and good that the two came together. But the marriage should not be a hurried one. There is some question of the compatibility of cooperatives with the present needs of poor rural southern Negroes. The following discussion of some of the things that cooperatives are and aren't is an attempt to answer this question.

Cooperatives are businesses. That cooperation is a good thing is not enough to guarantee success. A business established by groups of people, owned and controlled and largely patronized by these same groups, is still a business and it must have at least as efficient operations as those of its competitors. The business record of cooperatives reveals that about the same number of cooperatives and mutual businesses

have failed as other businesses. Cooperative businesses are not automatically guaranteed success.

Cooperatives are a hard kind of business to start and an even harder kind to operate successfully.

Cooperatives demand excellent management if they are to succeed.

Cooperatives almost always lack capital. Basic capital must always come from members of co-ops. When these members are poor, there is a lack of capital.

Cooperatives are, in most lines of business, up against stiff competition from highly efficient competitors.

## Experiments In Business

Negroes in the Black Belt are experimenting with small grocery cooperatives. The average store is a small building located in the Negro neighborhood. It is owned by perhaps twenty or more men. Their investment ranges from $25 up. How good an investment is it? There is a history of failure behind attempts to establish similar co-ops. During the years following World War II, a succession of failures in consumer cooperative food stores led to a belief that such businesses were almost impossible to operate successfully. Recently very large co-op grocery stores have been successful in some of the northern cities. But the small grocery co-op remains

a poor risk. The small grocer necessarily buys in small lots. Often he buys at high wholesale prices, prices which many times exceed the retail prices of chain groceries in the area. The low volume of sales makes it difficult to supply fresh products such as meat, milk, and vegetables to customers. The quality and location of facilities are often poor. The small Negro-owned grocery co-op in a small Black Belt town will undoubtedly lack operating capital, making it difficult for it to offer credit to its customers, and credit has long been the life force of small grocery stores in America.

Some discussion has been given to the possibility of establishing state-wide wholesale co-ops to supply local grocery co-ops with produce at wholesale prices. The cost of such an operation would probably be prohibitive. Trucks, warehouses, and employees all cost money, and should the wholesale cooperative make enough to pay for itself it is doubtful if the individual store owners would make any profit during the first several years. It appears that the problems of small grocery co-ops, even when serviced by a wholesale food cooperative, are considerable enough to label such an endeavor an extremely high risk.

Marketing cooperatives, on the other hand, have long been successful in the United States. Almost one-fourth of all America's farm crops are sold through cooperative marketing

associations. Several civil rights groups and one or two independent individuals are presently attempting to establish farm cooperatives around truck crops in Alabama and Mississippi with Negro farmers.

These will be both consumer and marketing cooperatives; the consumer part will provide necessary farm and home supplies to the farmers and the marketing aspect will concern itself with selling the truck crops. Again it seems that perhaps the cooperative idea has been oversold as a means for solving an economic problem and under-explained in regard to the risk and personal involvement it entails. Six or ten Negro farmers in Alabama can gain when they get together to buy fertilizer cheaper or to share the use of a tractor or a combine they own collectively. Such cooperative venture supplies a service, but rarely does it produce a really substantial increase in a farmer's income. Collective marketing of crops by ten, fifteen, or even twenty farmers is a complicated procedure and it involves a fairly high risk. Generally, marketing cooperatives are formed or have been formed to protect farmers against the fluctuations of the speculative market. Without a marketing co-op the farmer is forced to sell his crop -- sometimes to but one or two buyers -- at whatever price the buyer is willing to pay and under whatever conditions the buyer insists upon. Large marketing

co-ops supply terminal storage, marketing facilities, and marketing agencies to large numbers of farmers. In this way the farmers, through cooperatives, are able to exert some influence in terms of both quality and price on the buyer. All this sounds very good. The question, however, is whether a group of twenty Negro farmers in Alabama can provide themselves with all the necessities to make such a venture a business success. Where will the capital come from? Who will supply the management skills necessary for success? What will keep the buyers and white farmers from simply treating such a small bargaining unit as just one middle-sized farmer, whose tomatoes or cucumbers "they just don't feel like buying at market price today?" Will the farmers sell all their produce through the marketing co-op or will they be tempted, especially if other members' produce is not as good as theirs, to sell their best produce separately and only their inferior produce through the co-op?

Several questions should be asked of other cooperative efforts under way in the South. Can a gas-oil cooperative servicing only Negro-owned service stations withstand a price war with a major oil company? How long can a co-op making clothing and leather luxury items depend on a "sympathy" market? And is this market large enough to allow the business to expand enough to offer minimum wages, training opportunities, and retirement benefit to its owners, the employees? It should be

noted here that with adequate training courses and assistance in the marketing of the finished products self-employment cooperatives such as these offer great promise in that they provide jobs to persons who are unemployed, underemployed, or victims of economic retaliation. Can a state-wide consumer cooperative planned to supply Negroes with all basic living requirements from food to clothing under-sell a national mail order house on everything or even meet their prices on a majority of items? Can they offer easy credit? If such a cooperative did succeed and if it could include all the Negroes in any southern state, would it change the situation appreciably? Could it offer employment, more income, housing, or better education to ex-farm workers? Would a man making $1500 a year find a dividend check of $4.50 at the end of a year and one vote out of 10,000 in the running of the cooperative of enough value to his life to pledge his involvement and loyalty, both of which would be necessary if the co-op is to succeed, to the organization?

A Good Idea is Not Enough

An ideal couched in the greatest moral and social needs of man is not enough to assure the success of a business enterprise. Mr. Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League, says that cooperatives in America have learned a number of lessons since 1950. Among them are several

that are especially applicable to this discussion:

1. The day of the small cooperative kept alive by idealism alone is largely past; coordination, federation and merger are necessary. Everything from raw materials..... to consumers must be included.
2. The best method of expansion of cooperatives is from regional cooperatives outward, not in formation of new cooperatives.
3. Good management is of critical importance.

People planning cooperatives might well heed several guidelines for their successful operation.

--- Cooperative managers must do only the job assigned them by the co-op members.

--- Members must be familiar with the business field they are entering and must realize their responsibilities. (Or, members may withdraw, especially if they don't see immediate benefits.)

--- Members often feel that since the business belongs to them they can safely "owe themselves." A private business can select its business risks -- a co-op must treat all members alike.

--- Co-op managers must be good businessmen and good leaders. Training should be a requirement.

--- Local and independent co-ops often suffer problems. Co-ops, when possible, should affiliate with others and with central marketing and supply organizations.

--- Cooperatives must anticipate vigorous attacks by those whose business interests are in conflict with objectives of the cooperative.

--- Because cooperatives are democratically controlled organizations it is often difficult to distinguish between one member, one vote in overall control of the organization (an essential feature in any true cooperative) and attempted "democracy" in management and operations, which is fatal to any business, cooperatives included.

Credit Unions

The growth of credit unions among low-income people, primarily Negroes in the South, has accelerated during the past six months. These, too, are often interpreted as a

means to economic power. Their value as a source of money is often emphasized over their purpose of promoting thrift, individual self-help, etc. As with other cooperative efforts, it is necessary to look closely at credit unions to see what they are, and how they can benefit people belonging to them.

Credit unions are cooperative organizations composed of members having a common bond of occupation, residence, or other association. They promote thrift and create a source of credit for their members. Credit unions give to their members the opportunity for regular saving and offer protection of funds -- for they operate under law, supervised by the government, and must supply surety bonds and substantial reserves. Often life insurance benefits are available. Credit unions loan money at low interest rates (usually 1% a month or less) to their members to pay bills, taxes, medical expenses, automobiles, vacations, education, etc. They are often the only place a low-income family can go and obtain a loan at decent terms.

Most federal and state credit unions provide organizational assistance where the applicant group is eligible for a charter and has qualified leadership within it to insure a reasonable chance for successful operation.

Strictly speaking, it is not necessary for credit unions to incorporate. But the advantages of incorporation are great.

The laws generally:

--- require audit by state banking authorities

--- limit the member's liability

--- enable credit unions to sign contracts

--- give legal standing to rights of the credit union and to any member who may appear in court

--- establish chartered and incorporated credit unions as any other banking institution.

How does a credit union of rural Alabama Negroes, or of citizens of a city slum, compare with the majority of credit unions in the U. S.?

The majority of credit union members in the U. S. are industrial employees, government employees, and teachers. Rural based credit unions account for only 3% of U. S. credit unions and for but little more than 1% of total credit union savings. Local community credit unions during the 20's and 30's had such poor records of success that some state supervisory authorities refused to charter community groups. This trend has somewhat disappeared and farm credit unions are now considered good risks.

A Realistic Look

What can low-income people expect of a credit union if it succeeds?

In the U. S. as a whole average savings of credit union members is about $500. Last year loans to individual members of federal credit unions averaged over $750. Credit unions rarely make unsecured loans (by signature only) in excess of $300. Usually they place a limit even on loans with security. A small credit union of 30-40 poor people could not make very large loans. Its primary value would be to allow people to make their own decisions concerning the use of their savings, and to provide a sympathetic board to hear their loan requests. Requests should always be kept in confidence at the risk of members losing faith in the credit union.

Small credit unions made up of low-income people will have problems. As long as credit unions are small and cannot afford to pay for help, they have the perpetual problem of finding volunteer workers who are qualified to manage the affairs of the union. Community credit unions have a reputation of being "stillborn." Stillborn credit unions are those organized with only partial support from the community, or unions which failed to select competent officers or attract sufficient working capital.

Credit unions, then, can lend members small sums at reasonable interest and provide other services such as inexpensive life insurance. That such organizations are badly, if not desperately, needed there is no doubt, but their

chances for success hinge on good management, community involvement, and adequate capital. They can obtain help from the Office of Economic Opportunity in grants or loans which allow the beginning credit union to hire a financial manager -- something a credit union cannot ordinarily do until it is several years old. Assistance is also available from state credit union leagues and the Federal Credit Union League. The Credit Union National Association (CUNA) in Madison, Wisconsin, can supply advice and written information, as well as the materials for bookkeeping and other essentials.

A small credit union of poor people cannot do much to change a member's economic position if he is already deeply in debt, or has only a meager income. The spirit of the cooperative action seems of more apparent value than the economic assistance it can give.

## SUMMARY

This analysis of cooperative action among poor people, especially poor southern Negroes, has perhaps drawn far more negative conclusions than were intended. Cooperatives, and the ideal of placing human rights and better living above profit motives, are needed in the South. Perhaps the viability

of a democracy depends on such cooperative action. There is a danger, however, of thinking of anything done cooperatively as being something sacred, something that can overcome all obstacles.

The question, of course, is how best to achieve economic independence, without which the southern Negro will not be able to wield his considerable political power. It is evident that some people believe that small cooperatives, and still smaller credit unions, can offer low-income people some degree of independence. But, a restriction of the use of the cooperative to a small, almost romantic notion of a community will in all probability sentence it to failure. There is also the inherent danger of dashing and discouraging the cooperative spirit that presently exists, if such small organizations should fail.

Because cooperatives and credit unions are both businesses, if such efforts are to be of real economic benefit in this day of big business, they will have to be large in size and scope. State-wide and regional cooperative endeavors should be considered. Large land cooperatives, featuring housing co-ops and perhaps industry owned by the people themselves, are possibilities. State or regional corporations could offer sizeable loans and provide technical training and marketing assistance to individual self-employment co-ops. Such

corporations could be foundation or government subsidized. This would allow the valuable moral and psychological advantages of the cooperative self-help idea to continue while also weighting the odds for economic success in the co-op's favor. Thus, cooperative spirit -- among the very people who need it if they are to survive as individuals with basic human rights -- might succeed and thrive.

## Information Sources - Cooperatives

More information regarding cooperatives can be obtained from the following agencies:

1. The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605

2. Farmers Cooperative Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250

   The following publications are available from the Service:

   -- How To Start a Cooperative
   -- Financing Farmer Cooperatives
   -- Managing Farmer Cooperatives
   -- Sample Legal Documents for New Cooperatives
   -- What Is a Co-op?

3. The National Sharecroppers Fund, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

4. Assistance may also be obtained from:

   1. Local County Extension Agents
   2. State Director of Extension
   3. Head of the Agricultural Economics Department at the state land-grant college
   4. Head of the State Department of Agriculture
   5. The district bank for cooperatives
   6. The management of existing cooperatives
   7. The secretary of the State Cooperative Agricultural Council.

## Loans To Cooperatives

Loans to cooperatives serving rural families with low incomes are available under:

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

These loans are made through the Farmers Home Administration.

Details are available from:

United States Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Washington, D. C. 20225

Pamphlet: "Loans to Cooperatives"

## Information Sources - Credit Unions

Credit Union National Association
P. O. Box 431, Madison, Wisconsin 53701
Attention: Mr. Robert M. Dolan

Bureau of Federal Credit Unions
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20225

## Loans Available to Credit Unions

Regional Office of Economic Opportunity
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Loans designed to utilize credit unions as the vehicle to accomplish the purposes of Section 6.f. "Consumer Information, Education, and Mutual Aid" of the Community Action Guide, Vol. I, February, 1965.

### The Applicant Agency

1. Where the official Community Action Program Agency has been designated in a given area, it would serve as the applicant agency.

2. Where the official Community Action Program Agency has not been designated, an existing neighborhood organization, such as a settlement house, might serve as the applicant agency, taking the initiative to bring together leadership representative of the community as a whole. In this case the history and activities of the agency should be described as part of this proposed component.

### Purpose of Component

To meet the problems indicated above and to fulfill the objectives of Part C, Section 6.f. of the Community Action Program Guide by expanding existing credit unions or developing new ones:

1. To open up for residents of target areas served by neighborhood centers the opportunity to manage their finances with the same dignity that others enjoy through membership participation in credit union benefits.

2. To provide through the credit union a "money clinic" and a "school for economic literacy" addressing itself actively on a full-time basis to money and credit problems of the people who reside in these neighborhoods.

3. To provide basic thrift and low-cost lending services.

4. To develop consumer education programs for members and potential members.

5. To develop budget and family financial counseling services.

6. To provide a device for the development of leadership and operational skills in a cooperative venture.

Action Plan

To apply the tested approach of supplying a staff unit of three persons to operate the credit union on a full-time basis in each selected neighborhood.

A. 1. Identify the well-defined neighborhood boundaries that will qualify for a credit union charter. Survey the area to determine whether to expand an existing credit union or start a new one.

To be done by the state credit union league in cooperation with the applicant agency. Additionally in all phases of this program the services of CUNA will be made available.

2. Recruit and train indigenous sub-professionals to serve as the credit union operational staff.

To be done by the state credit union league in cooperation with the applicant agency and other neighborhood associations. Training would include

on-the-job experience in existing credit unions; participation in existing credit union league and chapter programs; special training sessions geared to special needs of the group to be served.

3. Provide training for the credit union volunteer officials (15) chosen from the neighborhood by fellow residents to serve as credit union board and committee members.

   To be done by state credit union league and the credit union operational staff.

4. Provide guidance and assistance in launching the credit union into operation.

   To be done by state credit union league.

5. Provide continuing advice and counsel for the successful operation of the credit union.

   To be done by state credit union league.

B. Where plans call for establishment of more than one neighborhood center credit union, a Credit Union Project Coordinator-Trainer would be employed. He would be a credit union specialist with field experience who would be involved in all phases of the action plan for each unit.

Budget

Individual Neighborhood Credit Union Unit

| | |
|---|---|
| Credit Union Staff Salary & Salary Expense | $15,000.00 |
| Manager<br>Loan Counselor<br>Bookkeeper-Teller | |
| Education and Training Materials | 4,000.00 |
| Equipment | 1,000.00 |
| | $20,000.00 |

(It is anticipated that space and utilities might be donated by a neighborhood association, and applied as part of the necessary 10 percent local contribution to the program.)

City Project Credit Union Coordinator-Trainer

(When two to five neighborhood center credit unions are planned. If more than five are initiated it might be necessary to add an assistant to the Coordinator.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary and Salary Expense | $ 9,000.00 |
| Travel and Transportation Expense | 1,000.00 |
| | $10,000.00 |

# SPECIAL REPORT

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

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# L O U I S V I L L E

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

May, 1964

POPULATION

| | 1950 | | 1960 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Louisville | Metropolitan Area* | Louisville | Metropolitan Area* |
| Total | 369,129 | 576,900 | 390,639 | 725,139 |
| Negro | 57,657 | 61,293 | 70,075 | 83,181 |
| Per Cent Negro | 15.6 | 10.6 | 17.9 | 11.5 |

## The Situation in Brief

The city of Louisville, Kentucky, has made notable progress in the elimination of race discrimination, with a minimum of turmoil and with the evident approval of a substantial majority of its citizens of both races. Of its four main desegregation hurdles -- public schools, public accommodations, employment, and housing -- it may be said that the first two have been practically surmounted in that city, the third is being approached with some visible success, and the fourth is the object of an intensive and imaginative and a hopeful effort.

The situation in Louisville has many shortcomings from the standpoint of human understanding and interracial justice. Race prejudice is still present in varying degrees among a majority of that city's white population. A white cab driver, a fat, oldish, talkative individual, launched upon a lengthy

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*Includes Jefferson County, Ky., Clark and Floyd Counties, Inc.

monologue from which the following is quoted:

> Negroes? Yes we're getting along all right. They can go into almost any place now. But I don't see many of them doing it. Some of them get dressed up and go into the big hotels and restaurants and nobody pays any attention. But the little places don't let them in. They haven't got strong enough locks on their doors. Negroes would ransack the place. Every one of them will steal. Every Negro you see on the street has got a knife or a razor in his pocket, maybe a gun. Did you ever see a Negro drunk? I've seen lots of them -- mean, big-mouthed.... But I ain't got nothing against them, and the way it is they can't do much harm.

This man's views are shared by a substantial element of Louisville's population -- though many would express them differently or not at all. Negroes are excluded from country clubs and civic clubs. White families tend to move away from neighborhoods where Negro families are moving in. Few white people are willing to dine with Negroes in a public place, and only a rare handful invite Negroes to their homes. Much subtle discrimination is practiced. Some Negro leaders say that "integration is a farce in Louisville."

Nevertheless, race prejudice may be said to be <u>contained</u> in this city. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness. The interracial behavior pattern keeps almost entirely within the bounds of order and decorum. Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice; it is recognized even by many

prejudiced people as inconsistent with Christian and American ideals and out of keeping with the changing order. New advances in racial integration are accepted cheerfully on the whole by the public. The city administration and the economic "power structure" are firmly behind a movement of civil-rights advance, which, not only has registered exceptional accomplishments, but is moving on to further progress.

Basic in the Louisville effort is a consciousness that this social change cannot be accomplished by a few dramatic steps, but demands a massive and continuous undertaking, with the dedicated efforts of many groups and individuals. In efforts of this kind the city is well served. In the private sector, a number of organizations are active -- the principal so-called "Negro" civil rights organizations and many other groups concerned with human relations. Several hundred individuals, in biracial organizations or independently, are giving much of their time to this cause. Yet the role of the public sector in race-relations reform has been particularly striking in Louisville. To an unusual degree initiative has come from the public school administration, mayors, aldermen, the police department, and other city officials and agencies. Since May 1962, an official Louisville Human Relations Commission has marshaled a massive private effort in this field.

Background and Chronology

Though Kentucky is not one of the eleven states which formed the Confederacy, it is the border state most commonly regarded as southern. If that identification is less pronounced today than it was eight years ago, the change is largely due to Kentucky's progress in adjusting to the new order in race relations. Of the state's metropolis it is sometimes said that "Louisville has integrated itself out of the South."

In 1956, at a time when hostility in the South to the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation was at its height, the public schools of Louisville were desegregated in a sweeping manner and without disorder. The late Omer Carmichael, the able and courageous superintendent of schools, to whom the feat was largely due, later collaborated with Weldon James, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in producing a valuable book, The Louisville Story (Simon and Schuster) telling how it was done.

These writers noted that Louisville "long has had a strong two-party system, with a healthy balance of independent-minded voters." (However, Louisville elected its first Republican mayor in 28 years in 1961.) But the book added "Politics aside, Louisville has faced the South since 1865. Its customs and its outlook have been almost professionally Southern...." At the same time the atmosphere

in Louisville for a generation has been one of exceptional tolerance, moving toward liberalism, in race relations. This trend has been immesurably aided by the city's two excellent newspapers (under joint ownership), the morning Courier-Journal and the afternoon Louisville Times, and the administration and faculty of the University of Louisville have exercised a constructive influence.

Louisville elected the first Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, Charles Anderson, in 1934, and the first Negro member of the city's board of aldermen, Eugene S. Clayton, in 1945. Negro alderman William W. Beckett in 1955 served as Acting Mayor of Louisville. Two Negroes, James E. Smith and Arthur Johnson, are among Louisville's representatives in the state legislature now, and two, Mrs. Louise Reynolds and Russell Lee, sit on its board of aldermen, while a Negro, Woodford R. Porter, is a member of its board of education, having served last year as its president. Negroes have served on the library, housing, and other important municipal boards. Two Negroes were members of the 1962-1963 Citizens Committee to Evaluate the Public Schools. A distinguished Louisville Negro, Dr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, was recently appointed to the 50-member Kentucky Constitutional Revision Assembly.

The following moves preceded the 1956 school

desegregation:

1948: The Louisville Free Public Library (downtown unit) was opened to Negroes. (The library branches were opened to Negroes in 1952. Since 1959, a Negro lady, Mrs. Barbara S. Miller, has served as director of children's work for the public library system.)

1950: The new Louisville Catholic college, Bellarmine, was opened to Negroes as well as whites, and Negroes were admitted to graduate study at the University of Louisville. The Louisville police were provided with a manual to promote racial tolerance and impartiality.

1951: Negro undergraduates were admitted to the University of Louisville.

1952: Public golf courses were desegregated following court action.

1953: The General Hospital School of Nursing was opened to Negro girls.

1954: Mayor Andrew Broaddus in his inaugural statement announced in January that city jobs would be open to all qualified applicants without regard to race.

1955: City swimming pools were integrated, quietly and without prior public notice.

1957: The Municipal Housing Commission announced desegregation of its housing projects. Some downtown hotels desegregated partially.

1958: Early sit-ins resulted in the desegregation of lunch counters in a few downtown variety stores.

The civil rights movement received new impetus with the wave of sit-ins which began in the South during the spring of 1960 and reached spectacular proportions in Louisville in 1961.

Louisville has long been free from the type of demagogic appeal to race prejudice which has plagued many southern cities, and the race question in that sense has not for a generation been an issue in Louisville politics. It figured, however, in a positive sense in the city election of 1961. Although steady progress had been made under three Democratic administrations, a belief that Republican candidates were more committed to take a leap forward in the fight against race discrimination was a factor in the election of a Republican mayor and board of aldermen. After the election, William S. Milburn, the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor, then president of the board of aldermen, commented aptly: "We came along at the end of an era and got squeezed in the gap when it closed."

Three months after taking office, on March 27, 1962, with the backing of Mayor William O. Cowger, the board of aldermen unanimously adopted an ordinance setting up a Louisville Human Relations Commission. On May 14, 1963, the board of aldermen adopted an ordinance, submitted by

the Commission, banning discrimination in places of public accommodation.

School Desegregation

Although the problem of school desegregation was met with sensational success in 1956, it is appropriate to glance briefly at the school situation in Louisville today.

Of the 50,249 pupils in the city's public schools, 19,366, or 38.5%, are Negroes. The number of pupils attending integrated schools is 41,490, or 82.6% of the total. Only 8.6% of the pupils are in all-white schools, 12.5% in all-Negro schools. The figures tend to give an exaggerated impression of the extent of integration, since three predominantly white schools have only one Negro each in attendance and two predominantly Negro schools have each enrolled only one white pupil. However, 58 of the 71 public schools are integrated and the racial balance is generally substantial.

"De facto" segregation, now a subject of controversy in many cities, is present in Louisville in a number of instances, but it is mitigated in a sense by a liberal transfer privilege. Transfers are granted by informal arrangement within the capacities of the schools and with regard for preferences and conveniences of other parents and children; though not officially intended to do so, these

informal arrangements do undoubtedly permit some adjustment to social preferences, but of Negroes as well as whites. Transfers are not permitted to crowd out any pupils in the residential area of a school. Pupils are not "bussed across town", however, to achieve a racial balance in schools, or for any other reason; except in unusual cases, free transportation is not provided for a pupil attending a school outside his district of residence.

The transfer privilege does not markedly diminish the racial imbalance in schools, but it permits some freedom of choice for both white and colored pupils. It may affect the racial balance either way, and whites and Negroes both contribute to the degree of de facto segregation that results from it. Louisville's Central High School, in a heavily Negro residential area, is a conspicuous case in point. The handful of whites living in its neighborhood generally send their children to another school. At the same time, Central High, one of Louisville's newest and best schools, is especially popular with Negroes and draws Negro pupils from outside its attendance district.

At present 127 Negro teachers are serving in integrated faculties, and nine Negro principals preside over biracial schools. Two Negroes serve as supervisors in the central office of the public school administration.

The racial pattern of the public school system is not a source of serious complaint among Negroes nor a part of

their agenda of protest in Louisville.

The public schools of adjoining Jefferson County were also desegregated in 1956, as were the Roman Catholic parochial schools of the Louisville area. The Catholic school enrollment is approximately 28% of the total school population of city and county. The Louisville school district census shows 16,472 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools. The integration of Negro teachers in the Catholic schools has presented a special problem due to the difficulty of obtaining qualified Negro lay personnel at the low compensation offered and the lack of Negro nuns, but seven Negro lay teachers are now employed.

## The Sit-Ins and the Louisville Police

A few sit-ins which occurred in the latter half of 1960 and the large scale Negro drive to open places of public accommodation which came in March 1961 were both a part of the new wave of Negro militancy and a reflection of impatience on the part of Louisville Negroes with many aspects of race discrimination. They resulted in the opening of 200 previously white-only eating places to Negroes, and caused the city to come to grips with the race problem in many of its ramifications.

The 1961 protest demonstrations which were staged almost daily for several weeks and sporadically for a longer period, took a variety of forms of marching, picketing,

and sitting in. Scuffles occurred with police seeking to prevent obstruction of traffic and flagrant disorder, and with some white hoodlums. An estimated 1,000 arrests were made, but, many being arrested repeatedly, the number of individuals arrested was fewer than 500. The cases of all the demonstrators arrested were dismissed after negotiations. White harassment of the demonstrators was largely confined to a handful of youths who made repeated attempts to break the Negro picket line at an amusement park. A dozen of these whites were arrested and several were fined.

Massive Negro protest demonstrations were a new phenomenon for the Louisville police force, but its performance in this crisis is not a source of serious complaint in retrospect even in Negro quarters. (The behavior of some privately employed security officers aroused more criticism.) In routine law enforcement pains have been taken to school the city's police force in the avoidance of race discrimination, and it has made an important, though little publicized, contribution to the peaceful progress of Louisville in adjustment to the new order.

The Division of Police, in 1950, published a hardcover, 129-page manual, titled Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups. Adapted from a Chicago manual prepared by Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Correction, the book contains a comprehensive

and scholarly discussion of the race problem. It explodes some of the myths upon white race prejudice is often based, and then directs that whatever "personal theories on race relations" he may have, the officer must be completely impartial in the performance of his duties. The manual is still in regular use. For example, Colonel William E. Bender, Chief of Police, commented that "15 recruits are studying it now."

The manual project arose from a study instituted by Colonel David A. McCandless, Director of Public Safety, in 1948, following a conference with a delegation from the Urban League. A biracial committee was set up in that year to plan for the training of Louisville police in the application of the precepts of good race relations to police functioning. The committee included six representatives of the Police Division, two representatives of the Urban League, a professor of sociology from the Louisville Municipal College, and three members of the faculty of the University of Louisville. Many meetings were held by the committee before Dr. Lohman was called in as a consultant, and, after the resignation of Colonel McCandless in January 1950, it continued under the leadership of the new commissioner, John Moreman.

Colonel McCandless became director of the Southern Police Institute, sponsored by the University of Lousiville.

Three representatives of the Louisville police force attend each of the four seminars held annually by the Institute.

Negroes have served as policemen in Louisville for 35 years. Thirty-eight Negroes are now on the force, one of them being a lieutenant and four of them sergeants.

Places of Public Accommodation

A few restaurants, drug stores, lunch counters, and hotels in Louisville were already serving Negroes along with whites in the late 1950's, but segregation was the general rule. Attention was drawn to the practice in an embarrassing manner by an incident which occurred in December 1958, when Mrs. Iris King, the mayor of Kingston, Jamaica, visited the city as a guest of the State Department. Mrs. King stayed in the presidential suite at the Sheraton Hotel and received generally VIP treatment. But a local drug store refused to serve her a cup of coffee. She retired to her hotel in tears, calling it a "gross insult." In the absence of Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell from the city, an administrative assistant expressed regret for the "unfortunate incident" -- which remained unfortunate nonetheless. An official of the drug store said its policy was to give "carry-out service only for colored customers" -- which made matters emphatically no better.

The determined Negro drive to bring discrimination to

an end in places of public accommodation may be said to have begun in 1959, though direct action pressure was not resorted to on a significant scale until 1961. Many white community leaders, including the mayor and members of the board of aldermen, expressed sympathy with the Negro drive, but hoped the reform could be accomplished by voluntary action. These attitudes themselves had prompted some voluntary desegregation here and there.

The late Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a distinguished Negro attorney and a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Assembly, led a delegation of 35 Negroes and whites who visited Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell on January 4, 1960. Anderson praised Louisville's "excellent race relations, particularly as compared to other southern and border cities" and urged the mayor to "take the lead in seeing that theatres, hotels, restaurants, stores, and other places of public service and accommodations cease to discriminate or segregate." Mayor Hoblitzell replied that Louisville had reached "a most enviable position" by its race relations accomplishment and that the city had done all that could be done to end discrimination in public facilities, but that "trying to force integration in private business is another matter."

Meanwhile, on February 10, William W. Beckett, the only Negro member of the board of aldermen, introduced a

proposed ordinance banning discrimination in theatres, hotels, and restaurants, but not in bars or taverns. After the City Law Department ruled that the city could "not pass any laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of private property," the ordinance was rejected by voice vote. Alderman Clifford J. Haury, who had read the opinion, said: "I sincerely believe and hope that the good people of Louisville will iron out this problem voluntarily."

The Louisville Courier-Journal commented: "The issue was not squarely met ... the issue of further integration in Louisville is for the moment at a standstill. It could now move forward again, by voluntary choice of the community, or it could slip tragically backward...."

Alderman Beckett, insisting that a general lifting of racial barriers would not come by voluntary action, asked State Attorney General John B. Breckinridge for an opinion on his ordinance. A few weeks later the state attorney general ruled that "there is no conflict between the proposed ordinance and the Constitutions and laws of the United States and the Commonwealth, and the subject matter being within the police power of the state and the city of Louisville, it is our opinion that, if adopted, it would constitute a valid exercise of police power."

However, following a caucus at which letters and telegrams from opposing businessmen were read, the board

of aldermen on March 22, by a vote of 11 to 1, approved the following resolution:

"We, the board of aldermen of the city of Louisville, are opposed to any ordinance which takes away the right of an owner of a private business to select his or its customers or clientele."

Beckett also urged the establishment of a human relations commission for the city, but this proposal was rejected by a vote of 11 to 1, opposing aldermen saying that it would "substantially duplicate the work of the state commission."

Alarmed at the continuing sit-ins in the South, the City Law Department now came forward with a proposed anti-trespassing ordinance. However, when this was vehemently opposed by Negro leaders, the city's two daily newspapers and others, both the police court prosecutor and Mayor Hoblitzell announced their opposition to it.

The biracial Louisville Ministerial Association took a strong stand against racial segregation in theatres and restaurants. It urged its members to seek voluntary desegregation by persuasion in personal contacts with businessmen, but it pledged support for a public accommodations ordinance should such efforts fail. The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations announced that it "considered any racial discrimination contrary to the public interest."

In conveying the Committee's finding to the board of aldermen, Mayor Hoblitzell expressed agreement, but reiterated his opposition to "any kind of force."

The Mayor's Advisory Committee represented a stage in the groping toward an official body to deal with race relations, which had begun with the formation of an advisory group of religious leaders in 1958. It grew into more formal status in May 1961, as the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, under the chairmanship of Dr. Philip W. Davidson, president of the University of Louisville.

With the sit-ins and other pressures, considerable voluntary desegregation of places of public accommodation had taken place by the end of 1961, but Louisville Negroes were increasingly irked by the failure of the board of aldermen to adopt a public accommodations ordinance or set up a human relations commission. Numerous groups and individuals were now urging anti-discrimination legislation, including several owners of segregated restaurants who felt the need of an ordinance to protect them from criticism and from competition when they should take the step.

The Louisville Human Relations Commission was finally set up in May 1962. The ordinance establishing it was expressly aimed at the elimination of "discriminatory practices", and the Commission was directed to recommend "such legislation as may be necessary" for this purpose. The new

commission, and the mayor himself, labored diligently -- and with some success -- to bring about desegregation of still segregated places of public accommodation. A survey showed that 268 of 410 restaurants in the city had desegregated by early 1963.

However, on February 9, 1963, the Commission adopted a resolution saying: "It is now evident that voluntary efforts by themselves are not sufficient to effectively accomplish the purposes set forth in the ordinance which established the Commission. Therefore, the Commission has decided to recommend to the mayor and the board of aldermen, the passage of appropriate anti-discrimination legislation, the nature and scope of which will be determined in the near future." A sub-committee of the Commission's Legal Committee, including the chairman and the director of the City Law Department, went to work on an ordinance which was adopted by the board of aldermen on May 14, 1963, and signed by Mayor Cowger.

The ordinance was to run into legal difficulties and its status is not clear today, but the fact that a law had been passed banning segregation in places of public accommodation was effective in accelerating the desegregation of many establishments.

A survey made by the Human Relations Commission before the adoption of the ordinance in May found that accommodations in the chain and franchise category were "generally

open with the exception of two establishments... under single local ownership." The Commission reported further:

1. Approximately 65% of all restaurants are integrated; of the remaining 35%, few seem likely to desegregate in the near future.
2. The better restaurants downtown accept the Negro as a patron, as do the short order cafes and chain store facilities.
3. The Negro will encounter segregation in the better restaurants in outlying areas.
4. Near his home, only one out of five restaurants will serve the Negro.
5. When he is served he is treated the same as a white person.
6. Whites seem indifferent to his presence in the restaurant and apparently are equally indifferent to his being refused service.
7. Most managers state their policy of segregation dispassionately.

Bowling lanes the Commission found to be "the most tightly closed category of services in Louisville." Privately-owned amusement parks, ice and roller skating rinks were "generally tightly closed." All downtown theaters and two of the three drive-ins within the city limits, but only

a few of the neighborhood theaters, were integrated. The previously segregated Louisville Automobile Club, following conferences within the month, had begun actively to solicit Negro membership -- with the understanding that reservations could not be made in southern states.

The public accommodations ordinance (No. 66, Series 1963) became effective, 120 days after its passage, on September 12, 1963. Promptly at the lunch hour on September 12, a testing campaign began. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., chairman of Allied Organizations for Civil Rights and editor of the Louisville Defender, reported that within a few hours 73 Negroes, acting individually or as husband-and-wife teams, entered 49 restaurants "without objection or rejection." Restaurants "received Negroes courteously and served them promptly," Stanley said, adding: "These restaurants are to be congratulated, along with the bowlers association (the Bowling Proprietors' Association of Louisville) ... for their acceptance of desegregation." A total of 98 restaurants were visited in the initial testing period, with negative results in only three cases.

Four tavern operators, members of the Louisville Tavern Operators Association, filed suit in a circuit court asking that the authorities be restrained from enforcing the ordinance on the ground that "the plaintiffs have a constitutional right to restrict their customers to such

persons as they see fit to serve, and to refuse service to anyone for any reason." The case is still in litigation, but to a large extent the ordinance has done its work. Although, pending the outcome of the litigation, the Commission is unable to enforce the punitive provisions of the ordinance, it is following the situation closely and several recalcitrant restaurants have been persuaded informally to comply with it. In no instance has a restaurant, once desegregated, returned to the practice of barring Negroes.

The Human Relations Commission

We come now to an examination of the Louisville Human Relations Commission itself, its organizational structure and its program.

The ordinance establishing the Commission (No. 33, Series 1962) set forth the reasons for it and its purpose as follows:

> Whereas, the Board of Aldermen and the Mayor of the City of Louisville find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and
>
> Whereas, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership

in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,

Whereas, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving inter-group and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City,...

The commission was to be composed of eleven residents (later increased to 15), appointed by the mayor, as "nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic and racial groups which comprise the population of the city of Louisville." No city official, elected or appointed, is eligible. Commission members serve, without compensation, for one year, except in the case of an interim vacancy, when a member may be appointed to fill the unexpired term, and members are eligible for re-appointment for additional terms. The mayor designates the member to act as chairman. The Commission is required, with the approval of the mayor, to employ an executive director, whose compensation is fixed by the mayor.

The executive director, with the mayor's approval and within the limits of his budget, employs staff and fixes its compensation. The Commission was voted an

initial annual operating budget of $25,000; its current operating budget is $26,055.80. It occupies offices in the Mayor's suite in City Hall, the only agency in such proximity to the city executive.

There is general satisfaction with the plan embodied in Ordinance No. 33, a copy of which will be found in the appendix, but the chairman and others suggested that in principle it might be preferable to have Commission members appointed for staggered terms to insure greater continuity of experience and policy during changes of administration.

Of the original eleven members of the Commission, eight were white and three Negro. The enlarged 15-member body contains eleven white and four Negro members. In appointments to the Commission and to its various committees it is sought to have the three major faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, represented in each group.

Dr. Marlin M. Volz, dean of the University of Louisville Law School, was designated chairman of the Commission. A treasurer and a secretary and such other officers as are deemed necessary are elected by the Commission. James A. Crumlin, a Negro attorney for the Kentucky NAACP, was chosen treasurer and Mrs. William Florsheim, secretary; the Rt. Rev. Alfred F. Horrigan, president of

Bellarmine College, was elected vice-chairman. These three, together with the Rev. D. E. King, a Negro clergyman, form the Commission's executive committee.

Mansir Tydings, executive director of the Lincoln Foundation and a veteran of race relations work, was engaged as executive director of the Commission. His staff now consists of Arthur Evans, assistant executive director, and Mrs. Erma B. Coleman, secretary-treasurer. Both of these are Negroes.

In addition to the Commission a broad apparatus of Associated Committees was set up to carry forward the campaign against race discrimination in its many phases. During the summer of 1962 the Commission was chiefly engaged in enlisting community leaders to serve on these committees; by October, 180 had rallied to the undertaking. Approximately 200, about evenly divided between whites and Negroes, are now serving. Committee members include the directors of the employment and housing committees of the NAACP and the executive director and two other members of the Urban League.

Eleven Associated Committees were formed to work in the following areas: education, employment, housing, public accommodations, supportive community organizations, religious groups, institutions and agencies, professional advisory (legal),programming, research, and communications.

Associated Committee appointments are made by a letter from the mayor in each case, after informal consultation. Following the adoption of Ordinance No. 66, the Public Accommodations Committee was replaced by an Anti-Discrimination Division. The Research Committee was also later replaced by a General Advisory Committee, and the Institutions and Agencies Committee has been dissolved, some of its members being transferred to other committees, while a new Women's Committee for Civil Rights has been formed.

The Commission meets regularly once a month, and its executive committee meets on call. The Associated Committees have regular monthly meeting days, and sometimes meet more often, with the exception of the General Advisory Committee, which meets semi-annually with the Commission and the Associated Committees for an overall review of the Commission's work. Its members are available for counsel at other times. A newspaper reporter attends every Commission meeting.

One is likely to be skeptical of a system which relies upon so many citizens to engage without compensation in any sustained altruistic endeavor. The Associated Committees plan seems, however, to be working. It may be the most valuable feature of Louisville's effort in the race-relations field. Not all committee members are active; about half of them give little time to this

work. But the fact that 200 respected citizens are committed in this manner to the elimination of race discrimination is a powerful influence. An estimated 100 Associated Committee members are very active indeed; they are rendering unflagging service in the many complex and often delicate phases of the battle against discrimination.

Actually, the ideal of interracial justice tends to make crusaders out of many who are imbued with it, but a dynamic and infectious enthusiasm on the part of its leaders is essential to the cohesion and success of so large a group of volunteers. This quality is not lacking among the leaders of the Louisville Human Relations Commission. It is present to a superlative degree in Dr. Volz, its chairman. Mr. Tydings brings also to the position of executive director a high degree of good-humored tact, which his duties of administrator and negotiator require.

When an official human relations agency is set up by a city or state government, the suspicion often arises that it is for appearances only and that it may be used even to frustrate Negro objectives. This view is not seriously held of the Louisville Commission in any quarter. As elsewhere, Negro leaders in Louisville are reluctant to express satisfaction with, or even approval of, the accomplishments of their community in civil rights. It is considered bad form or un-militant. "Moderates" are

unpopular among many Negroes. However, even aggressive Negro leaders agree privately that Louisville is making exceptional progress in civil rights, that "the thing is moving" in that city. The Louisville Human Relations Commission, they say, is "making an honest effort." Lyman T. Johnson, president of the Louisville chapter of the NAACP and a veteran of civil rights struggles, is less reserved than most in this regard and is sometimes labelled a "moderate" for that reason. Johnson was active in earlier demonstrations, but has used his influence to prevent further demonstrations since the work of the Commission has gotten under way.

The establishing ordinance gave the Commission a scope broad enough to embrace the objectives of civil rights organizations themselves. Its charter said: "The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, state and other city agencies in an effort to develop harmonious inter-group and interracial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of inter-group and interracial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices." Louisville thus recognized this endeavor as a matter of concern to the city, and it has brought the civil rights movement largely into the framework of public administration.

After the completion of the organizational structure of the Commission and its Associated Committees, late in 1962, a word should be said about the manner of its embarking upon its task. According to its first-year report, "in less than six months the Associated Committees had held 76 meetings. The Commission had had 27 meetings, of which 16 were with groups of citizens interested in knowing more about the Commission's objectives, as well as with business groups whose cooperation was sought for the removal of discriminatory practices. There were meetings with the Louisville Restaurant Association, theatre-owners, proprietors of bowling lanes, directors of secretarial schools, and similar groups. In a number of instances the mayor has participated personally, applying the prestige of his office and his convictions by writing letters, by issuing invitations to conferences, and by leading discussions in several of the meetings."

In establishing its alliance with private human-relations groups and agencies, the Commission's report continued: "A series of weekly conferences were held with individuals and with representatives of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc., the Lincoln Foundation, Inc., Louisville Urban League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Conference of Jewish Organizations, National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Friends Service Committee. Members of these organizations now actively participate as members of the Associated Committees...."

To learn from the experience of other similar bodies, the Commission devoted one full meeting to a conference with the executive directors of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. On February 9, 1963, there was held at the University of Louisville an all-day work-shop meeting of the Commission and its Associated Committees, attended also by the mayor and nine members of the board of aldermen. The executive director of the Kansas City Human Relations Commission served as a consultant at this meeting. Incidentally, all of the committees of the work-shop, on the basis of their experience in seeking voluntary action, recommended suitable legislation for the removal of racial barriers.

The Commission has since settled down to a routine of operation -- or as much of "settling-down" and as much of "routine" as the dynamic and changing situation permits. The more we delve into the problem of race relations, the more we are impressed with its magnitude and complexity. As the Commission's report said, "the more there is of personal involvement in this important task, the more it is apparent that there is much yet to be done."

Employment

A number of observers remarked that "the Commission is doing its best job in the employment field."

The public sector had already a good record in the matter of equal employment opportunity when the Commission was established. Apart from the integrated school administration, 23 % of the city department jobs are held by Negroes and only about half of these are employed in non-skilled capacities. The police and fire departments are both integrated. The mayor's receptionist is a Negro lady. Judge J. Earl Dearing, who presides over the night court division of the police court, is a Negro and a former NAACP president. Charles J. Lunderman, Jr., assistant city attorney, and James A. Crumlin, traffic court prosecutor, are both Negroes. Other Negroes in public office in Louisville were mentioned earlier.

It is in the field of employment in private business now that the most intensive efforts are being made and most conspicuous results are being accomplished. In this endeavor a busy and efficient Louisville Urban League, under the able direction of Charles T. Steele, collaborates closely and constantly with the Commission and its Employment Committee. The Commission and the Urban League have been busy identifying Negroes in the ranks of elevator operators, janitors, and even floor-sweepers who are qualified for employment at higher levels, and have been successful in

securing the upgrading of many.

The Commission recently conducted a survey of employment integration in 26 leading stores, whose owners and managers were 1963 officers and directors of the Retail Merchants Association and the Retail Division of the Chamber of Commerce. These 26 stores employ a total of 3,304 persons, of whom 396, or 11.7% are Negroes. Of the latter, 299 or 75.5% are employed in the humble capacities in which Negroes traditionally served; 97, or 24.5%, now have supervisory or other superior positions. In non-traditional job categories, Negroes were reported as follows: department manager, three; sales supervisor, one; maintenance shop foreman, three; bookkeeper, one; cashier, one; office or clerical worker, ten; sales clerk, 21; price-marker, ten; fitter (men's clothing), six; sign-painter or window-dresser, eight; department clerk, 15; wrapper, ten; appliance repairman, three; customer service assistant, one; and security officer, one.

None of the Negroes employed in the drive, which began last August, in the 26 stores under survey has proven unsatisfactory in his new duties, though one man has been called up for military service. A department store recently asked for 15 Negro high school graduates to be trained for clerical positions. Two Negroes are now serving as bank tellers and two more are in training for this position.

The Courier Journal has one Negro reporter.

In the field of industrial employment accurate surveys are not available, but comparable progress is being made. Arthur M. Walters, industrial secretary of the Urban League, is a member of the Human Relations Commission's Employment Committee and the two groups collaborate diligently in negotiations with both management and labor to secure better jobs for Negroes. The League maintains a regular register of job and apprenticeship opportunities and of Negroes seeking placement. The task of matching qualifications with openings is a principal activity. A number of Negroes are now employed as assistant personnel directors, time study engineers, and in other superior positions. Rufus Stout, personnel manager at the Air Reduction and National Carbide Corporation plant, is a Negro.

The Commission has prepared, for early publication, a directory of employment opportunities and of training programs available to Negroes in Louisville. It is recognized that long exclusion from the better jobs has left many Negroes deficient in the experience and education required for the positions that are now open to them. Consequently, present planning includes night classes and other vocational instruction for Louisville youth of both races. The Employment Committee and the Education Committee collaborate in this field. The Education Committee

has a subcommittee for job training and another subcommittee seeking to reduce school drop-outs and raise the aspirations of Negro youth. The Commission has recommended that a separate Youth Commission be established to coordinate the efforts of existing organizations, and the schools, in this field.

A great deal remains to be done before the doors of employment are freely open to Negroes throughout the city, but a substantial entering wedge has been made. Though continued prodding will be necessary, something like a trend has been established.

Housing

The population changes registered in the Louisville area by the census figures of 1950 and 1960 indicate a movement of whites to the suburbs and of Negroes to the city. During the ten-year period the white population of adjoining Jefferson County grew from 125,486 to 220,308, while the Negro population of the city proper increased from 57,657 to 70,075. However, the number of whites within the city limits increased at the same time from 311,472 to 320,190 and the Negro population of the county increased from 4,858 to 8,275. Many well-to-do white families moved from city to county, but there are some signs now of a return trend: a new 28-story apartment building just opening is drawing some of these families back to the city, and a

contemplated housing development on the river front is expected to bring more.

The problem of housing or neighborhood desegregation -- the most widely encountered and in a sense the most baffling of all problems in the race relations field -- is centered in Louisville around a large residential area within the city limits known as the West End. At an earlier period the residents of this section were nearly all white. The influx of Negroes began during the housing boom after World War II, when many white residents moved to suburban homes and Negroes in better-paying jobs than before began moving into the vacated West End houses. The trend has continued and accelerated since, as is shown by the 1950-1960 figures for several West End census tracts: in tract No. 10, the Negro population rose from 1,457 to 3,270; in tract No. 11 it increased from 222 to 2,325; and in tract No. 12, from 177 to 1,460.

The West End is still predominantly white. If the racial elements were distributed and the pattern were stabilized the situation would be wholesome. What gives cause for alarm is the continuing trend -- whites moving away and Negroes moving in, and solid blocks of Negro homes developing. "Block-busting" tactics have been observed at times; they have not been in evidence in recent months, but similar influences have operated in a subtler manner. Most

realtors express a willingness to cooperate with the Human Relations Commission; a past president of the Louisville Real Estate Board and two other realtors are members of its Housing Committee. The State Real Estate Commission, at the instance of the Louisville Commission, has condemned tactics tending to promote panic selling.

But the problem is infinitely complex. For instance, many Negroes desire homes in the West End and many of them are unmindful of the danger of turning the area into a ghetto. In these circumstances the duty of the real estate agent is not always clear to him; Negro realtors themselves feel obligated to satisfy the wishes of their customers.

The question also arises of where else the Negro can go to escape from the crowded old Negro quarters of the city. In the scattered white residential districts and the fashionable East End Negroes are generally unwelcome. Pressures are sometimes used to deter them. Lending agencies formerly refused loans to Negroes for the purchase of homes in these areas, and, though this practice has ostensibly ceased, it is said to be difficult still for a Negro to obtain credit for the purchase of a home in a white neighborhood.

The desires and conveniences of individual Negro families pose difficulties which underline the close relationship of the housing problem to the whole pattern of

prejudice and segregation in a community. Not only do many Negroes object to being pioneers in an unfriendly neighborhood, but the location of available houses is often inconvenient for them. The older Negro residential areas and the center of Negro social and civic activities are nearer the West End. A well-to-do Negro physician found an available home in the East End too far from his practice.

The Commission's Housing Committee and allied human relations groups are attacking the problem of finding suitable houses for Negroes outside of the West End, with steady success here and there. One dedicated white lady is in the real estate business with the sole aim of finding suitable non-West End homes for Negro families in places where they will be contented and where their presence will tend to break down the barriers of prejudice.

Meanwhile, the campaign to bring about a friendly assimilation of the Negro contingent in the West End community and prevent departure of white residents is a chief activity in the race relations field. The effort is aided by the relatively high cultural and economic level of the Negro new-comers. The educational status of West End Negroes, as reflected in the 1960 census is interesting in this regard. The Census Tract 11, where the white population was 3,190 and the Negro population 2,325, the median school grades completed by Negroes 25 years of age and older was 11.3 compared with only 10.7 median school grades completed

by the total adult population. In the same age category in Tract 10, the median school grades completed by Negroes was 10.6 and by the total population 9.7.

The direct attack upon the West End problem is centered in the West End Community Council, of which Dr. George B. Kimbrough is an energetic leader. This organization was launched last August, with the desegregation at the same time of the local Y. W. C. A., which became its headquarters. It is aided by the Commission and other human relations groups, notably a Catholic organization, the Christian Family.

Biracial block meetings are being held and couples and teams, with representatives of both races, are going from house to house to further the integrated community idea. "I know of instances where 'For Sale' signs have come down," Dr. Kimbrough said, "after families living in the homes have met some of their Negro neighbors." "Not For Sale" signs have been distributed and many of these have been posted by whites with good psychological effect. In one five-block section "Not for Sale" signs have been posted in front of nearly every house. Many white residents have also posted a sign saying simply: "We Welcome You."

A folder entitled, "Well, I'm Not Moving," prepared by the Community Council and published with financial help from the Human Relations Commission, has been distributed to West End homes. The sub-heads in the folder's text are illustrative of its appeal: "This is a Good Place to Live"; "We Won't Lose Money If We Stay"; "In Fact, We'll Make Money If We Don't Move"; "Maybe It's All A Hoax"; "And We Prefer an Integrated Neighborhood", and "Will You Help Us Build a Community?" A series of films is being shown of the same tenor.

In a survey of a section of the West End, conducted March 21, 1964 by the Community Council, 406 white families were visited. Thirty-nine said they definitely intend to move, 29 were undecided, and 17 refused to be interviewed; but 321 said they planned to stay, and 172 expressed an interest in joining the Community Council.

The campaign is proceeding with genuine enthusiasm on the part of a large group, and in April 1964 was still gathering momentum. The West End Community Council meets twice monthly: 110 had attended its last meeting. "We are only now getting into full swing," Dr. Kimbrough says.

Planning for Future

The tendency of the Louisville Human Relations

Commission, its Associated Committees, and the allied private organizations is not to taper off, but to expand to meet the formidable remaining problems in the city's race relations. Planning for the future has a large part in the movement's activity and concern.

The Commission's 1962-1963 report said with reference to the public accommodations ordinance that it is "mindful that similar remedies should be applied particularly in the areas of employment and housing." It added that though "these problem areas are much more complex and confront long-established customs based on a heritage of prejudice," its "experiences have already borne out that in due course the people of Louisville will accept the challenge of the changes involved." The Commission is studying legislation to promote equal employment opportunity and open housing.

Elaborate planning is being directed to the problems of youth and community improvement. As Negroes comprise a disproportionate number of the underprivileged, work in these areas has important bearing upon race relations and the problem of equal opportunity.

The underprivileged Negro has long suffered from a vicious circle in which poverty, squalor, and ignorance increase the prejudice against him and the same race

prejudice deprives him of the opportunity to escape from those afflictions. On the other hand, education and a clean wholesome environment for Negroes tend to open doors that were formerly closed to them, including the door of economic progress in which these advantages can be increasingly enjoyed. Education and vocational training are necessary to enable Negroes to qualify for many of the better-paying jobs to which their race itself is no longer a barrier. Hence a broad program of advance in these areas is essential to a solution of the race problem. In Louisville, this kind of program is supported by the same individuals and agencies engaged in the direct attack upon race discrimination.

In August 1963, a biracial commission of approximately 65 men and women was appointed by the mayor and the county judge to consider the need for a Commission on Children and Youth for Louisville and Jefferson County. The executive director of the Human Relations Commission was prominent in this undertaking. This body, which rendered its report on February 24, 1964, was "unable to recommend an overall commission encompassing all the problems of youth," but it urged improved services for youth through the coordination -- and some consolidation -- of services to youth being provided by existing local and

state public agencies, such as the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Louisville Police Department, the Jefferson County Juvenile Court, the Children's Home, and the Welfare Department, the Kentucky Department of Child Welfare, etc. The study commission recommended further that "full support" should be given to a proposal known as "Futures Unlimited," and to a plan of the Louisville Board of Education for a school-neighborhood project in an area of the city producing major problems of youth. The board of education program is to start with the school and reach out to parents, neighborhood agencies, the juvenile court, the welfare department, the library, the recreation department, and other agencies.

"Futures Unlimited" is a project advanced by the Health and Welfare Council, a body made up of representatives of organizations participating in the Community Chest. This project is also co-sponsored by the mayor, the county judge, and the city board of education. It has not been adopted; controversy has arisen over administrative and other details and it is unlikely to be embraced in its present form. It is interesting, nonetheless, as indicating activities envisioned for the future, and in part already under way, in Louisville.

The Health and Welfare Council's memorandum of

January 19, 1964 describes Futures Unlimited as, "A Plan to Assure a Future Unlimited for Youth, the Family, and the Neighborhood in Communities Bordering on Urban Renewal Areas." It states: "The general purpose is to improve the level of living in sections of the city fringing upon urban renewal and redevelopment areas, utilizing this change in the physical environment as the opportunity for human renewal as well...." In order to observe results of the contemplated program, "two areas of the most deteriorated central part of the city will be designated as 'Target Areas' A and B, which will in effect be laboratories for testing new and improved social work, educational and community organization methods...."

While these plans embrace the whole population of the designated areas, the population there is largely Negro and the objectives are closely related to the problems of equal opportunity in housing and employment and of the harmonious development of biracial communities. Some figures from the 1960 census on the comparative condition of white and Negro homes in Louisville are pertinent here: 88.2 % of the white population was found to be living in "sound" housing units; only 59.7 % of the Negro population was so housed. Twelve and four-tenths per cent of the whites and 28.4 % of the Negroes were living in "deteriorating" housing units.

Eleven and nine-tenths per cent of the Negroes, but only 2.6% of the whites, had "dilapidated" homes.

The Health and Welfare Council's report notes that during the past year three neighborhood councils, or "block clubs" (self-improvement citizen organizations) have been initiated "with help from the Health and Welfare Council staff, the Louisville Urban League, and the Louisville Human Relations Commission."

The Council expressly acknowledges the role of the Urban League, an organization long devoted to improving the lot of Negroes. "This agency," the report notes, "has long extended neighborhood services into this as well as other parts of the city and has established historical as well as practical priorities in Target Area A,..."

Among the objectives contemplated for Futures Unlimited are:

- further organization and development of block clubs;
- door-to-door surveys to gain information and enlist citizen support of block clubs and of the project as a whole;
- a thorough program of code enforcement to be carried out by inspectors from the fire, health, sanitation, and city housing departments.

- "housing clinics," to which tenants, landlords, and developers can turn for advice on improving homes;
- recruitment of a corps of retired persons to serve as consultants on construction and finance problems;
- a continuous project of neighborhood beautification;
- communication and cooperation in the solution of neighborhood problems of all kinds;
- raising the educational and cultural level of the poor through closer cooperation between the schools and the social, recreational, and health agencies.

Jobs and preparation for jobs are prominent in the activities contemplated for Futures Unlimited, including personal counselling, job development and placement, and special technical classroom or on-the-job training -- with the openings in Louisville especially in view. This program is to be financed by the U. S. Office of Manpower and Development Training.

The organization plan and proposed first-year budget of Futures Unlimited contemplate the employment of a director (at $9,000), four neighborhood organizers

(at $5,000 each), clerical help whose aggregate compensation would total $19,800, and part-time workers in research, casework, and youth services. Counting office-rent and other expenses, the total budget is $69,800, the money to come from a variety of sources: the Urban Renewal Agency, city and county governments, and local and foundation contributions.

This is a suggestive, if unexciting, note on which to end this story of Louisville. For perhaps the most revealing fact about the city's race relations now is that they are passing into the hands of boards, commissions, official and semi-official committees, into, that is, the normal, institutionalized processes of municipal life.

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# SPECIAL REPORT

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

# PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

November, 1966

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# PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH*

## THE FACT OF NEED

More of the poor of the United States live in the South than in any other region - almost half, according to 1960 U. S. census data.

The proportion of families trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor, according to U. S. census data.

Within the South, the proportion of Negro households in poverty is more than twice that of white households. A total of 17.9% of 12 million white families is poor, as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million Negro families, according to the Social Security Administration.

Ninety-seven of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the poverty line is defined as $3,000 or $4,000 per year or as a dependent

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*The "South" here referred to is the 11 former Confederate states and Kentucky. Statistics, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

variable of family size, age, and farm residence, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Tables 8 and 9.)

## THE PLACE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Public assistance in the form of cash payments and aid has been a principal way to alleviate that poverty which consists primarily of monetary deprivation. It has been criticized as too limited, and as destructive of the family when administered in such a way that payments to aid children of impoverished families cannot be made when an employable male is in the house. Men out of work are forced to leave home so that the family will qualify for aid, according to the critics. It is not possible in the present study to resolve such controversy. The goal is to provide more information about the distribution of funds in the South under existing programs. The purpose is to describe what *is* being done in order to enlighten discussion of what *ought* to be done.

Three important clarifications should be made at this point. First, although public assistance is commonly called "welfare," it should not be confused with the total spectrum of social welfare programs. The funds for public assistance discussed here are separate from funds spent under programs

such as the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance of Social Security, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and the war on poverty. Public assistance consists primarily of cash aid to the indigent aged who are largely uncovered by Social Security insurance, to families with dependent children which have little or no income, to the blind and the permanently and totally disabled, and to acute cases of need discovered by welfare workers (called general assistance in attached tables). These general case assistance programs receive no federal funds and thus vary widely depending on the available resources and the commitments of the states.

Public assistance has also included cash aid to the aged for drug and hospital costs. The statistics in this study cover only the program for such aid that existed before adoption of the broader Medicare program.

Public assistance is what some disparagingly refer to as "the dole." Its beneficiaries are overwhelmingly the aged, dependent children, and the physically handicapped. The beneficiaries, contrary to popular myth, are not adult males who prefer to "loaf."

Typical of confusion was a headline in a large southern newspaper which said "22 Million on Dole." If the reader went beyond the headline, he discovered the "dole" referred

to was largely from social security insurance funds for which the recipients had been directly taxed on every paycheck they received. Only 8 million of the 22 million were receiving a "dole," and most of them were either over 65 or under 18, or blind, or otherwise disabled, or sick. Public assistance is what goes to this distressed 8 million people. Since there are 1.5 million impoverished aged and at least 15 million impoverished children in this country, it hardly appears that public assistance with its 8 million recipients is going to more people than the degree of need requires. Indeed, it goes to far fewer than the number in need.

Moreover, from these facts it should be clear that public assistance reaches primarily those who are outside the labor force and thus cannot be aided by minimum wage laws and unemployment compensation. At the present time public assistance, however limited, is the only way being used to meet the problem of "monetary deprivation," a rather inane technical term which seeks to make a distinction between those poor whose only problem in satisfactorily adjusting to modern life is lack of money and those who need help beyond the simple getting of money.

The second clarification required is related to this issue of monetary deprivation. While not all poverty is

covered by the concept, much of it is. The Wall Street Journal in September, 1966, reported that "the Johnson Administration is becoming increasingly intrigued with a far-reaching new goal: Ending poverty via a Government guarantee of a minimum income for every American family." But, the article goes on to point out, the Viet Nam war and existent domestic spending along with fear of Congressional and public resistance preclude the possibility of a direct approach to the goal, such schemes as the guaranteed annual income or negative income tax (no tax for those below a specified level and payments to bring them up to that level). Instead, there would be a gradual approach, an effort to "patch up and fatten up" existing programs, including Social Security, public-assistance coverage and payments, rent and other supplements, and public employment. If the public assistance programs are as poorly conceived and administered as their critics charge, then the new effort may mean merely the waste of more money. A study of how present funds are distributed among the states and how the states allocate proportions to such needs as the indigent aged and dependent children should--regardless of the merits of the present programs--indicate the degree of patching and fattening that would need to be done.

The third clarification required here concerns the possible charge that to stress cash payments ignores the

"syndrome of poverty" approach. Poverty is more than a lack of money. It is a complex of social and personal deficiencies, rooted in the absence of opportunities for human development. This fact is more widely appreciated than ever before. Yet there is a danger of ignoring the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor cash payments alone will not mean getting out of the syndrome of poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not alleviate an inability to get enough money to live on in the short run.

While cash payments alone will not suffice to end poverty for many of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable," i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor in the South and in the nation need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job retraining for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the monetary deprivation cycle permanently for about half the American poor, according to Miller. For

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**S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach," New Perspective on Poverty, ed. A. Shostak and W. Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p.27.

them, the end of monetary deprivation would also mean the end of the poverty syndrome. For others, the broader attack on all social and cultural deficiencies would have to continue.

The cost of a start on cash subsidies would vary with how much was attempted. The Wall Street Journal report cited previously said that government officials thought it would cost from 6 billion to 7 billion dollars per year "to move the more than 30 million 'poor' people just halfway from their present incomes to the minimum desired levels - $3,000 for a family of four." Leon Keyserling's report for the Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty or Progress, estimates that 12.7 billion dollars a year would mean $1,427 more a year for each of the 8.9 million families with incomes below $3,000 in 1963.

Whatever method is ultimately used, there is considerable movement toward greater use of direct cash subsidy to end the poverty of monetary deprivation. Thus, it becomes extremely important to understand how cash subsidy is now used.

## WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It tries to discover precisely what the South is doing in the face of the degree of poverty

noted earlier. It also examines the proportion of federal resources received by the South.

Of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the United States in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, 21.8% occurred in the South.(Table 1.) This reflects the South's having 25.9% of the United States' population in 1960. But it does not reflect that almost half of the nation's poverty is in the South and that the incidence of poverty within the region is higher than in other regions, as noted earlier. It should be noted that states administer the allotment of federal funds. The size of the federal grant varies with the ability or desire to match from state resources or to operate state programs - hence the disparity among the states.

Among individual states, Texas and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the large population of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1,000 basis. (Table 4.)

The large Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1,000 population, the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered.(Tables 2-4.) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate

simply because it was large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. The adequacy of the program becomes questionable when the specific programs to which the state allots its resources are considered. (Table 2.) Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both some liberals, as well as the conservative business elite. The availability of petroleum resources as a means to finance such programs must also be noted.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4.) They were low by all the standards by which Louisiana was high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered were generally near or at the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occurred in Virginia and thereby differentiated it from South Carolina. First, Virginia spent more than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than did South Carolina. It paid more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 was almost the same. (Table 4.) Second, while Virginia assisted those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 was one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4.)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their ways of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort was relatively high, although total spending ranked near the bottom --just ahead of Virginia and South Carolina.(Tables 2 and 3.) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its amount of coverage per 1,000 children under 18 was highest in the South. Its coverage per 1,000 over 65 ranked third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the size of the average payments to the aged and to dependent children was the lowest in the region. Mississippi spread its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acted similarly in aiding dependent children, but aided the aged with high payments and a degree of coverage per 1,000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope of assistance to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged.

## HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states.(Table 1.)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures. (Table 1.) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole assistance to the aged used 38.6% of all the funds and aid to dependent children used 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages were 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximated the national proportional distribution of 38.6% and 32.6% were North Carolina and Virginia (Table 2), but their rate of coverage per 1,000 population under age 18 was very limited. (Table 4.) The proportion given to the aged was above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children was below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina. (Table 2.)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics attack the national proportions as severely discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor. (Table 4.) If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. An analysis by Burton Weisbrod indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor under age 18 in contrast to 1.5 million poor

over age 65, according to Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration.*** In June, 1965, the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million nationwide, and the number of children aided was only 3.3 million.**** It can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million children who are poor. The proportion of children and aged people for the South is comparable, and the imbalance in aid favoring the aged is greater.

Children covered received average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children received no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi. (Table 4.) A study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work suggests that racial discrimination makes the burden on Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children.

In short, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in the nation or region. While most, if not all, the aged poor are being aided, they may not be receiving sufficiently large payments. Most of the 15 million children who are poor go

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***Burton Weisbrod, "The Economics Of Poverty." (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 11.

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them are aided as "dependent" -- And these "lucky" ones of course deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed.

The respective proportions of assistance to children and the aged are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance.(Table 1.) The South accounted for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spent only 4.9% of the total national funds for general assistance, i.e., individual cases of special need determined by case-workers in many instances. Whereas in the nation as a whole, medical assistance to the aged received 9.9% of all public assistance funds, and general assistance received 7.2%, in the South medical aid accounted for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounted for only 1.6%.

The implications here are twofold. First, southern states have not fully availed themselves of available federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state

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*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data, i.e., the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare, which began July 1, 1966.

funds are also required. Propaganda against "socialized medicine" should also be considered. Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited. (Table 2.) Second, since there are no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made little effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana made a significant effort relative to its size. Florida did relatively well also. Texas spent less than Louisiana for a population three times as large. Louisiana and Texas have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for general assistance.(Table 2.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole.(Table 5.) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, in the nation, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance.(Table 6.) Also, payments in the South

accounted for 43.3% of all federal old-age assistance funds, as opposed to the South's accounting for only 30% of all federal public assistance funds. Of all public assistance funds, federal, state and local combined, payments in the South accounted for only 21.8%.(Table 1.) Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their population and their degree of poverty require.(Table 7.)

CONCLUSIONS

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the South have been below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1,000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exception to this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of federal public assistance funds in the South has not been commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in the region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population.

3. The per recipient payments under aid to dependent children have been woefully inadequate in the region and the nation. The number of children aided is far below the number of children in poverty in the region

and below even the inadequate rate in the nation.

4. Southern states have given a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than has the nation as a whole; they have given a smaller proportion to aid dependent children despite the fact that there are more children who are poor than aged poor. Payments to the aged are larger than payments to children in the region and nation.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programs of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana and Florida, compared with the nation, have made little effort to aid cases of special need under general assistance programs.

7. Southern states have depended much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole. At the same time, they have not applied for all the federal funds that were available to be spent for needs among their poor.

TABLE 1

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

| PROGRAM | 50 STATES AND D. C. | SOUTH | SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total: | $5,285,321 | $1,150,927 | 21.8 |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 4,903,394 | 1,132,354 | 23.0 |
| Old-age Assistance | 2,042,572 | 748,886 | 36.7 |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | 523,694 | 20,979 | 4.1 |
| Aid to Blind | 98,898 | 25,527 | 25.8 |
| Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled | 513,346 | 127,161 | 24.8 |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 1,724,883 | 209,801 | 12.2 |
| General Assistance (Cases) | 381,927 | 18,573 | 4.9 |
| PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: | | | |
| Total: | 100.0% | 100.0% | |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 92.8 | 98.4 | |
| Old-age Assistance | 38.6 | 65.1 | |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | 9.9 | 1.8 | |
| Aid to Blind | 1.9 | 2.2 | |
| Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled | 9.8 | 11.1 | |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 32.6 | 18.2 | |
| General Assistance | 7.2 | 1.6 | |

TABLE 2

TOTAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS IN SOUTH BY STATE (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

| PROGRAM | ALL SOUTHERN STATES | TEXAS | LA. | ALA. | GA. | FLA. | N. CAR. | KEN. | TENN. | ARK. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total: | $1,150,925 | $227,590 | $184,633 | $112,910 | $103,731 | $100,803 | $91,345 | $82,866 | $62,982 | $61,990 |
| % of South | 100% | 19.8% | 16.1% | 9.8% | 9.0% | 8.8% | 7.9% | 7.2% | 5.5% | 5.4% |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 1,133,354 | 224,216 | 179,440 | 112,899 | 102,849 | 97,856 | 89,418 | 82,289 | 62,427 | 61,579 |
| Old Age | 748,886 | 193,450 | 133,255 | 91,178 | 62,759 | 58,108 | 31,610 | 42,650 | 29,566 | 45,139 |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | 20,979 | -- | 1,078 | 892 | -- | 2,881 | 2,020 | 3,791 | 3,445 | 1,977 |
| Aid to Blind | 25,527 | 3,956 | 2,713 | 1,488 | 2,280 | 2,106 | 4,069 | 2,098 | 1,382 | 1,649 |
| Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled | 127,161 | 6,656 | 13,555 | 8,302 | 19,242 | 14,511 | 19,236 | 9,527 | 8,345 | 6,838 |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 209,801 | 20,153 | 28,839 | 11,039 | 18,568 | 20,250 | 32,482 | 24,224 | 19,690 | 5,977 |
| General Assistance | 18,573 | 3,374 | 5,193 | 11 | 882 | 2,946 | 1,927 | 576 | 556 | 411 |

TABLE 2 CONTINUED --

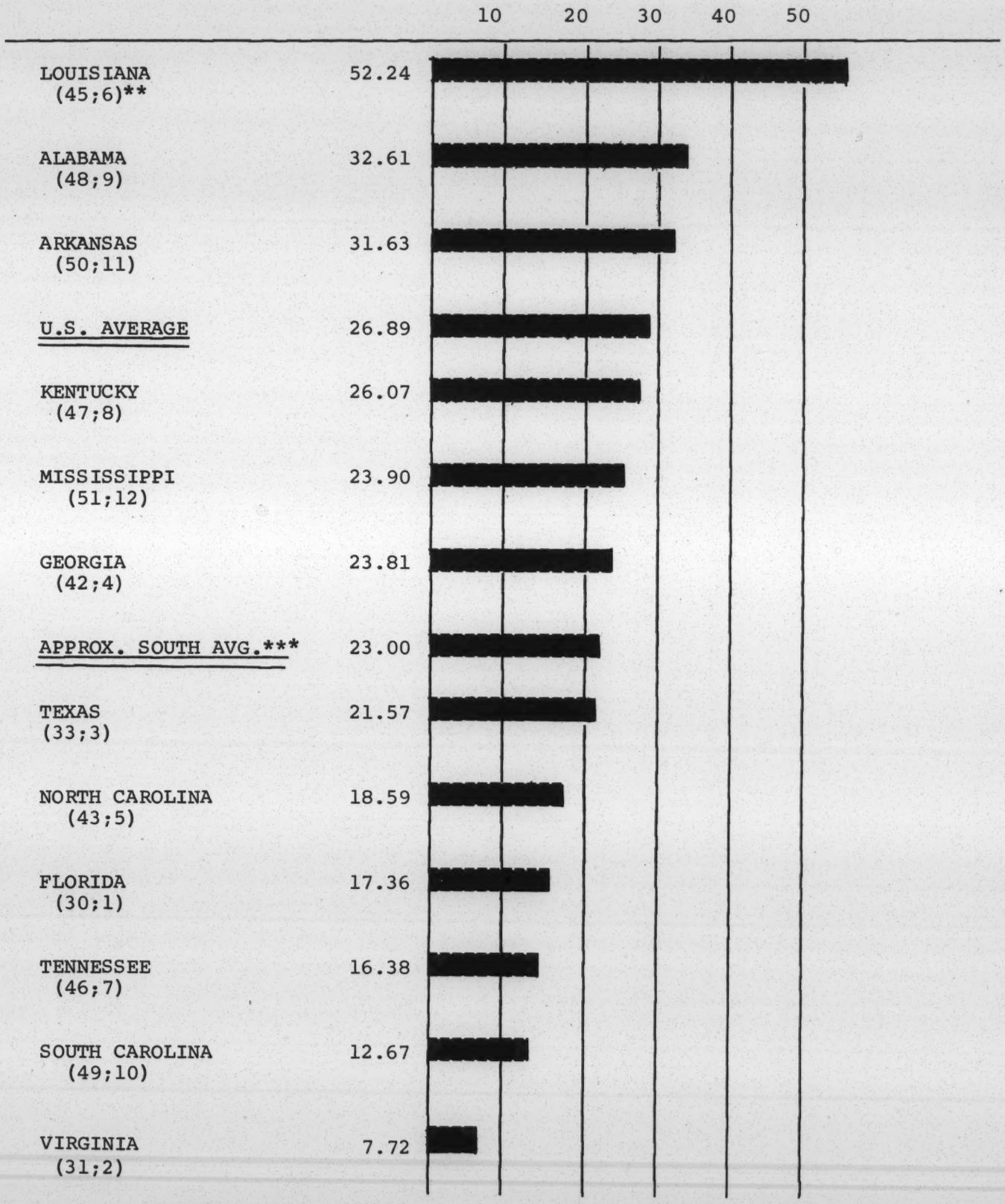
| Program | MISS. | VA. | S.CAR. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total: | $55,477 | $34,399 | $32,200 |
| % of South | 4.8% | 3.0% | 2.8% |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 55,245 | 32,579 | 31,555 |
| Old Age | 34,641 | 10,198 | 16,332 |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | -- | 2,319 | 2,576 |
| Aid to Blind | 1,446 | 958 | 1,382 |
| Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled | 9,580 | 5,624 | 5,745 |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 9,579 | 13,480 | 5,520 |
| General Assistance | 232 | 1,820 | 645 |

PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: (Figures below are percentage breakdown of the above expenditures for each state.)

| Program | All So. States | TEXAS | LA. | ALA. | GA. | FLA. | N. CAR. | KEN. | TENN. | ARK. | MISS. | VA. | S. CAR. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total: | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 94.4 | 98.5 | 97.2 | 99.9 | 99.1 | 97.1 | 97.9 | 99.3 | 99.1 | 99.3 | 99.6 | 94.7 | 98.0 |
| Old Age | 65.1 | 85.0 | 72.2 | 80.7 | 60.5 | 57.6 | 34.6 | 51.5 | 46.9 | 72.8 | 62.4 | 29.6 | 50.7 |
| Medical Aid for the Aged | 1.8 | -- | .6 | .8 | -- | 2.9 | 2.2 | 4.6 | 5.5 | 3.2 | -- | 6.7 | 8.0 |
| Aid for the Blind | 2.2 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 4.4 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 4.3 |
| Aid for the Permanently Disabled | 11.1 | 2.9 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 18.5 | 14.4 | 21.1 | 11.5 | 13.2 | 11.0 | 17.3 | 16.4 | 17.8 |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 18.2 | 8.9 | 15.6 | 9.8 | 17.9 | 20.1 | 35.6 | 29.2 | 31.3 | 9.6 | 17.3 | 39.2 | 17.2 |
| General Assistance | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.8 | .1 | .9 | 2.9 | 2.1 | .7 | .9 | .7 | .4 | 5.3 | 2.0 |

TABLE 3

AMOUNT EXPENDED PER INHABITANT* FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965




*Based on Bureau of Census population estimates as of July 1, 1965.

**Per capita income rank in nation and South respectively indicated by numbers in parentheses.

***Based on 1960 Census figures and allowing for increase through 1965.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT
(June, 1965)

| OLD AGE ASSISTANCE | | | | AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Average Payments | Number of Recipients* | Persons Aided Per 1000 Over Age 65 | | Average Payments | Number of Recipients* | Children Aided Per 1000 Under Age 18 |
| LOUISIANA | $84.93 | 130,799 | 497 | U.S. AVERAGE | $33.83 | -- | 46 |
| U.S. AVERAGE | 80.36 | - | 117 | KENTUCKY | 25.55 | 60,430 | 51 |
| TEXAS | 70.14 | 229,050 | 272 | N. CAROLINA | 25.44 | 82,712 | 46 |
| VIRGINIA | 67.24 | 1,016 | 41 | VIRGINIA | 25.27 | 35,974 | 22 |
| ALABAMA | 67.13 | 105,000** | 394 | LOUISIANA | 23.08 | 81,501 | 56 |
| FLORIDA | 65.09 | 74,595 | 105 | TENNESSEE | 22.46 | 62,005 | 43 |
| KENTUCKY | 64.01 | 59,403 | 192 | GEORGIA | 22.14 | 59,851 | 34 |
| ARKANSAS | 63.86 | -- *** | 287 | TEXAS | 18.71 | 71,737 | 18 |
| N. CAROLINA | 62.96 | 42,318 | 121 | ARKANSAS | 16.88 | 23,396 | 33 |
| TENNESSEE | 59.22 | 44,738 | 134 | S. CAROLINA | 15.97 | 21,967 | 23 |
| GEORGIA | 58.47 | 92,938 | 288 | FLORIDA | 15.68 | 87,410 | 43 |
| S. CAROLINA | 54.36 | 24,626 | 150 | ALABAMA | 11.81 | 56,087 | 44 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 41.17 | 73,196 | 363 | MISSISSIPPI | 9.13 | 66,808 | 71 |

Note: *Number of recipients for December, 1965
**Estimated
***Not available

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR TOTAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

| | TOTAL | FEDERAL | | STATE | | LOCAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | U.S. | SOUTH | U.S. | SOUTH | U.S. | SOUTH |
| | 100%* | | | | | | |
| Total: | | 54.6 | 75.4 | 33.7 | 21.9 | 11.7 | 2.7 |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | | 58.8 | 76.5 | 32.2 | 21.6 | 9.0 | 1.9 |
| Old Age Assistance | | 64.8 | 71.9 | 31.0 | 22.4 | 4.2 | 5.7 |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | | 51.8 | 73.1 | 30.6 | 23.3 | 17.6 | 3.6 |
| Aid to Blind | | 47.4 | 72.9 | 46.0 | 24.1 | 6.6 | 3.0 |
| Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled | | 56.0 | 74.4 | 34.5 | 22.3 | 9.5 | 3.3 |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | | 55.5 | 79.0 | 32.7 | 17.9 | 11.9 | 3.1 |
| General Assistance | | -- | -- | 53.4 | 37.2 | 46.6 | 62.8 |

*Reading across each line, percentages for U. S. and South each equal 100%.

TABLE 6

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

| PROGRAM | 50 STATES AND D. C. | SOUTH | SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Federal Funds: | $2,885,320 | $867,325 | 30% |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | | | |
| Old Age Assistance | 1,323,352 | 573,125 | 43.3% |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | 271,288 | 15,331* | 5.7% |
| Aid to Blind | 46,872 | 18,598 | 39.7% |
| Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled | 287,338 | 94,552 | 32.9% |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 956,470 | 165,719 | 17.3% |
| PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: | | | |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 100% | 100% | |
| Old Age Assistance | 45.9% | 66.1% | |
| Medical Assistance to Aged | 9.4% | 1.8%* | |
| Aid to Blind | 1.6% | 2.1% | |
| Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled | 10.0% | 10.9% | |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 33.1% | 19.1% | |

*No program: Georgia, Mississippi, Texas.

TABLE 7

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS FROM STATE FUNDS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965

| PROGRAM | 50 STATES AND D. C. | SOUTH | SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total From State Funds: | $1,782,992 | $251,941 | 14.1% |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 1,578,963 | 244,931 | 15.5% |
| Old Age Assistance | 632,653 | 168,106 | 26.6% |
| Medical Assistance for the Aged | 159,994 | 4,885 | 3.1% |
| Aid to the Blind | 45,539 | 6,158 | 13.5% |
| Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled | 177,295 | 28,314 | 16.0% |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 563,483 | 37,468 | 6.6% |
| General Assistance | 204,028 | 6,910 | 3.4% |
| PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: | | | |
| Total State Funds: | 100% | 100% | |
| Special Types of Public Assistance | 88.6% | 97.3% | |
| Old Age Assistance | 35.5% | 66.8% | |
| Medical Assistance for the Aged | 9.0% | 1.9% | |
| Aid to the Blind | 2.6% | 2.4% | |
| Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled | 9.9% | 11.3% | |
| Aid to Families With Dependent Children | 31.6% | 14.9% | |
| General Assistance | 11.4% | 2.7% | |

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW $3,000
(1960 Census)

| | PERCENTAGE | WHITE | NEGRO |
|---|---|---|---|
| UNITED STATES | 21.4 | 18.6 | 47.9 |
| SOUTH | | | |
| ALABAMA | 39.1 | 29.6 | 67.8 |
| ARKANSAS | 47.7 | 41.0 | 79.5 |
| FLORIDA | 28.4 | 24.1 | 54.5 |
| GEORGIA | 35.6 | 25.7 | 67.7 |
| KENTUCKY | 38.1 | 36.7 | 57.7 |
| LOUISIANA | 35.6 | 24.2 | 65.8 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 51.6 | 34.4 | 82.9 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 37.1 | 28.8 | 70.1 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 39.5 | 24.5 | 77.0 |
| TENNESSEE | 38.3 | 34.2 | 63.8 |
| TEXAS | 28.7 | 25.2 | 57.6 |
| VIRGINIA | 27.9 | 13.7 | 54.1 |

TABLE 9

ONE HUNDRED POOREST COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

| STATE | Number of Counties Per State in South Among Poorest 100 in U. S. | Averages of the 100 Poorest Counties (Per Family Median) In The United States: Average Median Family Income | Range of Median Family Income | Average Per Capita Income | Range Per Capita Income | Average Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 8 | $1,736 | | | | |
| ARKANSAS | 8 | | $1,260-$1,956 | | | |
| GEORGIA | 9 | | | $633 | | |
| KENTUCKY | 22 | | | | $435-$886 | |
| LOUISIANA | 1 | | | | | 14,606 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 24 | | | | | |
| N. CAROLINA | 3 | | | | | |
| S. CAROLINA | 4 | | | | | |
| TENNESSEE | 11 | | | | | |
| TEXAS | 6 | | | | | |
| VIRGINIA | 1 | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 97 | | | | | |



CONTINUED NEXT PAGE --

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

| Range in Population | Average Total Civilian Labor Force | Range in Total Civilian Labor Force | Average Percent Unemployment | Range in Percents of Unemployment | Average Percent Non-white | Range in Percent of Non-white |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2,443-54,464 | 4,728 | 741-16,509 | 5.523% | 0.5%-21.3% | 38.89% | 0.1%-81.3% |

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

| Average Median School Years | Range in Median School Years | Average Percent Rural Residence | Range in Percents of Rural Residence | Average Percent Sound Plumbing | Range in Percent of Sound Plumbing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7.38 | 5.2-8.9 | 42.74% | 0.1%-47.5% | 24.89% | 8.8%-47.5% |

# SPECIAL REPORT

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

# RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

# IN THE

# SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

April, 1965

# RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
# IN THE
# SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

The exclusion of Negroes from the administration of justice in the state courts of the South has long been the subject of serious criticism and concern. But little attention has been given to the extent of exclusion of Negroes from the federal courts of the South.

One obvious reason is that, in the conflict between state and federal law on basic Constitutional questions of the past two decades, the state courts have with frequency appeared as the antagonist of the Negro Southerner, and the federal courts frequently as his protector.

This protection has come, however, largely through the overriding decisions of federal appellate courts. As federal jurisdiction is extended, the role of the federal courts becomes ever more vital to the national effort to achieve full justice. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to by-pass these courts. New federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for the protection of individual life and liberty.

Pressures to move civil rights issues out of the streets and into the courts continue. The question has to be asked (and it has always had its pertinency in criminal cases) -- what kinds of courts will handle them?

The federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term "jury of his peers," require a closer look at the racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual as well as guardians of principle.

This report deals with employment practices and jury composition of the southern federal courts. It is based on such documentation as there is available plus interviews with lawyers practicing in the federal courts of each state.

States covered by the survey are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas in the Fifth Circuit; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia in the Fourth; Tennessee in the Sixth, and Arkansas in the Eighth Circuit. Each state contains from two to four U. S. District Courts. Data on the Courts of Appeals refer only to their offices and operations within these eleven states.

Clerical records of the federal government do not designate race of court employees, and there are no compilations

of statistics on racial composition of juries. No systematic examination of each court in each state was attempted. Respondents for the most part relied on memory and general knowledge. Results of such a survey are not definitive or finally authoritative; there is room for minor errors and oversights. But such a survey does reveal general patterns, and it is with these that we are concerned. If more detailed and precise research is stimulated, that is good; but the immediate purpose is a new awareness of the need to improve the situation.

## I. EMPLOYMENT

The broad patterns regarding the role of Negroes in the federal courts under study in this survey can be summed up in the following statistical table:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

| | TOTAL | WHITE | NEGRO |
|---|---|---|---|
| Circuit Court Judges | 12* | 12 | 0 |
| District Court Judges | 65 | 65 | 0 |
| Referees in Bankruptcy | 55 | 55 | 0 |
| U. S. Commissioners | 253 | 253 | 0 |
| U. S. Clerks | 28 | 28 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Clerks | 321 | 321 | 0 |
| U. S. Attorneys | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Assistant U. S. Attorneys | 158 | 153 | 5 |
| Jury Commissioners | 109 | 109 | 0 |
| U. S. Marshals | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Marshals | 165 | 156 | 9 |
| Secretarial and Clerical | 364 | ** | ** |

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number, from observation, is quite small.

The above table may possibly overlook some Negroes in some positions. But it cannot be far from the exact numerical situation.

The circuit court and district court judges are appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate. So are the United States attorneys and marshals. The clerks of the respective courts are appointed by the judges. The judges also appoint U. S. commissioners, jury commissioners, and the referees in bankruptcy. The clerks select their own deputies and clerical assistants, subject to approval of the judges. Assistant U. S. attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General of the United States. The Attorney General authorizes marshals to appoint deputy marshals.

Exclusion of Negroes from the top positions in the system obviously has the practical effect of virtually eliminating them from lesser positions. The influence on appointments and hiring by southern office-holders through political party patronage channels can't be overlooked.

Of the nine Negro deputy marshals there are two in Alabama, one in Mississippi, two in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee, one in Virginia. Of the five assistant United States attorneys, one is in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, two in Texas, one in Virginia. This is at best tokenism.

In no state are Negroes serving in the positions of importance and highest responsibility except in token numbers

as deputy marshals and assistant U. S. attorneys, and in four states -- Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana -- in none of these positions at all.

In lesser positions, a Negro clerical worker was noted in Alabama, a bailiff in both Florida and Georgia, court criers in Virginia and South Carolina, and two secretaries in Texas. Again, some may have been overlooked, but not enough to change the general picture.

In nearly every state, employment of Negroes in custodial jobs was noted. Use of Negro employees designated as "criers" or "messengers" as valets, chauffeurs, and the like was reported. In Georgia, such an employee's duties were described as helping the judge with his robes, bringing his books, and driving for him.

A respondent in Alabama said: "If it were not for the lone Negro deputy marshal, the District Court in Birmingham would look like the County Courthouse." A respondent in Virginia, when asked if he were describing Negro employment in addition to a deputy marshall and two criers as "negligible," replied: "nonexistent." Instances were cited in Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia of Negroes turning down appointments or jobs. Strenuous opposition was encountered to appointment of the three Negroes in responsible jobs in North Carolina. This came from various sources, including political ones.

II. <u>JURY SERVICE</u>

Negroes are called and do serve on petit and grand

juries in the southern federal courts. Estimating and evaluating the degree to which they do is of course not an exact science. One respondent's "tokenism" might be another's "substantial numbers" or another's "fair amount."

But for the very most part, lawyers interviewed in each of the eleven states were not satisfied that Negroes are serving on juries to the extent that they should be.

In Alabama, a typical jury panel was described as five or six Negroes among 110; Negroes occasionally serve on grand juries. An Arkansas respondent said he and others estimated that out of double panels of 40 to 50 persons, three or four might be Negroes, and out of a single panel of 24, one or two might be Negroes. In most cases in Arkansas, lawyers consider Negroes as "ciphers" who will go along with the majority, but they are said to dismiss Negroes when opposing counsel has been active in civil rights. There is a general understanding in Arkansas, a respondent said, of the need to avoid the appearance of systematic exclusion. In Florida, one sees "as many Negroes as women" on jury panels; their service was termed "more than token," but less than reflective of Negro population. Negroes were said to be called "fairly" for jury duty in Louisiana, but more than average numbers are eliminated by challenge or excuse from serving on the jury. The same was said of South Carolina. Mississippi's situation was described as "token." So was Tennessee's, Georgia's, and North Carolina's, with recognition in the latter of some improving efforts. In Texas, the estimate

ranged from "token" to "substantial numbers," with more of a conflict of opinion among respondents over whether enough Negroes serve than in other states. A Virginia respondent said that from five to seven Negroes might be on a panel of 30, from two to five on a grand jury. A respondent said the number serving on federal juries throughout the state is "not sufficient."

The respondents described two problems involved in getting satisfactory numbers of Negroes on federal juries. One is whether or not enough Negroes are called for jury service in the first place. The other is whether among those called, even if it is a "fair" number, enough Negroes get through the various processes of attrition to do what really counts -- actually serve on a jury.

One often cited reason for a smaller number of Negroes called for jury duty is the lack of knowledge of the Negro community on the part of the mostly white court personnel. (All southern jury commissioners are white.) Prospective jurors are generally selected by a procedure described by the Judicial Conference of the United States in The Jury System in the Federal Courts, September, 1960. It involves getting persons of substance to recommend those who might be selected. Often, only white persons make these recommendations. Even the Negroes who make them might not be persons of knowledgeable acquaintanceship in the Negro community. They are often the Negroes who happen to come into contact with white persons.

A Tennessee respondent said officials go to persons

such as the presidents of chambers of commerce for names for jury lists. Use of state jury lists was reported in parts of Georgia and Virginia. Use of voter registration lists -- which are notoriously low in the number of Negroes -- was reported in Mississippi.

Some respondents singled out individual district courts where genuinely conscientious efforts seem to be made, with varying degrees of success, to get representative numbers of Negroes on the jury lists. These included the Middle District of Florida, the Atlanta Division of the Northern District of Georgia, the Middle District of North Carolina.

The lawyers interviewed were inclined to attribute the high amount of attrition among prospective Negro jurors mostly to racial circumstances, partly to other causes.

Peremptory challenges by opposing attorneys account for some of the attrition, particularly where the case involves Negroes. Negroes, in the view of defense attorneys, value Negro life and welfare, it seems, more highly than whites. Another reason often cited is economic, and it applies to large numbers of whites as well. Hourly wage earners (unless they have a union contract or other agreement guaranteeing compensatory pay) and persons of low income generally are unable to give up the working time (and pay) that jury service entails. So they get excused if they can. Negroes in disproportionately large numbers, compared with whites, are hourly wage earners and low-income workers in the South. A respondent in Mississippi commented that

most Negro hourly workers there could probably earn more serving on a federal jury.

* * * * * *

The broad findings of the study show that a Negro involved in federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The problem of the personnel of the courts seems easily and obviously remediable. More Negro appointments and hiring are needed. There are reports of political and other opposition when conscientious efforts are made to accomplish this. There are also reports of instances where Negroes turned down appointments or jobs. Negro attorneys are in short supply in the South, but the survey does not indicate by any means that their number or that of other qualified persons has been fully called upon.

The courts seem out of line with the fair employment hiring practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute.

But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of federal judges and the U. S. attorneys is the President's. At its 1964 Annual Meeting (November 20-21) the Southern Regional Council adopted and conveyed to the President a resolution which said in part:

> It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications, however strongly urged by state or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national, and democratic interests.

The problem of jury service is more complex. If the impressions of respondents in this survey are correct, then a great many more Negroes need to be called and to serve on southern federal juries. The widespread reports of nonuse of low income and hourly income workers on southern juries raise questions beyond racial considerations. One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle-class.

Proposals have been made to select jury lists much as public opinion poll samples are chosen -- at random in such numbers from lists of all qualified persons so as to get a true cross-section of the community in terms of the various socio-economic factors, including race and income level. Some such fresh approach seems needed.

There is an urgency to this. The goal of nondiscriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence

of the case will affect outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trial as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury.

Reform of the basic institutions of American society is compelled by the logic of the civil rights movement. What began as an effort to correct the most glaring inequities of racial discrimination requires that the general structure of inequity be overhauled, looking toward the ideal of liberty and justice for all.

# SPECIAL REPORT


## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia


**SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966:**
**THE SLOW UNDOING**
**December 1966**

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# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING

## I. INTRODUCTION: THE GENUINE ISSUE

The school year 1966-67 arrived amid controversy over the implementation of school desegregation guidelines and amid still successful avoidance of an end in the South to racially separated schools as ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954. Some southern public officials had launched an at least partially successful campaign to persuade the nation that the United States Office of Education (U.S.O.E.) had "gone beyond the law" in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Public and even congressional debate had been focused both on a charge that excessive administrative zeal had been put into enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and on a question of the intent of Congress when it passed the act.

One might question the appropriateness of these concerns in the context of the wording of Section 601 of Title VI:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to, discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financal assistance.

Given this language of Title VI and the weight of the nation's highest judicial opinion on equal protection under the

Constitution, it can be asked whether in fact the U.S.O.E. had gone far enough in carrying out the mandate given in Section 602 of Title VI "to effectuate the provisions of Section 601 [cited above] . . . by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability . . . ."

Indeed, it seems clear that by accepting gradualism in its guidelines the U.S.O.E. took a conservative approach to carrying out its mandate from Congress. Thus, complaints about the degree of zeal put into enforcement of an essentially conservative policy may be seen in proper perspective.

No amount of qualification of intent by Congress could stand the test of constitutionality if its effect was to deny equal protection of the law by allowing segregated dual school systems to continue under an assumed name -- freedom of choice schools -- subsidized by federal funds. Only repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment could achieve what some southern officials have attempted through amendments to annual appropriations and through complaints about the "unreasonableness" of federal examiners.

The study which follows attempts to provide more facts. The premise on which it does so is that the body politic needs to be confronted with a clearer choice about itself on the desegregation issue. Will it allow the *prima facie* intent of Title VI and the Supreme Court decision

of 1954 to be circumvented? Will it, despite John Kennedy's words, both witness and permit "the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed"?

## II. THE 1966 GUIDELINES: THE END OF INNOCENCE

### 1965 RECONSIDERED

In 1965, the United States Office of Education seemed to assume good faith on the part of southern school officials in complying with desegregation guidelines. In view of the long history of attempted evasion of court orders since 1954 on the part of many of these same officials and on the part of governors and other public office holders, this assumption was questioned by many interested in obedience of the law. A special report of the Southern Regional Council stated at that time:

> The most rigid checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

The performance on school desegregation in the South during 1965-66 was not reassuring. This was the first year that the Office of Education had the duty of enforcing Title VI in the schools. A decade of litigation over the 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court had by September, 1966,

resulted in a pitifully small amount of desegregation. Approximately two percent of the 2,896,100 Negro children in the eleven southern states were in desegregated schools in 1964-65. The number was increased to about six percent during 1965-66, a disappointing result considering the fanfare for Title VI, and what might have been achieved under it.

Late in January, 1966, Harold Howe, II, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education, requested suggestions for changing the 1965 guidelines for 1966. Wall Street Journal columnist Jonathan Spivak commiserated with the federal agency's "almost impossible assignment: Strengthening the standards sufficiently to satisfy its civil rights critics and yet not so much as to provoke explosive southern resistance, sacrificing the integration gains already achieved. /6.01% of Negro pupils in school with whites in the South in 1965./ 'In this business, any decision is wrong; that's why no one wants to make them, frets one school desegregation specialist.'"

Shortly after Mr. Howe's request, representatives of eight civil rights and human relations organizations attacked the U.S.O.E.'s school desegregation program for 1965 as "too weakly drawn and too timidly enforced." They planned meetings in five southern states to try to persuade the federal government to carry out a "massive school desegregation program."

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights advocated a

"federal law to protect Negro students who attend white schools from intimidation and harassment." It also declared that freedom of choice plans "should not be permitted as a device for perpetuation of dual school systems." The Commission said its own studies showed that states which made the most use of freedom of choice plans had the lowest percentage of Negroes going to school with whites. The plans placed all initiative on Negroes, and often with no protection from resultant physical and economic intimidation. The Commission recommended that the Office of Education adopt policies and procedures which "will assure adequate evaluation and monitoring of desegregation plans for the 5,000 school districts in the southern and border states. This would require on-the-spot inspection of some school districts and the Office of Education should seek more funds if needed for personnel to do such investigation." The Commission also repeated a recommendation of civil rights organizations that school districts operating under court order be required to file plans complying with federal guidelines.

Many suggestions centered on intimidation, a quite serious problem in school desegregation as in most other areas of civil rights law enforcement. (The proposed 1966 civil rights legislation would have made a major step toward remedying the situation with a provision making it a federal offense to interfere with attempts of persons seeking to

exercise their civil rights, and another reforming jury selection procedures. Defeat of the bill in what seemed a reaction against civil rights progress in 1966 was a major setback to the South.)

Meanwhile, the U.S.O.E. in early 1966 was drafting new school desegregation guidelines. There was candid admission at the Office of Education that something stronger than new guidelines would be needed to break segregation patterns in school systems outside the South. By this time, many of those seeking implementation of the law were convinced the same was true for the South.

THE NEW GUIDELINES: ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

On March 7, the new guidelines were issued. They included many revisions recommended by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Where desegregation of four grades had been required the year before, more grades were required this time, and all grades by 1967 would be expected to desegregate. The beginning of faculty desegregation where it had not occurred was also required. All of this was consistent with court orders in school cases saying that faculty desegregation was a necessary element of school desegregation, that free-choice plans must be fair, and that school boards have an obligation to work affirmatively to achieve desegregation.

Probably the most serious criticism of the previous year's guidelines had been that many of the freedom of choice

plans had not been fair. They put all of the burden for compliance on Negroes, and allowed school officials, local police, and white society in general to shirk responsibility. The new guidelines tried to shift the responsibility more nearly to where it belonged -- on the local officials, and particularly those in charge of schools. The new guidelines stated:

> Each school system is responsible for the effective implementation of its desegregation plan. Within their authority, school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under, or otherwise affected by, the plan. They must take appropriate action with regard to any student or staff member who interferes with the successful operation of the plan, whether or not on school grounds. If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they must seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials.

Criteria were established in the guidelines for determining whether a given free-choice (or other type) desegregation plan was actually working. A plausible criterion was whether or not the plan resulted in "substantial achievement" of desegregation. Mr. Howe indicated the following measures of "substantial achievement" would be used by his office:

(1) If a system had transferred eight to nine percent of its Negro pupils from a segregated school in 1965, at least twice that number would "normally be expected" to be trans-

ferred in September of 1966.

(2) In the cases where four to five percent had transferred, the percentage would be expected to triple next term.

(3) Where the transfer percentage was lower than four percent, "then the rate of increase in total transfers for the 1966-67 school year would normally be expected to be proportionately greater than under (2) above," according to the regulations. This would seem to mean it would have to quadruple or reach an approximate minimum of ten percent.*

States whose records, according to Southern Education Reporting Service figures, had been lower than four percent in 1965-66 were: Alabama, 0.43%; Georgia, 2.66%; Louisiana, 0.69%; Mississippi, 0.59%, and South Carolina, 1.46%.

Two weeks after the guidelines were issued, the Southern Education Reporting Service noted that there had been "little immediate reaction from most southern states, except an indication of reluctant acceptance." The Nashville-based private organization indicated that strongest opposition had come from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

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*Excessively expressed exasperation was a mark of much of the criticism by southern schoolmen of the guidelines. How much of it was generated needlessly by such expression as this in ten closely printed pages of guidelines?

Georgia Governor Carl Sanders termed the guidelines "another illustration of government by bureau," and Congressman Phil Landrum (D-Ga.), said the Office of Education was "pushing too hard, too fast." Alabama Governor George Wallace declared, "We must obey the laws, just and unjust, but we should not have to obey the edicts of bureaucratic officials which go beyond the law."

In Mississippi, a school district which had led the state in voluntary compliance the first year was reported unwilling to comply with the new set of guidelines.

"Shock" and "surprise," expressed plaintively in other statements, were predictable as pro forma responses in some southern political situations. They were not taken as indicative of the scope and depth of recalcitrance which later was to develop.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, speaking at the University of South Carolina, called the guidelines "moderate, perhaps even tardy benchmarks . . . They contain no sudden surprises nor do they in themselves break new ground."

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 1

Under the complicated regulations of enforcement, school districts considered still to be operating dual systems were required to file plans for desegregation compliance (Form 441-B). Of the approximately 5,000 districts in the

17 southern and border states, some 1,900 (most of them in the 11 southern states) were required to file the form. On April 4, Mr. Howe announced that those which had not filed them by an April 15 deadline would be notified that they faced loss of federal aid. It was also made clear that these forms would be subject to future tests of performance and were not sufficient evidence of actual compliance. Compliance forms trickled in slowly. Jack Nix, Georgia's state school superintendent, reported that only 20 of the state's 196 systems had signed Form 441-B. Alabama superintendents voted 76 to 4 to adopt a resolution urging their congressional delegation to seek a modification of the guidelines, adding, "We cannot follow directives." (At a statewide meeting held by U.S.O.E. staff in Birmingham reported by the Los Angeles Times, one school official asked, "Where'd you leave your carpetbags, you dirty Commies?" Another asked, "What if I can't find a Negro teacher qualified to teach in a white school?" The Office of Education representative, Wallace McBain, a Marquette University professor, responded, "If she isn't qualified, what is she doing in your system? . . . The 'separate but equal' ruling was made in 1894 . . . You aren't even willing to go that far.")

Administrative procedures for the drastic act of cutting off funds under Title VI were made deliberately slow. No one wants to cut off vitally needed education funds; the approach appears designed to make maximum use of the threat

of loss of funds, with the act of cutting them off held in abeyance as long as possible, an ultimate weapon. Then there are two significantly different procedures here, too, often lumped together as "fund cut-offs" in reportage. Funds for new programs may be deferred -- that is, held up -- until a school system corrects its non-compliance. This approach has been frequently used in compelling the systems to sign compliance forms. And funds may be terminated -- a more drastic act which means no federal support as long as a system is not in compliance.

By mid-April of 1966, no funds had been terminated under the first guidelines covering the 1965-66 school year. Examiners had held hearings on 65 school systems, with recommendations that aid be terminated for 41. By the fall of 1966, indications were 39 systems actually had the funds terminated.

This slow-grinding process, as described in such newspapers as the Los Angeles Times, should have helped the nation to put into perspective the cries of alarm growing louder in the South over the 1966-67 guidelines.

For all their outcries, southern officials must have been aware of this basic reasonableness of Title VI enforcement procedures, and of the U.S.O.E.'s difficulties with the role of enforcement agency. The Los Angeles Times quoted a Georgia school board attorney as saying, "We are going to tell them we intend to comply. Then we are going to tell them, 'Make us.'"

In contrast to the immediate reaction of routine expression of dismay over the new guidelines, a more specific and more vehement response set in as the deadline approached. There were widespread charges, quoted considerably in the southern press, that the guidelines imposed a formula for racial balance and demanded instant desegregation of teaching staffs. On April 11, Secretary Gardner sent letters to governors, congressmen, and state school officials denying these two specific accusations. It should be noted at this point that the latter action, full desegregation of faculties, might well have been demanded under the law at the outset. The fact is that full desegregation of faculties was not required even in the second year of enforcement. Only a beginning was required.

Mr. Gardner answered the "racial balance" argument by pointing out that percentages were an "administrative guide" for measuring progress under free-choice plans. His point was that of the civil rights critics of the previous year's plan: There had to be standards.

H.E.W. officials insisted that their denials of these charges were not a softening of the guidelines. They were, however, generally viewed as an attempt to head off a full-scale revolt by southern school districts. And whether rightly or wrongly, an impression was gained that not only were the percentage requirements highly flexible but that they would bend in proportion to amounts of resistance and political pressure mustered against them.

Resistance continued. Boycotts were urged in some school districts to protest the guidelines. By the 19th of April, only one Louisiana school system had filed a compliance form; only four in Alabama had done so.

The deadline had been April 15. By the end of April, only 1,193 of the 1,900 school systems required to file the compliance forms had done so. The United States Office of Education extended its deadline to May 6.

COMPLIANCE DEADLINE NUMBER 2

On May 5, the Office of Education ordered that payment of federal funds be deferred for new school projects in districts which had not filed compliance forms by May 6. As of May 7, the number of these was 255. In the language of the regulations, it will be remembered, deferment of funds is less drastic than termination. And only new projects were involved. By far the most of federal aid to a school system would of course be in programs previously in effect.

Directors of eight southern state Councils on Human Relations (private biracial organizations) at about this time wrote to Commissioner Howe, urging the withholding of all funds from districts that "flagrantly disobey the guidelines." A few such actions in each state "would open the opportunity for real headway this year toward the final goal," they said.

By mid-May, 1,475 of the 1,893 school districts required to submit the compliance form were judged to have acceptable desegregation plans. Others were being studied.

More than 200 districts were still refusing to file. A few weeks later, 21 of these school districts were reported flatly refusing to follow the guidelines, and others had still not filed their forms.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives in early May had, in Mr. Gardner's words, "dealt a real blow to H.E.W.'s plans for compliance." The House cut a budget request for compliance programs for 1966. The budget had proposed 348 staff members, and the House had cut this by 70.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, had said back in March that the "guidelines' effectiveness in desegregating public schools will depend fundamentally on whether the Administration is willing to make a powerful political commitment on manpower and funds to achieve desegregation. We have had no encouragement in this area. Enforcing the guidelines, even with a great commitment of appropriations and manpower, will nevertheless be difficult because of their complexity, permissiveness in many areas, and wide scope of exceptions."

In late May, Commissioner Howe spoke with about two dozen southern congressmen who were of the opinion that the guidelines were illegal. Gubernatorial candidate James Martin, a Republican congressman from Alabama, came away from this meeting claiming that the commissioner of education had been "shaken," for whatever such opinion was worth.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Eighteen southern senators sent a letter, dated May 2 but released to the press May 13, to President Johnson. The letter, which was, according to news stories, written by Georgia's Senator Richard Russell and distributed for signatures by Mississippi's Senator John Stennis, was labeled a "Most Solemn Petition." It said in part:

> We come to you as Chief Executive of the nation to protest vigorously the abuse of power involved in the bureaucratic imposition of the guidelines and we earnestly beseech your personal intervention to right this wrong and have this order revoked . . . In our efforts to protect our schools and the children who will direct the destinies of our states tomorrow, we earnestly appeal to you to intervene and prevent illegal, unfair, and unrealistic action by the Office of Education.

The letter was signed by Alabama's Lister Hill and John Sparkman; Arkansas's J. William Fulbright and John L. McCellan; Florida's Spessard Holland and George A. Smathers; Georgia's Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge; Louisiana's Allen Ellender and Russell B. Long; Mississippi's John C. Stennis and James O. Eastland, North Carolina's B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; South Carolina's Donald Russell and J. Strom Thurmond; Virginia's Harry Flood Byrd, Jr., and A. Willis Robertson. The senators from Tennessee and Texas did not sign.

Newspapers subsequently reported that President Johnson had responded to Senator Russell, but the letter itself

was not made public. President Johnson was reported to have replied that he considered the guidelines "fair." "Percentage requirements in the guidelines were for administrative procedure," he was quoted as saying. He pointed out that the regulations permitted continuation of "freedom of choice" plans and did not require racial balance or busing.

SUMMER MANEUVERS: RETRENCHMENT AND RETREAT

Over the summer, there were other rumblings from powerful southern political forces. At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Education Board (a creature of a 15-state compact) in Miami Beach, Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama sought to line up unified opposition to the guidelines. Governors and educators in attendance rejected open defiance, but many agreed with Governor Wallace that the guidelines went too far.

In South Carolina, Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod met with H.E.W. officials to determine "how they justify the requirements of the guidelines." He was accompanied by Robert Alexander, federal coordinator for the governor's office. South Carolina Governor Robert McNair had said that the state attorney general's office would make its services available to any school district bringing court action against the guidelines in the event of loss of federal funds.

Further evidence that integration was far from realized accumulated. On July 1, the Office of Education

had issued a preliminary report on the progress of school desegregation required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Office estimated that as of the 1965-66 school year, almost 80% of all white public school pupils in the United States in the first and twelfth grades attended schools that were from 90-100% white, and at least 97% in the first grade and 99% in the twelfth grade went to schools that were more than 50% white. The report also stated that more than 65% of all Negro pupils in the first grade attended schools that were between 90 and 100% Negro. Furthermore, 87% of Negro pupils at grade one and 66% at grade twelve attended schools that were 50% or more Negro.

In the South, the report added, "most students attend schools that are 100 percent white or Negro." A complete 400 page report was to be issued later.

It was becoming apparent that concessions which weakened the guidelines were being won from the U.S.O.E. by local school officials. The pattern seemed to be complaints to Washington backed by pressure from southern congressmen.

The case of W. Stanley Kruger, compliance officer for South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, attracted considerable attention.

Mr. Kruger became embroiled in exchanges in the press with superintendents of two Atlanta-area systems, Fulton County, which administers the schools outside the city limits of its county seat, Atlanta, and DeKalb County, a residential

suburb. Both areas are generally conservative. In both instances, Mr. Kruger pressed these superintendents on what seemed to him weak points in their compliance with the guidelines. Both argued that they were trying to be cooperative and complained of the manner as well as the substance of Mr. Kruger's dealings with them. In both instances, the superintendents, DeKalb with help from Representative James Mackay, and Fulton with support from state school officials, complained to Washington and appeared to have been sustained. Certainly, there was no clear-cut backing of Mr. Kruger, and no effective action about the matters complained of.

The handling of the DeKalb case called forth a searing memorandum to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Gardner from H.E.W.'s Atlanta regional director, William Page. Not intended for publication but somehow released to the press, the memorandum warned against the undermining of regional enforcement efforts by Washington officials. Said Mr. Page in a seeming reference to Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb: "If any of the 2,000 school superintendents can negotiate his case with Commissioner Howe, why should 10,000 hospital administrators not have direct access to the surgeon-general?"

Some Georgia school officials met in Washington with Mr. Howe on August 4. They demanded that he transfer Mr. Kruger. Congressmen and other political figures echoed the demand. The educators called Mr. Kruger the "hatchet man"

for the Office of Education, charging that he had been "disruptive." South Carolina officials were saying at the time that Mr. Kruger had been enforcing the 1966 guidelines to the extent that only five of South Carolina's 108 school districts had had their plans approved. Mr. Howe assured the delegation that he "would review the Kruger situation."

On September 9, the Atlanta Constitution reported that W. Stanley Kruger had been transferred to another job. Commissioner Howe announced the move in conjunction with a change to locating compliance personnel in regional offices rather than Washington. H.E.W. officials pointed out that all other compliance officers had previously been transferred. But whether intended so or not, the move was interpreted by Southerners for and against school desegregation as a yielding to local pressure against enforcement of the law.

THE COMING OF FALL

As fall arrived and schools opened, the Wall Street Journal of September 12 reported that some school districts, mostly in the Deep South, had decided to forego federal funds rather than desegregate. The largest increases in desegregation were coming in large cities which already had been under court orders to integrate. Some courts have accelerated the required pace of desegregation. For example, in New Orleans where some frenzied white women howled at the court-ordered desegregation of two schools in 1960, the number of Negro students attending schools with whites increased from 1,800

to 5,752. Faculty desegregation also began. Disturbances over desegregation in St. Bernard Parish near New Orleans in the fall, 1966, suggested that protest, like many well-to-do whites, had moved to the suburbs. In Atlanta, where desegregation began peacefully in 1961, the number of Negro students in interracial schools was expected to increase substantially over the 6,000 mark of the previous year but precise numbers could not be obtained. In both these cities and others, however, there were indications that officials included in totals of "desegregated" Negroes students from predominantly Negro schools which had only token white attendance.

In Alabama, the state legislature passed an anti-guidelines bill prohibiting compliance agreements. Most compliant (and this was no more than half) school officials seemed to have ignored this law, however. In Mississippi, shocking assaults by grown men armed with chains and clubs on Negro children entering desegregated schools occurred in Grenada. This probably ugliest spectacle of all school desegregation brutalities suggested a realistic perspective for those who had become complacent about southern "progress."

In Louisiana, Leander Perez, president of the official Plaquemines Parish Council, reacted to desegregation of public schools of Plaquemines Parish under federal court order by aiding the establishment of private schools. The Times-Picayune reported that public school buses were being used to

transport white pupils to the private school at the Perez family plantation. In Bogalusa, limited violence broke out at the junior high school and a larger clash was narrowly averted.

THE COMPLIANCE SITUATION: FALL, 1966

U.S.O.E. statistics reported in the Wall Street Journal on September 12 indicated that as of mid-September, 2,669 of the 4,600 school districts in the 17 southern and border states were desegregated satisfactorily according to standards of U.S.O.E., and therefore were not covered by the guidelines. Another 168 districts were desegregating under court order. Another 1,900 districts operating dual school systems were told to submit plans of compliance with U.S.O.E. guidelines. A total of 1,500 did so by the May deadline and were judged acceptable.

Of the 400 remaining districts, 250 had proposed plans that were still being reviewed for acceptability. Another 150 had not turned in acceptable guarantees of compliance. Federal funds were terminated for 39 of these. Action to terminate funds of 64 others was begun. Such action was anticipated for 47 more.

In short, enforcement of Title VI had not touched most southern school systems with financial sanctions. And southern schools were far short of Title VI's demand for the elimination of discrimination.

Statistics on the amount of desegregation, never easy to compile, were virtually impossible to obtain during the three months after schools opened in September of 1966. Fairly elaborate arrangements were made by the Southern Regional Council prior to school opening to get reports from newspaper reporters and other reliable sources in each of the eleven southern states on the amount of desegregation. As of mid-November only three of these sources, and they included some of the best newsmen in the South, were able to obtain full statewide data. (These sources reported 9,127 or 2.9% in Louisiana; 20,436 or 5.7% in Georgia. For Mississippi, where admittance of fewer than 2,000 Negro pupils to formerly all-white schools in 1965 had been termed "massive desegregation" by the local press, the estimate was 6,244, or 2%, of the Negro school enrollment in 1966.) This unavailability to citizens of each state of the statistics of desegregation performance seemed in itself a mark of the attitude of southern education officials.

The Office of Education was compiling figures through the fall and promised a full public report. As the time for release of the federal report approached, some statewide figures began to appear in the press. Examination of Office of Education figures, once they have become available, would have to be made in terms of whether they reflect continued attendance of Negroes in desegregated schools, or merely the number of Negro children who reported to such schools the

first day. Sad reports came from many parts of the South of the discouragement in various ways, most of them unkind and illegal, of many such children from continuing in their freely chosen new schools.

In an Atlanta speech, David Seeley gave the following general estimates:

South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana (the most vocal of those complaining of over-zealousness) had right around 95% or more of Negro pupils still in segregated schools. The six other states of the South had less than 90% of Negroes in segregated schools. The estimate did not state the range under 90%, but it would probably not go below 70%. In some of the border states, by contrast, at least 80% of Negro children were in integrated schools. Almost all the border states had at least 50% of Negro students in such schools. Office of Education spokesmen promised strengthened enforcement (cutting off of funds) in the five Deep South states. Of 636 school districts in those five states, 428 were required to submit desegregation plans. (The others were either under court order or had achieved elimination of dual systems.) Approximately 200 of the 428 plans were in trouble -- some having resulted in termination of funds, most under review for termination. And these, the officials made clear, were systems with the most flagrant violations. They were ones with no faculty desegregation and/or 0 to 2% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools.

The pattern in the eleven southern states seemed clear. Performance in five of them was far below any reasonable standard for achieving the abolishment of dual school systems, for achieving the law's demand that discrimination based on race cease. Performance in the other six was better, but by no means fully in compliance with the constitutional requirement to end dual school systems.

THE SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE IN CONGRESS

The very limited effect of H.E.W. Title VI enforcement was not the only development that encouraged the avoidance of Title VI's mandate in the South. Three events reflected the success of an effort in Congress to emasculate the guidelines and dilute Title VI.

First, on September 26, the Senate Appropriations Committee attached a report to the 1967 H.E.W. appropriation bill saying that the 1966 guidelines might be illegal and asking Secretary Gardner to re-examine them. The report noted that a transcript of debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act quoted the then Senator Hubert Humphrey as saying that Title IV of the bill precluded the Office of Education's using Title VI to require an end to racial imbalance. The report also said the committee members had received many complaints about "harassment" of school officials by compliance officers.

Second, on October 10, Democratic floor leaders in

both houses struck from the $6.4 billion school aid bill a provision giving special aid to schools desiring to correct racial imbalance. This move was described in the press as an attempt to appease congressmen fearful of the so-called "backlash."

Third, the same day, led by southern representatives, the House voted to amend the school aid bill by requiring a full hearing before the U.S.O.E. could withhold funds from a school district considered to be in violation of the guidelines. This amendment was later changed in conference with the Senate to say that funds may still be deferred provided a hearing is held within 60 days and a decision on complete termination reached within another 30 days. Nevertheless, the initial adoption of the amendment reflected the hostile climate of opinion and/or the degree of confusion in the House.

On October 7, at his press conference, President Johnson commented on the enforcement situation, and the issue of alleged "harassment" of southern school officials by U.S.O.E. compliance officers. His statement that in some instances there had been harassment, mistakes and "enthusiastic" people was seized upon as perhaps having ominous portent for the hopes of those who believe in full enforcement. But in context, the question and answer, as recorded in the Washington Post's transcript, would seem to assert also what southern critics of the guidelines fear most -- continued determination to enforce the law.

Q: . . . There seems to be a dispute developing between those who feel that the federal government should merely strike down legal barriers to equality and those who feel that the government should play a more positive role in encouraging integration in various facets of life.

I wonder if we could get your thinking on these two and where you stand on that argument?

A: Yes, I think the federal government must be a leader in this field and I have -- the three years I have been President -- tried, by word and action, to do everything I could to bring about equality among the races in this country and to see that the Brown decision affecting the integration of our schools was carried forward expeditiously and in accordance with the law -- to see that the civil rights acts passed in the late 50's and 60's and more recently in my Administration were carried out in accordance with the intent of Congress; that the law was fully adhered to and fully enforced at all times.

I realize that in some instances there has been some harassment, some mistakes perhaps have been made, some people have been enthusiastic, and differences have developed.

But where those mistakes have been made I think Mr. Gardner and the Commissioner of Education have been willing to always listen to any protests that might come, and to carry out the law as Congress intended it should be.

That will be the policy of our Administration: To continue to promote and to expedite the observance of the law of the land, and to see that all citizens of this country are treated equally without discrimination.

# III. CONGRESSIONAL INTENT, ADMINISTRATIVE GUIDELINES AND THE CONSTITUTION

## CONGRESSIONAL INTENT

The Senate Appropriations Committee, having eight southern members with great seniority and influence out of a total membership of 23, had officially raised the argument in September [in the report it attached to the H.E.W. appropriation bill] that U.S.O.E. enforcement was exceeding congressional intent. This argument had been repeatedly advanced by conservative newspaper columnists long before the Committee report. The Committee report noted then Senator Humphrey's linking of Title IV's prohibition of forced racial balances to application of Title VI. The Committee questioned whether U.S.O.E.'s use of percentages to measure progress toward ending discriminatory dual school systems was a violation of Title IV.

The interpretation of Title IV in relation to Title VI becomes crucial. Title VI, quoted earlier in this paper, clearly prohibits any discrimination subsidized by federal funds. The real question then is the meaning of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

When the definition of desegregation in Title IV is considered as a whole rather than in part, it seems hard to question its meaning.

Title IV, Section 401 (b):

> "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

This definition seems aimed primarily at de jure segregation in the South, and the imbalance provision seems an obvious attempt to win legislative support among northern congressmen by proscribing one form of federal pressure against de facto segregation in northern cities. That so-called "forced busing" is the precise measure being prevented here becomes explicit in Section 407 (a) of Title IV:

> . . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States . . . to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another.

The appeal of southern officials to Title IV can be seen as really only an appeal to a relatively minor qualification of the whole thrust of Title IV in an effort to win northern support once again. In Title IV, the intent of Congress is clear according to Justice Department and U.S.O.E. attorneys. The major thrust of Title IV is toward "assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race," i.e., the complete and total end of segregated dual school systems. This thrust presupposes a prior de jure discrimination. For this thrust to be achieved successfully

requires the reorganization and reconstitution of segregated school patterns in the South which have not just arisen de facto but have been established by state law and official educational policy. The same states and local governments (and indeed some of the same officials) which perpetuated these patterns now ask that they be legitimized under "free choice plans" without their making structural changes in those patterns. The same pattern of activity that was called separate but equal before is now often passed off as free choice.

U.S.O.E. guidelines, by enforcing Title VI, attempted also to fulfill the intent of Title IV to end school assignment based on race. Statements by Secretary Gardner on April 9 and Commissioner Howe on September 30 have cited opinions of H.E.W. and Justice Department attorneys that the guidelines are consistent with court decisions and with the intent of Congress. The guidelines insisted that gradual steps be taken to eliminate assignment of pupils on the basis of race. They tried to guard against many reported instances of intimidation and violence against Negroes who exercised their right to an education free from racial discrimination by requiring local boards to assure genuine freedom of choice. Thus, the guidelines are, according to government attorneys, consistent with the obvious intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Moreover, they require only token and preliminary steps toward fulfilling that intent. They do not fulfill it.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The guidelines also seem to be in harmony with judicial interpretations of constitutional protections since 1954. While there has been no direct judgment on the guidelines, recent court comments cited below indicate their consistency with the Constitution and judicial opinion. The Constitution and decisions of the judiciary are also "the law" and the guidelines hardly go beyond them. In fact, the guidelines both lag behind some court orders and exceed others in specific items though not in the basic aim to end dual schools. The inconsistencies between court orders and guidelines on specific points have led to the following developments.

In April, the Office of Education requested federal courts to change school desegregation orders to conform with the new guidelines. The fact that the bulk of city school districts in the South, including Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, Jackson, Montgomery, Birmingham, Nashville, Charleston, Little Rock, and Richmond, were operating under court-approved desegregation plans made the request important.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune reported on April 27 that the Justice Department made a formal proposal for a uniform school desegregation order for federal courts and asked the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans to adopt it as a model in all regional cases. The proposed order generally followed the guidelines, calling for desegregation of all

public school grades by the fall of 1967 under genuine "freedom-of-choice" plans which protect students and their families from intimidation. John Doar, head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, submitted this proposal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In emphasizing the need for a uniform plan, the Department of Justice cited 99 plans approved by district courts in the past ten years that then fell below federal requirements in the guidelines. This, it was argued, was unfair to districts complying voluntarily in that it rewarded with slower desegregation rate those who had resorted to litigation.

On August 16, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that Alabama's Mobile County school desegregation plan had to be revised so that complete desegregation would be accomplished by the fall of 1967. In so doing the court held the plan approved by the federal district court to be "far short of the requirements of the law . . . Even as to those grades which, under the plan, have actually become desegregated, there is no true substance in the alleged desegregation. Less than two-tenths of one percent of the Negro children in the system are attending white schools." In the decision the court called attention to the guidelines, adding, "This appeal . . . points up, among other things, the utter impracticability of a continued exercise by the courts of the responsibility for supervising the manner in which segregated school systems break out of the policy of complete segregation into gradual

steps of compliance . . . During the past 18 months pronouncements of this court have interpreted the Supreme Court's interim decisions as requiring considerably greater measures of desegregation. Thus a decision by a trial court 18 months ago is not likely to reflect the current law on the subject."

This court action and others since 1954 would seem to underscore the consistency of the guidelines with constitutional protection. Whether the guidelines implement that protection extensively enough and rapidly enough is a question suggested by this opinion of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This question is central to evaluation of the guidelines.

## THE GUIDELINES: AN EVALUATION

The guidelines must be evaluated relative to the basic goal of ending dual school systems; do they achieve the goal effectively?

In the fall of 1965, the Southern Regional Council published a report which included details of widespread harassment of Negro students who had exercised freedom of choice. That report made clear that the 1965 guidelines were inadequate to end dual school systems and to protect Negro students from violence and intimidation. The elaborate debate of the alleged excesses of the 1966 guidelines has tended to obscure the fact of continuing inadequacy of the guidelines to end dual systems this year. It has obscured the persistent attacks by terrorists

and the cruel infliction of economic intimidation on Negro students and their families once again in fall, 1966. An appendix to this report documents the problem in the words of letters from Negro parents. Harassment of children in schools is another growing problem.

The following samples indicate the day in, day out ordeal of low-grade terror that is the actuality of desegregation for Negro children in some desegregated schools, not all, of course, but enough to suggest a new national scandal brewing out of the South.

In one rural Alabama county, Negro children, beaten by whites on the first day of school, refused to get off a school bus until school authorities granted them protection. Denied this protection, they remained on the bus and were suspended for staging a sit-in demonstration. A rural county system suspends for three days any student involved in a fight, regardless of who starts the fight. Four suspensions constitute expulsion and the student may not return to any school for one year. A certain faction of the student body agrees to take three-day suspensions in rotation: Four students start four fights with one Negro student. Each will be suspended for three days. The Negro gets four suspensions and is expelled, whether or not he defends himself. The Negro students, none of whom have ever been involved in a fight in ten school years, realizing what was happening after receiving three suspensions would sign a "lost and gain slip." The "lost" status withdraws the

student permanently from the school but allows him to attend a Negro school with permission of the school board. To date that permission has not been granted.

The persistence of the various forms of terror against school desegregation raises in stark form the question of the adequacy of the entire guidelines approach. It may be granted that, as noted earlier, enforcement of the guidelines has been severely obstructed. The Congress not only refused to provide sufficient funds and staff but it also had southern members who supported pressure to limit the enforcement staff which was allowed. But even if they had been allowed to operate fully as planned, the guidelines tolerate practices which are far short of the intent of the law.

First, the guidelines in both 1965 and 1966 did <u>not</u> attempt actually to end the dual school system. They have tried only to make a beginning. In short, they accept a pattern of tokenism and gradualism. Elements in the South eagerly await a change in national pressure and policy on segregation which will allow the old ways to be reasserted. The disaffection of the 1966 Congress with rigorous enforcement is a case in point. The emergence of racism among northern white mobs has given encouragement to the advocates of resistance. Many southern segregationists believe that the rest of the country has come to agree with them on racial matters and that it will not be long before federal pressure

for desegregation will dissolve.

Second, the use of percentages has been questioned by civil rights proponents. Rightly, the U.S.O.E. insisted upon substantial progress toward ending dual schools. But the percentages of desegregation which it suggested in an effort to avoid being vague about what was "substantial" left the way open for the irrelevant charges of arbitrarily forced racial balance. By building gradualism into its guidelines by the use of minimum percentages, the U.S.O.E. perhaps unwittingly allowed attention to shift from the illegitimacy of dual schools and the need to end them. Instead, southern officials haggle over whether "ten percent is too much," while continuing segregated patterns.

Third, the U.S.O.E. has at best raised doubt of whether it stands behind effective compliance officers.

Fourth, the sanction implied in Title VI, the cutoff of funds, has been extremely limited in application by the U.S.O.E. The Wall Street Journal report, cited earlier, told precisely how few defiant districts had funds terminated or deferred for "new projects." Failure even to begin action against all but the most defiant districts has been noted. These are part of a pattern which amounts to a failure to end dual schools.

Fifth, another difficulty with the whole guidelines concept is the practice of making each school district responsible for its own fate. A superintendent wishing to comply

with the law is a lonely individual in the South. His predicament is made more painful by the fact that he is often under direct pressure from his constituents. The plight of one such schoolman was reported by his wife:

> Because of our relationship I have shared the deep pit of despair with him, the obscene telephone calls, and calls at four in the morning when no one would say a word . . . The verbal abuse of a few, that glint of hate in the eyes of some not willing to speak out. Letters filled with venom, some signed, some unsigned.
>
> It has been a long and lonely vigil, filled with great stress and anxiety. One would think we had passed the Civil Rights Act and were in sole charge of its implementation . . . .
>
> Civil rights workers have been active in this county. They have made charges, but never were they able to say, "The Negro schools are not accredited, the teachers unqualified," or that the buildings and equipment were inadequate. Caught between this group and the unreasonable segregationists, you realize how hopeless at times the situation appeared.
>
> I think even the two groups have wondered how much longer the superintendent, my husband, could hold out. I myself have wondered . . . .
>
> For political expediency the popular thing is not to support the superintendent and his efforts . . . We know.

The best example of political expediency and pressure at the state level was in Alabama where schoolmen were threatened by Governor George Wallace with a personal visit to their districts "to bring the issue to the people." The

problem may be serious enough to suggest the drastic revision of Title VI enforcement policy to allow withholding federal school funds from an entire state whose officials exert overt pressure on local school boards. The issue would be this: Should federal funds go to a state which discriminates? The Civil Rights Act of 1964 says: "Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected . . . by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirements, but such termination shall be limited to the particular political entity . . . ."

Sixth, another fundamental problem reflected in the guidelines controversy lies in the fact that the Office of Education was set up to coordinate national educational programs, not to be the instrument of enforcing the Civil Rights Act. It is not staffed for such duties and all the effort to wring compliance from southern schools is, of necessity, taking people and money and time away from the original purpose of the office.

Seventh, the guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools. One possible solution to the dual system concept, advanced by some

civil rights leaders, is to require all schools in all districts that have <u>any</u> Negro population to have faculties consisting of 50% white and 50% Negro teachers. Only in this way, it is argued, can any real beginning be made toward eliminating the racial designations of the schools. Proponents further argue that the method might well be a partial wedge in the solution of housing problems as they pertain to the concept of neighborhood schools. For if racially motivated white parents were faced with fleeing one transitional neighborhood school with a 50-50 faculty to another with the same instructional make-up the decision to move might not be so easily made.

Finally, the guidelines themselves and as administered constitute a modification of federal policy. Whereas Title VI clearly requires that federal funds must not subsidize discrimination, the guidelines allow precisely such subsidies to continue over a period during which racial discrimination is theoretically being abolished gradually. Insofar as it has allowed time for "adjustment," the U.S.O.E. has allowed time for opposition, defiance, and evasion.

What a thorough program of enforcement (which, one suspects, would elicit the respect, however grudging, of southern officials) might be like is suggested in the following from a letter by a spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to the Office of Education. The following section is one of seventeen, each with similar thoroughgoing questions:

<u>What does your data reveal about the adequacy of freedom of choice plans to effectuate Title VI?</u> In how many school districts have freedom of choice plans resulted in the elimination of dual school systems since 1964? Where, and under what conditions? In 1966, how many school districts came up to the percentages suggested in the guidelines? In how many districts and by what criteria was the performance under freedom of choice plans determined inadequate by HEW? How many districts were required to improve their performance? What kinds of suggestions for additional steps were made to them; what did they actually do, and what were the results? Where a second transfer period was held, were the results significantly increased? What has HEW done where additional efforts to implement freedom of choice plans have been ineffective? Where freedom of choice plans have not worked, how have HEW and/or local school officials determined what would work?

What has HEW learned this year about the actual operation of freedom of choice procedures? Do your data corroborate our staff experience that there continue to be considerable violations of the procedures required by the guidelines, such as inadequate notice to parents, abbreviated transfer periods, etc.? How many districts have been cited for noncompliance for those violations? The guidelines require that pupils who did not make a choice during the spring registration period should be assigned during the first week of school to the nearest school regardless of race. What happened to these students? In how many districts did this result in an increase in nonracial enrollment?

Where formerly all-white schools have become overcrowded as the result of the

exercise of free choice, what has happened? How has HEW determined whether the criteria for overcrowding were uniform throughout the district? What has HEW done when Negro students have been sent back to Negro schools because of the overcrowding of desegregated schools? What has happened to white pupils where desegregated schools have become overcrowded? In how many cases, and where, has overcrowding resulted in the enrollment of white pupils in formerly all-Negro schools, either through assignment, school pairing, or some other action by school officials.

In how many school districts desegregating fewer than 12 grades did Negro pupils request transfer under the provisions enumerated in 181.71 of the guidelines? Where they were rejected, in how many cases did HEW investigate the reasons? Has much desegregation occurred as a result of these provisions?

What has been your experience with the regulation that choices are binding? How many Negro pupils sought to return to Negro schools after registering to attend desegregated schools? What happened to them?

There are clearly two schools of thought about whether freedom of choice plans should continue to be approved as acceptable devices for eliminating dual school systems. Some hold that the emphasis should be on making these plans truly free and on liberalizing the process, such as extending the choice period from 30 days to six months.

Others, and they would include the overwhelming majority of civil rights workers, have become increasingly convinced that the most honest freedom of choice plans cannot abolish dual school systems in Deep South communities. What do your findings reveal?

## IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. Segments of the southern educational and political establishment successfully avoided significant desegregation in 1966. They did so in part by diverting attention in Congress from their failure in ending segregated dual systems to fears of forced racial balance.
2. The guidelines would not have ended dual schools even if perfectly applied and accepted; they were intended only as instruments for a significant beginning toward the goal of no racial discrimination. They would have made such a beginning if implemented to their 10% minimum for the Deep South. Desegregation only ranged from 2.4% to 35% of Negroes in schools with whites in the South and 2.4% to 6.6% in the Deep South. The guidelines were not fully implemented. Obviously, if "free choice" is to be effective, it must be genuinely free of intimidation and reprisal.
3. This poor performance of the South in the second year of enforcement of Title VI for school desegregation remains the strongest

rebuttal of the southern complaint that the Office of Education has been overzealous in the matter. A more proper question might be whether it has been diligent enough.

4. Congress intended to end the discrimination inherent in dual school systems in Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite a prohibition of imposed racial balances. This prohibition presupposed de facto, not de jure segregation. Hence it is not relevant in the South until the pattern established by de jure segregation has been ended. In effect, Congress has ordered an end to one form of segregation while perpetuating another.

5. Political pressure on administrators, fear of white backlash, and confusion about the intent of Congress in Title IV have all weakened pressures for strong enforcement. Lack of enthusiasm for the guidelines by civil rights groups who thought them too weak must also be considered. Considering the confusion, disillusionment and detriment to effective desegregation attendant on argument about congressional intent, there would seem to be considerable need for Congress to clarify this intent.

6. The situation is retrievable if attention can be returned to the proper focus: the end of discriminatory dual school systems.

7. In December, 1966, southern schools continue to be overwhelmingly segregated. Force and violence confront many Negro students entering formerly white schools under freedom of choice plans.

More than one decade ago, the U. S. Supreme Court held that dual public school systems discriminating by race were unconstitutional on their face. The record of many southern school and public officials and the publics they serve has been one of avoiding and evading this clear-cut dictum of the basic law of the nation. Such mistreatment of the legal system by these "best people" has been far more a national disgrace and scandal than the notorious lawlessness of violent racist gangs comprised of the "worst people" of the area.

Those school and public officials who have attempted in good conscience to comply with the law as propounded by the court, reinforced by the Congress of the United States, and administered by the Office of Education deserve the praise and gratefulness of a nation whose very existence depends on a good-faith acceptance of its system of law and order. There have been many instances of beautiful and profoundly genuine acceptance of the humanity of all children in the South's school desegregation struggle. The good derived by children of both races in these situations where law has been cherished

and humanity respected may prove to be among the highest achievements in the South of these traumatic years.

The tragic consequences of the continued failure of a great many southern school and public officials to live up to the basic duties of American citizenship and the common decencies observed by all mankind in the rearing of children cannot be counted. The patience of Negro Southerners (in stark counterpoint to the riotous impatience of their fellows in the North) cannot be expected to continue under intolerable conditions. The schools in the South by all statistical standards are the worst in the nation. Part of the reason for this is the extravagant waste of dual systems of segregated schools. Another part is the waste of administrative and executive energy on attempts to preserve these systems that might better be spent in improving the education of a generation which faces the complexity of a new and baffling era of the scientific age.

The difficulties of the Office of Education center on the necessity for it to enforce on a region of eleven states a law which those states ought to obey -- and indeed enforce -- as a matter of course. It is an agency not equipped or intended to enforce laws, like policemen. Far from having been overzealous, this agency has -- if the law has any meaning at all -- so far failed to achieve what the law demanded. Much of this failure has its roots in the correct assumption by the Office of Education that it must encourage and, indeed,

cajole the South into assuming the responsibility that it should have shown from the beginning and must take if law in the nation is to continue to have meaning.

Announcement of stepped-up enforcement procedures by the Office of Education -- the pressing of fund termination in the most recalcitrant of southern school systems -- is, far from overzealous action, a positive and praiseworthy step, taken remarkably late. But the implications inherent in prosecution of only the most flagrant cases can only lead artful law-dodgers among southern officialdom to assume that they can continue to get by with tokenism and a show of a "cooperative" spirit.

Guidelines more closely aligned with the law's demand (perhaps a single guideline -- the abolishment of dual systems) and enforcement designed to alleviate any hope of continued contempt for the law of the land would seem the only consistent course for the future of enforcement. If this should even ultimately bring the South to a political victory that overturns the law of the land -- if the rest of the nation is that weak or that far-gone in its backlash versions of racism -- then so be it. Even that would be preferable to the continued flouting of the Constitution and the law in the schools where children learn their first lessons of citizenship and contemporary history. Already a vocal segment of the Negro movement has retreated to a demand not for integrated schools but the never-realized mandate of the "old" law --

equal separate ones. What we are talking about is the education of children -- black and white. The record to date is one of shameful disservice to them, which is to say, our nation's future.

# APPENDIX

## PERCENTAGE OF DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

## 1965 and 1966

| | Negro School Enrollment: 1965+ | Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1965 | Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: 1966 Office of Education | Percent of Negroes in School with Whites: SRC++ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 295,848** | 0.25 | 2.4 | |
| ARKANSAS | 111,952** | 2.5 | 15.9 | 14.7 |
| FLORIDA | 256,063* | 5.9 | 14.7 | |
| GEORGIA | 355,950* | 1.3 | 6.6 | 5.7 |
| LOUISIANA | 318,651 | 0.68 | 3.6 | 2.9 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 296,834 | 0.34 | 3.2 | 2.0 |
| N. CAROLINA | 349,282 | 2.1 | 12.8 | |
| S. CAROLINA | 263,983 | 1.5 | 4.9 | |
| TENNESSEE | 176,541* | 9.1 | 21.9 | |
| TEXAS | 349,192* | 20.0 | 34.6 | |
| VIRGINIA | 239,729** | 11.3 | 20.0 | |
| TOTAL SOUTH | 3,014,025 | 5.23 | | |

*Estimated

**1964-65

+ 1966 figures unavailable

++ Only percentages different from the Office of Education's are given

3-26.66

MR.

DEAR SIR . THIS IS FROM . I WANT SOME INFORMATION FROM YOU ABOUT THE 1966 COTTON PROGRAM. WE HAD 26 ACARES OF Cotton last year. adn this year the man we live with told ym husband that he couldn,t use him this year. he gave gave all the peoples crops but us. and another man on the saem place he didn,t give him a crop. but i heard that he said he didn,t want a crop. he is a old man. so we have two childrens in the white school. and we do feel and believe that is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. we have 11 childrens to support. and it nothing around here to do to make a living. and i am asking you if you know where i can write to too turn that in will you please send me the addreaa. i dene to the ASCS officers to get some information. and they told me that it was mr.( land and he could do what he want to with his land. weihh i no that was not so. that was not what the government said. we worked 26 acares last year. and made 36 bales of cotton and a little over. we been where we is since march in 1945. so any information you need i will be glad to give it to you. and any information you can give me i will be to glad to get it. so please let me hear from you as soon as possible.we do beleave the to kids we have in the white school is the reason he didn,t give us a crop. and he told which is my husband. that he didn,t have enouhg acares to give him a crop.but since he told him that. he have been back to the peoples that he did give crops to and tried to get them to take some more acares. but they refuse to take them. so any information that you can give me i will be to glad to get it. if you don,t have any info. and know where i can get it. please send me the name and address so i can write them. your truly( )

SEP 30 1966

Dear Mrs

I am still waiting for a fair hearing since the local welfare people said they wouldn't put me on welfare.

Some white kids poured ink on my daughter at school and they cut my nephew's face. Other than that, the white kids have been calling our children nigger and all that.

The welfare people here don't want to help me, but I hope to get put back on.

Thank you for all your help.

JUL 26 1966

July 25 '66

Dear miss
Your letter have been recived

~~[illegible]~~ hard here. Seem like we can't Preasure so do anything at all here. I were talking about the men miss sent up here they said they were going to ~~[illegible]~~ try an raise some ~~[illegible]~~ many. that we need money for to get a house. and he were going to raise us some to help on the house. no the man from have not come by. I don't no if he been to or not. Peoples Around here. are so afraid. of the Preasure. and some are afraid they may get kill. I don't thank to no one will get kill. and if a lots of kids would go

to School. things may get better. it so sad. it so hot. I am going to the store now. to get food. all for now
I wish one day we wake up and things are better for us. All of us-

I pray some day, we we will obey what Jesus said love one to another.
and if we do this all the World problems will be over.

Sincerely Your

July 1, 1966

Mr. Harold Howe
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

My name is ( and I am Seventeen years of age. During the Previous year I attended an all white School here in along with my two sisters, brother and a friend. Regretfully I say that during this year we have had many obstacles in our way. I feel if more "Negroes" attend the pressures we overcome would not be as great. I have tried in all respect to encourage more young negroes my age and under to attend but fear has caused them to back out. Most of them because of jobs, they fear their parents will be fired as well as their parents.

Will you please investigate this situation?

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Freedom of Choice will not work in County as long as there is fear.

Sincerely,

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

7-12 66

dear Orin i seize your most fine
and welcom letter and so glade was i
to hear from you it found me and all of my
family up and doing fine so far thank to the
good master. and i am glade that you enjoy
your visit at my home and i no i enjoy
you we all was happy to see you and
do hope that when you come to (mississ)
again you will have time to stop in and
see us all again. i am still waiting at Redfield
on the line it. and i am still stoping up for
a month i am doing fine in my new home
and i still want to see a Brighter day and i
want my Children to take an end stand up
to for a Better education and what was i can do
i do for to that little as much. i am going
thru with what was i got to face no
matter how hard it may be i just no i
can make it some how. i am not able
to take up for my wife. and i am holding
my Children on behind me i got to
stand up before them so they will no
what it mean and how they got to stand up

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

to i Just Keep on talkin to them let'n
them no What they need and what it
take to get What they need that is a
Better education. and where they can
get it that is in the integrated school
so i am faine to push. Work. fight. Water. and
Pray for them i mean for them to go if they
have to go By this stuff i ant faine to stop
not untill i get them in. and then i am fain
fight to Keep them in. for that case i mean
to stand up untill i cant stand and i am
fain to stan anymo. so that will make
me stand up to the in of my life
Nathin shall turn me around. i dont care
how dark the day may be Rain or shine
shit or snow me and my family is fain
to stan up. so all sent love to Jay. mrs.
Jat a side Boat home he made
it Boat just fine. i am writen (
to day to, i talk hue Jay Ben to my home
so By mal God Keep Jay and Bless
untill we meat again
from (mrs. & mrs.
and family.)
freedom is what i want
and freedom is what i am fain to get
freedom freedom

# SPECIAL REPORT

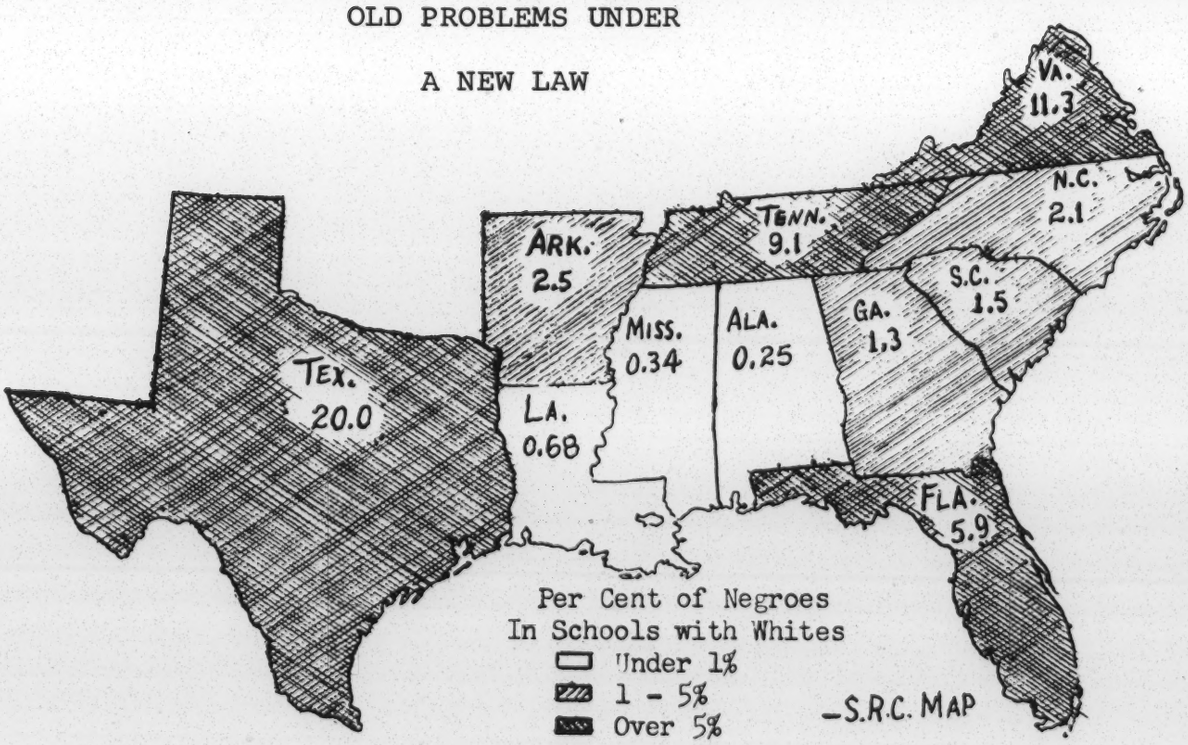
**SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL**
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEPTEMBER 1965

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: OLD PROBLEMS UNDER A NEW LAW

SEPTEMBER 1965

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:
# OLD PROBLEMS UNDER
# A NEW LAW




SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS

-- A Letter From a Parent in The Deep South

Route 1B [redacted]

Sept 9 - 1965

we wont to than you for the information we received in Macon Ga. it has helped us to enroll 14 students in the all white school [redacted] hight school. we are having a lots of truble my life have all ready been threaled my brother [redacted] house has been shoot in so we both will have to take the children out of school and move some where else so give me the best information on this looking to hear from you soon. From

[redacted]

# EVASION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
(1964-65)

A decade of promise seemed ready for fulfillment in September, 1965. The tortuous process of school desegregation, continually before the nation's courts since 1954, at last offered promise of new dimensions and hope. The dream, embodied in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, prohibiting "the extention of federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated systems of schools based on race, color, or national origin," was of a new era in which administration forces would take the initiative and achieve racial integration in schools. Hopefully, a sizeable proportion of the close to 98% of the South's Negro children still trapped in segregated schools would gain admission to integrated classes.

Prior to the start of the 1965 school term, the Negro school desegregation effort had met dismal failure; case after case of court-ordered desegregation hardly had made a dent in the unyielding armor of the South's segregation front. The burden of initiating suits and provoking "voluntary" change had been almost exclusively on the individual Negro pupil and his parents. With little money but firm intent, individual Negroes and several private organizations, primarily the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), found their limited resources constantly pitted against the public treasury -- local, state, and some-

times federal.

The prospect of going into almost every school district and the mounting costs for court actions were factors frustrating the school integration campaign, despite the fact that the May, 1954, U. S. Supreme Court decree was a class action purported to apply to all persons similarly situated. The mere opinions of states' attorneys are enough to bring across-the-board compliance in areas other than civil rights -- something hundreds of court suits have failed to do.

Civil rights supporters viewed school segregation among problems so serious in 1963 that some 200,000 participated in a massive March on Washington, and Congress the following year determined that legislative remedy for school desegregation was needed. This became part of the precedent-shattering Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the act provides that "no person . . . shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." This means that the federal public education subsidy, amounting to almost 20% of the total education budget could be withheld from schools which refused to stop segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The U. S. Office of Education thus became legally obligated for the first time to address itself to the problems of school desegregation.

## Big Job for Office of Education

The intent of the law was to correct hundreds of years of separate discriminatory schooling; it offered remedial action which court decisions had failed to bring. The Office of Education was charged with heavy responsibility. The mere detail of executing the responsibility within the specified time required great effort.

The task required accurate school population and attendance information against which the responsible agency might measure its success in gaining compliance with the law. The disturbing fact is that the federal government, with all its vast resources, had not ascertained the number of Negro children enrolled in formerly white schools by mid-October, 1965. Ironically, during September and October, at the very time the information was most needed, no private or government agency knew the rate of school desegregation.

The privately-sponsored Southern Education Reporting Service, which in prior years carried school desegregation figures in Southern School News, ceased publishing in July, 1965. The Office of Education collected a smattering of data in procedures resting on the voluntary contribution of information. Their efforts were thwarted largely by earlier requirements and/or permission for records on race not to be kept. At no time since 1954 has less factual information on school desegregation existed. Some state and local school officials who, when asked about desegregation, said they don't keep racial figures implied that racial data were available to

local and state authorities, but not for public release.

Findings of Southern Regional Council

In trying to determine what did happen last September, the Southern Regional Council's research department enlisted the cooperation of the Office of Education, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the various state Councils on Human Relations, and others. We have supplemented this with newspaper reports, and field reports. Even with this cooperation and our determined effort, the information in spots is sketchy. But it appears to be the best data currently available.

Our compilations show that estimates released October 1 by the Office of Education overstate the rate of school desegregation. Figures of Office of Education statisticians, arrived at by use of a hurried sampling survey of 590 of the 3,300 districts in southern and border states, say that 216,600 Negroes -- 7.5% of the South's Negro pupils -- are attending classes with whites. Included in the Office of Education's total was an estimate of 15,300 in Alabama, giving that recalcitrant state ten times more than the number estimated in the Office's own "work sheet" and the number indicated by Southern Regional Council's research.

The Office of Education's estimate of desegregation in North Carolina claims 24,500 Negroes are in desegregated classes there. Southern Regional Council's research finds

8,000, only a third of what the federal agency reports. The SRC estimate may be low. There is every indication that the Office of Education figure is high. The SRC figure is based on the estimates of Southern Education Reporting Service, news clippings, and field reports of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. When asked for state figures, a high North Carolina education official said, "Any estimates that anybody would make would be in error. We have erased the question of race from the horizon. Anything that the U. S. Office of Education says would be in error, and anything anybody in our office tells you would be in error."

The Southern Regional Council survey finds 151,409 Negroes attending desegregated public school classes in the 11 states of the Deep South -- 5.2% of the South's Negro school census. That is more than 60,000 less than the 216,600 reported by the Office of Education. The Council's finding of 717 Alabama Negro pupils in desegregated schools does not include nearly 200 Negroes who applied for transfer, under "freedom of choice" options but reportedly withdrew because of pressures and various other reasons. The Office of Education tables did not reflect a number of cases of withdrawals prior to the start of school, but this does not explain all the differences in the surveys. The four following tables show comparative state desegregation totals for 1964 and 1965.

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE STATE DESEGREGATION TOTALS
OF THREE AGENCIES, 1965

| | SRC Totals | SNCC Totals | Office of Education Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 717 | 1,500 | 15,300 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | 2,589 | 6,100 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000* | ----- | 23,800 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | 6,000 | 7,600 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850** | 1,850 | 1,600 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 921 | 1,500 | 1,000 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | ----- | 24,500 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | 3,500 | 3,500 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422* | ----- | 25,300 |
| TEXAS | 75,340* | ----- | 81,700 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | ----- | 26,300 |
| Total South | 151,409 | | 216,600 |

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of other agencies.

*Estimates based on Southern Education Reporting Service reports. The Texas total was computed from SERS's estimation of 20%.

**Based on Louisiana survey by Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN ALL SCHOOLS, 1964-65

| | ENROLLMENT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | | Negro | |
| | 1964 | 1965 | 1964 | 1965 |
| ALABAMA | 536,200 | 541,100 | 284,500 | 286,600 |
| ARKANSAS | 203,200 | 224,600 | 100,000 | 95,100 |
| FLORIDA | 905,400 | 929,300 | 278,900 | 284,700 |
| GEORGIA | 669,200 | 737,000 | 319,500 | 320,300 |
| LOUISIANA | 508,200 | 507,600 | 278,000 | 272,700 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 293,600 | 292,500 | 285,300 | 274,900 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 773,000 | 789,300 | 384,200 | 379,600 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 390,500 | 400,500 | 242,100 | 233,400 |
| TENNESSEE | 612,400 | 679,700 | 179,500 | 180,100 |
| TEXAS | 1,625,700 | 1,727,800 | 359,600 | 376,700 |
| VIRGINIA | 697,100 | 705,500 | 184,500 | 187,000 |
| Total South | 7,214,500 | 7,534,900 | 2,896,100 | 2,891,000 |

Total Enrollment, Both Races:

| 1964 | 1965 |
|---|---|
| 10,110,600 | 10,425,900 |

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from the 1964 Statistical Summary of Southern Education Reporting Service, and reports of the U. S. Office of Education, and other SRC library resources.

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE 1965 TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES OF STATE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN REPORTS OF TWO AGENCIES

| | Negroes in Desegregated Schools: SRC | Per Cent of Negro Enrollment | Negroes in Desegregated Schools: Office of Education | Per Cent of Negro Enrollment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 717 | 0.25 | 15,300 | 0.50 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | 2.5 | 6,100 | 6.4 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000 | 5.9 | 23,800 | 8.3 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | 1.3 | 7,600 | 2.4 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850 | 0.68 | 1,600 | 0.6 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 928 | 0.34 | 1,000 | 0.36 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | 2.1 | 24,500 | 6.5 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | 1.5 | 3,531 | 1.5 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422 | 9.1 | 25,300 | 14.1 |
| TEXAS | 75,340 | 20.0 | 81,700 | 21.7 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | 11.3 | 26,300 | 14.1 |
| Total South | 151,416 | 5.23 | 216,600 | 7.5 |

SOURCE: Percentage computations based on SRC totals and Office of Education totals compare findings of the two sources. The Alabama total of 15,300 reported by the Office of Education is an obvious error, because their working papers (copies of which were in our possession to assist in preparing this study) show 1,442 Alabama Negroes in school with whites.

TABLE 4

ELEVEN DEEP SOUTH STATES
IN ORDER OF DESEGREGATION RATES, 1965

| | By Number of Negroes Enrolled in Desegregated Schools | | By Percentage of Total Negro Enrollment |
|---|---|---|---|
| TEXAS | 75,340 | TEXAS | 20.0 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | VIRGINIA | 11.3 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000 | TENNESSEE | 9.1 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422 | FLORIDA | 5.9 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | ARKANSAS | 2.5 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | NORTH CAROLINA | 2.1 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | SOUTH CAROLINA | 1.5 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | GEORGIA | 1.3 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850 | LOUISIANA | 0.68 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 928 | MISSISSIPPI | 0.34 |
| ALABAMA | 717 | ALABAMA | 0.25 |
| Totals | 151,416 | | 5.23 |

SOURCE: Figures compiled by Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of cooperating agencies.

In the absence of accurate information on the progress of school desegregation during the first two months of the 1965-66 school year, news media resorted to educated guesses and reported the generally optimistic and exaggerated opinions of school authorities. Some estimates ran as high as 20% of the Negro school-aged population, far in excess of the true desegregation rate.

The picture appeared so rosy that the nation was lulled into a false sense of success. The truth is that nearly 95% of the South's Negro pupils still are trapped in segregated and unequal schools. The false impression is due largely to attempts by state and local school authorities, and perhaps some federal officials, to imply that school systems were desegregated beyond mere tokenism.

Even with the lack of information to measure integration progress precisely, it is clear that the move so far toward the full promise of integrated education has been a feeble step. This is despite the integrity and the sense of proper intent evident in the Office of Education.

No one has ever quite developed to the point of art the necessary techniques for parrying and thrusting with a recalcitrant state or local government bent upon thwarting the will of law. But in retrospect, it seems apparent that the Office of Education might have avoided some of the more obvious errors that others have made in the past in southern desegregation duels:

(1) As with other agencies in Washington, there was first the process of promising the ultimate and then going through the steady process of deterioration of that promise. This was unfortunate because when the Capital makes promises from high places, the lowest people in the land hear, believe and act. The reaction of disillusionment is serious and could become increasingly more serious.

(2) In many instances, frenzy in government offices seems to have been misinterpreted as satisfactory progress. Accomplishment too often was equated with the amount of energy spent. Facing such a tremendous job, which we are sure at times seemed impossible to the Office of Education staff, policy makers should have realized that new, realistic approaches were needed to get the job done.

(3) The letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Law encourage voluntary compliance if at all possible. But in the reality of the southern desegregation situation, experience has proven that skillful administration is necessary to make sure that the "volunteer" does what he claims he will do. The tendency of the Office of Education to assume otherwise -- to expect normal forthrightness and good faith in the "voluntary" compliance -- is perhaps its largest strategic error so far. The office seems not to have been fully aware of the peculiar dimensions of compliance that is "voluntary" only at the threat of the loss of a sizeable percentage of the annual budget. The most rigid

checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

There would have been no need for Congress to enact legislation if there had been any validity to the highly desirable premise that most school systems would (or could) act in good faith. The experience of the federal courts revealed that the restrained decision requiring school desegregation with "all deliberate speed" failed, not because the decision lacked wisdom, but because there often was lack of good faith on the part of those against whom the edict was directed. By their words, precepts and examples, southern politicians and school officials, with few exceptions, made clear time and time again after the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court desegregation edict their intention to evade and delay.

In this kind of situation, the attitude that tokenism was an achievement and subject for civic self-congratulation grew up -- often in the best intentioned of white Southerners, including school officials.

If federal officials were naive to believe school integration in the South could be achieved without rigorous

administrative checks and controls, the local school systems in the South were remarkably consistent. Evasion has continued under the Civil Rights Act, and the highly sophisticated art of misleading the federal government has continued. In order to have their grants from federal funds certified, a majority of school districts made false claims that the money would be spent on a non-discriminatory basis. Just as the claims in many instances are false, it is hard to assume other than that many of those signing the statements deliberately set out to fool those reviewing the desegregation plans.

The school systems of the South are not operating on a non-discriminatory basis. Few people expected them to be. What was expected among Negroes and in other quarters was that an honest beginning would be made to that end, with the burden of gaining compliance shifted from the shoulders of the individual Negro pupil and his parents.

For some months, it did seem as if the burden of proving compliance would rest squarely with local and state school officials. Generating this hope was the knowledge that in the area of equal employment opportunity, tangible progress was experienced only after those employers awarded government contracts were required to prove by their record that they, in fact, were complying with the federal policy for non-discriminatory hiring.

A few school superintendents acted early and in good faith

toward reasonable compliance, only to have themselves placed in precarious positions by the success of neighboring districts which were permitted to undercut the vacillating guidelines of the Office of Education. When it became clear, for example, that "freedom of choice" plans would be acceptable, most school systems took this route.

Under plans based on "freedom of choice," the student and his parents theoretically could apply and expect admission to any school of their choice in the district, so long as some general requirements were met. In the event a school became overcrowded, exclusions then would be based on proximity to the school, with those living closest admitted first. Guidelines covering this explain that discrimination is practiced unless a school is desegregated, and that a system is not fully desegregated if (a) race or color is a factor in student assignment, or (b) teachers remain racially segregated, or (c) any activities or services, including transportation, remain segregated or discriminatory.

Contrary to the goals of the guidelines, choice of schools was not free for most Negroes. To many school officials, it seems to have meant a free choice to exclude Negro pupils for specious reasons, including "bad manners," "bad character," "poor record," etc.

## Negroes Intimidated, Pressured

It is difficult to overstate how much hope and enthusiasm

was generated among Negroes early in the year when they learned the school desegregation problem was shifting from the judicial to the administrative department of the federal government. Subsequent experience proved the amazing fact of how far down the line this enthusiasm reached into communities -- in small towns, and in rural and urban areas. Negro parents seemed for the first time to see the chance for their children to get equal education. But the start of school brought disillusionment, and it brought pressures and indignities no individuals should have to bear:

(1) Some school superintendents met with parents whose children applied for transfers from Negro to white schools and told them the Negro children probably would come home many days with black eyes from beatings the Negro parents should hold themselves responsible for.

(2) Some Negro children were threatened with demotion or loss of units.

(3) Negro teachers in some districts were threatened with dismissal if Negro children transferred.

(4) In some instances, the names and addresses of Negroes applying for transfers to white schools were published, thus inviting intimidation of Negro families.

(5) Some systems mailed out information on "freedom of choice" arrangements for white parents, encouraging them to claim all vacancies prior to the notifying of Negroes about

the free-choice compliance plan.

(6) Special affidavits, conferences, and/or employment information were required of Negro parents whose children sought transfers to white schools in some districts.

(7) Cross-burnings, shooting into Negro homes, and other acts of intimidation were used to force withdrawal of Negro students from some systems. (Surely, the Civil Rights Act in some way must be applied to protect citizens from such as this.)

## Tokenism Brings More Demonstrations

The sum of these experiences to concerned Negroes and private organizations working with them added up to more frustration and distrust of constituted legal authority on the federal as well as the local and state levels. The loss of confidence in the commitment and will of the federal government to force full compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and the acceptance of un-free "freedom of choice" compliance plans have led to a situation in which militant civil rights groups are beginning again to take to street demonstrations, as in Crawfordville, Georgia, seeking redress of grievances.

Obviously, decisions were made to accept token effort at compliance in some recalcitrant sections. Dual law and dual policies -- one for sections with few Negroes and another

for sections with large numbers of Negroes -- should not be. In other words, the Office of Education would seem to have erred in accepting two-grades-a-year plans in some Mississippi districts. Excepting these districts from the desegregation guidelines issued by the federal agency only prolongs and makes more laborious the process. The only way to desegregate is to desegregate. And the proof of compliance with any desegregation order is in the ability of schools to show that Negroes are in classes with whites in reasonable proportion.

The best measure of this desegregation would be on a class-to-class basis in every school in the various systems. That also is the best way to avoid transfers of white children from one school to another in search of an institution that had evaded the law, as was the case in Taliaferro County, Georgia, where all of the white children were transferred to schools outside the county (see attached editorial, page 23).

For some reason, there appears to be the thinking in the federal government that it is not within federal power to take the initiative to achieve compliance and correction of racial separation in schools, despite the fact that both the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act provide for school desegregation.

Enforcing law requires initiative. Federal officials use administrative fiat to enforce law in many areas. Administration is effecting policy and should not be circum-

scribed by bureaucratic caution so long as the administrative acts are within the scope of the spirit and letter of the law.

## Greater Effort Needed

It would be foolhardy to blame any individual or agency for the sorry progress of desegregation. It is common knowledge that any Office of Education official is confronted with the working conditions of bureaucracy and that actions of the Office of Education might be torpedoed by others in state, federal, and local positions.

It is hardly the fault of the Office of Education, for example, that little or no budget was provided for administration of Title VI funds, or that the few staffers who could be hired had to be brought on the payroll too late to do the job adequately. (Perhaps the White House and Congress share some of the blame for this.) We know that the few dedicated Office of Education staffers were overworked and vulnerable to the evasive tactics of many southern school superintendents and school boards. Consequently, we are sympathetic with the Office of Education's plight, though

critical of what was accomplished. We have the advantage of hindsight in examining the problems. With these experiences and insights, we suggest the following changes:

(1) The "freedom of choice" concept (as practiced) should not be accepted on face value as a method of achieving desegregation in the South. There cannot be freedom where parents and children are intimidated for exercising a choice.

(It is ironic that we are hearing much criticism of "freedom of choice" in the southern region at the very time northern minority groups are fighting for it to rid their section of de facto and de jure segregation. We do not choose in this report to assess the pros and cons of the principle of freedom of choice, or to try to untangle the semantic snarls that have developed in the phrase. It might be acceptable if properly administered. But as it is being applied in the South, it is an inadequate doctrine for even minimal compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Indeed, the choice has not been free for the Negro children to select schools they want to attend in the South.)

(2) Administrative fiat and decades of following laws and traditions now adjudged unconstitutional created the school segregation problem, and administrative fiat and pressures must be used to correct it. School superintendents, if placed in the position of demonstrating to the satisfaction of federal agencies that funds are being spent without regard

to race, would be found encouraging Negroes to attend formerly white schools in many instances. A handful of superintendents already are doing this and are justifying their actions by using the federal mandate as an excuse.

(3) Where local officials refuse to comply, funds should be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act. Thought should be given to the question of assuming responsibility for the education of children where such fund cut-offs occur. Government sponsored conferences in the few states where this is possible might study the possibility of temporary state option or trusteeship if local sponsorship is abandoned. And the Justice Department should be alerted for the possible initiation of legal action.

(4) In the absence of sufficient federal examiners to police the performance of school desegregation on district levels, technical assistance grants should be made to teams of professionals who could be recruited and co-sponsored by colleges and universities, civil rights groups, and/or the government, to review and challenge performance in integrating school systems. Complaints from local organizations should get quick follow-up by the Office of Education, including progress reports to complainants.

(5) Surveys should be made in all districts to determine the proportion of Negro school children, and the reissuance of Office of Education guidelines should indicate

that a sizeable proportion of Negro children in racially mixed classes on all grade levels is needed for local systems to show proper performance in desegregation.

(6) If the Office of Education is going to continue permitting phased desegregation plans (as four grades a year for a three-year period), it should not allow token desegregation in the four grades chosen to be integrated.

(7) Briefing and information sessions sponsored under technical assistance should be held for all teachers in all Deep South schools. At assemblies or by use of educational television, for example, some teachers might be taught how to pronounce the word, N-E-G-R-O, and how to lessen the isolation of individual Negro students in predominantly white classes until this undesirable situation itself can be corrected. And Negro teachers of white youngsters might be taught how to deal with them. This would be a minimal, emergency approach and should not preempt any other technical assistance programs.

(8) Some special scrutiny should be given school systems which are under court orders to desegregate. Some are finding court orders advantageous for slow desegregation progress. For example, Clarendon County, South Carolina, which has been dickering in the courts for 16 years, had only five Negroes attending school with whites in 1964. The Office of Education admits it does not know how many Negroes in Clarendon attend desegregated classes during the current

1965 school year.

As it was stated by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Price v. Denison Independent School District on July 2, 1965: "By the 1964 Act and the action of HEW /the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare/, administration /of the law/ is largely where it ought to be -- in the hands of the executive and its agencies with the function of the judiciary confined to those rare cases presenting justifiable, not operational, questions."

The most important thing to be remembered as the executive branch continues with its responsibility for desegregating schools is included in the Office of Education's policy statement and guidelines:

"The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

ONE EDITORIAL REACTION TO CRAWFORDVILLE REPRISALS --

No Snarling Dogs, But a Nasty Situation

St. Petersburg Times Editorials

*"The policy of our paper is very simple — merely to tell the truth"*
*—Paul Poynter, publisher, 1912-1950*

EDITORIAL 6-A Phone 894-1111 Saturday, October 16, 1965

# The Issue At Crawfordville

Unlike Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma and Hayneville, the civil rights issue at Crawfordville, Ga., has not touched the American conscience. It hasn't because the headline questions already have been settled and the American people know it. Die-hard segregation, even to the extent of abandoning public education, just won't be permitted in the United States.

**But in Crawfordville, the subtler forms of enforcing white supremacy have come to the surface and they have yet to be countered.**

It was no surprise when a federal court this week declared Taliaferro County's schools bankrupt and turned them over to Georgia Superintendent Claude Purcell with instructions to end segregation. The county's efforts to preserve segregation by closing its white schools and sending all white students to other counties was doomed from the start. If Crawfordville's leaders didn't know that, eastern Georgia must be more isolated from the nation than the state's generally moderate record on the race issue would indicate.

The unresolved question raised at Crawfordville is whether racists will be allowed to use economic reprisals in their last-ditch efforts to preserve the status quo.

**TALIAFERRO COUNTY'S** schools will be reopened, but will the Negro principal and five teachers fired from Negro schools since the demonstrations began be rehired?

Will the two Negro bus drivers, two school cooks and two custodians get their jobs back?

Will the 22 parents of children in the demonstrations be rehired after firings from their various jobs in Crawfordville?

Will the six families evicted from their homes be allowed to return?

Will the demonstrator victims of four sudden foreclosures be given another chance?

**SNARLING DOGS,** Klan sheriffs and children locked out of schools have helped America move rapidly along the road toward equal opportunities for all its citizens. The kinds of economic pressures employed in Crawfordville are much less dramatic, but paralyzingly effective.

The next step in the civil right struggle is to deny to those who still shout "Never!" the economic weapons long used against Negroes and tested anew at Crawfordville.

Nat'l Observer
June 1964

## *Flying Fists in Florida*

# Dr. King's New Test in an Old Town

*ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.*

The Rev. Martin Luther King marched up to the pink-and-white Monson Motor Lodge and Restaurant just in time for lunch. The manager, James Brock, waited on the steps for Mr. King and his party of eight.

"We have come for lunch," Mr. King said.

"We are not integrated here," the manager told him. "I must ask you to leave." But the man who broke the color line in Birmingham had a few things to say, and he and Mr. Brock (who is president of the Florida Hotel and Motel Association) stood out front and debated the philosophy of civil rights for almost 20 minutes.

"I am sure you don't understand the humiliation our people have to go through," Mr. King said. Replied the restaurateur: "You realize it would be detrimental to my business to serve you here. I have had to have 84 people arrested here since Easter."

**'I Invite My Friends'**

Mr. Brock smiled into a waiting television camera, and stepped closer to an expectant microphone. "I would like to invite my many friends throughout the country to come to Monson's. We expect to remain segregated." Someone inside called the police.

Just then, a stocky young white man in an open-necked white shirt bumped reporters aside as he hurried into Monson's for lunch. In the shoving, Dr. King got bumped, too, but by now the conversation on the steps was over. The police arrived to take the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to jail for the 13th time since he joined the racial wars in 1955.

The arrest, under a Florida law authorizing an innkeeper to evict an unwanted guest, was the first for Dr. King since Birmingham. But it wasn't the first civil-rights arrest in St. Augustine, a tiny sun-washed Atlantic city of 11,000 persons, settled at the spot where the Spanish explorer Don Juan Ponce de Leon landed in his search for the Fountain of Youth in 1513.

Nor was it the only civil-rights arrest last week in the South; the first full week of June produced the first of the summer's promised racial turmoil.

Police fired tear gas and streams of water into a Negro church in Tuscaloosa, Ala., after demonstrators pelted cops with bricks, bottles, and pieces of smashed furniture. Officers ripped placards from the hands of Negro pickets in the City Council chamber in Austin, Texas. Pickets paraded past segregated restaurants in Dallas.

But most of the week's civil-rights headlines were written over stories with

*Please Turn to Page 15, Column 4*

King Street by day, at peace in the sun.

## *Flying Fists in Florida*

# Dr. King's New Test in an Old Town

*Continued From First Page*

a St. Augustine dateline—and that's the way that Dr. King, the master draftsman of street strategy, planned it.

He makes it plain that St. Augustine is to be his "new Birmingham." He promises to bring "a nonviolent army" to St. Augustine. The campaign here, in fact, will be his first concentrated effort to knock down the color line since his marchers confronted "Bull" Connor's fire hoses in Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park. St. Augustine presents an entirely different target.

Birmingham had laws on its books requiring segregation; St. Augustine has none. Birmingham's employers had closed most highly skilled industrial jobs to Negro applicants; St. Augustine has few such jobs for anyone.

**Little Interest in Marching**

Perhaps most important of all, the 2,700 Negroes in St. Augustine are poorly organized, and poor as well. Many are obviously not much interested in the noisy marches down King Street to the Plaza of the Ancient City, a park in the center of town where most of the action is.

So why St. Augustine? Dr. King answered this question himself when he and his staff first moved into control of the campaign three weeks ago: "St. Augustine was picked not because it is the most segregated city but because it is the oldest, and therefore symbolic."

White leaders here are blunter. "King is trying to ride the publicity on St. Augustine's 400th birthday party," says one businessman. Adds another: "We're doing a lot more for integration than a lot of other Florida towns, but we depend on visitors, so we're easier to blackjack. It doesn't take a smart man to figure out who to pick on."

St. Augustine's birthday party, which begins in earnest in January, is the big topic of conversation in the coffee shops and stores along Cathedral and King Streets, the two main avenues of St. Augustine commerce—and the man who wants to spoil the party is considered a villain, indeed.

The civil-rights campaign here glitters with ironies for those who look for them. The gathering place for the demonstrators is the old slave market overlooking the incredibly blue Matanzas Bay; in the old days most of the slaves brought to the United States were sold in this market.

St. Augustine was 40 years old when the English settled Jamestown, 55 years old when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, 210 years old when John Hancock and his friends signed the Declaration of Independence. Most of the original town still stands. Built of *coquina*, a shellrock stripped from an open quarry across the bay, the buildings have weathered to a pleasing antique brown. It's the oldest city in the United States.

The massive Castillo de San Marcos, past Big Daddy's Blue Goose, a favorite Negro bar.

Dr. King was taken to jail in Jacksonville just before this demonstration "for security reasons"; Gov. Farris Bryant signed the transfer order. Dr. King left town in a police car, guarded by four deputies and a big dog that rode in the front seat with him. There had been vague new threats on his life all day.

Few were surprised when, not long ago, the mother of the governor of Massachusetts was arrested when she, with a group of civil-rights demonstrators, sought to eat supper at a white-only motor lodge. In one week, 284 demonstrators were arrested.

Yet, even here, whites have given ground. The St. Johns County Board of Public Instruction has tripled the number of Negro pupils assigned to once all-white schools. Only 19 won admission to these schools (1 to the high school, 6 to the junior high school, 12 to 2 elementary schools), but that's 13 more than last year when the color bar fell for the first time.

And not all restaurants and motels refuse to accept Negro guests. Nobody really knows how many will and how many won't; the number changes constantly, and this is, perhaps, part of the trouble. "I offered to drive one demonstrator to an integrated restaurant if he would leave the one where he was," a deputy sheriff says, honestly puzzled. "But he told me he wasn't interested in eating anything."

Dr. King insists his goal is total victory. This was his vow in Birmingham, and he settled for a good deal less than total victory. And the hold-out white businessmen seem far more determined to hold out here than in Alabama, although they were negotiating with Negro leaders at week's end.

James Brock, the manager who called the police to arrest Dr. King, carries a shotgun, a pistol, a billy club, and a flash light as a member of the sheriff's nightly downtown patrol. There are others.

The first riots of the 1964 season, 35 miles away in Jacksonville, aroused this determination, and two unrelated events have stiffened it. The Jacksonville riots grew from demonstrations that clearly got out of hand; for two days and nights young Negro toughs roamed through Jacksonville breaking windows, stoning passing cars, tossing fire bombs, and turning in false fire alarms. Negro leaders quickly disowned them, calling them "the mob behind the marchers," young hooligans taking advantage of the demonstrations to settle private grudges. Jacksonville police agreed they were mostly members of gangs who usually fight among themselves.

**What Fanned Passions**

But the Jacksonville riots enraged many whites here, and these passions were kept alive by a bitter gubernatorial primary election campaign between the mayor of Jacksonville, the local favorite running off nighttime marches; the town fathers are being rougher on white toughs.

Perhaps Dr. King's ace is the Federal civil-rights bill, now almost certain to become Federal law. Many holdouts here say they will accept Negroes without further protest when compelled by law. This might be the first enforcement test.

**Loser the Last Time Out**

Dr. King and his organization need a new and winning cause if his prestige in the civil-rights movement is not to be swallowed by younger newcomers. He was the hero of Birmingham, but in his last time out, at Danville, Va., he was clearly a loser.

The obstacle in St. Augustine is not so much white resistance as a lack of clear, immediate goals. Short of to-the-letter enforcement of a strong Federal civil-rights law, there will be no total desegregation of restaurants and motels.

Jobs? Negroes are employed already in the menial service jobs; most of the porters, busboys, and clean-up men are Negroes now. There are few jobs of any other kind in a town where most residents make their living from tourism.

Schools? The line is broken already; school integration in St. Johns County is token integration, but there are no all-white schools.

But if this makes victory more difficult, it also fuzzes the line between victory and defeat. Any concession at all, to the Negroes of St. Augustine, will be better than nothing at all. Total victory, somewhat out of American fashion at the moment anyway, may be more than Dr. King can hope for. But St. Augustine is not likely ever to be quite the same again.

—WESLEY PRUDEN, JR.

time commerce—and the man who wants to spoil the party is considered a villain, indeed.

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The massive Castillo de San Marcos, a Spanish fort, guards the ocean approach to the town, but it has been burned twice (by Sir Francis Drake in 1586 and English troops from the Carolinas in 1702) and sacked once (in 1668) by English pirates.

**An Attack and a Solution**

And now, in the view of most whites here, comes the threat of the most fearsome assault of all: An attack from the landward side by a Negro interloper from Atlanta. The Negroes hold an entirely different view; they see Dr. King as the man who has the solution to all their problems.

This is Ku Klux Klan country, Florida's rural upstate that is far closer kin to south Georgia, which it adjoins, or Alabama, which isn't far away, than the bustling citrus and space cities of the southern half of the state. Indeed, St. Johns County Sheriff A. L. Davis, who commands all law-enforcement agencies assigned to the county, concedes that he might have unknowingly signed up Klansmen as special deputies to keep the peace during the street marches.

More than 400 whites, many of them Klansmen, marched through the Negro section of town in the early morning hours of Saturday. They were escorted by worried cops and police dogs straining at leashes. Negroes greeted them with a large banner, proclaiming "Welcome—Peace and Brotherhood to You." A few Negroes even applauded at one turn, but a hail of rocks zinged out of the darkness as the marchers tramped

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**What Fanned Passions**

But the Jacksonville riots enraged many whites here, and these passions were kept alive by a bitter gubernatorial primary election campaign between the mayor of Jacksonville, the local favorite running as a segregationist, and the mayor of Miami, running as a civil rightist. The local favorite won.

Finally, an incident in St. Augustine clinched the case with many whites who believe Dr. King's demonstrators are irresponsible law-breakers. A 21-year-old Negro man was arrested for plotting to extort $10,000 from a prominent St. Augustine mother; she said a Negro man warned her he would blow up her home and kill her 4 ill children unless she put $10,000 in a sack and left it on the flour shelf at a St. Augustine supermarket.

The man, who was arrested by FBI agents who said they stopped him as he left the store with the decoy sack, had been arrested 16 times as a civil-rights demonstrator, charged with violating Florida's trespass law. He has also been convicted of armed robbery.

There's no proof, nor any evidence, of a connection between the suspect and Dr. King's organization, but it strengthens segregationist sentiment. Add this to Negro outrage over the attempted burning of a cottage at nearby Anastasia Hills, rented by Dr. King, and it comes up an emotional stand-off of the warring groups.

**On the Police Blotter**

There's more flailing of fists, person-to-person violence here than Birmingham saw during all the weeks before the final confrontation between "Bull" Connor and Martin Luther King. The St. Augustine blotter produced these items in the space of three days:

- A Negro man was peppered with birdshot by "persons unknown" as he walked along darkened King Street near the downtown plaza.
- A white man stumbled across two Negro men under a bridge across the San Sebastian River; they cut his face with a pocket knife and left him bleeding and alone.
- A hooligan forced the door on Dr. King's cottage and set fire to a blanket, which went out before it could set other furnishings ablaze; the next night the house was peppered with shotgun fire.
- An out-of-town photographer was knocked to the ground by a man with a nightstick (the sheriff said he wasn't a deputy); another newsman was beaned with a well-aimed brick.

**It Could Have Been Worse**

But for St. Augustine's snarling police dogs, the violence might be worse. The dogs and their handlers have, more than once, kept a tiny no-man's land between the lines of demonstrators and white counter-demonstrators. So far, no one has complained about police-dog brutality in St. Augustine.

In fact, Dr. King had kind words for the police at week's end. He said he had noticed "improved law enforcement" since the sheriff's men were reinforced with state troopers sent in by Gov. Farris Bryant, who vowed to keep the streets free of violence.

But, as tiny as it is, as unlikely a scene as this old-world town presents in the drowsy afternoon's sun, the tinder of terrible trouble is here. Both sides seem to be aware of it. White and Negro adults broke up downtown fights between white and Negro youths. Dr. King has called

# St. Augustine Quiet

*EDITOR'S NOTE—A tenuous peace has, at length, come to St. Augustine. But its recent racial disorders have shaken the very structure of the town. With more civil rights demonstrations inevitable throughout the South, a look at tortured St. Augustine offers a study in what happens to a city caught unprepared.*

By JULES LOH

ST. AUGUSTINE, Fla., July 4 (AP) — Weathered old missions and crusty green cannons and venerable oaks standing in ancient courtyards give the impression that St. Augustine is centuries past the point where any force at all could shake its social stability.

But St. Augustine has gone through a full-blown civil rights struggle, and today it trembles in anxiety as it once rocked with violence.

The struggle has so torn the city that only a delicate thread —in the form of a secret biracial committee — is holding its social fabric together and the struggle, many fear, is far from over.

And as the "long hot summer" moves inevitably toward promised large and small demonstrations across the South, St. Augustine, holding its breath in the uneasy calm of a tenuous truce, offers a study in what can happen to a city unprepared for what has come to be known as "nonviolent direct action."

Associated Press Wirephotos

POLICEMAN HAS ARM AROUND NECK OF WHITE SEGREGATIONIST
The "Long Hot Summer" as Violence Rocks St. Augustine During Wade In

NO VIOLENCE BUT WADE IN AREA IS BLOCKED OFF BY STATE POLICE
Only Few Segregationists on Hand as Wade In Proceeds With Minor Incidents

**ALREADY** St. Augustine has been racked economically. Chamber of Commerce Manager H. B. Chitty estimates a loss of $8 to $10 million dollars in the city's annual tourist income of $22 million. Hansoms and surries normally clopping busily about with sightseers, stand idly in a long line on the riverfront. Some businessmen have thrown up their hands. "Come Labor Day," said Tom Wiles, who operates a beachfront snack shop, "I'm going to close up for good and try to pay my bills." Restaurants and motels report business off as much as 54 per cent. At one motel there were 20 cancellations in a single day.

But economic woes are only part of St. Augustine's agony. "We've lost control of our city," said innkeeper Eddy Mussallem. "We've become a battle ground for extreme elements on

sion refused to act on any of them. Then, in a move interpreted by many as a gratutious gesture of intransigence, the commission passed an ordi-

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ing the sickening thud of fists against flesh.

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about with sightseers, stand idly in a long line on the riverfront. Some businessmen have thrown up their hands. "Come Labor Day," said Tom Wiles, who operates a beachfront snack shop, "I'm going to close up for good and try to pay my bills." Restaurants and motels report business off as much as 54 per cent. At one motel there were 20 cancellations in a single day.

But economic woes are only part of St. Augustine's agony. "We've lost control of our city," said innkeeper Eddy Mussallem. "We've become a battle ground for extreme elements on both sides."

State Sen. Verle Pope, who at one point tried to mediate the dispute and got a brick through his office window for his efforts, says new state laws might be the answer.

"When two groups come in and both make demands incapable of fulfillment it tears a city apart," Pope said. "Some legislation has got to be designed to prevent demonstrators, Negro and white, from destroying a town."

**AT A PRIVATE** meeting in which motel and restaurant operators voted to comply with the civil rights bill, one man stood up during the debate and shouted, "If we do that, they're going to break every window in this town."

He referred to groups of whites, characterized by their battered old cars with Confederate flags whipping from aerials, who still cruise the streets surrounding the Slave Market Plaza where preachers of white supremacy held forth nightly during the period of turmoil before the truce.

Perhaps the most damaging results of the racial conflict to St. Augustine's future are the animosities splitting the white community, born of high passion during the demonstrations and fanned by bitterly conflicting views among civic leaders on how to deal with them.

Rapport between Negroes and whites has suffered. "I'm tired of being cussed at and called 'Nigger" every place I go," complained a worker at the St. Augustine Alligator Farm. "Folks didn't used to behave that way."

**INDEED FOLKS DIDN'T.** Back in the twenties the town's leading beautician was a Negro woman named Carrie Macon. One of the directors of the St. Augustine National Bank, Will Martin, also was a Negro, and Negro and white baseball teams used the same dressing rooms at the city ball park.

But that was also a period in which Negro education, according to one old timer, "was sorely neglected." The Negroes' position in St. Augustine steadily deteriorated over the years.

The first incident leading up to the present crisis came two years ago when a group of students from Florida Normal, a Negro college, staged a sit-in at a dime store. As police were escorting them out, a white youth slugged one of them.

A year ago last spring a committee of Negroes headed by Dr. R. B. Hayling appeared before the city commission with a list of demands. The commission refused to act on any of them. Then, in a move interpreted by many as a gratutious gesture of intransigence, the commission passed an ordinance prohibiting fishing from the bridge over the Matanzas River. Few if any whites ever fished there.

**NO VIOLENCE BUT WADE IN AREA IS BLOCKED OFF BY STATE POLICE**
**Only Few Segregationists on Hand as Wade In Proceeds With Minor Incidents**

The tempo of Negro demonstrations picked up. White tempers grew short.

**THEN ONE HOT** night last fall the Ku Klux Klan held a rally in a pasture 6 miles out of town Dr. Hayling showed up and was roundly beaten — "initiated" as one Klansman put it. A short time later, a car full of white youths drove into the Negro section. The car was shot into and one youth was killed. In the nights that followed there were sporadic incidents of shooting.

Again a Negro committee approached the city commission and again there was no action.

And that was when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference agreed to come to St. Augustine. Dr. King didn't miss the symbolic value of demonstrations in the nation's oldest city.

He preached to the St. Augustine Negroes in their stifling hot churches where they gathered to sing the old slave songs, mournful and sweet, and the new civil rights songs, spirited and challenging.

He told them to purify themselves, to "prepare to offer your very bodies for freedom and be ready to be clubbed and kicked without retaliating." Then he led them into the streets.

**FOR A FORTNIGHT** the city was in the grip of terror. The Negro demonstrations brought on counterdemonstrations by whites, most of them sun-burnished youths wearing denims, work shoes and soiled shirts, and carrying 39-cent Confederate flags.

Some were members of the Ancient City Hunting Club, a group headed by Holsted (Hoss) Manucy, a hulking segregationist who wore a black polo shirt, boots and a cowboy hat and kept in contact with his forces through roving cars equipped with citizens' band radio.

Two other segregationist leaders also came to town: J. B. Stoner of Atlanta, a lawyer who represents the KKK; and the Rev. Connie Lynch, a wiry evangelist from San Bernardino, Calif., who said his denomination was the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and his message was that Jesus Christ died to redeem white people only.

At night, Lynch and Stoner would speak beneath the old pavilion, where slaves once were sold in the palm-fringed town plaza. One night Mr. Lynch had with him on the platform a drawing of a grotesque, ape-like creature with the crude lettering: "Do you want your children to look like this?"

The clashes would come when the Negroes marched, two by two, from their churches down to the plaza.

At the sight of them, a cry would go up, "Niggers coming!" With that, women would screech, "Go git 'em, boys; And masses of whites shouting obscenities, would surge from one corner of the plaza to another as the Negro line wound around the square. At times, they broke through, and you could hear beneath the screeching and cursing the sickening thud of fists against flesh.

**UNTIL** Gov. Farris Bryant sent in the Highway Patrol to take over law enforcement, there was virtually no police protection for the demonstrators. During one of the white counterdemonstrations, the local sheriff, who said he had been a close friend of Hoss Manucy's for 40 years, marched in the parade.

But violence wasn't confined to the plaza, nor to the night hours. On the beach during the day, whites would try to keep the Negroes out of the Atlantic, and the same screaming, flailing disorder erupted.

A favorite target of the segregationists were the white demonstrators, standing out vividly in the line of march. The segregationists called them "white niggers."

At one wade-in, an Episcopal rector from Farmingdale, N.J., 50-year-old Rev. Walter Hampshire, knelt in the sand and started to pray.

"Hey, white nigger, look here, look here!" one white shouted.

Amid an explosion of expletives, a blow on the head sent the minister sprawling in the shallow foam. Two young Negroes flung themselves on his body and accepted more blows.

Repercussions of the violence spread from the Matanzas River to the Potomac.

**IN A SMALL HOUSE** next to the First Baptist Church one night after a free-for-all on the plaza, Dr. King phoned first the Department of Justice and then the White House.

"We need help now," he pleaded.

Meanwhile, the St. Johns County Grand Jury had heard

"Hap[illegible]e Tag"

four days of testimony and had come up with a plan which would have formed a biracial committee. But it also called for a 30-day cooling-off period, and this Dr. King rejected.

When the grand jury plan fell through, President Johnson phoned H. E. Wolfe, a wealthy St. Augustine contractor and friend of politicians, and asked him to serve on a biracial committee of four. Wolfe at first declined, then accepted after a call from Gov. Bryant. But this effort, too, fell through, apparently because one of the two Negroes named wasn't acceptable to one side.

Finally, after a series of conference phone calls, Gov. Bryant announced he had appointed a biracial committee, but would not tell who was on it to save them harrassment. The Negroes agreed to a two-week truce while the committee worked.

If some of the segregationists in the plaza thought the truce was tantamount to capitulation, the Negroes plainly felt it was a triumph. Back at the First Baptist Church, they gathered to clap and sing and one of the songs went like this:

"This little light of freedom,
oh Lord,
"I'm going to let it shine,
"I'm going to let it shine,
"You can tell ol' Hoss Manucy
"[illegible] I'm going [illegible] let it shine."

Y[illegible]

C[illegible]
JIM JO[illegible]
BA[illegible]

[illegible]ate
Course
[illegible], N.E.

The New York Times Magazine

Dr. King enters a Baptist church in St. Augustine—"I think the Negro will accept nonviolence," he says, "if it brings concrete victories. This will be the test of the summer."

# Critical Test for the Nonviolent Way

**In St. Augustine, Martin Luther King has put his doctrine of nonviolence on trial. By making it succeed there, he hopes to win over those Negroes now veering toward extremism.**

By JOHN HERBERS

ST. AUGUSTINE, Fla.

WHEN the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. moved his forces into St. Augustine on May 25, the Negro revolution had reached a critical stage. A new militancy by both Negroes and segregationists was on the rise.

In Jacksonville, Nashville, Atlanta and other cities, civil rights demonstrators had departed from their policy of nonviolence. The moderate Negro leaders who had so ably succeeded in placing the black man's cause before the conscience of America seemed in danger of losing control of the movement.

The white backlash stirred up by Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in three Northern Presidential primaries was at a peak. Many whites sympathetic to the cause of racial justice were beginning to fear that the Negro in his demands for "Freedom now! Freedom now!" was about to pull the pillars of society crashing down around us all.

One was reminded of the lines written about the Negro drive by Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk:

"It is . . . possible that as the movement gains in power, the reasonableness and the Christian fervor . . . will recede into the background and the movement will become more and more an unreasoning and intransigent mass movement dedicated to the conquest of sheer power, more and more inclined to violence."

EVERYWHERE there was growing uncertainty and concern about where the movement was headed. While the civil rights bill was virtually assured of passage sometime during the summer, no realistic appraisal of the forthcoming law could find in it more than a broadening of the legal base for Negro opportunity. Civil rights leaders everywhere were predicting a "long hot summer of discontent."

"We felt," Dr. King said as he set up his headquarters here, "that the summer campaign needed a purifying prelude in the sense of having a movement where Negroes remained completely nonviolent."

St. Augustine is a critical test not only of Dr. King's ability to hold the imagination and allegiance of millions of Negroes but also of the nonviolent method.

It soon became apparent why Dr. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference had picked St. Augustine, the nation's oldest city, a seemingly inappropriate locale, as the starting point for the summer campaign.

The little city of 15,000, 35 miles south of Jacksonville, is not typically Southern and, like American society, as a whole, it presents a series of paradoxes. Accessible by land and sea, it is on the main tourist route of Florida. It looks to outsiders for 80 per cent of its economy, and its people come from all parts of the nation. As the first permanent settlement in the United States, it is one of the nation's chief historic sites. In 1962 President Kennedy appointed a special commission to work on the city's quadricentennial in 1965. Plans call for the establishment of a Pan-American Center that will serve as a window on the world of Latin America, of which St. Augustine was a part for more than 200 years.

YET, politically and socially, St. Augustine is by any objective analysis a backwater area which has not only rejected Latin America's racial tolerance but also the North American dream that all men should start with equal opportunities.

Historian Charles Arnade has said that white leaders of the city are forever looking long- *(Continued on Page 30)*

JOHN HERBERS is a staff reporter working out of the Atlanta bureau of The Times.

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# Critical Test for the Nonviolent Way

*(Continued from Page 5)*

ingly backward into history. "They are crazy for genealogy. They all try to trace their relatives back 200 or 300 years. It is a closed society that is suspicious of anybody from the outside and of any ideas."

The little city is a stronghold for the far right. The John Birch Society and similar organizations flourish. One of their main themes is that the civil rights movement and Communism are analogous, a view that is readily accepted by the poor whites who are the activists in the racial struggle.

YET St. Augustine is far from being the most segregated city in the South. As in most coastal communities, you can find Negroes and whites living side by side. The schools have token integration, municipally owned facilities are desegregated, and a few Negroes serve as law-enforcement officers.

What does stand out clearly in St. Augustine, however, is that further racial progress is blocked—not so much by local law and massive resistance as by terror.

Gangs of white toughs from the swamps and byways of St. Johns County are free to roam the city, attacking Negro demonstrators and white sympathizers. Holsted Richard (Hoss) Manucy, a 45-year-old former bootlegger, heads a force of men called "Manucy's Raiders," whose main function is to terrorize the community's 3,500 Negroes and who patrol the streets in cars equipped with short-wave radios.

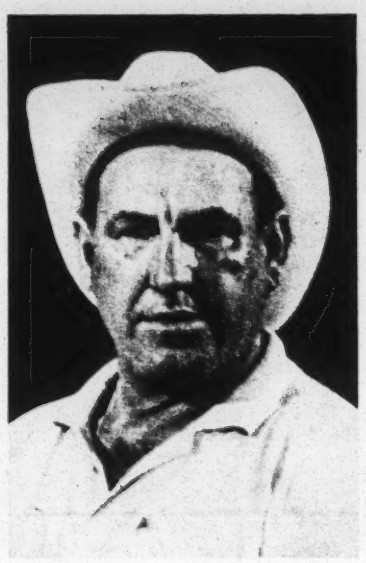
White businessmen who have tried to bring about voluntary desegregation of public accommodations or to set up a biracial committee to negotiate a settlement have had their windows broken. Homes and automobiles have been fired on and scores of Negroes have been beaten.

Manucy's men have not only been tolerated but a number were sworn in as special deputies to deal with racial demonstrations before a Federal judge denounced this practice. When Negro leaders are taken to jail, the man who opens the door for them is Hoss Manucy, 220 pounds of him, grinning under a battered cowboy hat.

Several juveniles were sent to the State Reformatory last year for indefinite terms after they had been arrested while picketing a lunch counter and after their parents had refused to sign statements saying the youngsters would take no further part in racial protests. Four Negroes were beaten at a Ku Klux Klan rally.

It was in this setting that Dr. King called for a return to the classical technique of nonviolence in which the Negro freely gives himself to the violence of the white man. The hope is that the oppressor may come to see his own injustice and not only free the oppressed but redeem himself and society in the process.

"The Negro," Dr. King wrote in "Why We Can't Wait", his latest book, "was willing to risk martyrdom in order to move and stir the social conscience of his community and the nation. Instead of submitting to surreptitious cruelty in thousands of dark jail cells and on countless street corners, he would (with acts of civil disobedience) force his oppressor to commit his brutality openly—in the light of day—with the rest of the world looking on."



**VIGILANTE** — Holsted Manucy leads "Manucy's Raiders," a white group that patrols St. Augustine.

IN St. Augustine this has happened. Most of the brutality occurred not during acts of civil disobedience, as in Birmingham and other cities, but during lawful demonstrations in the street and at a public beach segregated not by law but by extra-legal intimidation.

The white man came more than halfway to offer up his violence, almost as if he were acting out the role assigned to him. But is this likely to lead to acceptance of the Negro's demands for desegregation in public accommodations and to creation of a biracial committee to hear Negro grievances and to better job opportunities for Negroes?

It would not at first sight seem so. Dr. King and his nonviolent army, rather than the angry whites in the town square, are seen as the aggressors by community leaders.

"All America and all the world knows that St. Augustine is unjustly being used as a battleground," two officials of the quadricentennial program, W. I. Drysdale and Frank Upchurch, said in a joint statement. "And everyone everywhere knows that it was chosen for its publicity value and because of its helplessly small size against such nationwide organizations [as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.]

"But let no one misunderstand," they continued. "St. Augustine does not plan on rolling over and playing dead. It has survived 400 years only because it has been a decent and strong-willed community. And, God willing, it will be such 400 years from now."

IN his eight years as a national civil rights leader, Dr. King has grown accustomed to this kind of response—a hardening of opposition rather than a move toward reconciliation. He sees it as a temporary and localized impediment in the over-all advance of the Negro movement.

It is difficult to believe that Dr. King is only 35 years old (he was born Jan. 15, 1929), not because of his appearance but because of the veneration in which he is held by his associates and followers.

"The good Lord doesn't make a Martin Luther King every day," one aide told St. Augustine's Negroes. "If he come down here and go jail, the least you can do go with him."

Dr. King was hardly out Boston University with a torate in systematic theo when he rose to national prominence by leading the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott of 1956, an assignment he accepted with some reluctance.

He subsequently gave up his Montgomery pastorage, moved to Atlanta and established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which now has more than 60 full-time workers and more than 100 affiliates across the nation. He is also co-pastor, with his father, of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

THE conference is hardly a model of organization and efficiency. Dr. King lays no claim to being an administrator. "No one ever quite knows what the S.C.L.C. and Dr. King are going to do next," a member of a rival civil rights organization said. "They are a bunch of preachers, all heart and no business acumen."

No one will dispute, however, that Dr. King is the leading spokesman for the American Negro and the most prominent of his race since Booker T. Washington. He holds this

position chiefly because of his ability to articulate the longings of his people, stoically but eloquently.

One day recently he sat on the screened porch of a St. Augustine home, sipped iced orange juice and talked of the goals and directions of the summer civil rights campaign. His appearance has changed little in the last eight years. He is a little thicker, but there is no flabbiness to him. He is a short man. Yet his broad, sloping face and thick neck give him a sense of power. There is no hint of the extraordinary life he leads. One day he is in a police car, guarded by a fierce dog on his way to jail for trying to eat at a segregated restaurant. The next day he is at Yale University, accepting an honorary degree.

His life is repeatedly threatened, for he inspires hatred among segregationists like no other Negro leader. Yet he moves freely around town with no visible protection.

"St. Augustine will not be another Albany," he said, referring to that embattled South Georgia city where months of intensive demonstrations brought little gain for Negroes and left an embittered white population.

BUT while the white community here was saying it would never yield, it did yield —a little. Many of the businessmen in St. Augustine pledged themselves to comply with the civil rights bill once it became law, ending segregation in public accommodations; and a bi-racial committee was scheduled to begin functioning later in the summer to hear Negro grievances.

"Even if we do not get all we should, movements such as this tend more and more to give a Negro the sense of self-respect that he needs," Dr. King said. "It tends to generate courage in Negroes outside the movement.

"It brings intangible results outside the community where it is carried out. There is a hardening of attitudes in situations like this. But other cities see and say, 'We don't want to be another Albany or Birmingham,' and they make changes. Some communities, like this one, had to bear the cross."

CAMPAIGNING in Birmingham last year brought some desegregation in that city. But, more important in Dr. King's view, it touched off the Negro revolt of 1963 that caused President Kennedy to give civil rights top legislative priority. By offering himself to the white man's violence, the Negro brought into being the civil rights act of 1964.

If classical nonviolence does not work in its purest sense — that is bringing about reconciliation and equal dignity of the races—then the Negro must accept for the time being a lesser victory: acceptance out of the white man's self-interest.

But what of nonviolence in the future? Are Negroes ready to abandon it, as some have said, and go off on some other course which could be more disruptive to peace and order?

"I still feel," Dr. King said, "that Negroes by and large in the United States are willing to follow tactical nonviolence.

"By that, I mean they believe in it in a pragmatic sense, not as a way of life as I do. I think the Negro will continue to accept nonviolence if it can bring about concrete victories. I think this will be the test of the summer, so to speak."

ONE thing is certain. Dr. King will continue to press his demands from a religious and spiritual base. He is too deeply rooted there to flourish elsewhere. Because of this he can be expected to inject some measure of humility and open-mindedness into the struggle.

"We will make progress," he says, "if we freely admit that we have no magic . . . . If we accept the fact that 400 years of sinning cannot be canceled out in four minutes of atonement. "Neither can we allow the guilty to tailor their atonement in such a manner as to visit another four seconds of deliberate hurt upon the victim."

These words take on special meaning for Americans when they see young Negroes in the nation's oldest city march into the flaying fists of the mob singing joyously "We love everybody."

AT THE SLAVE MARKET — Demonstrators confront St. Augustine's Police Chief Virgil Stuart.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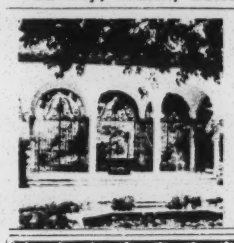

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**Unmindful of catcalls** from white youths, Negro rights demonstrators march past historic Old Slave Market in St. Augustine, Fla., in silent protest against biased conditions while helmeted state troopers keep uneasy peace. At first aroused to anger and violence, Negroes agreed to non-violent approach after Dr. Martin L. King Jr. joined fight.

**Dive-in** at local Monson Motor Lodge pool, staged by Negro, white integrationists, was discouraged by manager James Brock as he pours contents of jug, labeled "Muriatic Acid," into pool. After civil rights bill passed, motel admitted Negroes.

Ebony
Aug. 1964

# UNSAINTLY

## First Christian settlement in Americas

ST. AUGUSTINE, Fla., is a hot tempered, sun-drenched area of shocking contradictions. Founded in 1565 as the first permanent settlement in America, the small Atlantic port was the original spot where settlers came to escape the tyranny of the "Old World." As the historic city prepared to celebrate the 400th anniversary of its birthday, Negro residents still sought to escape the oppression of the "New World." Today, they are determined to make the city, named after black saint St. Augustine the Moor, a living symbol of justice and equality.

Situated along three palm-lined rivers off the Atlantic ocean, St. Augustine is bursting with seething passions over race relations. The city, which calls itself "the oldest white settlement" in America, has a Negro namesake because it was founded on St. Augustine's birthday. The former Spanish fortress takes pride in being the first Christian settlement in the Americas, but it still bars Negroes and Indians from most religious ceremonies. The first Christian community later became the center of a booming slave trade in Florida. Today, still entrenched in tradition, descendants of the early settlers are determined to deny their Negro fellow citizens equality.

Calling on President Johnson to boycott next year's segregated quadricentennial celebration, Dr. Robert Bangor Hayling, the Tennessee-born leader of the St. Augustine civil rights movement, vowed that Negro residents will use "every effort possible" to halt the festivities unless it is completely integrated or the civil rights bill becomes effective at once. A tall, handsome dentist with close cropped hair, 34-year-old Dr. Hayling helped start the St. Augustine campaign as local NAACP youth advisor, a position he resigned when officials blamed early clashes between civil rights demonstrators and segregationists "on militant Negroes and the Ku Klux Klan." Snapped the dentist: "Negroes are not supposed to defend themselves in this country like the founders. They'll be branded as radicals and extremists if they

**Stick-wielding whites** beat on unarmed Negro bathers who had attempted to swim at St. Augustine ocean beach. After several members of both sides were injured, police officers armed with clubs, waded into surf and broke up melee. Other integration attempts included "kneel-in" at city's white Trinity Episcopal Church. Attempt was successful.

# ST. AUGUSTINE

## is hotbed of racial injustice and strife

do . . ." Although officials indicated a willingness to discuss Negro demands for desegregation "without Dr. Hayling," long-time Negro residents backed the dentist's militant leadership without compromising their demands.

In his appeal on the eve of the July Fourth signing of the civil rights bill, Dr. Hayling declared that "an impasse still exists in St. Augustine . . . and no progress toward even a minimal settlement of our grievances is being made . . . Negro citizens, fearful of further arrests and physical attack, are now being forced to moderate even their right to peaceful protests." Although local merchants promised a local grand jury that they would obey the new civil rights measures if authorities forced Negroes to call off demonstrations, Dr. Haylings reminded optimists that even though President Johnson had promised to see that the Quadricentennial Commission would be integrated if Negroes refrained from picketing his appearance in the city last year, there still is no Negro on any official body or agency in the town.

Ironically, the one Negro white St. Augustinians would like to get rid of most has been paid by the state government to stay. In 1960, Dr. Hayling signed a five-year contract with Florida agreeing to practice dentistry in the "hardship area" for five years in return for a scholarship to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tenn. "They wanted me to go to Panama City, but that was worse than here," says the outspoken practitioner whose patient load once was 50 per cent white. "Some of them (the whites) still sneak in the back door. Some people don't want you to integrate here for their own good," he fumes.

After appealing to all major civil rights groups in the nation for aid in desegregating the town, Dr. Hayling succeeded in getting the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to enter the campaign. Negro residents agreed to adopt a non-violent philosophy. "We investigated the situation," explained SCLC President, Martin Luther King Jr.—"and found that Dr. Hayling was a good man who had lost

**Police officer** in swimming trunks, aided by dog, patrols ocean beach to discourage another attack on Negro bathers during second day of integration at city's popular swim site. About 50 Negroes and several whites participated in the demonstration.

*Continued on Next Page*

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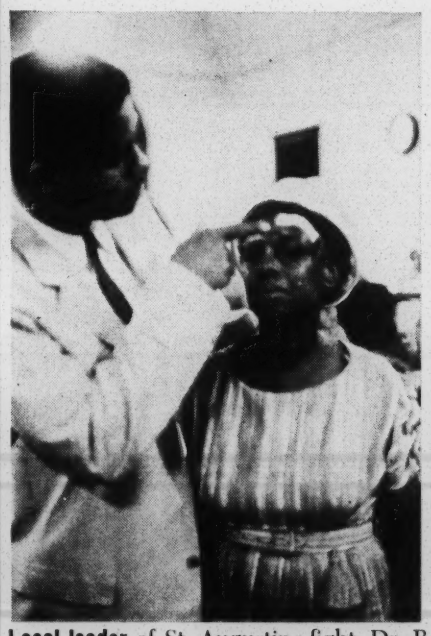
**Rights movement anthem,** *We Shall Overcome,* sung during symbolic holding of hands concludes address by Dr. Martin L. King Jr. to Negro community in New St. Paul AME Church. He is flanked by Rev. C. T. Vivien (l.) and Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

## UNSAINTLY ST. AUGUSTINE *Continued*

nearly all he had trying to help his people. We felt that a man like Dr. Hayling and a town like St. Augustine deserved to be saved . . ." Even though scores of pickets and sit-inners were beaten, shot and jailed in the historic town last year during a tragic campaign that was all but ignored by the press, hundreds of residents put down their arms and followed Dr. King's call to non-violent marches through the town square and old slave market to dramatize their plight.

In the beginning, they were met with bricks and bottles, firecrackers and some gun-fire. Silently, the marchers circled the palm-lined beachfront unmindful of the threats to their lives. As the demonstrations continued, police and newsmen were often more jittery than the demonstrators. Finally, Gov. Ferris Bryant took personal command of the 500-man combined force of state police, sheriff's deputies and special state agents ordered to provide protection for the marchers by Federal Judge Bryan Simpson. One Florida Memorial College student, who repeatedly marched with the demonstrators after being released from jail, admitted: "Sure, we were all scared, but it was something we had to do." Another youth gave his reactions to non-violence: "I'd rather hit a man back if he does something to me," admitted Richard Eubanks, "but this non-violent stuff does make you feel good." Dr. King's and Dr. Hayling's marchers continued their non-violent tactics so effectively that Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon J. B. Stoner of Atlanta finally urged klansmen not to engage in any violence against the demonstrators. "Let's show the niggers we can act just as good as they can," he declared. Nevertheless, interracial groups of swimmers continued to be bloodied and beaten as they attempted to use the legally integrated beachfront until state troopers waded into the water in full uniform to break up the one-sided assaults.

St. Augustine Negroes were often charged with assault even though



**Local leader** of St. Augustine fight, Dr. Robert B. Hayling, a dentist (left), points to head injury of woman sustained when marchers were attacked. At right, Dr. King submits to arrest by Sheriff C. D. Daroll after King attempted to integrate motel.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*Continued on Page 96*

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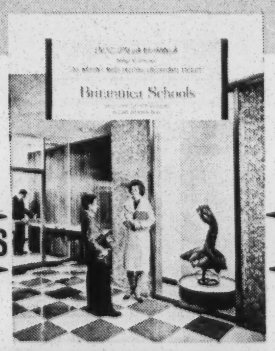


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**Strategy for action** is being mapped by Dr. King, members of his SCLC staff and local leaders. Dr. King entered St. Augustine battle at height of racial conflict, following appeal for help by Dr. Hayling to nation's major civil rights group, including NAACP.

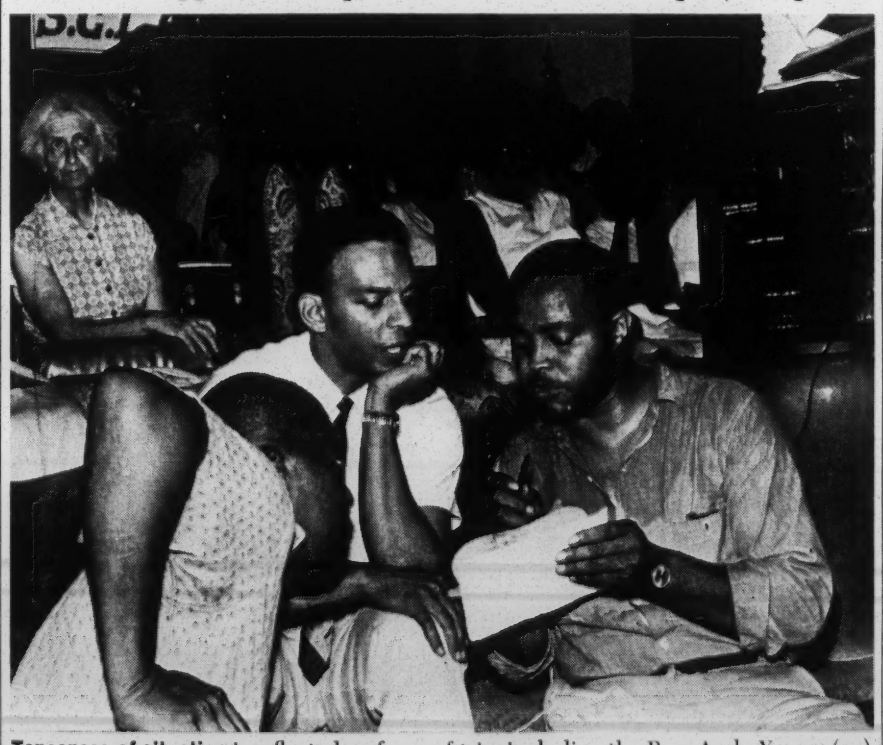
## UNSAINTLY ST. AUGUSTINE *Continued*

they were the victims of violence. SCLC listed 60 instances of attacked victims being charged with resistance and 12 acts of economic reprisals involving loss of jobs and business. Last February, terrorists fired into Dr. Hayling's home while it was occupied by his wife and two children. "They killed my pet dog and would have hit my wife if she had not been talking on the phone," the dentist recalls bitterly. "No arrests were made for the shooting and no one was questioned.

In another incident, four Negro youths were injured by gunfire inside a home. When three of them reported the shooting, they were arrested for shooting back at the white boys who fired on them. Police only dropped the charges against the Negroes when they agreed to drop the charges against the white youths.

One of the most startling incidents occurred in America's oldest city when Dr. Hayling and three Negroes attempted to attend a Ku Klux Klan meeting in the area. The following eye witness report was filed by the Rev. Irwin Cheney of Daytona Beach, Fla., a white minister and assistant director of the Florida Council on Human Relations:

"It was a murky September evening . . . Handbills had been distributed throughout St. Augustine inviting 'all white people' to attend a rally of the Ku Klux Klan. I was asked to attend as an observer. . . . No sooner had I arrived at the clearing than a red-robed klansman ordered the lighting of the cross. The huge cross, possibly 20 feet high, had been wrapped in burlap, soaked in a flammable liquid, and placed



**Tenseness of situation** is reflected on faces of trio, including the Rev. Andy Young (c.) and Hosea Williams (r.) during organizational huddle at St. Paul AME Church. Rev. Williams led group in unsuccessful attempt to integrate Motor Lodge Restaurant.

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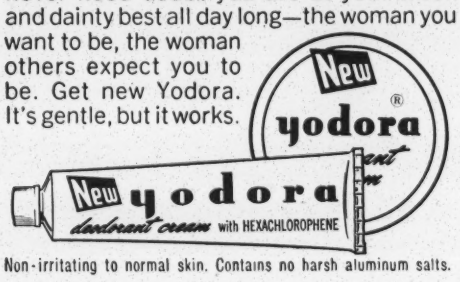


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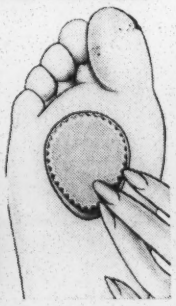

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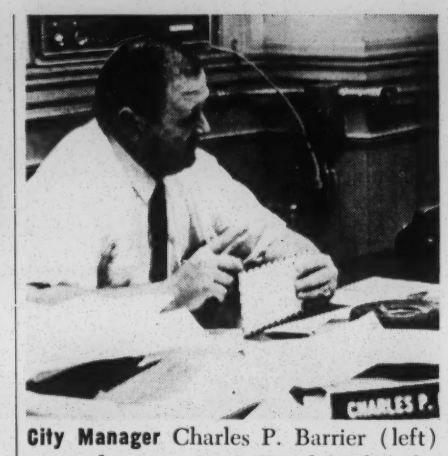


**City Manager** Charles P. Barrier (left) is beset with problems since rights revolt erupted in city. Ivory Ward (right) shows newsmen hole in windshield of his car, he said was caused by bullet fired at him by white youth, narrowly missing his head.

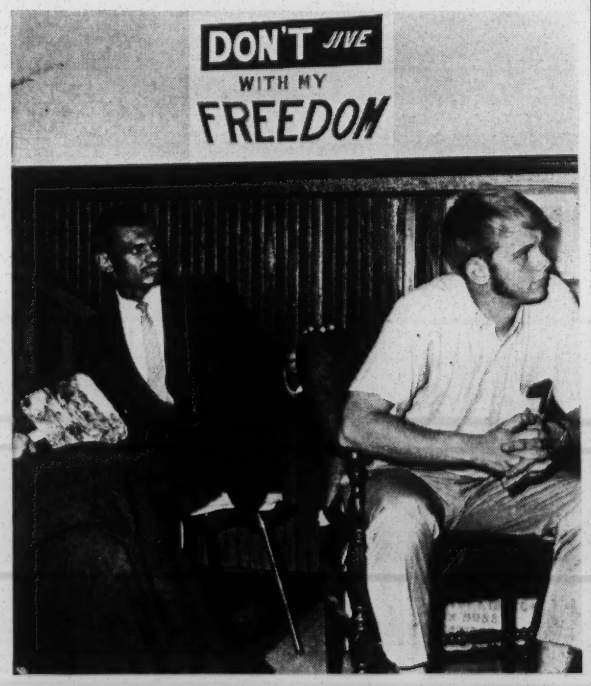
## UNSAINTLY ST. AUGUSTINE *Continued*

in an upright position. A match was applied and the cross was immediately covered with flames. Robed klansmen and klanswomen, two dozen strong walked in a circle around the burning cross, giving a sort of sloppy left-handed sign of obeisance. It was vaguely reminiscent of the *sieg-heil* salute of the Nazis. . . .

"As this procession occurred, one could hear the faint strains of 'The Old Rugged Cross' floating across the crowd. A group of girls, early teen-agers, were humming and singing as the fire became more and more intense . . . The meeting was called to order (by) our brother Klansman Gene F. . . . without further preliminaries, the presiding officer said, 'Brothers and sisters, our speaker of the evening is a man who has been a minister of the gospel for more than 35 years. It is my pleasure to introduce you to Brother Connie Lee of Alabama.' No further biographical information was presented. . . . 'My friends,' Lee began, 'I want to share with you something of the history, the glorious history of the Klan. The Klan was born out of bloodshed, out of a real need to protect the Southern white man from the carpetbaggers—the Jew carpetbaggers. You know, of course, that the carpetbaggers was Jews, and they came down here and teamed up with the niggers and tried to take away everything the white man had. But they learned that the white man would not take this lying down. He organized. He organized into klans. He rose up to defend his honor and his interests. And I'll tell you that to this day, the Jews, the niggers and all the rest of the colored people are not afraid of anything else, but they are afraid of the Klan. . . .

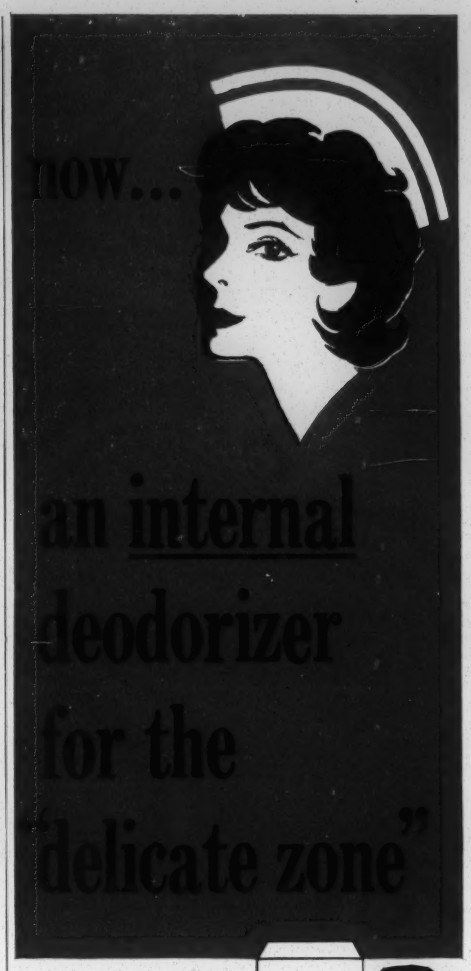
'Not long ago, a man from the FBI—you know what that is, the Federal Bureau of Investigation—came by to talk with me. I'll guarantee you there's some of them in this crowd tonight, and some of them Jew bastards from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is here, too. They always spy on me. But anyhow, they came by and said, "Now you don't really advocate violence, do you?" And I said: "The hell you say. The niggers has declared all-out war on the plan of God and on God's family, the white man; and in war you shoot." Then, they said to me: "Do you know who bombed the church in Birmingham?" And I said, "No, and if I did, I wouldn't tell you. . . ."

'I believe in violence, all the violence it takes to either scare niggers




**Bearded student** seated next to Rev. Vivien is one of several white supporters who have taken active part in St. Augustine Negroes' rights struggle. Regarded as traitors by white anti-integrationists, they frequently bear brunt of racists' hatred, violence.

**Continued on Next Page**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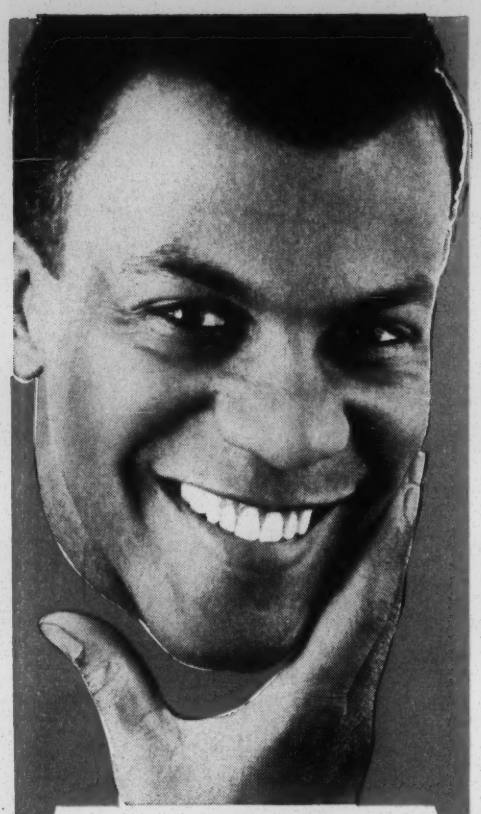

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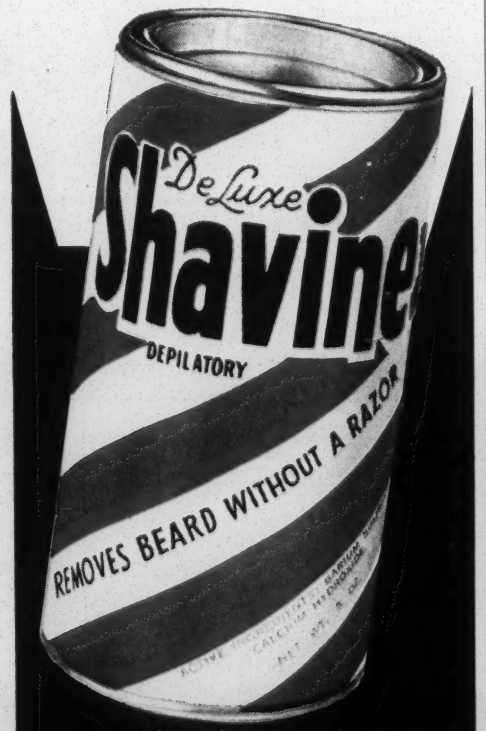


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## UNSAINTLY ST. AUGUSTINE *Continued*

out of the country or to have them all six feet under. My old daddy told me never to trust that old kicking mule we had, and never to trust a nigger. That was good advice . . .'

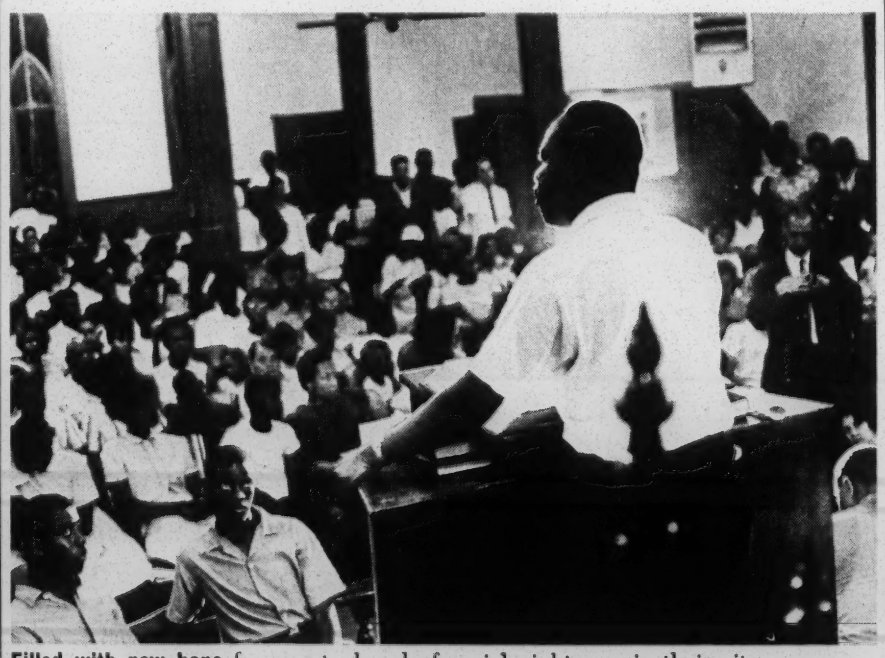
"The Rev. Connie Lee kept talking in this fashion for nearly two hours before the crowd of some 250 robed persons which kept drifting away until somebody shouted: Niggers! niggers! niggers! Frantically, Connie Lee jumped from the platform and jerked a gun from his coral-colored Cadillac, cocking it as he handed it to another man. Another gun appeared as if from out of the air and large knives, sticks and brass knuckles appeared on all sides. Twenty or more men went into the bushes to the north and in a few moments, they brought forth four Negro men to the platform. Each Negro was prodded by a knife or a gun in his back . . . There all sorts of taunts, vile, vicious, frantic. Boy, what, y'all doing out here? We just came out to run our fish lines, came the reply. Inasmuch as the spokesman (Dr. Hayling) wore a short-sleeved white shirt, a tie and neat slacks, the crowd screamed in disbelief. One of the Negroes was snatched around and ordered: Wipe that smile off your face! I marvelled at the Negroes' apparent composure throughout the ordeal . . .

"If the white men were reluctant to do harm, their women took care of that. They cajoled, shouted, and prodded the men into action. Children joined in the chorus of demands that the Negroes be killed. At this point, two white men stripped their shirts away and began to strike with their fists. At the sight of blood, I finally was jolted into an awareness of the fact this was, indeed, a tragically real occurrence. The beating continued with the women persisting: 'Castrate the bastards! Kick their b. . .s out! Knock their hands off! Kill 'em! Come on; do something! They had to trespass to get out here. They've got no right to live. String 'em up. . . .'

"Nearby, a robed woman spoke in a semi-whisper to her husband. 'Go get the head chopper . . . and get the rope. For God's sake, take off your robe and leave it in the car. You don't want to mess it up. It was then that I had to leave the crowd, make my way to a telephone and summon police help. . . ."

The Rev. Chaney succeeded in calling local police, the sheriff and the FBI and remained in the area long enough to see St. John's County Sheriff Lee David pick up Dr. Hayling and the three other Negroes from the mob as they were being beaten. The four Negroes were later arrested and charged with assault and trespassing for attending the klan meeting and "provoking a disturbance."

In moving into St. Augustine as the civil rights bill was being passed, Dr. King recognized he was putting America and the oldest city in the nation on the spot. "All eyes will be on St. Augustine next year and we must see that she lives up to her name," the great disciple of Gandhi's philosophy told his followers during one of the nightly pep meetings at St. Paul AME Church. By picking St. Augustine to stage the first major test of the civil rights bill, SCLC emphasized the startling difference between American ideals and practices. But Dr. King feels confident that America's oldest town will eventually help set the pattern of future race relations in the South.



**Filled with new hope** for eventual end of racial nightmare in their city, congregation listens as Dr. King pledges his organization's support. Within a few weeks after his arrival, city agreed to form bi-racial committee to end race conflict.

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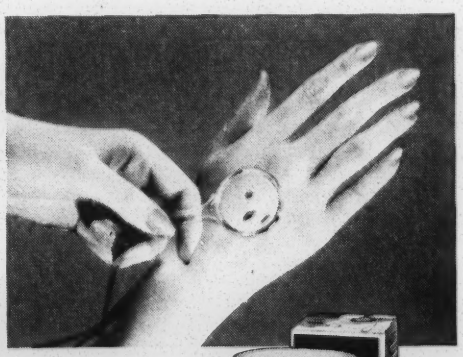

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the Student Voice

Vol. I No. III

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
197½ Auburn Avenue, NE., Atlanta 3, Georgia
MUrray 8-0331

October 1960

## ELECTION DAY ACTION!!!!!

The SNCC Conference calls upon students all over the U. S. to move on Election Day, November 8, 1960. Three political points must be made: (1) We demand immediate action on civil rights from the victorious candidates. This action should embrace the recommendations of Section III of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. (2) We demand that the right to vote be assured and protected by the Federal Government, through appropriate legislation. (3) We demand that Rule 22 of the Senate be changed so that civil rights legislation will not be blocked by filibustering.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD OCCUR ON THE AFTERNOON OF ELECTION DAY (4 P.M. your time) and should continue until the polls close. They should involve a march to the central polling place, State Capitols, Court Houses, and City Halls. Pre-demonstration meetings are urged - to analyze the situation and make plans for covering your area.

While recognizing the fact that the great strength of the movement will remain on the local level, we are convinced of the necessity of all areas joining in the campaign to secure civil rights. We hope that ALL students and many adults will recognize this and join, on NOVEMBER 8th, the march for freedom and human dignity for all Americans.

## SNCC CONFERENCE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Conference on "Nonviolence and the Achievement of Desegregation" was held on the campuses of the Atlanta University Center, October 14-16, 1960. This was the second Southwide conference of students who are participating in the movement.

There to welcome some 300 persons from all over the nation were members of the Coordinating Committee and members of the host - the Atlanta Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights. Marion S. Barry, Jr. of Tennessee is chairman of SNCC; Lonnie C. King, Jr., chairman of the Atlanta group.

Highlighting the conference were discussions and speeches by great leaders in civil rights and human relations. Among these were Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Ella J. Baker, James Lawson, Marion Wright of the Southern Regional Council, Lewis W. Jones of Tuskeegee, William Stuart Nelson of Howard, Richard B. Gregg, and author Lillian Smith of Georgia.

84 observers from all over the nation were in attendance; 40 of these were from nonsouthern colleges; 44 from organizations.

138 students came from 14 Southern states and the District of Columbia. This represented a total of 46 protest centers.

Southern schools present were: Alabama A & M, Stillman, Talladega, Tuskeegee, Arkansas A M & N, Philander Smith, Bethune-Cookman, Florida A & M, Stetson, Clark, Fort Valley State, ITC, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Spelman, Paine, Savannah State, Dillard, Loyola, McNeese, Maryland State, Morgan State, Univ. of Maryland, Tougaloo, N.C. A & T, Barber-Scotia, Duke, Johnson C. Smith, Livingstone, Shaw, Claflin, Friendship Junior, S. C. State, Morris, American Baptist Seminary, Fisk, Knoxville, Lane, Le Moyne, McHarry, Tenn. State, Bishop, Wiley, Univ. of Texas, Hampton, Va. Union, Va. State, Univ. of Va., Howard, and George Washington University.

## ATLANTA -

This is the drama from October 19 until... 11 A.M. Wednesday-75 students, from 5 colleges in the Atlanta University Center, went into 8 downtown stores and "sat in". They were participating in an all-out protest instigated by the Atlanta Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights, formed last year.

11:30 - 6 were arrested at the entrance to the Magnolia Room of Richs Department Store, Atlanta's largest.

11:40 - 2 were arrested at the entrance to the Cockerel Grill, Richs basement.

1:15 - 3 students and Dr. King were arrested at the Magnolia Room entrance.

1:45 - 3 students were arrested at the Barbecue Grill, Richs sub-basement.

2:00 - 19 students were arrested at the entrance to the Magnolia Room.

2:30 - 13 students were arrested same place.

2:40 - 2 students were arrested at the Cockerel Grill entrance.

Many of these had left seats in Davisons, Woolworths, Kress, McCrorys, Grants, Newberrys, and H. L. Greens. There, all the counters had been closed within seconds and ropes put around the students. When word came of the arrest of Lonnie King, chairman and of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., the students went to Riches...and were arrested. At 2:30 and 4:30, they were tried in city court. 36 were sent to Fulton Tower, on $500 bond, charged with the violation of the Ga. Anti-Trespass Law. 13 were released since the Magnolia Room had already been closed when they arrived.

10:30 A.M. Thursday-Hundreds of students entered 16 downtown stores. Counters were closed and 26 were arrested. 22 of these were charged with loafing and disturbance in the Terminal Station and were sent to the city prison farm for 10 days. 3, arrested for trespass in the Terminal Station lunch counter, were sent to Fulton Tower.

(continued p. 2)

## ACROSS THE EDITORS DESK

The sick South symbolizes the sick world. Men are full of fear because their world is trembling. They have no place to stand. This is why nonviolence has real healing potential. It says that the only "place to stand" is in relation. To what? To the self and the other. Nonviolence says that each person has personhood, that each of us is capable of entering into relation.

Consequently, nonviolence refuses to manipulate. It refuses to regard persons as things, as "its". If we lose sight of this basic concept of nonviolence, no matter how nonviolent our external tactics remain, we will lose the ultimate potential of the student movement. For, without this commitment to the validity of the other person, the movement will become an institution and the persons will become things.

But, we say, somebody is going to manipulate and to capitalize on the movement. Therefore, we seek to do it ourselves, being convinced that "we" are right. Let us all know that there is a great difference between active concern and the attempt to "make the movement what it ought to be". The danger of manipulation can be removed only when our active concern takes the form of concern for the individual person involved - the student and the segregationist. These people have names, and, though coming together they form great forces, they remain people. They, and we all, must so remain. To retain personhood will be the hardest battle of all...in a world where a mass movement is necessary to save the South and America. But the South and America will not be worth saving unless there are persons, real selves, left to live there. This retaining and creating of personhood is the great and final goal of the student movement. It will be reached IF the students and IF all persons involved truly understand and follow the concept of nonviolence.

The most immediate threat to personhood is organization. This is essential to the movement now. But organizations are totally vulnerable to institutionalization and to "thingness". The movement is more than a social force, a nameless entity. It is people sitting, people standing, people waiting, people giving, people hoping. It can be a vision of the self into the self and an acceptance of the other.

We quote from Martin Buber's I and Thou: "This is part of the basic truth of the human world, that only IT can be arranged in order. Only when things, from being THOU, become IT, can they be coordinated. The THOU knows no system of coordination...THOU establishes relation". Let us watch that we do not miss the real potential of the student movement, or shall we say, the students moving...in commitment to nonviolence. The longing of the South, the North, the students, the world is a place to stand. Nonviolence says...stand in relation.

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### THE ATLANTA STORY (continued)

10:30 A.M. Friday-Students continued the picket lines around these stores. 2 were arrested at the Lane Drug Co. and were sent to Fulton Tower.

Same Night - 41 persons were in the Tower, refusing bail, and 22 were on the prison farm.

Saturday - Students were off the streets. The Ku Klux Klan picketed instead. The mayor had had the 22 under city charges released. Richs had dropped charges and the Fulton Tower prisoners were out. The students had agreed to a 30-day truce during which time Mayor Hartsfield will negotiate with store managers in the attempt to arrive at an "ultimate solution".

THE THIRTY DAY TRUCE IS ON! You are urged to write letters of support to Mr. Lonnie C. King, Jr., chairman of the Atlanta student committee, 197½ Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3. You are asked to write to Mayor William Hartsfield pressing him to fulfill his terms of the truce as the students are doing.

## ORANGEBURG -

October 20 - another drama was taking place to the north of Atlanta when Chuck McDew, student at South Carolina State, and member of the Coordinating Committee, led five other students into Kress of Orangeburg. They refused to leave...and were arrested for trespassing and jailed under $100 bond.

Minutes later, at the Orangeburg City Jail, over 100 students marched in protest of the action by the city, and in support of the students. Orangeburg resorted to its usual method and brought out the fire hose to break up the students who were singing in front of the jail.

It looked like a recurrence of Black Friday in Orangeburg when, on March 15, last Spring, 318 were protesting and 249 arrested.

October 24 - the 6 students were released. They wait again to be tried. You are asked to write, supporting S. C. State and Claflin students: c/o Mr. Charles McDew, S. C. State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

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** Students outside the South and in areas where lunchcounters have been desegregated are asked to picket the following stores under a MAKE TRUE THE TRUCE . . . FREE THE SOUTH! campaign: Woolworths, Kress, McCrory, Grant, H. L. Green, Newberrys, Lane Rexall Drug Company, and Walgreen Drug Company.

This sympathy campaign will apply specifically to Orangeburg and Atlanta but will be a continuation of the sympathy demonstrations against a segregated society.

## DR KING IS IN - DEKALB COUNTY JAIL

## PARKER STILL JAILED

Richard Parker, student at Florida State University, sits in the Duval County Jail, Jacksonville, Fla. with a broken jaw and without 25 lbs. lost because he could not eat solid food. He is serving a 90 day sentence, charged with inciting the Jacksonville riot of Aug. 27. Parker was the only white student to join the Aug. 25-26 sit-ins in Jacksonville, but was arrested while sitting alone, 3 days later, in a white restaurant! Write to Parker and to his Dean, Dr. R. R. Oglesby, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.

## "SOUTHERN MINISTERS PILGRIMAGE"

There are persons in the Southern Church who are deeply concerned about the racial situation in America. On October 25, a large group of Southern students from the seminaries, both North and South, joined Southern ministers in a pilgrimage to Atlanta. Their purpose was prayer and witness - to the evil of segregation and to the integrity of all persons.

The ministers remained in Atlanta for two days in their stand against injustice. They were present for the DeKalb County trial of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS: SNCC thanks Brewster Kneen and Jim Laue for these contributions and for their deep and continuing concern. Kneen, a senior at Union Theological Seminary in N. Y., has worked for some time with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and recently led one of the workshops in nonviolence at the SNCC conference. Laue, graduate sociologist at Harvard, spent the summer in the South, working with students and with SNCC, getting in and out of jail and recently, helping with the October conference.

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## "NONVIOLENCE AND VISION"

Brewster Kneen

The sit-in movement has developed from a single assertion of man's integrity and love by God to a sweeping drive to end the political, social, and economic exploitation of one class by another. The movement has begun a crusade which few dreamed possible-and yet, it may, at any time, fail and be only a spark of hope extinguished.

The threats to it are essentially two. The most obvious is that under aggrevation, violence will come, wiping out the moral force of the movement and discrediting all the real reconciliation it has so far achieved. The second threat to the movement is short-sightedness, not seeking to reach and maintain an integrity basic to the Christian life and the Way of Love. It is this threat which I wish to emphasize here.

If the sit-in movement, with its hall mark of nonviolence, is to be true to itself, it must not limit itself to reaching selfish end, i.e., improvement of the economic and social conditions of a particular class. It is not wrong to seek a resolution to the very severe injustice of segregation but when men take up the way of reconciliation, there are no longer limits to their self-identification; there are no longer simply exploited Negroes, but members of the family of man. Thus, they must seek to improve not only their own status, but they must also seek to resolve those conflicts which separate men from men through out the world.

Love itself implies concern and responsibility for those loved, and when love takes action, this action must be such that it respects the integrity of the other and accepts its responsibility for the welfare and selfhood of the other. But such love knows no bounds, no class, no nation. Its concern is with the communication of men with men under every condition. Its expression is the resolution of those conflicts which divide men. Thus, the segregated Negro in the South bears a responsibility for his exploited Puerto Rican brother in the North. So, too, he bears a responsibility not just to man around the world but to future generations, and thus he must insist on and work for an end to nuclear arms and testing. He must see also that his larger class, the United State, has no

(continued p. 4)

## SOCIOLOGY, SIN, AND SNAILS?

James Laue

Few who read this column will need convincing that the lunchcounter protest movement has had an unfathomable impact on American life. The evidence is everywhere.

At latest count, the number of cities where counters have been desegregated since F Day (Freedom Day, Feb. 1, 1960) was a passing 112. 11 states have been affected; counters will open in some of the 5 deep South holdouts before the first anniversary of F Day, I predict. Thousands of northern students and adults have joined in aympathy -and have moved into the fight against discrimination problems in housing and in employment which still smudge the Yankee conscience. These overt evidences need no further elaboration.

From a socio-anthropological point of view, there is no better indicator of the saliance of a cultural event or complex than its expression in the language. That the suffix "in" could have become the by word for nonviolent direct action against segregation in only a few months seems almost unbelievable to the sociologist who is used to snail-like change in linguistic patterns. That the American public is now immediately able to understand such coinages as "wade in" and "kneel in" is perhaps the best indication of the de facto status of the nonviolent civil rights protest in our culture today.

Since my return to Cambridge and the cloistered life of a graduate student, after a summer of research and participation in the protest movement, I have been asked by many persons, "Where will the movement go next?" My answer invariably is "kneel ins". This reply has grown from observation as a sociologist and involvement as a human. The lunchcounter sit-ins have appealed to the individual conscience with such success. It is "time"...both sociologically and morally...to start tickling the guilt on the collective conscience. The church as institution appointed to guard America's social soul, holds an overflowing reservoir of guilt about racial and ethnic injustice, a reservoir long ready for draining.

The widespread nature of the press attention to the Atlanta kneel-ins of August 7, conducted by SNCC and Atlanta students, is a good gauge of just how heavily this issue rests on the American mind. While

(continued p. 4)

no right to exploit the populations of other nations through support of such fascist dictatorships as Spain and Formosa. This may mean the end of a concept of "defense" through violence - a concept which is totally contradictory to the way of nonviolence and reconciliation taken up by the American Negro. It is essential if man is to live with man and not against him.

Having shown their love and responsibility for the antagonist, the participants in the sit-in movement are called to extend their vision and to see the responsibility they bear for all exploited and all exploiters. Will the movement fail as one more expression of one class asserting its rights against another. . . or will the Negro and his white sympathizer accept this challenge for vision?

the ultimate purpose of such action is the temporal unification of the Christian community, the immediate effect is the calling to American Christians to take a stand on this moral dilemna. The Christian Century of August 24 calls Christians to this stand ". . .The will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees".

A final observation: as a white American (not a "Northern white"), I feel the most important attitude for persons on every side of the geographical, racial, and religious coin is that this is not a movement of any particular group of people against any other group. It is not "black against white"; it is justice against injustice. We must strive to abhor and fight the evil principle, but not its bearer.

---

AND SMILES... A wonderful by-product of the movement has been the constant good humor maintained by students in the face of threatening situations. They tell these:

The waitress told a pair of sit-inners, "I'm sorry, but we don't serve Negroes here. "Oh, we don't eat them either," came back the reply. "We just want a cup of coffee."

Or how about the flustered counter clerk who, when approached by an integrated group in Miami, blurted out, "I'm sorry, we don't serve. . .er. . . ah. . .people here."

-Jim Laue, again.

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## REPORT FROM THE OFFICE OF SNCC

The following is an outline condensation of the SNCC office report, given at the October Conference by Edward B. King, Jr., administrative secretary of the Committee. After a presentation of the background of the Committee, Mr. King outlined the areas in which SNCC has functioned during the summer.

I. The Committee and Relief: We have supported all activities carried out on the local level throughout the South, endeavoring to supply service to these areas.
   - A. By contact with expelled students-SNCC worked with the students and with the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.
   - B. By contact with students involved in litigation-SNCC worked with the students and with the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP.
   - C. By contact with students active in protests.

II. The Committee and Involvement: Again, supporting activities on the local level, SNCC sought to strengthen the local protest and, thus, the Southwide movement.
   - A. By encouraging non-protest areas to begin action.
   - B. By supporting the action of nonsouthern students.
   - C. By seeking to involve Southern white students.

III. The Committee and Long-Range Coordination: Coordination is the basis of all areas in which we have worked. We aimed at organization that would be lasting.
   - A. Working for the organization of state coordinating committees.
   - B. Working for national coordination on particular projects.
   - C. Working for permanent civil rights legislation by speaking before the Platform Committees of both major political parties, by letters to Congress, and by demonstrations in Washington.

IV. The Committee and Primary Problems.
   - A. Lack of cooperation from a few highly autonomous local groups.
   - B. Lack of communication across the South, due to the fact that many students involved last Spring had graduated and moved out of the South.
   - C. The threat of compromise: groups desiring to capitalize on the movement, or to control it subtly, have caused us to face the danger of forgetting the real goals of the movement. These goals cannot be bought and sold. To compromise the means is to forsake the end. Mr King warned of this ever-present danger of forgetting the real meaning of nonviolence and the ultimate goals of the student movement - the freedom of persons to be persons.

---

READ:

ONE HOUR

-LILLIAN SMITH

## ALBATROSS

This summer, Blake Smith, student at Swathmore, conceived of "an intercollegiate magazine of letters written by students to men of influence, which will transform every letter published into a powerful social lever". ALBATROSS is such a magazine and is now a going thing! It is published by Swathmore students, but reflects the ideas and desires of all America.

"...because our minds are knit into a web, the agitation of a few will tremble in all dimensions. Students cannot control they can only communicate, in a Tokyo snake dance, a Nashville sit-in, or a chorus behind their printed word". (Sept. Press Summary of ALBATROSS)

SEND CARBONS OF YOUR PRESSURE LETTERS TO ALBATROSS, Swathmore College, Swathmore Pa. Subscription rates are $2 for students and $5 for patrons, for six issues. REMEMBER THE ALBATROSS! SEND OLE CARBONS!

## MWCC

A Midwestern Student Coordinating Committee was formed at the October 8 Seminar on Human Relations held at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. The seminar was attended by students from 24 midwestern colleges and universities. Three members from each participating school will serve on the Coordinating Committee.

According to the newsletter of the MWCC, the purpose is "to coordinate all civil rights direct action in the area and to be the center for the collection and dispersal of information about the midwestern area as well as information about Southern schools and SNCC".

Midwestern colleges not yet members of the Coordinating Committee should contact: KATHLEEN COULBOURNE, NOBLE COTTAGE, OBERLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, OHIO. Action reports and requests for the newsletter, "The Activist" should be sent to that address also.

## "UNFINISHED REVOLUTION"

SNCC strongly recommends this brilliant, most complete account of the social revolution that is transforming America. UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, by Tom Kahn, is the outstanding analysis of the movement, its background and implications.

Order from Igor Rogdenko, printer, 36 East Tenth Street, New York 3, N. Y. 50¢ per copy; 35¢ when ordering 100 or more.

## MUSIC OF THE MOVEMENT

Guy Carawan, artist of folk music, introduced "We Shall Overcome" to the students. This great ballad has become the theme song and Guy, the music man.

Recently released by Folkways is the LP "The Nashville Sit-In Story", conceived and directed by Guy with the Nashville students and ministers. These are the sounds that sweep the South today.

Order: Folkways Records, Album No. FH 5590, 117 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.

## THE $ITUATION!!

Support has been great. Again, we thank you all. For your interest, we outline very briefly the channels for contributions.

(1) Scholarship money should go directly to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 6 East 86th St., New York, N. Y.

(2) Legal aid money should go directly to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund 18 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

(3) Money given directly to the students for their conference, SNCC meetings, the newsletters, and office maintenance should be sent to SNCC, 197½ Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia.

REMEMBER NOVEMBER 8th!! ELECTION DAY!

## WEST COAST NEWS

People on the West coast are doing a great job. There are active groups both on the campuses and in communities. One guy particularly is really working for the coordination out there and for SNCC. TOM ROSE is a voluntary coordinator! He is selling buttons like crazy...and needs help from "sales groups".

The black and white buttons read: "SUPPORT SOUTHERN STUDENTS" and around the edge is "STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE".

Persons in the West should contact Tom about projects and all persons interested in buying the buttons, or in handling sales in their areas should write immediately: TOM ROSE, 1438 McAllister St., San Francisco, California.

Plus being a $ource of income for the movement, such buttons give one identity (!) which one does need...

## P L E A S E  W R I T E ! !

ATLANTA, GA: Mayor Wm. Hartsfield, City Hall, supporting his efforts in negotiation.

ORANGEBURG, S.C.: Mayor Fair urging desegregation of lunchcounters there; also to S. H. Kress Co. where the 6 were arrested.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.: Richard Parker, white student still in jail for "inciting the Jacksonville riot" of August 27; also to Dean R. R. Oglesby of Fla. State Univ. urging him to act to see that Parker gets food while jailed.

SNCC DOES NOT ASK THAT YOU WRITE FOR THE RELEASE OF JAILED STUDENTS, but that you urge stores and city officials to desegregate. We do support Jail versus Bail.

## THE STUDENT VOICE: CORRECT ADDRESS FORM

The publication and mailing of "The Student Voice" costs us nearly $100 each month. Consequently, we need two things: we need a correct mailing list and we need and welcome contributions to SV. We ask that you clip this form and return it with your correct mailing address printed here. Thank you very much.

NAME _____ DATE _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

Return to "Student Voice", 197½ Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

197½ AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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U. S. Postage PAID
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Atlanta, Ga.

# THE STUDENT VOICE

Vol. 3, No. 4 Issued by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 6 Raymond St., Atlanta, Ga. Dec., 1962

# 200 Students at SNCC Institute Plan and Demonstrate in Nashville

TWO VIEWS OF NASHVILLE: On left, employee of Nashville's Tick Tock restaurant gestures angrily at Negro and white training institute participants who wanted to obtain service inside. On right, after attempts to desegregated 12 restaurants, 150 students walk through downtown Nashville singing "We Shall Overcome". Photos by Zellner.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE -- More than 200 students from North and South gathered here Thanksgiving at the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's leadership training institute.

They held workshops on aspects of the student movement, discussed some action plans for the future, and demonstrated at 12 of Nashville's segregated restaurants.

The three-day meeting, November 23-25, featured a direct action attack in Nashville's downtown area, coordinated by the institute's host, the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement.

SNCC's Coordinating Committee also adopted a proposal to begin work on a

Continue to Page 2

## *60 Arrested in Gadsden Sit-ins; Holloway Jailed*

GASDEN, ALABAMA -- A member of the SNCC Executive Committee and 59 other Negroes in this Northern Alabama city were arrested on November 27 and 28 for "refusing to obey an officer" when they staged sit-in demonstrations at W. T. Grant's, Woolworth's and McClellan's lunch counters.

Frank Holloway, 23, an Executive Committee member of SNCC, was arrested with the second wave of demonstrators. Holloway was former executive secretary of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, the organization of Atlanta students active in the protest

Continue to Page 3

## *SNCC Confab Launches 'Free Kennard' Drive*

At its Nashville meeting, SNCC resolved to open a campaign to free Clyde Kennard, a 30-year old Mississippi Negro who tried to enter Mississippi Southern College four years ago and is now serving a 7-year sentence in Parchman State Penitentiary for allegedly stealing five sacks of chicken feed.

Kennard, a native of Hattisburg, Miss., and a chicken farmer, applied for admission at Mississippi Southern in 1958. Writing in a letter the THE AMERICAN newspaper on January 23, 1960, he tried to "follow a reasonable course in the matter... The thought of presenting this request before a Federal Court for consideration, with all the publicity and misrepresentation that would bring about, makes my heart heavy." He concluded, say-

CLYDE KENNARD, when he was in the United States Air Force in Germany.

Continue to Page 4

## *Little Rock Sit-ins First in 2 Years*

### *Long, Hansen Jailed*

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS -- After a two-year period of inactivity here, sit-in demonstrations resumed November 8 at Woolworth's lunch counters and resulted in the arrests on November 28 of a SNCC executive committee member and a SNCC field secretary at Walgreen's.

Worth Long, 26, a SNCC executive committee member and a student at Philander Smith College, and William Hansen, 23, SNCC field secretary, were arrested at Walgreen's "for refusing to leave a business establishment after being requested to do so by the owner or manager."

Continue to Page 4

*In Ruleville, Miss.*

## Surplus Food Denied to Registrants

RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI -- Charles Cobb and Charles McLaurin, SNCC field secretaries working on the Mississippi voter registration drive, report that a new economic squeeze is being put on Negro citizens here, where two shootings occurred last summer.

Sharecroppers and day laborers are finding it very difficult to obtain surplus government commodities, the two SNCC workers say.

"Commodities (surplus food) are the only way many Negroes make it from cotton season to cotton season," their report states. "If this is taken away from them, they have nothing at all. The success of our voter registration program depends on the protection we can offer the individual while he is waiting for his one small vote mean something. It doesn't take much to tide ever the rural Mississippi Negro, but the commodities are vital."

Sharecroppers average $300-400 each year, Cobb and McLaurin state. Day laborers receive $150-160 yearly.

Many sharecroppers now have to fill our new registration papers showing how much they earned from each employer, many of whom keep no records. These forms must be signed by the applicant and countersigned by his employer or a responsible person. Cobb and McLaurin point out that this usually means a white person. "Due to the voter registration drive...in Ruleville, the 'responsible people' are not particularly inclined to favors for the Negro."

Last summer, after the voter drive was initiated, nightriders shot into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Sisson, both of whom were active in the drive. Shots injured two young girls, Jackson State students, who were sitting in the Sissons' living room.

## Freedom Singers Debut, To Appear at Feb. 1 Fete

THE FREEDOM SINGERS, a newly organized group of SNCC field secretaries, are shown above at a reception at Oglethorpe University in Atlanta, Ga. From left to right (foreground): Cordell Reagon, 19; Bertha Gober, 21; Bernice Johnson, 19; Dorothy Vails, 23; and Rutha Harris, 21. In background: field secretaries Charles Sherrod and Bernard LaFayette. Not shown, Freedom Singer Charles Neblett, 21.

The Freedom Singers have appeared in Tuskegee, Nashville, Albany, and Chicago, and are slated to appear with several top stars at a SNCC benefit on February 1, 1963 at New York's Carnegie Hall to commerate the third anniversary of the sit-in movement.

Engagements for the Singers, all of whom are veterans of the student movement in several Southern cities, may be obtained through the SNCC office, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia. Photo by Zellner.

*"First Amendment is Dead"*

## Albany Leaders, NAG Protest in Washington

ALBANY, GEORGIA -- After a series of arrests during a drive for economic withdrawal, Albany Movement leaders obtained an appointment Dec. 10 with Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall in Washington, D. C. to discuss "the death of the First Amendment in Albany." Two carloads of picketers arrested on Dec. 6 drove to Washington and picketed with the nonviolent Action Group (NAG) in the capitol on Dec. 10.

Jack Chatfield, a SNCC field secretary working on the Southwest Georgia Voting project was arrested on November 12 after talking with demonstrators wearing t-shirts with the words "Don't Buy Downtown or Midtown."

He was charged with "accosting young Negro girls" and refusing to give information when approached by "the arresting officer."

Chatfield was held six days in the city jail and then released on bond. At his trial November 21, Chatfield was sentenced to a 60-day term (which will be appealed) and then spent 2 additional days in jail.

On December 6 seven pickets urged economic withdrawal unless fair employment practices were instituted.

*Institute*

Continued from Page 1

"Free Clyde Kennard" drive. (See story, page 1).

On Saturday, November 24, 150 of the institute's participants staged sit-ins at 12 Nashville restaurants. Bobby Talbert, a student who was expelled from a McComb, Miss. high school for his participation in an anti-segregation demonstration in August, 1961, was arrested on November 24 with a white bystander and the manager of Wilson Quick Drugstore. The bystander had beaten Talbert on the head and the manager had sprayed demonstrating students with a fire extinguisher.

Talbert charged that Nashville police also beat him while he was in the Davison County jail. He was released on November 26 when the charges against him were dropped.

Other demonstrators were pushed and slapped. One was punched in the groin by an irate employee of a restaurant.

Students were refused in all restaurants tested. After the demonstrations ended, all 150 marched to the First Baptist Church through the streets of downtown Nashville singing "We Shall Overcome." Later the group marched silently to the Davidson County jail where they sang and prayed on the street to Talbert, imprisoned inside.

Slater King, executive vice president of the Albany Movement, delivered the keynote address on Friday evening, November 23. King, who provided office space for SNCC field secretaries when they first came to Albany in October, 1961, urged students to continue their struggle for freedom.

Charles McDew, chairman of SNCC, addressed the students the next evening and urged them not to forget "the Mack Parkers, the Emmett Tills."

Workshops at the institute included discussions on nonviolence, the economy of the South, politics and voter registration, civil liberties and communications.

## *Pete Seeger Tours South For SNCC*

Pete Seeger, internationally known folk singer, recently completed a tour of concerts for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in several Southern cities and college communities.

Seeger, 43, a founder of the Weavers and writer of "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?", co-writer of "If I Had a Hammer," and other songs, traveled through Georgia, Alabama, Texas and North Carolina for SNCC.

He sang in Atlanta, and twice in Albany, Ga.; in Birmingham and Tuskegee, Ala., in Chapel Hill, N. C., and three times in Austin, Texas.

In Atlanta he introduced the Freedom Singers to the Atlanta community, and entertained an audience of 800 with his freedom songs from all over the world.

After the Atlanta concert, November 11, he spent four hours with the Freedom Singers recording many of their songs on portable equipment he had brought from New York.

Seeger sang to audience of 1400 students at the University of Texas, and to 1000 students at the University of North Carolina.

PETE SEEGER and Dorothy Vails, Freedom Singer, sit on steps at Gaston Motel in Birmingham waiting for transportation to take them to a concert at Tuskegee University. Photo by Miller.

He lives in Beacon, New York with his wife and three children and is the author of many instruction books on guitar and banjo-playing.

## *Gadsden* Continued from Page 1

movement.

Many of the demonstrators, several of whom are juveniles, are students at Carver High School, and members of the Gasden Student Movement. The secretary of the Gasden Christian Citizens Committee, an adult group, with Holloway on November 28.

"This incident," said SNCC executive secretary James Forman in Atlanta, "shows that the Woolworth chain in the South is not completely integrated. We urge all friends of democracy to protest these arrests by sending telegrams to the Woolworth board of directors demanding that all lunch counters in every Southern Woolworth store serve everyone, regardless of race."

Holloway was released Dec. 7, the other prisoners on Dec. 4.

Gadsden has no integrated public facilities, though a suit against city-owned facilities is pending.

## FREEDOM IN THE AIR

a documentary on **ALBANY, GEORGIA** 1961/1962

featuring "The Eagle Stirreth Her Nest" Rev. Ben Gay

ORIGINAL IDEA & FIELD WORK GUY CARAWAN PRODUCED BY ALAN LOMAX & GUY CARAWAN

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE SNCC 101

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- "Powerful and exhilarating," says the November 28th issue of the Reporter magazine of FREEDOM IN THE AIR, a SNCC-produced documentary album of the Albany Movement -- told in on-the-spot tapes in the words and songs which made this movement internationally famous. Reviews throughout the country indicate that this, as the New York Times says, is "the most effective documentary recording to grow out of the integration movement."

FREEDOM IN THE AIR

Name_____

Address_____

I enclose $___ for ___ albums of FREEDOM IN THE AIR.

SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia.

## *Field Sec'y In Oxford Reports Courage, Hatred*

OXFORD, MISSISSIPPI -- Robert Zellner, SNCC field secretary, reports from the University of Mississippi that although a heavy atmosphere of hatred and tension still exists on this campus since the entry of James Meredith, a small group of students and professors "have braved physical and social intimidation" to make Meredith welcome.

Zellner, 23, a native of Alabama and graduate of Huntingdon College in Montgomery, Ala., said: "I believe this is the beginning of something truly wonderful in the white society of Mississippi."

He pointed out that some weeks ago, two freshmen, both from rural Mississippi, attended a concert when Meredith walked in. They invited him to sit with them, and the three chatted amiably. Some days later, a cherry bomb exploded in one of the boy's rooms, and he found a large sign with the words "nigger lover" on the door.

Zellner said that hate sheets entitled "Rebel Underground" and "Rebel Resistance" are put under students' doors at night urging them to boycott Meredith "for the NAACP leper he is."

However, Zellner pointed out that this small group of liberal students and professors were acting with great courage. Some students, he said, stayed on campus during the riot trying to dissuade students from violence and urging them to return to their dormitories.

Other students, all native Southerners, invited Meredith to dinner in mid-November, and returned to their dormitory to find their rooms completely ransacked, in shambles.

Zellner commented, "As a recent student in a Southern institution and as a victim of the trauma that befalls a Southerner when he goes against his fascist-like background, my heart is with these brave young students."

## *Laurel, Miss. Negro Runs For JP Post*

LAUREL, MISSISSIPPI - A Negro candidate for Jones County Beat 1 Justice of the Peace, Clinton, C. Collins, finished fifth in a field for six in the November primary.

Local leaders said that Collins' race "has done more than anything to awaken Negroes to their civic responsibility."

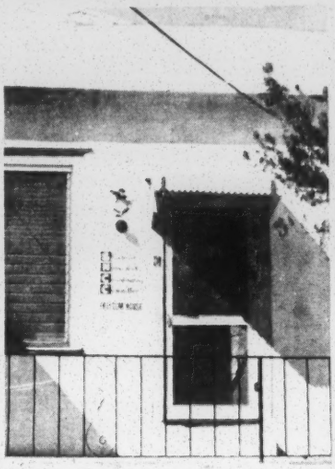
Collins received a majority in two heavily Negro precincts. SNCC workers have been heading up a voter registration drive here.

# SNCC HQ at Raymond St.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- After residence in what TIME Magazine called a "windowless cubicle" on Auburn Avenue, and then a brief home further up the street in a large loft, the offices of SNCC have moved to 6 Raymond Street, N.W. (see left).

For the first time since its inception in April, 1960, SNCC has a permanent home with enough room to accomodate staff and volunteers gleaned from the nearby Atlanta University system.

SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman said, "We are still in need, however, of office supplies, particularly pens, pencils, typewriters, paper, and other office equipment."



The sign on SNCC's door, beneath the symbol of white and Negro hand clasped in friendship, reads "Freedom House."

## Kennard

Continued from Page 1

ing, "Yet what other course can I take?"

The course Kennard took to enter an all-white college in Mississippi finally ended for him in Parchman.

After he had applied the second time in 1959, he was arrested for reckless driving. At the police station, police confronted him with five pints of whiskey, which they claimed to have found in his car. He was found guilty and fined $600 and costs.

Kennard then found it increasingly difficult to buy feed for his poultry. His credit was cut off and an unofficial boycott went into effect.

On September 25, 1960, five sacks of chicken feed (valued at $5 each) were stolen from the Forrest County Cooperative Warehouse. A Johnny Lee Roberts, 19, confessed to the theft, but claimed that Kennard had instigated the robbery.

Roberts was placed on five years probation and is free. Kennard, on the other hand, was convicted of being an accessory to the crime and was sentenced to seven years. He has been imprisoned for two years.

Delegates at the SNCC leadership training institute were urged to send telegrams and petitions to the President, their local congressmen and senators.

Charles McDew, SNCC chairman, said, "We urge all freedom-loving Americans to participate in this campaign to free Clyde Kennard." He suggested that letters be sent registered to Kennard in order to insure their delivery.

## Little Rock

Continued from Page 1

Long and Hansen had tried to take seats at a roped off counter when they were arrested. A sign reading "This fountain is closed in the interest of public safety" was put up on the counter.

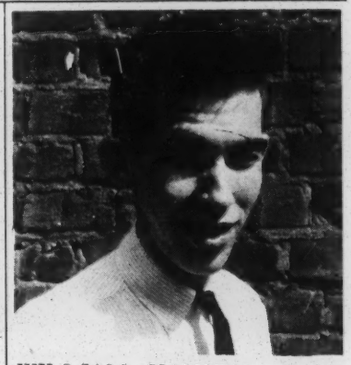
They were both released on November 30 on $500 bond each.

After the two were arrested, students from Philander Smith, most of whom are members of the Student Freedom Movement, marched in downtown Little Rock to protest the arrests.

The current series of demonstrations began on November 8 at Woolworth's. Though students sat-in there several times, no arrests occured. Counters were closed immediately after students appeared.

Amos Guthridge, head of the Little Rock White Citizens Council, came into Woolworth's several times and threatened the students. One student said Guthridge sprayed some liquid on them as they sat at the closed, darkened counter.

Despite the arrests at Walgreens, negotiations are being conducted with Woolworth's to see if the lunch counters can be opened to serve all customers, regardless of race, in the near future.



WILLIAM HANSEN, SNCC field secretary. Photo by Zellner.

A subscription to the STUDENT VOICE, the newsletter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, may be obtained with a contribution of any amount donated to SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga.

We are attempting to come out monthly, money providing, and feel one of our functions should be a means of communication for all protest groups in the South.

Please send news of your group, your plans, ideas, to us and we will be glad to publish them.

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Atlanta 14, Georgia

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Marge Mendelson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

# THE STUDENT VOICE

Vol. IV, No. 1 Issued by The Student Non-violent Coodinating Committee, 6 Raymond St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga., April, 1963

*The Mississippi Story*

## SNCC Staff Jailed as Greenwood Negroes Register in "First Breakthrough" in Miss.

GREENWOOD, MISS.- Eleven voter registration workers from SNCC - including Executive Secretary, James Forman - were arrested here and charged with "inciting to roit" and "refusing to move on" after Greenwood police turned a dog loose in a group of 150 Negroes on their way to register to vote at the LeFlore County Courthouse.

Nine of the SNCC workers were sentences to four months in jail plus a $200.00 fine. They have all agreed to serve their sentences, rather than appeal "illegal charges for crimes we have not committed."

Forman said from the jail that "the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee workers in LeFlore County are determined to stay until every eligible Negro is registered to vote!"

In jail are: Lafayette Surney, Lawrence Guyot, Curtis Hayes, James Forman Robert Moses, Willie Peacock, Bobby Talbert, James Jones, Charles McLauren and Frank Smith.

In Atlanta, the SNCC office protested the arrests and "intimidation of prospective Negro voters" to the United State Department of Justice, the Civil Rights Commission the Federal Bureau of Investigation and with several U. S. Congressmen.

SNCC worker Don Harris who has been working in Southwest Georgia but who answered Forman's call for additional workers, was also jailed.

The 18-month old SNCC program in the state has provoked shootings, beatings, burnings and daily harassment of SNCC staff by whites, who grasp the challenge of Negro voter registration.

James Travis, a 20-year old SNCC field secretary was shot by three whites in an untagged car on February 28. A bullet grazed his shoulder, and another hit Travis in the back of the neck, where it became lodged behind his spine.

Travis, a native Mississippians and former Freedom Rider, is recovering rapidly.

Robert Moses, director of the SNCC drive, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, were also in the car but not injured. Moses said, "We were all inches away from being killed."

But there have been other shootings. On March 6, Samuel Block and Willie Peacock, two SNCC field secretaries, and two young women from Greenwood, Essie Broome and Peggy Marye, were shot at by white assailants in another untagged car. Windows were smashed, but the four were not injured.

Moses explained the sudden rash of attempted murders when he described the increased voter registration efforts in Greenwood as "the first real breakthrough in Mississippi." Just two days prior to Travis' shooting, at least 150 Negroes had attempted to register in Greenwood within two days, and are continuing to try to register at the rate of 20 a day.

Special wrath has been directed against Samuel Block, who is in charge of the Greenwood office, distributing food and clothing to the 20,000 Negroes cut off welfare and surplus government food rolls, (Leflore County officials announced the resumption of the county food program on March 20. However, SNCC field staff said that even when the program was operating, it was inadequate to take care of Negroes who need help.)

THIS IS THE CAR where death almost triumphed. Jimmy Travis, Robert Moses, and Randolph Blackwell sat in the front seat as bullets were pumped into the car. Travis, the driver, received a shoulder wound; a bullet penetrated the back of his neck and lodged behind his spine. Doctors said Travis would have died instantly if the bullet had entered his body with a little more force.

JAMES TRAVIS

(The Greenwood SNCC office was set on fire March 25; most of the registration figures and records were saved, but all office equipment completely destroyed.)

Last August, Block and three other field secretaries had to jump from a second-story window when a white mob, armed with guns, ropes and pipes, surrounded the building which housed their office.

On February 20, four Negro businesses were burned to the ground in Greenwood, just one block away from the SNCC office. Block stated publicly that he thought arsonists had meant to destroy it. Three days later Block was arrested on a charge of "circulating breach of the peace," which was later changed to "making statements calculated to breach the peace."

What differentiated this from the usual harassment against SNCC staff members was the reaction of Greenwood Negroes, who conquered generations of fear to protest. At Block's trial, on February 25, Negroes pack-

Continued on page 4

# S. W. Georgia Voter Program Continues Despite Legal Losses

LEE, TERRELL AND SUMTER COUNTIES, GEORGIA -- Twelve Negro and white field secretaries, under the direction of Charles Sherrod, leader of SNCC's Southwest Georgia voter registration program, are continuing to register voters here despite harassment and loss of a suit against a county official who chased them at gunpoint.

John Churchville and Don Harris, two workers in Sumter county, were detained for an hour by Sumter County law enforcement officials, fingerprinted, and threatened with arrests for "vagrancy" March 18. The two said that "over 80" Negroes had made registration attempts in the county in the previous three week period.

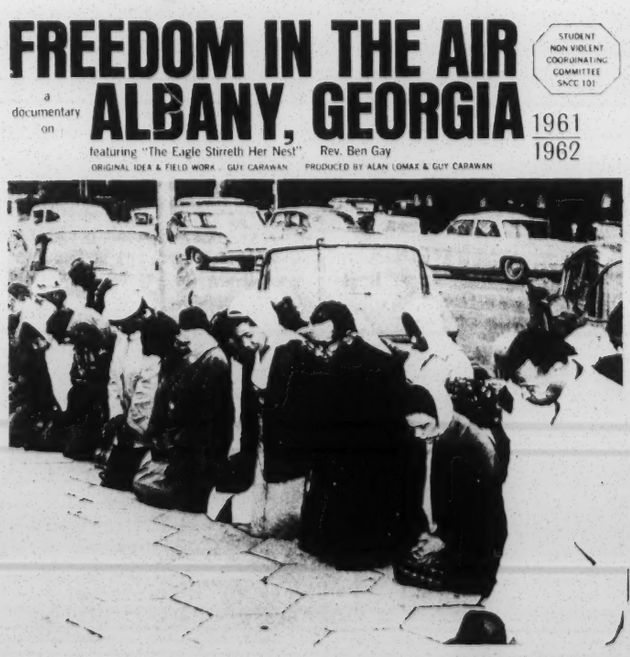
In August, 1962, D. E. Short, a deputy town marshall in Sasser, shot at and chased three SNCC workers out of Terrell County. A Justice Department suit was filed against Short, who was accused of violating the workers' civil rights. Short was acquitted of the charge in 33 minutes by a 12-man, all-white jury on Janurary 25.

Sherrod and other workers cabled the President after Short's acquittal, saying that if the Justice Department did not protect voter registration workers in the Southwest Georgia counties, "our blood will be on your hands." They also protested the behavior of Justice Department lawyers, who asked them to say "colored folk" instead of "Negroes," sit segregated, and would not allow one young Negro woman field secretary, Prathia Hall, to wear a hat in the courtroom.

Despite the legal setback and the intimidation, the group continues to hold voter registration meetings in each county, and are taking groups down to register each week. Some field secretaries use a red-white-and-blue bus to carry them throughout the Negro communities, where they distribute voter registration material to citizens.

DEMONSTRATORS BEING HERDED into police van after a sit-in at Cross Keys Restaurant in downtown Nashville March 5. On left, John Lewis, chairman of the Nashville Nonviolent Movement. All 16 sit-inners, including a 61-year old minister, were charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and conspiracy to obstruct trade and commerce. Lewis had led demonstrations at the same restaurant during the SNCC Fall Leadership Training Institute in Nashville. Prior to the arrests, students had staged sit-ins and protest marches at the downtown (segregated) branch of the YMCA.

# Freedom in the air says Harper's "Rich with Immediacy,"




The April issue of Harper's Magazine says of FREEDOM IN THE AIR, a SNCC - produced documentary on Albany, Georgia, "...the sound of protest can be heard alive and quick..."

The review says, "It (FREEDOM IN THE AIR) is a 'documentary,' which means there are repetitions, and voices are mixed in with the music, but its materials are rich with immediacy and danger. It is called FREEDOM IN THE AIR and you can get it by sending a minimum contribution of four dollars to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia. The standards set by reality are sometimes higher than we are entitled to."

FREEDOM IN THE AIR has received excellent notices from the San Francisco Chronicle, which called it "an inspiring album." The Reporter Magazine said, "powerful and exhilarating," and the New York Times, in a review by Robert Shelton, said, "the most effective documentary recording to grow out of the integration movement..."

James Forman, SNCC executive secretary, said, "FREEDOM IN THE AIR is not only a record -- it is the means by which we are able to raise funds independently to support our 50 part-and full-time staff members."

Forman commented, "In addition to raising funds to support our staff, we consider the record an excellent way of people from other areas to hear for themselves, in on-the-spot recordings, what the excitement and dignity of the Albany Movement sounded like."

SNCC field secretaries came to Albany, Georgia in October, 1961, to set up a voter registration program, and were instrumental in forming the Albany Movement.

ATLANTA'S MAYOR IVAN ALLEN (center) meets with some 400 students from the Atlanta University complex who staged a protest march from the campuses to the steps of City Hall March 14. Two students had been arrested the day before at the Henry Grady Hotel after refusing to move when they could not obtain rooms. The students opened suitcases, removed pillows and blankets, and went to sleep in the lobby.

Mayor Allen lauded the tradition of progress in Atlanta, and said he was glad to hear the desires of the students.

Picketing resumed on March 15 in front of the Henry Grady, which is on property owned by the State of Georgia.

Students said, in a letter presented to Mayor Allen, they would "use every legal and nonviolent method" at their disposal to achieve integration in the city of Atlanta, and said more demonstrations were be forthcoming.

# NEWS IN BRIEF

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS -- Clyde Kennard, subject of a SNCC petition drive, is in Billings Hospital here after cancer surgery. Kennard was released from Parchman Penitentiary at the request of Chicago medical authorities who said they had doubts for his life if he remained in prison.

Students at Tougaloo Southern Christian College in Jackson, who had first spearheaded the petition campaign, had collected names from every state in the union. The SNCC drive netted several thousand names.

**********

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA -- SNCC field secretary Robert Zellne's trial on "false pretenses" ended here February 28 with a hung jury. Judge Eugene Carter declared a mistrial. State attorneys have notified Zellner they will retry the case in late May, when the Montgomery Grand Jury will be in session.

Zellner has sued in Federal Court to restrain the prosecution and end harassment of himself and his family. Five state investigators followed him from Montgomery to Mobile where his grandmother lay dying and harassed his family through the wake and funeral.

Zellner's Federal petition charges that George C. Wallace, now Governor of Alabama, instigated his arrest on January 8 for vagrancy one week before he took office, against the instructions of then-Governor John Patterson.

**********

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE -- Students for Equal Treatment, a student protest group at the University of Tennessee, was enjoined in late February from picketing a cafeteria here in groups of more than two because of the danger of passerbys receiving possible "bodily harm." Marion Barry, Jr., former SNCC Chairman and now head of SET, said, "We are in no way guilty of the charges in the injunction. In my opinion Judge Dawson was in error in issuing it."

The Knoxville Civic Improvement Committee, led by Avon Rollins, a SNCC coordinating committee, led ber, has sent down several thousand tons of food to dispossessed Negro families in the Mississippi Delta.

**********

CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND -- The Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee is continuing a drive for fair employment practices in Cambridge's retail stores. This group, under the leadership of SNCC coordinating committee member Gloria Richardson, has also been engaged in the following: a voter registration and voter education program, a drive to increase employment for Negroes in city, county and state agencies (specifically in the Sheriff's office), a selective buying campaign aimed at Cambridge's stores. an attempt to integrate the Eastern Shore Mental Hospital, filing complaints against local industries with Federal contracts and other activities.

## SNCC Confab Set Easter Weekend in Atlanta, Ga.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- The Annual Spring Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will be held here April 12-14. At least "300 students", SNCC spokesman said, would attend workshops and strategy discussions on the theme, "Emancipation Then -- Freedom Now."

Students will be housed at the Gammon Theological Seminary here for the Easter Weekend. While there is still time, representatives are urged to write to the SNCC office, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, for applications to attend the conference.

Workshops are scheduled on "Southern Influence on National Politics," "The Hidden Structure and Social Action," "Negro Protest: A History," "Nonviolence: Past and Present," "Community Involvement," and "Problems of the Movement."

## Support SNCC

## 48 Jailed In Pine Bluff sits-in

PINE BLUFF AND LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS -- SNCC field workers, in Arkansas since last October, have helped to integrate most public facilities in Little Rock, and are now in Pine Bluff where continuous sit-ins at Woolworth's and Walgreen's are underway.

Most Little Rock lunch counters, some hotels, some restaurants, and a bowling alley desegregated their facilities on January 2, 1963. No incidents occured and the desegregation was announced publicly two weeks later.

Bill Hansen, and Ben Grinnage, and interracial SNCC team, moved from Little Rock to Pine Bluff and were arrested there for vagrancy just after they arrived. About a week later, the two succeeded in organizing the first sit-ins in the history of Pine Bluff.

On February 11, fifteen Arkansas AM & N students were suspended by college President Lawrence A. Davis for their participation in the sit-ins.

Hansen reported that over 48 persons - including SNCC staffer Ben Grinnage - were arrested March 25, 27 and 28 during anti-segregation demonstrations.

White mobs have thrown bricks at demonstrators and participants in mass meetings here. Hansen has been attacked several times, and the windows of the car he and Grinnage were using were smashed one night during a mass meeting.

**MISS. STORY TOLD**

A chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation aimed at SNCC workers and Mississippi Negroes is available for 7¢ in pamphlet form from:
The Committee for the Distribution of the Mississippi Story, Box 564, Atlanta, Georgia.

# Project Underway in Dallas County ; 20 Register

SELMA, ALABAMA -- Three field secretaries, two of whom are a newly-married couple, are completing four weeks here since they came to begin a voter registration project.

Bernard and Colia Lafayette and Frank Holloway have set up bi-weekly voter registration classes in Selma, and have taken trips to outlying districts in Dallas and Wilcox Counties. The three are teaching registration procedures to those who wish to register, and are instructing those already registered so that they will be able to teach others.

Frank Holloway described, in a field report, one of the communities they had found in Wilcox County, called Gee's Bend: "This area, up until about 13 years ago, was the most backward area in Alabama and probably the United States. The Negroes in Gee's Bend were living in the most primitive style. They knew nothing of running water, gas or electricity or automation in any form. They were not allowed to come out of Gee's Bend.

"They were born, they lived and they died in Gee's Bend. Because of this they had to intermarry among themselves... During this time the Negroes did not live in houses but they actually lived in little primitive huts. The Federal Government became aware of this situation and built a few houses, barns, etc. ...The situation in Gee's Bend today isn't much better. It still is a very backward place. Very few of the Negroes come out. Most of the children do not attend school, because they have to work in the field. There is still this marrying within their own family. Most of the people know very little about what's going on outside of Gee's Bend."

CROWDED, ISN'T IT? In a jail meant for 140 women, 208 Negro and white demonstrators line up after 413 students were arrested in late February for stand-in demonstrations and picketing at a segregated movie theatre in Baltimore. Students, primarily from Morgan State College, but also from Goucher College and Johns Hopkins, demonstrated at the Northwood theatre under the leadership of the Baltimore Civic Interest Group, a branch of the Maryland CIG. The theatre integrated voluntarily on March 6, and Negro students and members of the community saw films there the next day. On March 12, the Maryland State Legislature passed a state-wide public accommodations law. The campaign against the Northwood Theatre caused one of the highest numbers of arrests in one spot since the sit-in movement began February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

# SNCC Staff sits-in at Howard J.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have attempted several times to obtain service at a Howard Johnson's restaurant here, but have been refused.

The attempts came after an initial try of staff members en route to Nashville for the SNCC Leadership Training Institute Thanksgiving.

All Howard Johnsons' restaurants in the state of Georgia are segregated, despite a statement by the firm's president that all restaurants and hotels would have to integrate in Atlanta if businessmen wished to hold a World's Fair here.

# MISS.

Continued from page 1

ed the courtroom to hear Block refuse to accept a suspended sentence if he agreed to stop his work. About 200 Negroes stood outside, unable to get in. And then they began to go down to register.

Field reports on the scene indicate that Negro sharecropping families are barely existing.

Food drives conducted by Friends of SNCC in Chicago, the Southern Conference Educational Fund and CORE in Louisville, students in Ann Arbor, Detroit, Los Angeles, and several other cities will continue until cotton-picking begins again for the thousands of seasonal sharecroppers.

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*A Confidential Letter to Communications, Business and Educational Executives Engaged in Dealing with Youth*

STUDENTS ES

# YOUTH REPORT

A SERVICE OF GRAFTON PUBLICATIONS, INC.

**475 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 · LE 2-4991**

*Samuel Grafton, editor*

*Edith K. Grafton, publisher*

New York. May, 1967

Dear Sir:

THE YOUTH vs. AGE AREA. Of 286 students queried by YOUTH REPORT, 83 (29 percent) felt that age 30 to 32 was the dividing line between themselves and the "older generation." Some felt the barrier appeared even sooner. 58 (or 20-percent) considered age 27 to 29 to be the fence between the generations, while 33 young persons (12 percent) put it at age 24 to 26.

Youth's Brief Span: A kindly scattering of youth placed the generational break in the later thirties. But these were in the minority. (The average age of those who took part in this study was about 20; 34 percent were actually in their twentieth years.) Youth considers, it is plain, that "summer's lease hath all too short a date." However, a study of comments makes it clear that youth, in defining the onset of age, is not thinking in terms of physical changes. It is thinking in terms of changes in attitudes which show up as time passes.

The Signs of Age: Asked what made the "older generation" different from the younger, and how one could tell the two apart, a freshman girl at Los Angeles City College said: "The older generation becomes materially involved. Routine sets in. Life stops being a challenge." A second-year girl science student at the same school had her own simple test for spotting her elders: "They stop accepting the ideas of the younger generation." Another freshman girl: "We are different subcultures, with nothing in common--different tastes in music, clothes, entertainment, outlook."

The Deeper Levels of Difference: Some tried to dig beneath superficialities. "The older people frequently have misunderstood their own natures," said a third-year male psychology major at Loyola University (Chicago). "Today's youth seeks to know himself clearly." A male math major in his junior year at Columbia University contributed: "The older generation is more relaxed. It is not searching for new meanings."

They Say They'll Never Grow Old: Enchantingly, 185, or 66 percent, of 276 young people who expressed themselves on this point, said they did not expect to resemble the present older generation when they came to reach the same dangerous age brackets. Only one-third thought they'd be like their elders after enough years had passed. Asked what they would do to stay different, a California girl sophomore studying art said: "Be open, alive, tolerant, and keep moving." Another remarked: "Always know what is happening." A third: "Be truly alive to the world around you." The Loyola psychology major who had accused his elders of not really knowing themselves, said : "When I know myself I will be able to live a more unpretentious existence. Personal choices will be easier to make."

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The Keep Moving Generation: These young people have a sharp sense that the older generation is, in some way, a "stopped" generation, a generation gone static. They appear to feel that the true signs of youth are restless search, inquiry (including self-inquiry), movement. "Why should anybody be relaxed at twenty?" asked a boy of that age. Such young people find that the older generation has lost touch, lacks a sense of environment, doesn't really look at the world with any curiosity. Older people were described to YOUTH REPORT researchers as "closed in," "not aware," "sedate;" they were said to "have lost academic interests," to "have few friends." Young people's self-image is of a generation which is "open," "receptive," "mobile."

A Matter of Life-Styles: Youngsters know they are going to be older some day. But they expect to be able to cling to their own generational patterns, their own life-styles. They are quite conscious of the problem, determined to "win." "We can stay what we are so long as we don't accept anything in life that is pre-packaged for us," said a Radcliffe girl.

THE MARKETING AREA. Desire to be different from the older generation reveals itself in buying patterns. At the most obvious level: Boys once longed for clothes like their father's. Proud day when they went to the store with dad and put on "longies" like his. Kids would consider this ridiculous today; one thing they don't want is to look like pop. They invent new clothes and new haircuts to avoid that. It is interesting that at a time when older people dress and act more youthfully than before, the gap between them and the young has opened out wider than ever.

Why They Like Movies: The trend shows up in such "marketing" facts as that young people don't bother too much about going to Broadway plays, but are enthusiastic followers of movies. Theatre seems to them static, linked with older generation's way of having fun, while movies, in a word, move. Says a Columbia University English major: "The film gives you the possibility of seeing things moving, growing, maturing, ripening. Many young people want to move around, look at different things, not get fixed into lives and careers. Films give you this feeling." And so youth "buys" them.

THE ALCOHOL AREA. Other such differences show up between youth's buying habits and "older generation" buying predilections. 314 young people, questioned by YOUTH REPORT on their tastes in drinking, gave wine a surprisingly high rating. They ranked wine above beer, above whiskey. Students were asked to rate the three drinks on a scale in which the figure 1 represented "excellent," 2 meant "good," 3 "fair," 4 "poor" and 5 "dreadful." Combined national average score for wine was 1.96. The score for whiskey was 2.41, for beer 2.37. (The lower score is the more favorable, since the "1" end of the scale represents greatest approval.)

How the Generations See Whiskey: YOUTH REPORT does not claim all of youth prefers wine over beer and whiskey. It reports merely that these particular young people voted in this particular way. This is in line with YOUTH REPORT's function as a "distant early warning system," spotting trends when they first emerge, and when information about them is scarce. On this basis it can be said that there are certain signs of a swing against hard liquor by some segments of youth, and that this turning-away is deliberate and meaningful.

Not on Moral Grounds: At a "bull session" conducted by Columbia University students to check these findings, it came clear that whiskey and gin are becoming older-generation symbols in the minds of some young people. A sophomore male student, majoring in English, commented typically that he felt himself alienated from "the middle-class,

middle-age, whiskey-drinking" crowd. A young girl found herself troubled by the fact that many older persons seem to drink "at any old time," as if constantly in need of escape from themselves. Clear feeling was expressed that adult hard-stuff drinkers stun themselves because they can't face life. Prejudice against cocktail crowd seemed to indicate this is another area in which young people are developing ideas of their own, to which they may cling later in life.

What'll the Girls Have?: Young women went along with men in rating wine ahead of beer or whiskey. But they did not like any of these drinks as much as men did. Men gave wine national average approval rating of 1.85, women put it at 2.12. (Remember, lower score indicates greater enthusiasm.) Males rated beer at 2.02, women scored this beverage at 2.91. Male vote for whiskey was 2.19, the female 2.75. It will be seen that, after wine, males somewhat preferred beer to whiskey, women somewhat preferred whiskey to beer.

THE FOOD AREA. But this supposedly flaming generation preferred ice cream, in this survey, to all three alcoholic drinks, giving it a score of 1.73. The two sexes agreed on this verdict with stunning accuracy, men rating ice cream at 1.74, women at 1.72. Youth's favorite dish, by far, was steak, with a vote of 1.33. Lobster pulled 1.95. Supposedly traditional favorite foods of youth, pie and hamburgers, both came limping in at 2.12. Don't take your ideas about youth's tastes, these days, from the pictures cartoonists draw. Youth picks and chooses on its own, from our culture's vast array of goodies.

THE GIFT AREA. Youth likes to pick the gifts it gets, too. Customary gifts to boys and girls away at school used to be food and clothes, pre-selected by adults, of course. But most favored gifts today, YOUTH REPORT survey discloses, are money and books. National average approval rating on money-as-a-gift was 1.65, on books the figure was 1.77. By contrast, cologne, chosen as a widely-advertised cosmetic used by both sexes, scored 2.69. (Scale is same as above, with 1 standing for "excellent," 2 "good," etc.) Clothes were rated at 2.18, food gifts at 2.23. Money and books of course are gifts which allow wide area of choice to recipients. Fit into today's picture of young person as, basically, a creature who chooses.

THE AREA OF CHOICE. In essence, the much-touted "youth revolt" is really about the right to choose. Issue lies close to the core of the struggle between the generations. Young people feel they have been sent to college theoretically to learn to think for themselves, but that relatively few opportunities are given them to do so. In a Harvard-Radcliffe "bull session" organized to check the point, a Radcliffe senior majoring in social relations said: "I want support from the powers that be, telling me that the process of choice itself is worthwhile, and that I am recognized as capable of choosing."

Right of Selection: "There are too many people helping you make decisions," said another Radcliffe senior girl. "There are tests and advisers for everything. I want to learn to stand alone." A Harvard history student contributed: "We want to be able to select, not swallow things whole." Many feel caught in what one called "the big chute from kindergarten to Ph. D."

The Choosing Generation: Point is of importance to marketers, who are, in effect, now called on to provide large areas of choice, within limits of mass-production necessities. Much the same problem is faced by, say, producers of clothing and presidents of large universities: How to let individual feel he is controlling his own life, while not letting costs get out of hand through providing too many expensive alternatives. He who can provide meaningful choices will most completely win gratitude of youth.

THE CLOTHES AREA. It is a mistake to believe that youth "doesn't care" about what it does, that it is indifferent, heedless, or reckless, or unconcerned. Youth cares about almost everything. That is one of the characteristics of this generation. When asked to choose a "look," a way of dressing, the 314 young people questioned overwhelmingly voted a preference for "looking natural." Asked, next, if perhaps they liked "looking careless," the reaction was one almost of horror. The vote for "looking natural" was 1.42; for "looking careless" it was 3.49, on the same 1-to-5 scale as used above.

How They See Themselves: "Looking prosperous" failed to please these students, drawing a score of 2.83. The idea of "looking interesting" was more attractive, garnering an average approval quotient of 1.84. (As before, the lower the score, the greater the approval shown.) "Looking well-groomed" won considerable enthusiasm, with a grade mark of 1.61. But "looking sharp" raised hackles, and drew 2.48. The "natural look" won.

It Isn't Carelessness: However a young person seems to look, one can be almost sure he or she looks that way on purpose. Some obscure political or social point may be being made by unkempt hair, odd garments, etc., but carelessness probably has little or nothing to do with the total effect.

THE CULTURE AREA. A growing interest of youth is "pop" culture. Among young intellectuals today there is great enjoyment of low-level mass media, late evening television, all night disk jockeys, rock 'n' roll radio. New interest shows up in such campus games as "Trivia," very popular at Columbia University, a contest built around remembering minute details of old "B" movies, now being reshown on television. Tiny and virtually meaningless old sports statistics are also included.

Following the Teeny-Boppers: Campuses are very conscious of the tastes of "teeny-boppers"--young adolescent girls who scream approval of various youthful musical "groups." Columbia University intellectuals can often discourse on the various schools of rock 'n' roll, the Motown (Detroit) sound of the 4 Tops, the "soul sound" of Jackie Wilson, the "psychedelic sound" of the Byrds, the Animals, the "California sound" of the Mamas and the Papas. "Crawdaddy," rock 'n' roll magazine, is heavily read on campus.

Moving Toward Something?: There is little that is new in appreciation of classical music, it is felt. A Columbia University "bull session" on culture came up with opinion that classical music is static, frozen in its patterns, while "pop" music is "moving," using electronic effects, new rhythms, trying out Oriental tone patterns. Thus again we hear the theme: Youth is interested in movement, pace, change.

The Meaning of Movement: It is sometimes useful to look into the etymology of a word to capture its deeper meanings. "Move," according to the Oxford English Dictionary, means: "To put or keep in motion; to shake, stir or disturb"--not bad descriptives of youth's efforts today. Further definitions: "To stir up or excite (an emotion, appetite, etc.) in a person; to provoke (laughter, contradiction)." These old meanings of the word move may be speaking to us through youth. Skeat, in his famous Etymological Dictionary, traces the word "move" to "mob," through "mobile." The moving crowd. This is what we have with us today.

Sincerely,

Samuel Grafton

SAMUEL GRAFTON

file - STUDENTS

APRIL, 1967 35¢

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CONTRIBUTORS

Ira S. Rohter-is writing a book on the far right from which this study is drawn.

Richard J. Coughlin-has been to Vietnam several times. He is a professor of sociology at the U. of Virginia

Stanley Sheinbaum-is an associate editor of Ramparts magazine. He ran as a peace candidate in the last California Democratic Primary and failed to win by a very thin margin.

Don Boner-is an active member of the Nashville SSOC chapter.

ABOUT THE COVER

The cover is the complete and full text of the reply that we recieved from Auburn University in response to a circular we sent out concerning the Lee Webb tour. "The primary purpose of Auburn is to maintain a community of learning....." (Barron's Profiles of American Colleges)

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**HỘI LIÊN HIỆP SINH VIÊN VIỆT-NAM TẠI PHÁP**

UNION OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN FRANCE

# Vietnamese students' appeal to the American students

*Dear American Friends,*

Permit us to address this appeal to you at a time when the American escalation is accelerating its pace, gravely threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. We are certain that we voice the sentiments of thousands of Vietnamese students, scientists and engineers living in France when we affirm our solidarity with all of our people who are struggling for the sacred cause of freedom and independence.

No one could be more attached to the cause of peace than the Vietnamese people, who for more than a quarter of a century have experienced the sufferings of war. But, just as for the American people during the Revolutionary War, for our people there can be no peace if they are denied their independence. Moreover, our rights to independence and national unity were solemnly recognized in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam.

It goes without saying that we feel no hatred for you or for the American people. We would prefer to discuss with you our studies and the concerns shared by all youth. In the 1960's, a natural topic for our discussions might be, for example, how living standards and human welfare could be improved in the whole world through the development of science and technology.

Unfortunately, our country has been invaded by American troops who come to sow death and desolation. Unfortunately, you, too, can be required at any moment by the Johnson Administration to journey to our homeland, on the pretext that you would be fighting for the cause of liberty and for humanity.

We know that some of you have refused to go to Vietnam and that many of you are fighting courageously to have your government put an end to its policy of aggression against our country. We are addressing you today so that we may help each other mutually to make the cause of truth triumph.

The Johnson administration repeats day in and day out that American troops are in Vietnam « *to help the South Vietnamese people defend themselves against aggression from the North* ». In reality, they are there to support people - yesterday Ngo dinh Diem, today Nguyen cao Ky - who, to say the least, have no popular support whatever.

If our compatriots in the South were led to take up arms, it is because they were subjected, **in the name of anti-communism**, to the dictatorial puppet regime of Ngo dinh Diem, who refused to hold the elections which were supposed to take place in 1956 in oder to reunify the country, and who declared in May 1957 in Washington that « *the frontier of the United States passes through the 17th parallel* ». **Until 1960 our people fought with all the legal means possible against the bloody dictatorship of Diem, which was supported and aided by the United States. But confronted with the massacres, the deportations and the large-scale use of American materiel and methods of war, the people of South Vietnam had no choice left but to take up arms in self-defense.**

One day you will certainly know the details of the indescribable sufferings endured by our compatriots in the South during all these terrible years ; you will know that in the period before the direct and massive intervention of American troops in the South at the beginning of 1965, 170,000 Vietnamese were killed, nearly 800,000 wounded or disabled as a result of torture, and more than 5 million peasants forced into 8,000 concentration camps camouflaged under the name of « *strategic hamlets* ». One day, you will learn of the courageous battle waged by all strata of the population, particularly the peasants, in opposing the ferocious repression. You will learn also of the no less courageous combat of professors and students in our Southern cities.

Despite this terror and the open war waged with 500,000 men of the puppet army under the command of 30,000 American « *advisors* », at the beginning of 1965 the Saigon army and administration were heading toward collapse. It was to try and save them that a huge American expeditionary corps was brought into South Vietnam, and that, in total defiance of legality, the decision was taken by President Johnson to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

**This policy springs from the illusion that it is possible, through armed force alone, to achieve a quick military victory and impose one's ideas upon a people. This explains the origin of the war and why it has continually been expanded.**

Today President Johnson has engaged in South Vietnam, a country slightly larger than the state of Ohio, « *more than one half of (U.S.) air power, more than one third of (its) ground forces ready for combat, and one third of (its) Navy* » (1). Already the size of the American forces in South Vietnam is greater than that engaged in the Korean War. According to Mr McNamara, in 1966 American aircraft alone dropped 637,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam. Our entire country numbers around 30 million inhabitants, which means that last year, more than 40 pounds of bombs were used for every Vietnamese, not counting an enormous quantity of other projectiles fired by ground and naval forces. And the United States is now dropping an even greater quantity of bombs (2).

Moreover, when thousands of people have been deported - as in the course of operation « *Cedar Falls* » last January - entire villages razed by bulldozers, vast forested regions set ablaze with phosphorus, heavily populated areas designated as « *free kill zones* », etc..., don't you think that such methods are strangely reminiscent of those used not so long ago by the Nazis in search of their « *final solution* » ?

And how can one believe today the myth of an « *invasion* » of the South by our Northern compatriots, when the Vietnamese of the North and South are one people, engaged in a single struggle against the same aggressor ? Do not the people of North Vietnam have the right to render assistance to the people of the South, when a foreign army has invaded South Vietnam ? At the heart of this question of a northern « *invasion* » is the undeniable fact that the war arose out of the American-imposed dictatorship of Ngo dinh Diem ; the only invasion of Vietnam was by American troops who came to protect an American puppet against popular resistance. Even according to U.S. government figures, South Vietnamese comprise the overwhelming majority of the forces combatting American troops in South Vietnam. In reality this is an American war, carried out by Americans to conquer the Vietnamese people who are defending their right to independence and national unity. Perhaps it is surprising to you that « *anti-americanism in Vietnam, particularly in the cities, is growing and becoming a matter of increasing debate in the American mission. The argument is over the effects of what one observer called the new colonialism* ». (The Washington Post, January 25, 1967).

In spite of this unrestrained use of force which costs your people the enormous sum of 24 billion dollars a year, none of the American objectives has been obtained. To date more than 1700 planes have been downed in North Vietnam and hundreds of pilots captured (3). The economic and military potential of North Vietnam continues to develop despite the terrible intensity of the bombing. The bombings have obviously failed to produce the expected results, as Mr McNamara himself has implied. In the South of our country, the National Liberation Front recently announced, 270,000 enemy soldiers, including 120,000 Americans, were killed, wounded or taken prisoner in 1966 (4). The N.L.F. armed forces, far from diminishing, have appreciably increased, as General Westmoreland has acknowledged. « *American*

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(1) Interwiew with Senator Stephen M. Young (Dem.), member of the Senate Armed Services Committee (U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 23,1967).

(2) McNamara statement in Aviation Week, Jan. 30, 1967.
« *During February 1967, American aircraft dropped 68,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, which compares with 80,000 tons a month during the peak year of World War II and 17,000 tons a month during the Korean War. Top U.S. officials have forecast that the bombing of North and South Vietnam, which already is approaching the bombing peaks of all previous wars, will continue to rise* ». (New York Times, Intern. Edition, March 18 - 19, 1967).

(3) « *The United States in the past has been losing warplanes faster than it has been producing them. This was true up to October, 1966* ». (Report by the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, The New York Herald Tribune, International edition, March 28, 1967).

(4) U.S. figures list a smaller number of casualties. Might it not be possible that casualties among American troops have been concealed as has been proven to be the case with U.S. aircraft losses ?

*military men in Vietnam, unlike the Washington optimists, believe it would take a decade - or a generation - to pacify the country. And there is no certainty it could be done at all* ». (The New York Times, December 5, 1966).

Meanwhile, the escalation has only reinforced the determination of our entire people to smash the aggression and win, whatever the sacrifices. The real choice facing the Vietnamese people is not one between peace and war, but, in fact, a choice between genuine independence and servitude.

It is not for us to judge the value of the « *American way of life* ». You belong to the most prosperous nation in the world and your country has made many contributions to the scientific and technological heritage of humanity, of which you can be proud. But what would you say if someone imposed on you from outside the dictatorship of a George Lincoln Rockwell who, like General Nguyen cao Ky, is an admirer of Hitler ? (5) It is so difficult for you to understand that the National Liberation Front encompasses all the democratic forces of South Vietnam in opposition to the worst sort of fascist regime, imposed from abroad ? How would you feel about an attempt to impose on you a way of life different from your own, by killing your family and bombing your cities and villages ? You would agree with us in recognizing that ideas cannot be imposed by force.

In the opinion of the Johnson administration, this war will cause you « *more cost, more loss, and more agony* » (6), for one cannot conquer a united people which is conscious of its inexhaustible capacity of resistance and has given proof of it on the battlefield. Furthermore, the profoundly unjust and atrocious character of the war, the intensive use of the most murderous weapons (napalm, fragmentation bombs, poison gas and toxic chemicals, etc...) to massacre the civilian population (to which Harrison Salisbury has recently testified in the New York Times and William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine (7)), has made international opinion rise up against its perpetrators.

All of this is enough to lead the United States towards an inevitable failure.

We are convinced that sooner or later the just cause of Vietnam will triumph. The interest of both our peoples requires that this illegal and immoral war be ended, so that Vietnamese and Americans may no longer die in battle ; so that the prestige of your country, and the democratic principles of your society in which you take such pride, may decline no further ; and so that the best conditions for friendly relations between our two peoples may be established.

The Vietnamese problem cannot and will not be settled through some sort of political deal which would leave our country divided forever and sacrifice the inalienable rights of our people. A settlement must be based on United States respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. That is the essential content of the four-point position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Declaration in five points of the National Liberation Front. **The United States must definitively and unconditionally halt the bombings of North Vietnam ; recognize the N.L.F., the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people ; and withdraw all its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam. Our people are more determined than ever to fight until such a peace is realized. To claim that they are merely pawns in a conflict among the great world powers is to do them a great wrong. The program of the N.L.F. clearly shows that it intends to establish democratic institutions in South Vietnam with a government of national union, capable of grouping all the political and the religious organizations and eminent individuals, regardless of their past activities ; this government will have a foreign policy of strict neutrality and will establish relations with all countries.**

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(5) According to Brian Mohayan of the London Sunday Mirror (July 4, 1965) Ky said : « *People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one : Hitler... The situation is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam* ».

(6) State of the Union message of President Johnson, January 10, 1967.

(7) « *The horror of what we are doing to the children of Vietnam - « we » because napalm and white phosphorous are the weapons of America - is staggering... Napalm, and its more horrible companion, white phosphorous liquidize young flesh and carve it into grotesque forms. The little figures are afterward often scarcely human in appearance... At least a quarter of a million of the children of Vietnam have been killed in the war... There must be three times that many wounded - or at least a million child casualties since* 1961... *At least* 80 % *of the injuries were inflicted by American or South Vietnam (Saigon) action...* » (William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine, January 1967).

« *YOU DON'T get rid of the terrorist by bombing, because if you drop a bomb and kill 20 persons, 19 of them are women and children... and there's only one terrorist...* » (U.S. Ambassador Lodge, as quoted in the Boston Globe, February 28, 1965).

President Johnson has proclaimed many times that the United States is ready to undertake « *unconditional discussions of peace - anywhere, any time* » and « *will continue to take every possible initiative ourselves to probe for peace* » (8).

If he sincerely desires peace, if he really wants discussions, he can easily prove it by unconditionally ceasing the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only then could conversations be held between the D.R.V. and the U.S., as was recently declared by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Duy Trinh. The bombing of territory of the D.R.V., a sovereign and independent country, constitutes an intolerable violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and of the basic rules of international law, and provokes the unanimous condemnation of the entire world. The United States has no right to require from the victim of aggression any counterpart whatever to the cessation of bombing. Besides, bombing and threats will never make our compatriots in the North agree to discussions. Unfortunately, we know the response of President Johnson to this gesture of good faith from the D.R.V. : an acceleration of the escalation, going so far as to mine the rivers of North Vietnam to block the movement of the sampans and junks !

**Thus we find that the words of peace of the American leaders simply serve to camouflage and justify their intensification of the war. Contrary to what he has affirmed, President Johnson has blocked all the paths to negotiation ; in fact, what he wants to obtain from our people is an** « *unconditional surrender* » (9).

**Student friends, the United States has to give up its policy of force and of blackmail by force. The more of you there are who try to understand why the Vietnamese struggle so resolutely, and why you are asked to fight, the sooner this will come about. Our aim in writing to you is not to convince you of the desirability of the institutions our compatriots in the South will establish for themselves in the future. The point is to help you understand us, so that you will see why we refuse to live in slavery or to allow our fate to be dictated by a foreign government.**

**We would like to ask you to publish our letter in your newspapers and mazagines so that it can reach American students. We know that some of you will disagree with some of our views, but we would be most willing to discuss any of these points with you further, and we hope that you will answer us, as soon and as fully as possible.**

Let us all work together to establish an exchange of views and to clear up the misunderstandings that may still separate us. Your future, as well as ours, will depend a great deal on the outcome of this effort.

Please accept our sincerest feelings of friendship.

*Paris, April 3, 1967*

UNION OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN FRANCE

*The President,*
Huynh Huu Nghiep

*The Secretary General,*
Nguyen Ngoc Giao

*The Member of the Executive Committee*
*in charge of International Relations*
Nguyen Van Bon

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(8) State of the Union message.

(9) Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, « *The Bitter Heritage : Vietnam and American Democracy*, 1941-1966 », Boston, 1967, p. 107.

Send your letters to :
Mr Nguyen Ngoc Giao
15, rue d'Arcole — Paris 4e
France

Dear Friend:

The Southern Student Organizing Committee grew out of a need for increased communication and coordination among students committed to changing the South. Through our efforts in the Civil Rights Movement, we have learned that people work most effectively within their natural constituency; that they are most interested in working on issues affecting them directly, and that students can be a dynamic force for social change. And we have now progressed to a multi-issue approach toward changing the South.

We have been and are presently involved in many university reform movements, in community organizing projects such as the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee, in support for the migrant labor workers organizing efforts, in organizing a student alliance with the Textile workers in North Carolina and in continuing campus organizing and service projects such as the Virginia Speakers Program, the Southern Folk Festival, the Florida Peace Tour, a speedy literature service, conferences, and the New South Student.

We can never create a democratic South unless we challenge the basic prejudices and misconceptions that plague our society and contribute to popular support for U.S. foreign policy and bitter anti-communism based on the myth of a monolithic communist threat, racism, and the assumption that human and political problems can be solved through violence.

We are also faced with a moral imperative; our government daily murders hundreds of individuals who only want the right to determine their own fate. We must actively oppose our Government's policy in Vietnam and challenge basic assumptions underlying all of U.S. foreign policy. If we do not act now, we must not only share the blame for our government's slaughter of innocent people, but we may make it easier for the powerful supporters of the status quo to negate any moves for progressive social change and suppress all dissent by stirring up super-patriotic and anti-communist hysteria.

Just this past year in the South, opposition to the war has grown tremendously. There have been rallies, vigils or demonstrations in over forty Southern communities. In addition several hundred church, college and community groups have sponsored speakers, watched films, and held meetings to discuss and debate the various aspects of U.S. policy in Vietnam. We must now expand and intensify discussion on the war and mobilize visible opposition to the administration's policies.

To assist Southerners who wish to speak out concerning the war, the Southern Student Organizing Committee (at its Annual Convention) officially allied itself with "Vietnam Summer". In cooperation with groups such as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the American Friends Service Committee, SSOC is helping to start local community projects and to recruit volunteers.

Sue Thrasher, who worked with SSOC since its inception, is the Southern contact in the Cambridge office of Vietnam Summer; she will use a WATS line to call interested Southerners and provide assistance to local organizing efforts. Lee Webb, a well-known SSOC member who recently did a speaking tour of the South for SSOC is the National Director of Vietnam Summer. Tom Gardner

is the Southern Field Representative for Vietnam Summer and will spend most of his time travelling, helping people develop projects and recruiting volunteers; he will work out of the Nashville SSOC office. Three SSOC-affiliated field staff, Alan Levin in Florida, Ben Ragsdale in Virginia, and Sara Boyte in North Carolina, are working with Vietnam Summer in their respective states.

Individuals and groups in Atlanta, Gainesville, Miami, Jacksonville, Sarasota, New Orleans, Birmingham, Jackson, Memphis, Little Rock, Nashville, Louisville, Richmond, Charlottesville, Lexington, Durham, and Chapel Hill are planning summer activities on the war and the draft. Hopefully concerned people in other communities are doing the same. If you can get together with allies in your community and inform others of your concerns we would like to help you.

For further information, for applications to be a full-time worker, and to find out who is doing what in your area, write to Vietnam Summer, attn: Sue Thrasher, 129 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. (If necessary, you may call her person-to-person collect 617-492-6700, she will refuse and call you back on the WATS line).

For assistance in Virginia write to Ben Ragsdale, Vietnam Summer, 4500 Kensington Ave., Richmond, Va., phone 703-359-0697.

In Florida write to Alan Levin, Box 13636, Univ. Sta., Gainesville, Fla., phone 904-372-7227.

In North Carolina write to Sara Boyte, Box 4561, Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina, 27706.

For specific requests and assistance in the South, contact Tom Gardner, SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn. 37212, Phone 615-291-3537.

If you are not able to contribute some of your time this summer you might like to contribute financially. For tax deductible contributions to work in the South, make checks payable to SSOC and mark them for Vietnam Summer. You may also be able to contribute directly to a project in your area.

Whatever you are able to do will be of great assistance. Thank you and good luck.

For Peace and Freedom,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lee Webb<br>Nat'l Director<br>Vietnam Summer | Sue Thrasher<br>Southern contact<br>Vietnam Summer | Tom Gardner<br>Chairman, SSOC<br>Southern Representative<br>Vietnam Summer |

P.S. Please read the enclosed brochure.

VIETNAM SUMMER

*Preliminary Application for Part-Time Volunteer, Full-Time Volunteer, or Field Secretary**

NAME _____

PRESENT ADDRESS _____ SUMMER OR HOME ADDRESS _____

_____ _____

PRESENT PHONE _____ SUMMER OR HOME PHONE _____

DATE LEAVING PRESENT ADDRESS _____

OCCUPATION OR SCHOOL _____ AGE _____

IN WHAT GEOGRAPHIC AREA(S) CAN YOU WORK THIS SUMMER? _____

_____

DESCRIBE BRIEFLY THE WORK YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO:

HOW MANY HOURS A WEEK CAN YOU WORK? _____

WHAT WILL BE YOUR FINANCIAL NEEDS THIS SUMMER? _____

HOW MUCH CAN YOU RAISE TO SUPPORT YOURSELF? _____

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FIELD SECRETARY ONLY
(attach additional sheets if necessary)

DESCRIBE IN SOME DETAIL YOUR ORGANIZING EXPERIENCE (campus, community, workplace):

HAVE YOU STARTED OR WORKED ON A VIETNAM PROJECT? PLEASE DESCRIBE:

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*Applications will be processed as quickly as possible--absolute deadline for applications June 2.

**Field Secretaries are expected to be experienced organizers willing to assume general responsibility for implementing projects. Intensive training institutes will be provided for field secretaries and volunteers at the beginning of the summer.

# The Righteous Rightists

IRA S. ROHTER

REPRINTED FROM TRANS-ACTION MAGAZINE, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

● The Watts riots have been traced directly to plans laid down by Lenin in Moscow. (The Los Angeles Communists, who organized the riots, cleverly blew up their own headquarters in order to appear as innocent martyrs.)

● Progressive education (a term including most modern educational methods) was inaugurated by a Columbia University professor on his return from Moscow: it is a deliberate design to expedite the Red take-over by turning our children into un-Christian, un - American, mindless, and will - less robots. For proof of success, we have only to look at Berkeley.

The two stories above -much more heavily elaborated and "documented" -are typical of the items that appear in radical right publications. They illustrate well the characteristic that distinguishes radical rightists from other Americans.

Radical rightists are not merely conservatives or even arch-conservatives. What occupies them full time, what gives them their unique voltage and drive, is not their reverence for old-fashioned fiscal policies and morals, but what Richard Hofstadter calls their "paranoid style"-the overriding and galvanizing belief in a gigantic, insidious Communist conspiracy that has infiltrated and infected all levels of American government and most of its social institutions. The calm conservative who would merely like to see a balanced budget and less welfare is not really a rightist, and they both know it.

Another distinct characteristic by which the rightist (I call him that for brevity) may be known is his dedication to action. When the enemy is already within the gates attacking all that we hold dear, the true patriot does not sit idly by discussing the income tax or civil rights-he mounts the counter-attack.

For the purposes of this study, therefore, (and because membership lists and other identifications are often secret) I have used these two characteristics-belief in Communist conspiracy and in direct action-to define and describe rightists, and I have drawn my samples accordingly.

## WHO'S RIGHT?

How do people get to be rightists? A major thesis of this article is that rightists are the victims of status frustration. That is, for some reason they are dissatisfied or insecure about their places in society and feel that others do not esteem them sufficiently: further, they express their frustration, and compensate for it, by political and social acts which give them emotional identity and support as well as real influence.

Many psychologists regard the striving for self-regard as an essential social and psychological need. To a large extent self-regard must depend on how others regard us. Nobody can really tolerate feeling downgraded or ignored: he must make some defense. The rightist chooses the path of radical right ideology and action, which pinpoints and per-

sonifies his enemy as a horrendous evil (and the rightist, therefore, as a kind of St. George) and gives him a means to combat it-not merely for himself but as a champion for all decent mankind.

The rightist becomes loudly super-patriotic-which makes anyone disagreeing suspect of un- Americanism. Those who are higher or richer than he (as the Communist- infiltrated world sees them) or who possess different values can be pulled down to their true levels - below the rightist on the scale of virtue-by being exposed as "Communist".

DUEL WITH THE DEVIL

Of course, such an orientation-and such action - depend heavily on a highly charged emotionalism and a closed system of paraniod-like logic that is impervious to objective facts that happen to differ. For instance, Communism cannot be considered primarily a political, social, and economic movement and system of thought capable of objective study. Such an idea horrifies the rightist. Communism is Satan personified: it can be faced only in a fight to the death, and only by those properly armed and innoculated.

People who undergo status frustration generally fall into three categories: the decliners, the new arrivals, and the value keepers.

THE DECLINERS. These are the people in our modern, changing society who are going down in the social scale - undeservedly, as they see it.

Modern technology and modern organizations increasingly require new skills, new orientations, more education. Those trained under different and outmoded disciplines (small farmers, for instance) and those with insufficient or outdated educations must feel their positions becoming more and more insecure.

Also threatened are the old professional and entrepreneur classes, especially from the smaller communities: the small town general practitioner in medicine, the small home builder, gas station owner, neighborhodd grocer - in fact most independent operators trying to survive in the shadows of the great corporations, large labor unions, and big government agencies. The well - educated professionals and corporate executives are taking over the small businessman's role in the community. He is being shoved aside: the hard work and independence on which he had built his self-esteem and his concept of the good and righteous life become increasingly worthless and irrelevent/ He begins to ask why? Who is doing this to me?

A similar process affects workers, both white and blue collar, displaced by new methods and machinery. They find themselves useless, and their self-regard wavers. The elderly without funds are in an even worse situation-our society no longer respects age, especially when it pulls no economic weight.

As these groups decline, their consciousness of rejection is made even more acute by the rise of those formerly considered low-class or rejected. An Irish Catholic, grandson of an immigrant, is elected President: a Negro "agitator" receives many honors and confers frequently at the White House. Jews are everywhere in prominent places. Again the decliner-often of old white stock-asks why?

THE NEW ARRIVALS. Status frustration occurs not only on the way down, but on the way up. There is almost always a lag between the time the gauche new arrival achieves success and the time those who got there first accept him as an equal. Like the decliner he can easily feel that he has come into

a closed and unfriendly society that will not recognize virtue. He is especially upset since he earned it himself in the good old American way instead of being handed prestige on a silver platter.

To the newly arrived, radical rightism can be a potent weapon to destroy their mighty enemies-those who had the opportunity to be better educated, better mannered, more cosmopolitan, and, obviously, more prone to liberal ideas and "bohemian" behaviour and immoralities. The charge of "Communism" is a great leveler, and the newly rich can often be counted upon to be twice as narrowly patriotic as anybody.

THE VALUE KEEPERS. Those moving up or down the ladder of success are bound to find themselves, temporarily at least, among aliens who know not the Lord, but so should those who merely stand still long enough in a society that changes as fast as ours.

A person of any conviction or integrity has social and moral values and beliefs that help determine his behaviour, his self-definition, and his place in the community. But let the community begin to re-examine those values criticaaly or displace them with others, and the foundation of his whole universe begins to turn to sand.

For the great majority of us, many of the traditional rural or small town ways or virtues are no longer useful or true. Modern society needs education and expertise more than hard work and self-denial: an expanding economy rather than thrift: organized community welfare programs rather than primary reliance on savings, personal charity, relatives, and contemplation of the sufferings of Job.

Moreover, the preponderance of political and economic power, for good or ill, has definitely shifted from the country with its white settlers to the metropolis with its combinations of minority populations. Those whose beliefs and behaviour were shaped by older traditions-who, as they see it, settled and built this country - now find themselves, in effect, increasingly disinherited.

Even more important than the objective loss of power and prestige are the subjective feelings of loss, of being desplaced and discredited. God and the devil, good and evil, are absolutes and do not change: therefore the change that discredits and displaces the old morality must be evil triumphing over good. Only by such rationalization can true believers retain their orientation and self-regard.

The values defended include hard work, saving, prudent investment, and self-discipline-the Protestant ethic. As the name implies, these values are not only economic but moral, with deep psychological meaning. They are supposed to result in independence and individualism, as the rightist sees them. An apparent attack on them - such as increased government control or taxes -becomes not only an economic change but an immorality and must be answered.

Therefore,as experience demonstrates daily, those most closely identified with older traditional values reduce and discuss almost all social problems to moralistic terms: if the wayward society or individual would only cease transgression and return to the old tried-and-true paths of religion, decency, and family virtue, all would in time be well.

This accounts for much of the intense and emotional opposition to social change by rightists: the counterattack, often blind, to government controls, integration, religious secularism, welfare, the United Nations, foriegn aid, Supreme Court decisions, modern education, and even such apparently non-controversial scientific and health ad-

vances as flouridation and mental health programs.

Fundamentalism is an important source of rightist fervor. In fact, from their titles and rhetoric, it is hard to distinguish between a rightist political rally and an evangelistic campaign-note the Rev. Carl McIntire's "Twentieth Century Reformation" and Dr. Fred Schwarts' "Christian Anti-Communist Crusade." Communism, a twentieth century abomination, becomes the catch - all for everything that seems evil and unnacceptable in the easygoing, affluent, sophisticated, urban twentieth century.

These then are the theses advanced about the rightist which I tested in this study:

Rightists are people underdoing status frustration. They feel they do not have the prestige and power they should have if the world were just-and their enemies have too much. They are on the move as far as status is concerned-either they are going down in a changing world (which should be true of most of them), they are standing still as the world passes them by, or they are rising more rapidly in economic position than in social recognition.

They identify themselves with the older, traditional (Protestant ethic) values of work, religion, and morality, so that their fight for status recognition also becomes a crusade for truth, justice, decency, God, and America.

They believe that their troubles-and therefore also the attack against Christianity and America-are caused by an all-pervasive conspiracy, wholly evil and implacable, called Communism.

They relieve their anxieties and feelings of resentment and inadequacy by radical right belief and activity. This gives them an effective explanation and compensation for their difficulties, a means of bringing their enemies down, and a method of gaining power, prestige, and mutual support.

Do these hypotheses survive empirical examination?
To start with objective findings first: Are the rightists of our sample actually undergoing status mobility and frustration?

The data show that there are only 10 percent of rightists in the highest occupations, such as executives and professionals, compared to 24 percent of non-rightists: and that rightists are over-represented among the lower-middle class (such as clerical and salesworkers)-15 to 4 percent.

Further, nearly twice as many rightists as others are retired-removed, for most practical purposes, from economic importance to society altogether. Rightists also tend to be older (median age 54 compared to 45) and are more often self-employed (although at lower levels)-if businessmen, they tend to run smaller businesses; if professionals, their standing is lower.

In profile, therefore, the radical rightist is older, less secure financially, and less often an important part of a major modern industrial enterprise; he more often has a low prestige white collar job or is thrown on his own resources-retired or operator of a marginal "independent" business. Such a picture is quite consistent with the status frustration hypothesis; such a person, especially if he identifies with an older tradition that was once dominant, could hardly help feeling frustrated.

Occupation alone, however, is not enough to measure social standing. What of education? In our increasingly sophisticated society, educa-

tion is not only a necessity but a mark of prestige, especially in the middle and upper classes. But even in these occupational strata the rightists have less education than their non-rightist equivilants. In the highest levels (high executives, proprietors, major professionals, etc.) almost twice as many non-rightists as rightists have graduate degrees (64 percent to 33 percent) while three times as many rightists (I2 percent to 4 percent) never went beyond high school. In the middle levels over twice as many non-rightists got college degrees (27 percent to I2 percent) while over twice as many rightists (54 percent to 24) never went beyond high school.

DOWN AND TO THE RIGHT

What about mobility? Comparing a male rightist's (or a female rightist's husband's) occupation and education with those of his father we found, as hypothesized, that the rightist did undergo much more status mobility than non - rightists, most often downward.

In the lowest occupations (typically, unskilled blue - collar) the rightists had fallen farther and more consistently than the non-rightists had done anywhere. Thirty-eight percent of rightist men compared to 6 percent non-rightist had declined sharply. Rightist laborers were quite apt to have had middle class or farm-owning fathers.

In the middle groups (white collar, small business) rightists were more mobile, both up and down, than non-rightists. Relatively few had stayed at the same occupational and educational level as their fathers (I4 to 29 percent). There tended to be a few more losers than winners.

In the highest status, however, rightists on the way up surpass not only those on the way down but even the relatively static non-rightists. This fits in very well with the thesis that the "newly arrived" undergo status frustration.

As predicted, therefore, the rightists had significantly greater mobility, especially downward, and less education where it counted most.

Another way to measure mobility should be by length of residence in a neighborhood. The old fundamentalist morality is closely associated with a rural and small town past: many people from that background, who cling to the old standards, have moved to a faceless Babylon of a city where they have few skills they can use. Those on the way down-or in from the farm-must move into poorer neighborhoods: those on the way up, though they take their values and their accents with them, are most likely, as soon as possible, to move to higher status suburbs or neighborhoods. Those who stay the shortest time should therefore be the most mobile.

Studying length of residence of people under 50, we found two basic groups of rightists. One seems to be primarily composed of people new to the community who seem unable to accept or be accepted by that community; also, they are declining in status more rapidly than a similar group of equally mobile non-rightists.

The other rightist cluster is composed of old-timers who have lived in their communities most of their adult lives: they are considerably older than their neighbors, and many more turn up in the 50 and 60 brackets. Their neighborhoods have gone down, and they have declined in status with them. Here too, therefore, there seems a clear association between decline (whether in new or old residency) and radical rightism.

THAT OLD TIME RELIGION

Are rightists to any significant

extent fundamentalists? Belief in traditional values, along with many rightist attitudes, was earlier related to religious fundamentalism. Empirically, this is true. Rightists very much subscribe to fundamentalist tenets and belong to those churches; nearly half the rightists (44 percent compared to I7 percent of the non - rightists ) are affiliated with fundamentalist denominations. Rightists were also more often raised in rural areas or small towns, environments most likely to produce traditionalism and hostility toward modernity.
So much for objective factors. How do the people themselves view their plights?

Fewer rightists than non-rightists actually belong to the upper class; but more of them rated themselves "upper class". When asked, "How hard do you think it is for people today to move upward from one social class to another?" their answers revealed a view of society as essentially closed, dominated by personalities, controlled by the wrong kinds of people:

Not much opportunity anymore; it's getting harder; depends on having money, knowing the right people.

The views of the non-rightists were much more objective and impersonal:

Depends on education; must work hard and have abilities to get it; special skills; hard to change direction of early life....

We asked, "Do you think that people ....influential in this community are, in general, friendly or cliqish?" Rightists answered "cliquish and unfriendly" more often than non-rightists. When those answering "cliquish" were asked to give reasons, rightists more often indicated belief in a closed structure run by a small group:

Old residents tend to look on new people as outsiders; certain families run things here; segregated groups want their own way; all have common political views.

The rightist, then, more often sees himself as the outsider, discriminated against in a closed society run by an elite.

What about the predicted concern with the Protestant ethic? We asked, "Are there any differences between what you believe should be the American way of life, and the way things are done in the country nowadays?" "In what way are things different?" Typically, from the rightists:

Morality and standards are going bad; the American way of life is deteriorating because of a suppression of morality; we nedd a moral and spiritual revival among our leaders; we need to follow the Ten Commandments more.

RUGGED INDIVIDUALISTS

What about individual initiative, self-reliance, respect for authority?

I am worried about the drift of the country; the amount of crime and disrespect for authority shows things are going the other way; we must instill more emphasis on respect, integrity, and individual responsibility; parents aren't teaching their children the right things anymore.

Traditional morality and values dominate many rightist's perceptions of everything. No matter what the topic-what things they worried about, what community concerns they had, what qualities they admired, what things Communists actually believed in, whatever-sooner or later they indicated that if we would only return to the old morality every problem would be solved.

Our findings are clear: The rightists are more dissatisfied with the values of contemporary American society; they adhere to the 'old truths" and believe everyone else should 'return' to them. They suffer severe frustration because of this, a frustration heavily reinforced by a religious righteousness

expressed in absolute and positive terms.

"In your case.....do you think that everyone gives you as much respect as you feel you deserve?" This question was deliberately worded to emphasize extremes-yet rightists answered "no" more frequently than non-rightists. This is true both of rightists who are on the way up and those on the way down; but the declimers say "no" twice as often as those on the rise - emphasizing that it is the losers who are most impelled to seek radical rightism. (Presumably, once those on the rise secure recognition, they will cease attacking high - status people and changing times.) Rightists felt more unaccepted than non-rightists, and rightists on the decline more unaccepted than anybody.

Does joining radical right organizations and causes help the rightist combat his anxieties successfully? By being more patriotic and anti - Communist than anybody else, the rightist seems to wrap himself in greatness and goodness, in importance, righteousness, and self-satisfaction. He is a saviour carrying out a holy crusade. As the John Birch Society Bulletin (Nov. 1964) points out, if you join their society "....you feel a tremendous satisfaction....to save for our children and their children the glorious country and humane civilization which we ourselves inherited."

We asked them to select "two great Americans" and describe what is admirable about them. Later, we asked them to describe "the typical member of an anti-Communist group" -that is, in effect, an idealized version of themselves. Their great people, they said, were "true" Americans and "very" patriotic; 75 percent found the same things true of themselves (compared to 22 percent of non-rightists, who tended to use less extravagant terms). Courage, strength, and "guts" were likewise qualities they shared with the great, as was deep Christian faith and high moral standards. And 50 percent saw the great to be honest, truthful, and sincere - like themselves.

Non - rightists, however, viewed rightists very differently-"dishonest," "hypocrites," "no integrity," "use character assasination."

This tactic of rightists to acquire status and importance by associating themselves closely with the great and the good is perhaps best illustrated by their emphasis on "self - education." They are, in fact, less well-educated than the non - rightists. But the world of radical rightism is full of parades of quasi-experts, study groups, monographs, footnotes, and bibliographies-almost all with no standing among scholars. But the rightists study them avidly, mention intelligence and education highly among those things they admire in the great, and give themselves strong ratings as "intellectuals, very brilliant," "well informed," "people with sound judgment, good reasoning," and "lots of sense." Needless to add, non-rightists hold almost precisely the opposite views of them.

## THE RIGHTIST PERSONALITY

The need to relieve status anxiety and to attack values that do not conform to their beliefs are not enough to explain why some people become radical rightists and others, in like circumstances, do not. The rightist tends also to have certain personality characteristics-to be, in effect, a particular kind of human being.

SIMPLISM. Psychologists say that a basic need of man is his desire for meaning, to understand what is happening to him. In an important sense the rightist, a traditionalist in changing times, is adrift in frightening darkness-he needs landmarks,

he needs simple guidelines, before he loses direction altogether. Radical rightism gives him this "understanding"-and this security. All becomes clear and very simple. It is all a conspiracy. Nothing is really changed-God is still in His heaven; but He needs help.

Extremely simple explanations have great attractions for the confused. They are a necessity for those personalities who have what psychologists call "simplistic cognitive structure"-who have a strong need for simple, firm stereotyped views of people and events, with no place for ambivalence or ambiguity. Such persons reject unbelievers, need external authorities, and, for emotional reasons, hold their beliefs so rigidly that compromise is intolerable.

Testing for this rigidity of belief, using statements on Communism and Russia ("Communism is a total evil." "The Soviet Union is 'mellowing'."), on intolerance and ambiguity ("There is usually only one right way to do anything."), on anti-compromise and closed-minded stances ("The compromise of principle leads to nothing but destruction." "A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion cannot exist for long"), we found the rightist to fit this description. He is intolerant of ambiguity, opposed to compromise, and closed-minded.

EXTRA PUNITIVENESS. It is difficult not to be struck by the strident negativism and combativeness of rightist writings, thought, and speech. Terrible things exist all about, the future is steeped in gloom; everything is in strong blacks and whites - the forces of light are locked in mortal combat with the forces of darkness. It is not only necessary, therefore, but moral and virtuous to be resentful, discontented, belligerent, and full of hate. While the rightist justifies his behaviour in the name of Americanism and anti-Communism, the actual thrust of his attacks are against the political, social, and intellectual leaders of the community-those who have the respect and influence he does not.

This vehement scapegoating is characteristic of a psychological defense mechanism called "extre-punitivensee." The extra-punitive have a great deal of free-floating hate and aggression they project outward, blaming others or the world for their personal or social failures. Their view of the world is paranoid.

We tested for extra-punitiveness by asking what measures they would take against "Communists" and, in later questions, against other "safe" scapegoats (those with few defenders, such as delinquents, sex deviants, homosexuals, and "disrespectful persons"). Rightists were more in favor of strong measures against Communists (sample statement with high response: "Take them out and hang them"); but their generalized hostility showed up even more clearly in their attitudes toward nonpolitical deviants. (Sample statements: "There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents." "Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severly punished.")

Rightists not only condemn Communists but define them so differently that it is sometimes hard to believe they are talking about real people. There is a heavy emphasis on religion and black-or-white morality: To believe that we can live with Communism is to be a dupe or worse. Communism is the anti-Christ, it is evil incarnate. This allows for convenient projection of personal hatreds. Rightists often find the highly educated-including professors-to be Communists. "From what racial or ethnic groups are Communists most likely to come?"

Rightists frequently mentioned "atheists," "Jews," "Methodists," "Unitarians," and "modernistic religious groups." (Non - rightists denied more frequently and more vigorously that race or religion was involved.)

POWERLESSNESS. It is a basic tenet of rightism that individual freedom -as they define it-is being lost and that the ordinary citizen (meaning themselves) is being ignored. Is "the federal government...extending too much...power into..everyday life?" Nearly 70 percent of the rightists "agreed very much." "Are there any groups....that you think have too much power or influence?" "Yes," the rightists said, significantly more often than non-rightists, and listed labor (and its leaders), Communists, big government, and such groups as the ADA, ACLU, and Council on Foreign Relations. Who has too little power? They mentioned twice as many groups as the non - rightists, most often the two surrogates for themselves; the individual "common man" and "conservative " organizations.

Do rightists, as hypothesized, feel maligned and persecuted? They pointed out with considerable heat that their idealized "great men," with whom they identify, were mistreated; "Got a raw deal; treated badly by others, his country; a victim of injustice."

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

ALIENATION. We found our rightists to be signigicantly more alienated politically than the non-rightists, to feel that their elected public officials do not actually represent them, that local officials avoid or ignore them, responding only to special interests. On referenda on community issues - such as new bond issues or taxes-they more consistently than others vote "no."

Do they trust other people? (A person who feels lost, who has little sense of personal competence, often lives in a jungle of suspicion and distrust.) We found a significant association between radical rightism and low trust in others. Generally, the rightists in our sample were less often involved in social and community organizations.

Finally, the rightist feels that by joining other rightists he can overcome his own powerlessness and estrangement.

Extra-punitiveness, a paranoid view of society, a great deal of free-floating hostility and aggression, desire for direct action, a rigid devotion to absolutes in religion and morality and to black-or-white standards-all these characteristics describe particular kinds of closed-minded, insecure, authoritarian persons undergoing particular kinds of status crises. And that is who the radical rightists are.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Ever dance on a limb?
It doesn't always break
and sometimes....
when it does
You fall
Into a grassy meadow
*
anonymous

# Vietnam

# A historical SKETCH

## FROM 1946 TO THE PRESENT

RICHARD J. COUGHLIN

In reading reports about Vietnam today, I cannot help but be impressed by the enormous contrast between the country now and what it was like when I first went out to Saigon in 1946, some twenty years ago.

In 1946 I found a welcome, open, friendly people. Contacts were easy, confidence was mutual. I had many Vietnamese friends who trusted me, literally, with their lives. As an American I could do no wrong. All doors opened. This was a country even then at war-the Vietnamese against the French, and the issue was national independence - but to fly an American flag on our car and to post an American flag on our gate was all the protection we needed. The United States was then the great hope of the Vietnamese. We had been wartime allies in an underground against the Japanese, and it was expected that our wartime declarations about freedom of all colonial people would be honored.

Today we are in a war with the Vietnamese. Our daily papers give the gruesome boxscore of those killed, and no American is really safe in Saigon today or anywhere else in that unhappy country. A people we befriended, fought with, respected, admired, is now our bitter enemy. Those Vietnamese leaders like Ho Chi Minh whom we were glad to have with us during the war are now leading a nation in war against us.

What has happened in the past 20 years? Where did we go wrong?

### MISREADING THE SIGNS

As a people and as a government we misread the signs that were there to see in Asia, and never more tragically than in the old French colony of Indochina. What were these signs in postwar Asia?

I. Freedom now. The period of domination of native peoples by Europeans was over. Ready or not, the former colonies wanted independence --not in a few years, but now; not limited freedom, but total, unreserved freedom. Freedom was not negotiable or conditional. Twenty years later it is difficult to capture or describe adequately the ferment and the demand for freedom in Asia, but in 1946 it was a living and powerful force like nothing anyone had seen in Asia before. To deny or to ignore this force was to court disaster.

2. The second sign was a bariation of the first. It read: No interference, no intervention. It was a sign that meant business--because any attempt to reestablish the old colonial order or any form of neo-colonialism was sure to rouse massive, determined resistance. After 80 years of colonial direction, the people wanted to be masters of their own country.

3. The third sign concerned native leaders. The leadership found in these former colonies by the end of the war had been selected and hardened by their wartime experience. At the end of the war with Japan, these leaders had won that most incredible of all prizes: freedom from colonial control. Sometimes this freedom lasted for only a very short time before colonial armies again took over, but for a time, people like the Vietnamese, the Cambodians, the Laotians, the Indonesians, the Burmese had tasted free-

dom and they would not forget. Without exception, the postwar leaders were national heroes, men to go down in history alongside the heroes of the past centuries. It did not matter what political belief a man had, or was said to have. It did not matter that Aung San of Burma was a Socialist or that Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam was a Communist or that Sukarno was Dutch-educated or that Nehru spoke English with a flawless British accent. The leaders, because they brought independence, were universally heroic, enshrined. The meaning of this sign was clear: unless you work with and through these leaders, you have no popular support for your goals. Unless your program is dedicated to preserving the independence and the unity of the nation, it will be rejected. If you insist on ignoring these signs, then you build your policy on fantasy.

4. The final sign as I saw it in postwar Asia was revolution. In the former colonies like Indochina the political but also the social and economic order was being abruptly rearranged. The European was out, the Asian was in and on top. Foreign concessions were to be nationalized, foreign institutions revamped, absentee landowning brought to an end, large estates distributed among the landless. Who was once up was now to be brought down, and those formerly of lowly position were to be given the highest seats of power and authority and influence.

THE AMERICAN FAILURE

These were the signs in postwar Asia. We have reached the present degree of tragedy in Vietnam because of our failure to read the signs, or our decision to ignore them.

Item One: We intervened on the side of the French from 1946 until the final French defeat in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. The French could not have carried out that colonial war without our arms and supplies in an endless stream, without our money and credits, without our tacit, if unofficial, backing for a war against a Communist - led Viet Minh movement. We became a silent partner to the terror of the French-the sudden arrest, deportations, torture and executions. Not all Americans and not all government officials supported the French effort, but the arguments for backing France were strong enough to override any opposition. I think the typical reaction of our officials was not greatly different from that of an American Foreign Service officer I spoke to in Paris in 1948 on my way home, who after hearing about French military reverses in Indochina commented that what the French needed were more flame throwers---- a truly demoralizing weapon, he thought, that would shatter the will of the Vietnamese to fight.

Item Two: We lent our support, often more informal than formal but no less effective, to French efforts from 1946 onward to elevate certain cooperative Vietnamese as fictitious leaders of their people. The puppet governments that were formed did not really hurt the Viet Minh but they did serve to discredit Saigon governments and to waste political talent among the Vietnamese that might have been usefully employed in post Dien Bien Phu governments. We were a party to deception and deceit. And if Saigon governments are scorned today by the Vietnamese, we must share the blame.

Item Three: When the prolonged war did finally come to an end in 1954--with almost 200,00 French casualties and the decimation of the French officer group--our government was instrumental in finding and installing Ngo Dinh Diem as a so-called Vietnamese leader. We financed his government and armed his military, and then ignored its steady alienation of the Vietnamese people. Probably the most momentous decision of the Diem regime was

not to hold the countrywide elections as specified in the 1954 Geneva Agreement--the war that we are involved in now can be traced directly to that decision, and we must take a large share of the responsibility for it. The Diem government was put up as an alternative to Communism--but it was neither honest, nor efficient, nor democratic, nor popular--although we pretended it was all these things until the day it was finally overthrown. If there is a healthy distrust of anti-Communism today in Vietnam, then we must share the blame. If there is a distrust of international negotiations and agreements and a distrust of our intentions, then we must acknowledge that this distrust is well-founded.

PAST IS PROLOGUE

All this, you may say, is water over the dam. What is done is done. But is it all past? Over the entrance to our National Archives in Washington is the penetrating observation: What is past is prologue. Or, as historians are prone to point out, those who do not learn from history are condemned to relive it. As we seem to be doing in Vietnam today.

Like the French before us, we have refused to acknowledge the existence of true, honest-to-god Vietnamese leaders but have insisted on creating paper premiers and generals. The generals who have headed a succession of Saigon governments since the fall of Diem can by no stretch of the imagination be called leaders of the Vietnamese, nor are they likely to become leaders.

A national leadership is not created by outsiders. Leaders arise from their people, more often than not by their opposition to outside pressures and demands, not by their willingness to cooperate with foreign pressures. And they remain leaders only so long as they act like nationalists, and they lose stature by being compliant.

We have brought massive military power to bear on a problem that is basically political and social and economic and religious. In a situation that is in my opinion susceptable to reason and negotiations, we have chosen to rely basically on military power. We have brought hundreds of thousands of foreign troops into a country where the presence of any foreign soldier is anathema. We persist in the belief that the more we destroy, the more we demoralize their communities, the readier they will be to deal with us, to accept our direction, to sit down and peacefully negotiate with us. Of all the misconceptions, this one is probably the most falacious and the most dangerous.

As in the past, we insist that the issue is communism, while to the rank and file Vietnamese it is a matter of nationalism. Nationalism and communism are so intertwined in Vietnam that they cannot be separated. If the national heroes like Ho Chi Minh are communist, then to destroy communism strikes at the very heart of Vietnamese nationalism. We have condemned ourselves to fight both nationalism and communism, which in Vietnam and elsewhere is an unbeatable combination.

To repeat, we do not seem to have learned from history, and in what Paul Mus calls the Second Indochinese War we are condemned to relive the mistakes and the tragedy of the First Indochinese War fought by the French until their final and disastrous defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

And what of the future? There have been three times in the past when we had the chance to resolve honorably the Vietnamese conflict:

I. At the end of World War II when Ho Chi Minh and his group appealed to Washington for support in their war for independence. We chose to ignore that appeal.

2. Again in 1954 following the defeat at Dien Bien Phu, when under terms of an international agreement Vietnam could have been made peaceful and stable. We chose to ignore that international agreement.

3. In November, 1963, when the Diem regime was finally overthrown by an aroused populace. We chose to support a military dictatorship in Saigon.

I think that we can look forward to, and deliberately plan for, a fourth opportunity, which may well be our last chance. An assembly in Saigon has been hammering out a new constitution which when put into effect can lead within a year to the formation in Saigon of a civilian government responsive to the needs and demands of Vietnam fro peace and stability. This government can be brought into existence and it can be encouraged to make whatever arrangements it wishes to achieve an end to the fighting and the creation of a coalition government in South Vietnam, which might then conduct negotiations with North Vietnam for the eventual unification of the nation.

Everyone with any authority or influence in the world has tried to resolve the Vietnamese problem: the Pope, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of France and the Prime Ministers of Britain, the Soviet Union, India, Cambodia and Canada--to say nothing of the role of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. But to no avail. I suggest that we try the Vietnamese people through a civilian government in Saigon.

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At the Mobilization in New York, 175 men burned their draft cards. These men now urge you to make the same emphatic affirmation of freedom and life, in the face of conscription and murder.

Conscription is incompatible with democracy. We are convinced that conscription is clearly unconstitutional and, in the context of United States involvement in Vietnam, conscription is criminal.

The government of the United States has, through conscription, already oppressed or destroyed the lives and consciences of millions of Americans and Vietnamese. We have argued and demonstrated to stop this destruction. We have not yet succeeded. Powerful resistance is now demanded.

On May 17th, the Mobilization will send a delegation to Washington to confront the President. We join them in their pledge to "escalate resistance" if his response is unsatisfactory.

If you have contemplated the consequences and are prepared to undertake direct action, please contact us so that such action may be coordinated on a national scale.

DRAFT DENIAL 5 BEEKMAN ST. (10TH FLOOR) NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038

# interview; Sheinbaum

CIA

RAMPARTS

On March 4, 1967, Stanley Sheinbaum came to Nashville to speak on "The CIA, the University, and the War." This interview was recorded then. It is available on tape in the SSOC tape library for lending purposes.

THE MAGAZINE

NSS- Are Ramparts people heading the magazine in any specific direction: do they see it mainly as a muckraking journal or a political voice of the New Left or an attempt to make people think of the political and economic failures of this system or something else?

S- All three overlap. We don't like being called the political voice of the New Left because we're not quite sure what that is. One description is that we are muckrakers but on what we consider to be intellectual issues. Like what the Green Berets are doing: the brutalization of Americans, this kind of thing, aside from what the war is doing in Vietnam. The issue of the CIA: the implications for the closed society. We want to muckrake where we think it's critical. We want to muckrake on the foundations. I think we are non-ideological. I don't think there is an ideology afoot today that warrants the name. That's why I resist a little the "New Left" label.

NSS- Is Ramparts trying to develop an independent political network in California: You know the thing with the Scheer campaign...

S- And mine and Keating's...

NSS- "New Politics"...

S- It's related to it, obviously. It didn't start as a Ramparts movement. All three of us started independently and it's resulted in a "New Politics" phenomenon there that's a growing concern. It's not Ramparts started, but certainly Ramparts supported.

NSS- I read recently that the government was launching a campaign to destroy Ramparts by finding any ties that Ramparts has to "communists" and then red-baiting. Do you think that this is a serious possibility?

S- Yes. Carl Rowan, the Negro liberal journalist, has started this already. There was a column of his about a week ago.....Bob Scheer had gone to Prague right after the CIA break and Rowan suggested all sorts of things. Rowan said, "You've been in touch with the communist students there," and Scheer on the phone said, "No I haven't: I've been in touch with the NLF." But Rowan reported all this with a strong innuendo just this side of libel that we are communist controlled, we are communist financed, etc. That kind of thing we can expect: you know there will be all sorts of these, especially these liberal types who are very nervous about Ramparts. We expect a lot of red-baiting from them. But I have a funny hunch that the government is going to leave us alone. This is one way they make themselves look good. After all, we do something-The CIA thing with the NSA-and what happens? Here it is 2-3 weeks later and it's under the rug already. So what have they got to worry about? We're no threat.

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT....

NSS- Do you feel that the job of exposing the work of the CIA and other arms of the invisible government in infiltrating and subverting the academic institutions of the U.S. is just beginning or is pretty well on its way to being completed?

S- Its just beginning. The CIA job ...that job alone is to the greater extent done. It's now open information. The real part is to do something about it. Not so much in terms of getting some legislative

controls or something over CIA but to put second thoughts in the minds of a helluva lot of people who just go along: all these academicians who thought it was perfectly alright and don't question it. If we've accomplished that, then I think we've done a lot. But there is so much swept under the rug aside from the CIA phenomena.

NSS- Does any other branch of the invisible government play as important a part in this domestic undercover work as the CIA? I mean things like getting into the academic institutions.

S- Getting into the universities? They all do. The Defense Department, the Pentagon, Rand; they're all into the universities in heavy ways. The CIA is minor compared to what they do. In fact, half the budget of the University of California is Defense and AEC (Atomic Energy Commission).

AND THE UNIVERSITY

NSS- What departments and functions of the university do you think that these government institutions are most interested in penetrating?

S- The social sciences. There's an increasing awareness now on the part of the government that the hearts and minds of the people are what we have to get at. We're talking about social engineering. That's why this operation down in Columbia where the CIA was financing studies of what are the conditions necessary to bring about counter insurgency. What they're talking about is getting the social sciences to work in the cold war. They are starting to realize that this is far more important than the hardware, which is over in the physical sciences department.

NSS- Are there any ways that someone who did not have good inside knowledge of the specific university departments could investigate them and establish the fact of their involvement or noninvolvement with the secret power structure? For example, the work that you did at MSU-could that have been done by someone who was outside the dep't?

S- No. That's part of the problem. There should be some way of finding out what a department's contracts are, but you're not going to find out everything about a contract, because a contract is often a front. For instance the Michigan State thing was a contract with the AID program. Whose gonna suspect anything? I now make the assumption that almost any contract with any overseas operation, private or public, has some sort of a CIA tie. I can't establish anything, but I know enough to know that I am 90% right. Let me make a suggestion: if you want the best information about what's going on in this world read the Wall Street Journal and the U.S. News and World Report. There's more information in there about, you know, these kinds of things than you'll ever get in the New Republic or Ramparts or anywhere else. They seem to have access and they talk about it but they talk about it in a different context. The whole trouble is that you have to be alert in looking.

NSS- What would you estimate to be the CIA budget for one year?

S- We know fairly well that the budget for all intelligence activities is between $4 and $5 billion a year. The last figure that I saw for the CIA was $500 million, which I don't believe. I think its way over that: I think its closer to a billion. One interesting thing is happening in that ever since the Bay of Pigs the CIA has been a second class intelligence operation. The real work is being done more in the Defense Department. There's a thing called the DIA-The Defense Intelligence Agency-which I understand is about as big as the CIA now, and there's some sort of competition between them. I think the situation is worse as a result of that investigation after the Bay of Pigs.

WHO HAS CONTROL?

NSS- Does the CIA attempt its operations independently of control by other branches of the government or is it closely watched and directed?

S- Well theoretically it's closely

watched but for example when the NSA thing broke they all expressed surprise. Later they said they knew about it, but they didn't do anything about it. So if they're watching they're not watching very carefully and they're not thinking about it. Humphrey is on the National Security Council that overseas this thing. He knew all about it.

NSS- Then it's pretty well known but they just sort of let is run.

S- This is the trouble: you slip into situations. This is why I think its important that what we've done is not that we're gonna bring about any new controls over the CIA -thats not gonna happen- but that the people in the universities, good thinking types, think twice about what the hell it is they're doing before they get involved. Really that's the most we can ask.

NSS- Is there any evidence to support the idea of direct links between the CIA and the highest levels of corporate power in the U.S.?

S- Well I think there are links. CIA is big government: big government is big corporations. You're implying something that services business somehow. I don't know. All I know is that the CIA is doing something that indirectly services business: it's maintaining the American position throughout the world.

NSS- Were the forces behind the founding of the CIA mostly economic or political?

S- Well, its a cold war operation. It started as such: it started out of the OSS during WWII, which was a legitimate intelligence operation. There's always a need for intelligence. I don't deny that any government wants to find out what it can from other governments. Part of the trouble with CIA is that its involved in operations around the world: what they call the dirty tricks dep't. You know, overthrowing governments, buying leaders abroad, this sort of thing. To too great an extent the CIA has become a cold war mechanism which means that its no longer intelligence gathering , it's policy creating and implementing. They're setting their own policy. They were setting a certain amount of policy in Vietnam. In fact this was a big problem in Vietnam: the American Ambassador didn't control things. The American military was pushing one way, the CIA was pushing another, Michigan State was pushing a third. But as long as you allow this kind of cold war attitude to dominate, then the cold war instruments per se become the power instruments. They are more instrumental in the cold war than the State Department.

THE ONE FUNCTION

NSS- What role do you think the CIA should play in the government?

S- Intelligence. Period. Strictly.

NSS- How can people work to insure that the CIA is limited to this function?

S- The people aren't interested. They're so caught up with the cold war themselves they don't see whats wrong with it. There was initial reaction the first week when the CIA-NSA thing broke- "My God, this is terrible, what they're doing to our innocent students." Now all the editorials, all the letters to the editor are in terms of "Well, you gotta do it, you're in a nasty difficult world. So you give kp things here and there." This is one of my major concerns: that there has been a subtle shift to the right in this country generally. And part of this shift comes from the cold war pre-occupation, comes from this attitude, "Well yeah you don't wanta give up these freedoms and these libertarian ideas and so forth but you got to."

NSS- How serious is the possibility that the CIA or some other branch of the government-the undercover government-can be used politically here at home to silence or buy off people who threaten the power structure? The example of everyone talking about, you know, who killed Malcom X? Do you think that its function can extend that far?

S- Well sure. I'd believe anything

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at this point. I don't know if its the CIA or the FBI or what. The killing of Malcom X is a story that I don't know if we're ever going to find out. The killing of Jack Kennedy is a story that has a lot of unanswered questions. I think that there is something of this sort about Malcolm X. I have no reason to believe it was CIA or anybody else but he was definitely considered a threat. The major problem of the whole left now is a leader: the lack of a leader. I also think, and this is my only optomistic note, that we're not headed for a Nazi type of reaction here. It's going to be much more subtle. We're gonna have all the trappings and lip service given to liberalism and free speech and an open society and all this. I don't think you'll have the storm troopers.

NSS- Can the CIA be changed without a major change in thinking by the powerful men in our political and economic circles?

S- Well you see I think anti-communism dominates everthing. If you are going to talk about a communist apparatus you gotta have your own apparatus. That's why the CIA becomes an operational mechanism as well as an intelligence gathering onw. And if it isn't the CIA, they shift a lot of it over to the Defense Dep't. As long as this anti-communist syndrome dominates everything the answer to that is no. You may change the CIA but it's going to pop up some other place. We know the country is full of institutes that are cold war oriented.

NSS- Then the CIA couldn't really be changed unless a very, very broad spectrum of other things were changed.

S- It's not a matter of changing CIA, it's a matter of changing attitudes. Going back to Ramparts, that's where we're at. That's what we're after, is to affect attitudes. To get some sense that there's something wrong with the thing that CIA is doing.

C
I
AMERICAN LABOR: a review

Don Boner

For a revealing picture of labor's shameful role in the "holy war against communism" read "The CIA and American Labor -- the Subversion of the AFL - CIO's Foreign Policy", by George Morris. (Int'l Publishers, New World Paperbacks, 381 Park Ave. S, N.Y. 10010, April 1967, $1.25).

The book presents some good labor movement history and depicts the rise of today's labor leaders (including Lovestone, Dubinski, Meany, Green and Gompers), and the roots of labor's current support of the Cold War.

Particularly significant are the chapters on how the anti-communist theory developed in American labor since 1917, and the forms of collaboration with capitalists through yellow dog contracts and company unions. The author describes the AFL fight against the rising industrial unionism of the CIO in the 30's.

He traces the course of the National Civic Federation, a labor-business coalition formed after 1900 which, in the 1930's worked to present a favorable impression of Hitler's new Germany. He describes the collaboration of Matthew Woll, John L. Lewis, and others with J. Edgar Hoover in encouraging Hitler to invade and conquer the Soviet Union and how this coincided with a rise in anti-Semetic feeling within the AFL.

Woll became a close associate of Dave Dubinski of the International Ladies Garment Workers who brought Woll into the International Affairs Dep't of the AFL. Woll developed a network of anti-communist spies all across Europe some time before the CIA was formed. After WWII, this spy network fell right into the plans of the new CIA. Morris vividly describes labor's role in aiding the overthrow of a left - wing government in Honduros and how, later, the AFL - CIO supported the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion during the Kennedy administration.

The author tells how "The Federationist", the AFL magazine, has been used to support the policies of collaboration and trade union capitalism. Particularly offensive was the use of the magazine at the height of McCarthyism and the Korean War when editor William Green campaigned in support of using the Smith Act to jail communists across the country.

Concerning the recent period, Morris is more hopeful. He describes Walter Reuther's increasing disgust at the AFL-CIO's involvement in international sabotage. The explosion finally came late in 1966 when, without authorization of the AFL-CIO executive committee, President George Meany boycotted the meeting of the International Labor Organization, after a Polish delegate was elected chairman. This was the prelude to Reuther's resignation from the executive committee.

The more positive side of the labor movement today comes out at the end of the book, discussing increased union support of the anti - war movement, Reuther's new platform, and growing rank -and- file dissent against the established labor bureaucracy.

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# what's happenin'

**MISSISSIPPI STUDENT REVOLTS**
Special from Dave Doggett

Wednesday night (May 10) the Jackson soul station started giving news bulletins about a demonstration at Jackson State College so Don Cole, my roomate, and I went over to see what was happenin'. When we got there about 300 students and street kids were sitting around the middle of Lynch street, a thoroughfare which runs thru the campus. Police had blocked off the campus with barriers. I found a friend of mine who goes to JSC and here's what he said:

The day before some white guys had sped down Lynch yelling and throwing bricks and they hit one guy and sent him to the infirmary - this of course got everyone pissed off. Then Wednesday night they had student body election speeches, and the girls couldn't get out of the dorms so they had the speeches in front of the girls dorms, which are on Lynch. Right after everybody had left the speeches, two Negro police chased a student for speeding. The student got into his dorm room and the fuzz went in after him and tried to take him out of his room but other students wouldn't let the heat get him. So then everybody who had been at the speeches come back out and the candidates started holding forth about the incident and everybody went out in the street and blocked traffic. Then the police came out in force and put up barriers in the street. Meanwhile the Tougaloo students heard about it on the radio and they commandeered a bus and came to help out. Howard Spencer got there about 12 o' clock and we started feeling very white so we left. After we left they built a bonfire and burned some of the police barriers.

The next day the police took down the barriers and let traffic come through again. It wasn't long before another carload of white kids sped through again yelling and throwing stuff, and this time people threw back. The police came out in force again and put the barriers back up. Things got progressively worse, and people started throwing at the police. They built another bonfire and burned some more saw horses. Then some cop got hit in the head and the police opened fire. Benjamin Brown caught a shotgun blast in the back and died later that night. Two other people got shot but neither wound was fatal. Right after this the national guard, which was standing by, moved in and maintained a curfew.

That night I got in touch with a few people at Millsaps, and we decided to have a protest march against the murder. Friday morning we printed up some leaflets and made some placards and talked everybody we could into marching. At 3 o'clock 22 white Millsaps students marched down the main streets of town, marched around city hall three times and marched back to Millsaps. The variety of participants in the march was amazing. Several of the guys were in fraternities. Right before we got downtown the president of next year's senior class, who had been following in a car and who is a guard on the football team, got out of the car, came to the head of the line, asked me for my sign, and led the march for the rest of the way. A frat rat who is a brown belt karate came up to the front with him and they made sure nobody messed with us. The whole thing was fantastically ironic because two motorcycle cops gave us beautiful protection and the whole purpose of the march

was to protest police brutality.

Meanwhile, down at Mississippi Southern University in Hattiesburg (a white, state school) there were two nights of revolt. It started out as a panty raid and got worse when it turned into a protest against the administration. People threw rocks at the police (of course nobody got shot though) and the students captured a power station and shut down half the campus. The president of Southern is an old military man and runs the campus accordingly. The students were protesting against clothing and conduct regulations, cafeteria food, faculty dismissals, and publications censorship. The president has agreed to meet with the student leaders and work things out. We know some of the leaders of the protest, but we don't have time to go down and see them-we will try to correspond with them.

NASHVILLE

Mike Zagarell, National Youth Director of the Communist Party U.S.A. visited Nashville on May I6-I7 and spoke at Vanderbilt University. He was sponsored by the Vanderbilt Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam, the New Marxist Study Group, the Student Political Education and Action Committee and SSOC. About I500 persons were present to hear Zagarell speak on "Communism and American Democracy". At least II00 of these remained after a group of approximately 400 waving American flags exited in the middle of the speech. While in Nashville, Zagarell held two press conferences and was trailed about by police, reporters and various unidentified persons.

As soon as the Nashville Banner began its usual red-baiting on the basis of Zagarell's speaking engagement at Vanderbilt, strange things began to occur at the SSOC house. The night of a poster party preparing for the speech, three husky strangers showed up at the house claiming that they were baseball players in town for a game. They said they had been told they might find free lodging overnight at the SSOC house, but since they were consuming large quantities of beer and asking suspicious questions they were cast (politely) into the street and told there was "no more room at the inn". About I:30 A.M. that night (May I0) they returned cursing and throwing beer bottles and broke out several windows, including the large front window which was shattered by a cement block. When the police were called, they took a comfortable I5 minutes to arrive although they had been waiting around the corner earlier for a chance to move in. Strangely enough, no report was filed on the incident. The next night (May II) a station wagon pulled up across the street and about eight belligerent guys got out and started towards the house. This time the police were called before anything got started and a report was made. However, there was no real action to report except a stick thrown against a window. Since this time there have been several bomb threats, so if all reports from the SSOC house suddenly cease use your imagination.

VIETNAM SUMMER

Vietnam Summer is an accelerated attempt to broaden the constituency of the anti-war movement. Unlike the Mississippi Summer, this project anticipates that people will stay and work in their own or their college communities. What this means for SSOC is that rather than hosting an influx of Northern missionaries, we will very likely be able to receive financial assistance to help Southern Students work in Southern communities. Projects and activities will of course vary with each volunteer and with each community. Suggested areas of concentration include: (I) draft counselling and draft resistance work,

(2) assistance in the formation of local anti-war committees, (3) helping make available Peace and Draft literature, (4) films and speakers, (5) research into the discriminatory composition of the local draft board, (6) and exposure of the university's involvement with the war machinery. Althoug lagging far behind the national percentage, South ern opposition to the war and the draft has been growing. This summer, it is imperative that we further build and increase the power and visibility of that opposition. Vietnam Summer will likely be coordinated in the South by SSOC and Operation Open Debate of SCEF in cooperation with other groups such as AFSC and local committees. The Vietnam Summer budget provides tentatively for $25 a week salaries for summer workers. If you would like to work this summer to build the base of the Southern anti - war movement, let us know immediately:
Where would you like to work?
When can you start working?
When would you stop?
What would you like to do in the community?
Can you raise money locally or work without salary?
Local chapters should discuss ideas for summer vietnam programs and keep the SSOC office posted on what you plan to do. If you are interested and want to recieve further information, write "Vietnam Summer", c/o SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn, 37212. (Please write even if you signed the list at the convention.) Tom Gardner, SSOC chairman, is coordinating Vietnam Summer in the South. He is now in Cambridge where he has the use of a WATS line to make contacts. We should be recieving materials for a mailing shortly. Ben Ragsdale will be travelling in Virginia, David Doggett is working in Mississippi, and Alan (Nik) Levin is the contact for Florida. Interested persons in these states should get in touch with them at the following addresses:

Ben Ragsdale
Box 101
Randolph-Macon College
Hanover, Virginia Ph. 537-3141

David Doggett
Boc 15085
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss. Ph. 352-9788

Alan (Nik) Levin
Box 13636
University Station
Gainesville, Fla.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

For those who would like national news and views, the following three papers are recommended:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN - 197 E. 4th St, New York, N.Y. $7.00 a year. weekly

THE MOVEMENT - 449 14th Street, San Francisco, Calif. $2.00 a year. monthly

NEW LEFT NOTES - 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. $5.00 a year ($1.00 a year to SDS members). weekly

NEW LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM SSOC:

THE NEW NONVIOLENCE
by Dave Dellinger - 10¢

VIETNAM: THE MYTH AND REALITY OF AMERICAN POLICY
by Dave Nolan - 10¢

UNIVERSITY REFORM: A PLATFORM STATEMENT
by Alan Ogden - 10¢

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ATLANTA SSOC BUTTON:

"A FREE UNIVERSITY IN A FREE SOUTH" may be ordered from the Nashville office at 25¢ each.

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"While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." - Eugene V. Debs

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# VIETNAM SUMMER

NAME

PRESENT MAILING ADDRESS

SUMMER OR HOME ADDRESS

PRESENT PHONE SUMMER OR HOME PHONE

DATE LEAVING PRESENT ADDRESS AGE

OCCUPATION

GEOGRAPHIC AREA(S) I CAN WORK IN THIS SUMMER

MY EXPERIENCE IN PEACE, CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS (LIST IN DETAIL TOGETHER WITH REFERENCES AND THEIR PHONE NUMBERS):

WORK I WOULD LIKE TO DO DURING VIETNAM SUMMER:

I CAN WORK FULL-TIME PART-TIME STARTING

I WANT TO WORK FULL-TIME AND CAN RAISE TO SUPPORT MYSELF

I WANT TO WORK AS A VIETNAM SUMMER FIELD SECRETARY. PLEASE SEND ME A SPECIAL APPLICATION

I WANT TO HELP ORGANIZE A VIETNAM SUMMER PROJECT IN MY AREA OF

PLEASE SEND ME MORE INFORMATION

I CAN PROVIDE ROOM BOARD FOR VIETNAM SUMMER WORKERS IN MY HOME AT

Mail to: VIETNAM SUMMER, 129 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138 Telephone 617-492-6700

# VIETNAM SUMMER

## VIETNAM SUMMER 1967

**The Vietnam Summer Project is a concerted national effort to reach out to the silent Americans who are growing more and more worried about the Administration's war in Vietnam.**

**VIETNAM SUMMER** WILL BE thousands of people in neighborhoods all across the country stimulating discussion, debate, education, and action.

**VIETNAM SUMMER** WILL INVOLVE students, workers, professionals, housewives, clergy, and all others who oppose the war.

**VIETNAM SUMMER** WILL ORGANIZE petition drives, grass-roots congressional hearings, draft opposition, and referenda on the war.

**VIETNAM SUMMER** WILL BUILD a movement to release the voice of the American people.

**IT CAN bring peace to the people of Vietnam.**

Vietnam Summer, like the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964, needs thousands of student volunteers to make the project a success. Unlike the Mississippi Summer, however, this project anticipates that students will stay and work in their home or university communities. Vietnam Summer embraces a variety of people who are interested in several different projects. These range from broad, electorally-oriented educational projects aimed at middle-class adults to draft opposition. What all of these activities share in common is a sense that the anti-war movement must deepen and broaden its organizing work dramatically this summer. Vietnam Summer will train organizers, develop educational materials, and provide funds for many types of activities, including:

COMMUNITY TEACH-OUTS. Starting with door-to-door canvassing to identify those with doubts about the war, "teach-outs" proceed to neighborhood educational meetings and seminars. When a group is ready for action, possibilities include petition campaigns; public referenda on the war; leafletting campaigns in public places; resolutions against the war by local Democratic and Republican committees; candidates in 1967 municipal elections; community speak-outs and panel discussions on the war; consumer boycotts of companies directly involved in war production; sending medical and other aid to civilian victims of the war.

ORGANIZING PROJECTS in Poor and Working Class Communities. Vietnam Summer will work with unions and community organizations that want to begin anti-war education and action programs. Vietnam Summer will also undertake extensive work in black ghettoes around issues related to the war.

DRAFT OPPOSITION. Vietnam Summer will provide an opportunity for work by the increasing number of students who have conscientiously questioned the war. Organizers will locate young people opposed to the war in various communities and set up education and action programs around issues of the draft and the war.

**VIETNAM SUMMER NEEDS:**

- **Ten thousand volunteer organizers to work part-time in 500 communities across the country. They will be the heart of the program. Volunteer organizers will go door to door, and organize meetings and action projects.**
- **One thousand full-time organizers to spearhead local programs. Subsistence support will be available for some of these organizers. Community groups will also seek out local residents willing to provide room and board. Some organizers will find jobs in factories, stores, etc., where they can organize among fellow workers.**
- **200 experienced Field Secretaries to take major responsibility for helping local projects. Field Secretaries will receive subsistence plus travel expenses as needed.**

If you live in an area where there is no Vietnam Summer project, you can organize one. Form a group with others in your community who oppose the war, and set up your own VIETNAM SUMMER project. If you need help in setting up the project, raising funds, recruiting staff, etc., contact the national headquarters in Cambridge, Mass. The national office can also supply you with the names of key contacts and projects in your areas, with literature and projects kits. Limited staff and funds will be available to local projects.

**Send the application on the reverse side to the national office of VIETNAM SUMMER, 129 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Tel. 617-492-6700.**

SCHOLARSHIP,
EDUCATION AND
DEFENSE
FUND FOR
RACIAL EQUALITY inc.
150 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
TELEPHONE 964-8210

STUDENTS

June 23, 1967

Dear Friends:

A new generation of Negro leaders is one of the fruits of the civil rights struggle of the sixties. Through SEDFRE's Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarship Program, we have singled out some of the most promising of these developing leaders for help in obtaining higher education.

James Reed and Joyce Amos are typical of this generation. Under duress they have shown stunning gifts of leadership. Their family incomes do not even provide subsistence, but they are determined to attend college and to achieve their dreams for a better society.

James Reed just completed his first year at Tougaloo College. But he is one of eleven children of a Greenwood, Mississippi family and he will be forced to drop out if aid is not found for next year.

Since he turned 15 in 1963, young Reed has been active in every phase of civil rights work. Every day after school and after working the cotton fields to help support his family, he joined other workers in door-to-door canvases, often in dangerous plantation areas. He talked with people about their lives and about the need to vote and about equal rights never acknowledged in Mississippi. Often he went out on his own to have a heart-to-heart talk with the Negro farmers about their problems. Twice he received jail sentences, stinging rebuffs to his courage.

His dedication and his capacity for work impressed his fellow workers. He was selected for an Upward Bound program. One supporter puts the case for Mr. Reed succinctly: "His strength of character, courage and desire can be multiplied many times if he is allowed to continue in college".

Joyce Marie Amos of Jonesboro, Louisiana, has been accepted at Northeastern State College, a recently integrated college in her state. During a successful high school boycott for better education in 1965, she led the students, picketed, marched and as a member of the student executive council negotiated with the school board.

*Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes*

■ *president;* Andrew E. Norman ■ *vice presidents;* William S. Ellis, Nannette Sachs ■ *secretary;* Ezra Levin ■ *treasurer;* Shelley Appleton ■ *executive director;* Marvin Rich ■ *leadership development director;* Ronnie M. Moore ■ *legal director;* Carl Rachlin ■ *BOARD OF DIRECTORS;* Nils R. Douglas, *chairman* ■ John P. Allison ■ Robert Ausnit ■ James Baldwin ■ Katrina McCormick Barnes ■ Canon James P. Breeden ■ Dr. Kenneth B. Clark ■ Robert Curvin ■ Charlotte Devree ■ Robert F. Drinan, S. J. ■ John Henry Faulk ■ Michael O. Finkelstein ■ Doris Freedman ■ Dr. Edward L. Gibson ■ James T. Harris ■ Claude Heckscher ■ Norman Hill ■ Clarence B. Jones ■ Dr. Archie Lacey ■ Joann List Levinson ■ Henry Morgenthau, III ■ Dr. William Stuart Nelson ■ Richard J. Schwartz ■ Elaine Slater ■ Norman Thomas ■ Rowland Watts ■ Pearl L. Willen

She reports, in an off-hand way, that on her way home from a demonstration, "a white gentleman hit me with his car and I was forced onto his hood. He drove me around the city for about 20 blocks at speeds up to 65 m.p.h."

Miss Amos is not off-hand about her ambition: "I hope to aid the Negroes in my state who are illiterate and those who aren't registered because my state is very lowly rated in these areas".

Presently available SEDFRE funds are committed to the continuing education of 50 Eleanor Roosevelt Scholars now attending colleges and universities. Additional money is needed immediately to start these and other highly qualified applicants on their way up in September.

We share with these young leaders responsibility for the quality of the American future. Their potential contribution depends directly on our financial support at this moment in their lives. Each student requires approximately $1,000 a year, this means $500 each semester. We have many outstanding applicants, and your reply today will help determine how many students receive Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarships this fall.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
Executive Director

BACKGROUND MEMO ON FORMER GOVERNOR JAMES PLEMON COLEMAN OF ACKERMAN, MISSISSIPPI, NOMINATED ON FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1965 BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES FIFTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS

President Johnson's appointment of Former Governor James Plemon Coleman of Mississippi as a judge of the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals seems most regrettable. Throughout his long career as a public official Coleman has held virtually every type of office in the state of Mississippi. Coleman has voiced and shown by his action his commitment to white supremacy based upon race and color. Mr. Coleman stands out as the architect of much, if not most, of Mississippi's defenses against desegregation and equal rights for all her citizens.

The fact that there is not a single Federal judge in the state of Mississippi - nor indeed any federal judicial official - who is Negro appears as a shocking background to the Presidential appointment of Mr. Coleman. Moreover, the fact that there is no federal judge, either in the District Courts or in the Court of Appeals, in the entire Fifth Circuit who is Negro is of even further concern. (Southern Regional Council 1965 Special Report on the Southern Judiciary.)

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals is responsible for rendering final decisions (subject only to limited Supreme Court review) and for reviewing and guiding the course and timing of most of the civil rights litigation in the United States. The Fifth Circuit also encompasses the two worst states in the nation in terms of denial of civil rights - Mississippi and Alabama.

Following this opening note and preceeding the detailed materials, there appears a brief collection of some of the most pointed items concerning Mr. Coleman. These materials are in chronological order and were gathered from an incomplete reading of the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger. The Clarion-Ledger is the largest newspaper in the state and is designated by the Legislature for official state notices and publications.

This memo is by no means exhaustive of Mr. Coleman's background in regard to his human rights position.

Washington Human Rights Project
819 Independence, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003
543-2203

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August 7, 1955

p. 12

(Re: School desegregation)

"In my opinion," he said, "this issue which has been forced upon us will be settled one way or the other in 16 months or two years... and based on the studies I have made and the experience I have had fighting integration attempts I can say without hesitation that if I am elected Governor the schools of Mississippi will never be integrated nor will they be closed."

January 3, 1956

(Note: Following are excerpts from Coleman's Inaugural Address as Governor.)

p. 6

I come now to a discussion of ...the continued separation of the white and Negro races in accordance with those customs which the experience of ninety years has taught us all, white and colored alike, to be for the welfare of all concerned.

My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1955 I said in my official platform: 'There will be no mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead.'"

I further told the people that if elected governor, with the cooperation of a good legislature, we would maintain the separation of the races WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING OUR STATE, ITS ECONOMY, ITS CUSTOMS, AND ITS PRACTICES, IN A DAILY UPROAR OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. I say to this audience and to those who are listening by radio and television that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exacty (sic) the same manner and form as we know it today."

October 26, 1956

p. 29

Coleman said recently, "I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

June 21, 1957

p. 1

Coleman said further that he does not favor Negroes voting in this state and that he hopes that there will never be a strong Republican Party in Mississippi. "The reasons that the Negro should not vote in that state are obvious," he said. "If they vote in numbers, they will vote as a block, and you will see politicians playing up to them as in the Northern states now."

November 19, 1957

p. 1

Governor Coleman also warned of the expanding Negro vote in the state and suggested constitutional revision to cope with this threat.

He declared circuit clerks who now act as registrars, not being lawyers, could be intimidated into allowing "wholesale voting of unqualified voters" - obviously Negroes - under the Civil Rights Act. He proposed three-man registrar boards, with one member a lawyer, but did not say how they would operate.

November 21, 1958

p. 1

Governor J.P. Coleman promised Thursday that Mississippi would maintain segregation despite the efforts of his political enemies who agitate "to improve their political chances."

". . . We are going to keep the schools in Mississippi open, and we are going to operate them on a segregated basis."

June 30, 1959

p. 7

(Note: The following is taken from a television speech by Coleman.)

"I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destory my place in the affections of my fellow Mississipians by claiming that I am a "moderate." Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist. They have made a great sham of this, and every time they can get a chance they tri to stir it up. I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what the record says . . . I stand on a record of performance and I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that non of my friends have called me that."

March 17, 1963

p. 1

Former Governor J. P. Coleman Thursday night promised there will be no racial integration of public schools in Mississippi during the next four years if he gets a second term in the governor's office.

"There will be no necessity to abolish the public schools," he promised again Thursday. "Nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state-operated educational institutions. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

July 10, 1963

p. 1

Former Governor J. P. Coleman said Tuesday his opponents have taken a defeatist attitude on the race issue. Speaking at Monticello, Morgantown, and McComb, Coleman said he is the only candidate "with hope of stemming widespread integration and the ability and experience to do it. My opponents say that I cannot stop it," he declared, "because they have apparently lost hope and have offered no plan or suggestion for maintaining separation of the races."

June 2, 1954

p. 1

Attorney General J.P. Coleman told a television audience here Tuesday night that the Congress of the United States never intended that the 14th amendment to the Constitution be used as applicable to public schools. He declared further that Mississippi will maintain segregation in the schools, regardless of the U.S. Supreme Court.

p. 16

Coleman said that there is plenty that the sovereign states can do to counteract the Supreme Court decision. "Separate education for the races can be maintained in Mississippi," he declared solemnly.

June 3, 1954

(Note: This story reports Governor White's calling a meeting of his Legal Advisory Committee on Education. J.P. Coleman, according to The Clarion-Ledger, besides being a regular member of this committee, also served on two sub-committees, the planning and statutory committee and the resolutions committee. The following policy statement was issued by the committee:)

p. 1

"The committee conceives its duty to be to devise the means and methods by which separate schools for the races shall be maintained in that state and to submit such plan to the Legislature for its action thereon."

(Note: The following statement concerns the committee's view on school desegregation.)

p. 14

The committee was unanimous in its opinion that Mississippi should not attempt to work with the Supreme Court, as the states have been invited to do, to solve the integration problem.

May 11, 1955

(Note: The Clarion Ledger reported the following story concerning the opening of Coleman's campaign for Governor. The speech quoted was made at Ackerman, Mississippi, Coleman's hometown.)

p. 3

Coleman set forth that he is the only candidate officially facing up to the court and called to attention his move enlisting all attorneys to provide legal aid against desegregation.

May 11, 1955 (con't)

"when you go to the polls on August 2, you ballot most certainly will determine the education of your children and the maintenance of segregation for the next four years, possibly for the next 50 years," he said.

"I have said that those who propose to mix the races in our public schools had might as well try to dip the Atlantic dry with a teaspoon."

"I here and now give the people of Mississippi my solemn pledge that if I am elected governor there will be no necessity to abolish the public schools, nor will there be any mixing of the races in those schools," Coleman declared.

June 10, 1965

(Note: The following has been extracted from a Clarion- Ledger account of a meeting of five gubernatorial candidates at Canton, Mississippi.)

p. 1

J. P. Coleman, the third candidate to speak, cited his experience in defending the segregation laws of Mississippi, and declared that so long as he is governor,"no Negro will ever enter the white schools of this state."

p. 12

Attorney General Coleman said that "In this segregation issue, we are put on notice that the Supreme Court proposes to change the South's social face rather than its legal face.

Coleman said that the issue has been brought on us by the courts "and we must resist in the courts."

June 29, 1955

(Note: On june 28, 1955, Coleman spoke at Laurel, Mississippi. Part of his speech concerned the school integration issue.)

p. 7

"We have already planned our strategy. First, we will stand on the provisions of our state constitution. When the U.S. Supreme Court strikes that down, then we will start assignments under the Gore Act, which is perfectly constitutional law. Should that fail, we can adopt a school on the local option plan, get it out of the clutches of the Federal Courts, and immediately re-establish it with a new set of trustees."

July 27, 1955

p. 11

(Subject: School segregation)

Earlier today at Bruce, Coleman said that he believes that the assignment bill adopted by the Mississippi Legislature, known as the Gore Bill, will take care of the segregation problem for 25 years to come.

Candidate Coleman charged that no other candidate in the race for governor has the experience to combat the integration attempts which will be forthcoming in this state.

August 7, 1955

p. 12

(Subject: School desegregation)

"In my opinion this issue which has been forced upon us will be settled one way or the other in 16 months of two years. . . and based on the studies I have made and the experience I have had fighting integration attempts I can say without hesitation that if I am elected governor the schools of Mississippi will never be integrated nor will they be closed."

August 13, 1955

Coleman also spent considerable time reviewing his record as an opponent of racial segregation.

"Where was my distinguished opponent in 1951?" Coleman asked rhetorically, "When I stood alone before a hostile U.S. Supreme Court and showed those Communist lawyers they could not fool . . . with the great state of Mississippi." He repeated his account of how he interrupted his campaign during the first primary to drive all night to Vicksburg and dispose of a petition by Negroes there to integrate the schools.

"I handled that situation in less than twelve hours," he declared. "It was the shortest integration attempt in the history of the South."

September 22, 1955

(Note: The Committee referred to in the story is the Governor's Legal Advisory Committee on Education.)

p. 1

The Committee, upon the recommendation of Coleman, voted to ask the legislators to:

September 22, 1955 (con't)

1. Abolish common-law marriages by statute.

2. Enact laws penalizing champerty and the stirring up of litigation against the state and any of its sub-divisions and against unauthorized practices of law in this state by any attorneys from outside.

3. Enact statutes penalizing person who use abusive language over the telephone.

4. Effect laws giving the state authority to arrest the officers of the Federal Bureau of Identification (sic) for interfering with the rights of individuals in this state.

5. Authorize creation of a council for the maintenance of segregation.

6. Authorize the secretary to the Legal Education Advisory Committee to form liaison (sic) between southern states as an interstate commission to fight integration.

7. Repeal the compulsory school attendance act.

September 2, 1955

p. 1

(Note: The statement referred to below was by U. S. Attorney General Brownell who called for investigation of Negro voting in the recent Mississippi primary.)

"I think Mississippi is perfectly capable of conducting its own elections without any assistance from the NAACP or its sympathisers."

Coleman said he hadn't read the statement but that he knew of "no violation of anybody's civil rights in connection with Mississippi's primary."

October 22, 1955

p. 9

Attorney General J. P. Coleman, as the next governor of Mississippi, will recommend to the 1956 legislature that the common-law marriage in the state be outlawed. The action would be directed toward continuing of segregation in the schools of the state and would be a part of several facets of the overall state plan to defeat efforts of the NAACP and the Supreme Court of the United States to break down racial discrimination.

December 19, 1955

p. 1

Governor-Elect J. P. Coleman declared that he agrees with former Governor Fielding Wright's suggestion that Mississippi join with Virginia in seeking a constitutional amendment on the preservation of state's rights and segregation.

"Let there be no misunderstanding. I am for segregation. Mississippi will never integrate. I told the people last summer that we would preserve segregation and that it would be done by lawful means. The people in Mississippi approved my position by a resounding majority.

January 3, 1956

(Source: Coleman's Inaugural address as Governor)

p. 6

"I come now to a discussion of that governmental question which continuously for months has been uppermost in the minds of the people of Mississippi and which no doubt is destined to vex and harass us in the years immediately ahead. I refer to maintaining the continued separation of the white and Negro races in accordance with those customs which the experience of ninety years has taught us all, white and colored alike, to be for the welfare of all concerned."

"My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1955 I said in my official platform:'There will be no necessity to abolish public schools, nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead.'"

"This position was given overwhelming support of the people of Mississippi at the ballot boxes last August."

"I further told the people that if elected governor, with the cooperation of a good Legislature, we would maintain the separation of the races WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING OUR STATE, ITS ECONOMY, ITS CUSTOMS, AND ITS PRACTICES IN A DAILY UPROAR OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. I say to this audience and to those who are listening by radio and television that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this ame spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exacty (sic) the same manner and form as we know it today."

January 21, 1956

p. 1

Governors of four southern states, including Mississippi's James Plemon Coleman, will sit down for a round-table discussion of educational and segregation problems at Richmond, Virginia Tuesday.

He said that the whole purpose of the meeting of governors, whose state legislatures are now all in session, is to unify and to correlate their efforts toward maintaining segregation in the schools of the South.

January 23, 1956

p. 1

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 24 (AP) - Four southern governors tonight agreed to seek joint action by their states to protest and appeal the Supreme Court decision throwing out school segregation.

They also agreed to take whatever individual state action by legislative means they deemed necessary to prevent mixing the races in their public schools.

The decision was announced at the end of a six-hour conference among Governors Thomas B. Stanley, Virginia; George Bell Timmerman, Jr., South Carolina; J. P. Coleman, Mississippi; and Marvin Griffin, Georgia.

p. 3

Timmerman read this statement at the close of the session:

"This conference, composed of the governors of the four Southern states whose legislatures are in regular session does declare:

"That the states have not delegated to the federal government or any agency thereof the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in the public schools and we, therefore, shall recommend to the legislatures of our respective states that the following action be taken:

"1. That there be adopted a resolution of interposition of protest in appropriate language against the encroachment of the central government upon the sovereignty of the several states and their people.

2. That a call be made upon the Congress of the United States to take such action within the limits of its constitutional authority as to protect the states and her people against present and future encroachment by the central government.

January 25, 1956 (cont'd)

"3. That each state exercise its right to enact and utilize such other appropriate legal measures as it may deem advisable to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people."

January 27, 1956

p. 1

Governor J.P. Coleman just returned from a conference of Southern governors, said here Thursday that he will support any move toward the exercise of interposition to maintain segregation in the South and in this state.

He said that while there are no such legal terms as interposition or nullification, that he has never objected to the use of the term interposition and that we will support it in the terms he understands are implied.

Interposition, he explained, is a stand interposing rights of the people of the use of every legal means by the state to protest the rights of the state against an "unconstitutional edict of the U.S. Supreme Court."

Coleman said the governors of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina agreed with him that they should let the nation know "In no uncertain terms that the Supreme Court ban on segregation is unconstitutional and that we will oppose it with every legal means available."

February 15, 1956

p. 1

Professors in state-owned and operated institutions of Higher Learning who wish to act as a sounding board for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are not wanted, Governor J.P. Coleman told newsmen here Tuesday.

The state's chief executive thus backed up the Mississippi legislature in its resolutions of "good riddance" of two college officials, Morton King, of the University of Miss. and William Buchanan, of Miss. State College, both of whom have resigned in protest against screening of speakers in the two institutions.

"they just staged a sympathy strike on behalf of the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, whom Ole Miss barred after he announced he belonged to the NAACP," Coleman declared.

Coleman told newsmen that "I worked hard to get Kershaw here, and then he wrote the silliest letter I ever read, announcing his NAACP stand."

February 15, 1956 (cont'd)

"I really don't believe Kershaw wrote the letter he sent us," Coleman said. "It reads like it was NAACP-inspired."

Governor Coleman reminded his audience that the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State College are state-owned.

"They belong to the people, and the people of Mississippi have the right to demand that teachers expounding against our way of life be ousted," he said.

February 22, 1956

p. 1

Governor J. P. Coleman declared Tuesday that if a Negro succeeds in entering any institution of higher learning or any common school in Mississippi, the seat of learning would be immediately abolished.

"Not only would the legislature refuse to appropriate funds to operate an interracial institution," he cited, "but lawmakers would insist on the immediate cessation of teaching activities there."

February 25, 1956

p. 1

Governor J. P. Coleman signed a bill repealing the compulsory school attendance laws -- a move to protect the state integration cases.

The bill was proposed by the Legal Education Advisory Committee, set up to find ways to evade the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in schools. Members argued last year that the state would have firmer legal standing in integration cases if it did not require children - Negro and white - to attend school.

April 27, 1956

p. 1

Governor J. P. Coleman revealed here late Thursday that he has turned down speaking engagement on the segregation issue in at least six states, including Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York.

He gave as his reason the fact that he does not believe the governor of Mississippi should be attempting to influence the people of another state on any issue.

"That is just what we are objecting to in Mississippi," he said. "We don't want outsiders coming in and telling us waht to do. By the same token, I don't propose to be going to other states for such a purpose. Anyway, why discuss a proposition on which we permit no argument."

May 3, 1956

p. 1

(Note: Story by the Associated Press)

The 12-member Mississippi State Sovereignty commission, created to protect states' rights from Federal "encroachment," organized behind closed doors Wednesday and prepared to hire a full-time staff.

Governor J. P. Coleman, who advocated open meetings of all state organizations during his campaign last summer, barred the press from the meeting, saying he would issue a statement later.

He was automatically named chairman of the group and chairman of a subcommittee to select an "outstanding attorney with wide federal court experience" to work with the attorney general in fighting court cases attacking the sovereignty of Mississippi.

The SCC, empowered to resist any Federal laws of court decisions contrary to Mississippi law and tradition, was created to replace the disbanded Legal Education Advisory Committee, itself set up to seek means of evading the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

May 28, 1956

The Governor of Mississippi Sunday called the defeat of the two North Carolina Congressmen, a warning to the Democratic party not to "insult the South's convictions."

Governor J. P. Coleman issued a statement about the defeat of U. S. Representatives Thurmond D. Chatham and Charles B. Deane, both North Carolina Democrats who refused to sign the Southern Manifesto which pledged 101 southern lawmakers to resist the school segregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. The Congressmen were defeated for re-nomination in North Carolina's Democratic primary voting yesterday. Coleman, a life-long Democrat who helped keep Mississippi in the party in 1952, said: "The action of the voters in a moderate state like North Carolina in defeating two members of Congress because of their refusal to sign the Southern Manifesto should be notice to certain figures in the Democratic party that the South has no intention of submitting to an unconstitutional Supreme Court decision" (on segregation.)

July 17, 1956

p. 1

In concerted efforts to present a united front at the national convention, Mississippi Democrats in convention here Monday divided posts of honor among rival factions and effected compromises on several non-vital issues.

July 17, 1956 (cont'd)

On the really important points, they stood together, including strong resolutions on segregation and states' rights, an uninstructed, unit-rule delegation, a recessed convention subject to recall after the national conventions, and freedom of states' righters to express their views and yet remain in the party fold.

As expected, Governor Coleman held a majority in the convention.

September 12, 1956

p. 1

Governor J. P. Coleman said here late today that he does not anticipate any attempts to integrate the common schools of this state "now or at any time in the foreseeable future."

"Our firm policy of state government which has the backing of all of our people will forestall that," he said.

Coleman also reminded his audience that the school abolition act of 1954 which would allow the states to transfer the school to private status is also a deterrent to any attempts at integration.

"Our Negro leaders know that to attempt to integrate would only cause their children to lose out on schooling altogether," the chief executive of Mississippi said.

"We will have segregation in Mississippi so long as our people want it," Coleman declared. He said that Mississippi has many ways of defending itself against any attempts at integration, but that he would not reveal them until such time as needed to be put into effect.

October 8, 1956

p. 1

Governor J. P. Coleman Sunday told 20 visiting New England editors and publishers that Mississippi will keep racial segregation"for at least the next 50 years."

Coleman said, "That doesn't mean I think it will end then; I just don't think I can speak for the period beyond that."

"As far as I am concerned, there will (be) no integration in Mississippi. I don't say that boastfully, but because it is for the best interest of the state."

The journalists are guests of the State Sovereignty Commission which was created by the 1956 legislature to preserve Mississippi's states'-rights--- primarily segregation.

Coleman a six-foot two inch one-time Mississippi plowboy wrote most of Mississippi's new segregation laws during his term of attorney general.

October 14, 1956

p. 1

He (Coleman) told them of new laws -- most of which he wrote as attorney general and then signed when his people promoted him to governor--to keep Negroes out of white schools. They include authority for the legislature to abolish public schools.

October 25, 1956

p. 1

Holding that Mississippi is the only Southern state that still retains 100 percent segregation, Coleman also attacked states' righters for attempting to make integration a campaign issue.

"They are picking flaws in perfection," the governor declared "We haven't had one school integrated; yet, they cry integration Democrats in Mississippi have enacted integration laws as regards our schools that no States Righter has been able to improve upon or even suggest an improvement (sic)." Coleman declared What can the States Righters find wrong with the 100 percent segregation now in effect in this state? Coleman asked.

October 26, 1956

p. 29

Coleman said recently, "I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility.

November 20, 1956

p. 1

(Attorney General Herbert) Brownell has summoned U. S. attorneys of 14 Southern states to appear in Washington on December 10 to map plans of action for enforcing desegregation on busses and other public carriers.

Late Monday afternoon, no action had been taken by the State Sovereignty Commission toward an early meeting to cope with the new problems. Hal DeCell, publicity director, said that his office had received no notice of the Brownell action. The Sovereignty Commission, created to keep Mississippi segregated, has not held a meeting in several weeks. Gov. J. P. Coleman, nominal head of the commission, was not immediately available for comment.

December 30, 1956

p. 27

(Note: the following quotations were taken from an article about Governor Coleman by Phil Stroupe of the Jackson Daily News)

The Governor (Coleman) interpreted the "reason we have not had integration in Mississippi."

1) Because integrationists realize the resistance that would be given by Mississippians. 2) Our Colored citizens are well pleased and decline to become plaintiffs or guinea pigs of outside agitators. Although the U. S. Supreme Court decision was handed down on May 17, 1954, Mississippi still stands 100 per cent segregated. The Governor said he "honestly believes segregation will stick in Mississippi."

June 21, 1957

p. 1

Mississippi can and will legally sidestep integration of her schools, even as this state has done at the ballot box, Gov. J. P. Coleman said here late Thursday. Gov. Coleman declared that any state in the Union may avoid integration by taking full advantage of the legal opportunities available to it. He said that the state of Mississippi has a perfect example in the voter laws which have remained partically (sic) impregnable to the would-be Negro balloteer since 1890. He said that there has been no appreciable increase in the Negro vote in this state despite an all-out effort by the NAACP, because the state constitution make s no provision on voting or elections that refers in any way to race.

Coleman said further that he does not favor Negroes voting in this state and that he hopes that there will never be a strong Republican Party in Mississippi. "The reasons that the Negro should not vote in th s state are obvious," he said "If they vote in numbers, they will vote as a block and you will see politicans (sic) laying up to them as in the Northern states now."

He said that despite all efforts, Mississippi is legally conducting elections in which the Negro is unable to dominate the picture. He declared that by the same token, the schools can be kept from being integrated. "It would be utterly impossible to integrate the schools of any state or this state now, if the state will take the right legal approach," Coleman said.

(Note: Coleman was asked if a special session of the legislature might be called in case the Civil Rights Law is enacted. Excerpts from his answer follow.)

"If I deemed it necessary for the protection of segregation in this state, I would certainly not (p. 11) hesitate to call a special session of the legislature," he said.

June 24, 1957

p. 1

(Comments on Coleman's appearance on Meet the Press, June 23)

He (Coleman) said he considered most Mississippi Negroes unqualified to vote....He declared schools in this state will not be integrated in the lifetime of any person now living.

August 2, 1957

p. 1

(At the midway mark of his administration, Coleman comments )

He points with particular pride to the fact that Mississippi has continued to enjoy segregation of the races without incident "We have not been to the federal courthouse the first time," he says. He thinks that the State Sovereignty Commission, which at times has been beset by controversy, has been serving its purpose as a sort of "watchdog" over segregation. And, further, he thinks that it must be continued in that role. "We cannot afford to abandon our watch and be caught unprepared," he says.

September 27, 1957

(Members of panel of Mississippians were told Thursday night that:)

1. Our unanimity is creating a climate calculated to prevent or minimize racial disturbances.
2. Gov. Coleman will immediately invoke the constitutional authority to close any school at which integration appears imminent, leaving empty classrooms into which troops could march Negro children.
3. Specific plans for handling school integration problems are laid, but will not be "telegraphed to our enemies" by publicity.
4. President Eisenhower went beyond his constitutional authority and congressional intent in sending troops to Arkansas, but there seems no effective remedy at hand.

These points and many others favorable to the maintenance in Mississippi of segregation in public schools were made by a panel of public leaders, questioned by a quartet of citizens of the state on a statewide TV hookup, broadcast without commercial sponsorship as a public service. The program had Governor Coleman, flanked by Senator James O. Eastland and Cong. John Bell Williams on the official panel. It was Coleman who emphasized the fact that Mississippi will never have integrated schools because citizens voted a constitutional amendment to close the schools first. "I doubt," said he, " that the President would get any satisfaction out of guarding any empty school." Governor Coleman said Mississippi has taken the lead in segregation legislation and he praised members of the legislature for their work. He said the big question is whether or not we can preserve our schools if we have to close them for integration threats.

p. 6

(The following excerpts are taken from an Associated Press story concerning Coleman's statement on the Little Rock integration crisis.)

Governor Coleman Thursday warned that race-mixers "no doubt are trying to goad Mississippi into furnishing an excuse for sending federal troops to integrate the state's schools.

September 27, 1957 (cont'd)

The "unfortunate turn of events in Little Rock has not changed the firm resolution of the State of Mississippi to control its internal affairs in public schools and otherwise. The people of Mississippi may be assured that the Governor and the Legislature have no intention of surrendering at any time or any place to any unjustified, illegal, unconstitutional interference with the rights of this state and of its people. The Governor and the Legislature are in constant conference to this end. Success will not be attained by loud talk and muddy thinking but by well planned action.

August 29, 1957

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman plans to name committees in every county and call mass meetings throughout the state to prepare Mississippi's defenses against the new civil rights bill.

(Discussing proposed changes in Mississippi constitution:) Coleman also has said the constitutional provision for separate Negro and white schools should be removed because similar provisions in other Southern states have been the basis for overthrow of segregation laws.

"If the Negro can command the vote under this civil rights bill, then he can, as a matter of course, get everything else."

August 30, 1957

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman hinted today he may seek a change in the way Mississippians are registered to vote as a part of the state's defense against civil rights legislation. The governor told the Calhoun City Rotary Club he may ask that the registration function be taken from circuit clerks under the new constitution he hopes to have written. Instead, a three-man commission or board would meet at a regular time once a month to accept registrations.

August 31, 1957

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman said Friday he will call Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission into session "at the earliest possible time to consider the situation" growing out of civil rights legislation. He also outlined plans for a statewide committee of lawyers, one from each of Mississippi's 82 counties, to study "this civil rights bill in all its implications and what we've got to do to protect ourselves against it."

August 31, 1957 (cont'd)

Asked today if he thought the civil rights legislation would result in any increase in Negro voting in Mississippi, the governor said: "That all depends, on alot of things. It does not necessarily follow that more would vote, although it could follow through a lack of management and preparation. "This civil rights bill represents an effort by the federal government to vote a man whether he meets state qulifications (sic) or not---and therein lies the great danger," he said. He said that with the defenses he outlined and "certain very necessary changes in the constitution, the people of Mississippi will escape any substantial injury from this federal legislation."

p. 18

"If a legislator is sincerely interested in maintenance of segregation--and I think they all are--then he will have no choice but to vote for a constitutional convention. If he votes against a constitutional convention then he will have to assume the responsibility for the disaster which may follow."

October 1, 1957

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman agreeed here Monday with a Jackson member of the legislature that Mississippi should take immediate legislative action to forestall integration of the state's public schools. In answer to a letter from T. Eugene Caldwell, representative from Hinds County, the governor said: "You are correct in that the legislature could now go ahead with the implementation of 213-B of the constitution, and I think it ought to be done if it has any chance of standing up in the federal courts." Section 213-B is the amendment to our state constitution which will allow the abolition of public schools in favor of a private school system.

October 2, 1957

p. 1

Rutherford (George W., Jr., Prentiss County Sheriff) was here (in Jackson) for the Mississippi Sheriffs' Association convention. A citizens' group in Booneville has accused him of allowing bootleggers and gamblers to flourish.

His attorneys charge that Coleman knowingly approved recall election petitions which were insufficient under the 1956 recall law, and conspired with the citizens' group

October 9, 1957

p. 1

Coleman himself has ignored subpoenas to appear at the hearing and to present pertinent records, saying the governor is immune to subpoena.

November 19, 1957

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman made a dramatic appeal to a joint session of the Mississippi legislature here Monday afternoon for adoption of his plans for a revision of the Constitution of 1890, basing his plea on segregation.

He told the law-making body that failure to accede to his request would take responsibility for an future integration of schools off his shoulders and onto the backs of themselves. The chief executive painted a dark picture of the possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court may strike down all the laws already made in this state to circumvent integration, citing similar decisions in other state. "If our constitutional provisions will not stand the test, then all statutory provisions enacted pursuant to those provisions would likewise fall the first time they are attacked," Coleman said. "The inevitable result then is to leave Mississippi without any public school laws which will stand up in the federal courts," he said. "We will be left legally naked and defenseless."

Gov. Coleman also warned of the expanding Negro vote in the state and suggested constitutional revision to cope with this threat. He said he was convinced this problem could be handled only by a constitutional convention. Gov. Coleman said the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Virginia case means Mississippi is shorn of enforceable school segregation laws. He said the state's obligation to educate children should be removed from the constitution so that the schools themselves could make a district-(p. 14) by--district defense against integration, sacrificing some schools if necessary but saving the rest.

He declared circuit clerks who now act as registrars, not being lawyers, could be intimidated into allowing "wholesale voting of unqualified voters"--obviously Negroes--under the Civil Rights Act. He proposed three-man registrar boards, with one member a lawyer, but did not say how they would operate. A "host of court decisions," he said, make clear the state cannot have "a segregated private school system supported directly or indirectly with public funds."

Coleman said further bond sales to support the state's 120 million dollar Negro-white equalization program will not be justified if the constitutional safeguards he asked are not adopted. This appeared to be a threat to withhold funds now sought by school districts throughout the state.

By "wiping the state clean" - removing present constitutional authority to abolish schools and requiring separate schools, he said, and adopting a legislative program similar to North Carolina's, the state could become "absolutely immune in the federal courts." The North Carolina school program has been upheld in federal court.

He said Mississippi's constitutional authority to abolish schools should

He said Mississippi's constitutional authority to abolish schools should be removed because legislative journals show "the clear purpose of that amendment was to preserve segregation to the last ditch and then abolish the schools as a last resort."

(Referring to the North Carolina program:)

The federal courts have ruled that pupils "would have to apply for admission on an individual basis if they claimed the law had been administered in their case solely on account of race and color," Coleman said.

This method "would be most effective in Mississippi" and in the event one such suit were won "the closing of one school would not affect any other school still operating on an acceptable basis," the governor said. If the legislature does not act, Coleman said, "then we will soon be compelled--it could happen any day now--to watch our attorney general appear at the federal court house and suffer the humiliating experience of losing the public school system of this state."

February 4, 1958

p. 1

Voter registration in ould be taken out of the hands of circuit clerks and given to county election commissioners and examiners under a measure introduced in the Legilature Monday. Gov. J. P. Coleman has suggested such a step to prevent "voting Onslaughts"--obviously by Negroes--under the Civil Rights Act. The House measure was introduced by Reps. David Glass and John Guyton of Attala county. Their resolution bore the notation "by request," which means they acted at the request of someone else.

(In reference to the registration clerks presently in charge:)

"If he is pressured into registering all those who ask for registration in order to stay out of trouble, we will soon be engulfed by wholesale voting of unqualified persons in Mississippi."

March 19, 1958

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman told a joint assembly of the Mississippi Legilature here Tuesday morning that the only way to successfully handle onslaughts of integrationists is through a constitutional convention. Thur, he renewed his claim that only a completely new basic formula of law will maintain segregation in this state.

March 23, 1958

p. 8

The governor used a Negro's challenge of Mississippi's voter registration laws to issue another convention request. (See March 19; the Negro minister's name is H. D. Darby.)

March 23, 1958 (cont'd.)

p. 10

(Reference is to the U.S. Justice Department's announcement of plans to send investigators into the South a fter the 1956 election.)

Gov. J. P. Coleman called the 1956 Justice Department announcement "a cheap political bluff" and "mass slander."

May 9, 1958

p. 2

Gov. J. P. Coleman signed into law Thursday one bill to help strengthen segregation. The approved bill authorized the attorney general and the general legislative investigating committee to investigate organizations whose directors have been cited as subversive or as having belonged to subversive groups. It also required those organizations to file with the secretary of state a yearly list of members under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Sponsors of the bill told the legislature it was aimed at the National Association fro the Advancement of Colored People because they understood some of the directors have been cited.

June 6, 1958

(Regarding the barring of a Negro, Prof. Clennon King from registering at the University of Mississippi)

p. 1

Scarbrough (Public Safety Commissioner) said he and his patrolmen, some of them in plain clothes, were assigned to the Ole Miss campus by Gov. J. P. Coleman to preserve the peace.

Coleman, asked Thursday night about reports an attempt would be made to commit King to an institution (Note: a lunacy warrent had been issued against King at the request of Lafayette County Sheriff Boyce Bratton), said "all of his legal rights will be fully preserved." It was evident the Governor was in close touch with the stiuation.

King said he was taken from a line of students waiting to register for summer school and was invited into the administration building for a conference with Registrar Robert Ellis. He was told it would be some time before his application could be processed--probably until after the last day of registration. Told he had to leave, he was not allowed to leave alone. King said, "When I sought to leave the room alone they forced me out another entrance." (Students registering when King was taken from line said that King was carried bodily to the waiting, green station wagon which sped away before newsmen could talk to King on the campus.)

June 7, 1958

p. 1

(King was committed on June 6 to Whitfield State Mental Hospital for a period of observation to last a minimum of thirty days.)

June 7, 1958 (cont'd.)

p. 1

Examination by the two Hinds county doctors was ordered by Chancery Clerk Frank Scott following a statement by Gov. J. P. Coleman who declared King "went berserk" during his attempt at entry to the University Thursday. Coleman said that if the mental examination shows King is sand, he will be tried on charges of disturbing the peace and resisting arrest on the Ole Miss campus at Oxford.

p. 6

Coleman said plain clothes officers followed King's cross-country bus from Gulfport to Oxford. In addition, a plainclothesman was aboard the bus with the professor. "We knew what he was going to do," Coleman said. "He had told it all over the state."

Coleman said the former Alcorn A & M (Negro) College history professor was arrested Thursday morning when he refused to leave the University administration building without registering. He had been told he could not register until his application had been approved--standard college procedure. Coleman told a news conference Friday King's refusal to follow procedure proved "his complete unfitness to become a student in any of the educational institutions supported by the state." The governor said the Georgia-born professor went berserk when Ole Miss authorities and state officers ought to persuade him to leave the campus and await a decision on his hopes to enroll as a graduate student. Coleman said he was brought to state patrol headquarters because he threatened, if released, to return immediately to the campus.

The professor was held incommunicado in a cell and Coleman and other officers refused to disclose his whereabouts.

But Daily News photographer Norm Bergoma and The Associated Press succeeded in tape recording an interview with King through the cell door, the news of which resulted in Coleman ordering guards posted around the building. During his news conference, Coleman said King's whereabouts were kept secret to prevent crowds collecting and possible disorder.

In the interview, King said he wanted only to "get out of here. I don't know what they're going to do. I would like to get out. I wouldn't bother it any more. I would leave it alone." He referred to his attempt at registering.

June 14, 1958

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman said Friday night he will not respond to the subpena (sic) issued in circuit court seeking to have him testify in the habeas corpus hearing for Prof. Clennon King. His stand is the same he took in the Prentiss county sheriff-recall case, when he stood on his constitutional immunity as the chief executive.

September 14, 1958

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman Saturday repeated his vow that Mississippi schools will remain segregated despite problems which have stricken other southern states.

p. 1

In reporting Gov. Coleman's speech the United Press International drew the following conclusion: "Coleman said in effect that after the Supreme Court's Little Rock decision Friday the only way Mississippi can maintain an adequate public education system is through voluntary segregation."

p. 14

"The Governor of Mississippi has promised to operate the schools of this state for the best interest of all children. This means that each race' will have its own teachers; each race will have its own teachers; and each race will march forward with pride in its own accomplishments. There is really nothing 'inferior' about this kind of a program. In the spirit of calmness and confidence, let us keep our poise and dignity. As for myself, I shall keep my promises to the people of Mississippi."

October 5, 1958

p. 11

Even before the latest decision Gov. J. P. Coleman warned that "all could be lost" in the federal courts. Coleman's statement indicated he believes Mississippi would have no public school system before she accepted integration. No suits have been filed in Mississippi for integration. Coleman said whether the state has public school in the future may depend on whether the voluntary system of segregation continues.

October 6, 1958

(Report on Coleman's appearance on Meet the Press on October 5)

p. 4

Coleman stressed that Mississippi is not "afraid" of the issue but is deeply concerned about where the powers of the Supreme Court stop and those of Congress begin. He said that separate schools are in the best interest of both races. Asked whether Mississippi would ever accept integration of schools Coleman repeated his statement of a year ago that "never is a long time," and he would not predict the ultimate outcome.

October 17, 1958

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman predicted Thursday Mississippi would continue to operate public schools on a segregated basis. "I don't anticipate any trouble at all. I want our people to proceed on that same basis. I

October 17, 1958 (cont'd.)

don't believe either race wants to destroy the public schools. Our people will only support a segregated system.

November 21, 1958

p. 1

Gov. J. P. Coleman promised Thursday that Mississippi would maintain segregation despite the efforts of his political enemies who agitate "to improve their political chances..."

"...

"...We are going to keep the schools in Mississippi open, and we are going to operate them on a segregated basis."

Coleman also announced the state textbook Commission has completed work on the list of books approved for high school use during the next four years.

Coleman, a member of the five-man group, said, "We have done our best to select the very best books available and have carefully checked them all as to content."

Before the group of books went before the group, every one was examined by a committee of teachers, who screened out material that might be construed as for integration.

June 30, 1959

(The following is taken from a television speech made by Coleman:)

p. 7

...In 1955, I said in my official platform: (And I am reading the exact language)

> "There will be no necessity to abolish public school, nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the State-operated educational institutions. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

I said this again in my inaugural address when I took the oath of office on January 17, 1956.

Tonight, the people of Mississippi know that I have kept this pledge inviolate. They know that we have had absolutely no mixing of the races in our public schools. And they further know that the schools have been in no danger of closing. We have done this with what amounted to almost complete quietness and we have done it without keeping up a daily atmosphere of fighting and tension. If there be those who would hav enjoyed an uproar they must remember that four years ago I promised the people that the job would be done in quietness and dignity, and the people elected me on that promise. By their vote in 1955, the people indicated that they did not want to be forever in a stew about the safety of racial separation and the existence of their public schools.

June 30, 1959 (cont'd)

There have been a few individuals running around over Mississippi saying that no one man is entitled to the credit for this happy state of affairs. I do not know of any one man who wishes to claim all the credit. I do know that if the cause had been lost and if Mississippi had been integrated, or if we had lost our public school system, these same individuals would be yelling at the top of their well-exercised lungs that the Governor was wholly and solely to blame for the entire catastrophe. They would be dancing on my grave with savage glee. The cold truth is that they have been disappointed with my success and they have done a mighty poor job of hiding their disappointment.

When I was sworn in as Governor, many people fearfully but frankly told me in private that they thought I had over-spoken myself in promising that there would be no race mixing and that there would be no school closing. They said I had made a promise that I could not keep. You see, however, that I have kept that promise to the last letter, and I know that I shall go out of office on the 19th day of next January with racial separation still intact in Mississippi. I ask you, the people of Mississippi, could those who attack me in the newspapers have done a better job than your governor has done? Your answer would be that they could not, because the situation has been perfect insofar as we are concerned. And Mississippi is the only state which enjoys such conditions.

I am sure everybody withing the sound of my voice remembers when Clennon King tried to integrate the University of Mississippi. I am sure they remember that when I came face to face with this dire threat I did not sit scared to death in the governor's office at the State Capitol, nor did I go into a panic, issuing newspaper statements every hour on the hour. I went in person to Oxford, Mississippi, and everybody knows what happened to Clennon King. Where were my critics then? Where were the Monday morning quarterbacks?

They offered no suggestions, they provided no remedies, and they rendered no assistance. When the University had been saved from integration, when Clennon King had left the State, and when our educational institutions sailed ahead as if nothing had ever happened, the habitual critics did not have the courtesy to offer one word of congratulations or to say one word of approval.

What Mississippi needs is leadership possessed of the experience, the courage, the wisdom, the ability, and the resourcefulness to preserve racial separation and at the same time preserve and improve our public schools. Therein lies the only hope for the future of our children.

I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destroy my place in the affections of my fellow Mississippians by claiming that I am a "moderate." Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist. They have made a great sham of this, and every time they can get a chance they try to stir it up. I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what

June 30, 1959 (cont'd.)

the record says...I stand on a record of performance and I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that none of my friends have called me that...

(Coleman answers attack for not following the Governor of Arkansas:)

Let us examine the record. Nobody can argue with the record.

When the schools were integrated at Hoxie, at Van Buren, at Fort Smith, and other places in Arkansas, Governor Faubus made no effort to stop that integration. When trouble flared up in Arkansas, Governor Faubus made no effort to stop that integration. When race mixing finally got to the State Capitol at Little Rock, he did try to stop it. Do you believe it would be right for me to refuse to fight until it got within the shadow of the State Capitol at Jackson? Do you believe it would be right for me to let the NAACP integrate Lexington, or Greenwood, or Macon without raising my hand to stop it? In my view of things, if I were to follow this policy, I would not be the Governor of Mississippi, I would simply be the Governor of Jackson. I have adopted the rule of stopping integration anywhere it raises its head, regardless of the town, and I have enforced that rule.

Governor Faubus had done nothing about race mixing at the University of Arkansas. I could not follow him in this. When they attempted to mix the races at the University of Mississippi, I stopped it cold.

Many of you have heard Governor Faubus say on nationwide television that his son attended an integrated college. I cannot follow the Governor in sending his son to an integrated college. I have sent my son to the University of Mississippi, where the races are apart. People ordinarily do not send their children to schools that they do not approve of, and I feel that if I were to send my son to a mixed school I would be publicly approving of race mixing, and I would be setting an example for the entire populace to follow.

Governor Faubus appointed a Negro to a high party office in Arkansas. If I had followed him on this, Mr. Bidwell Adam, who got beat for re-election as Lieutenant Governor by 44,000 votes twenty-seven years ago, and who introduced Mr. Faubus at Biloxi, would no doubt have had a stroke. However, since Governor Faubus appointed a Negro, it was, of course, perfectly all right with Bidwell.

In a speech which he delivered on June 13th at Biloxi, at the Miss. Bar Association, Governor Faubus said the people ought to be allowed to mix the races in the public schools if they wanted to, or that they should be allowed to keep the races separate if they wanted to. That might please both sides, but that is not the public policy of the State of Mississippi. We believe that it is to the best interest of both races that they have their own schools throughout the State and that everybody operate under the same rule. Therefore, I could not follow Governor Faubus in supporting local option on segregation.

June 30, 1959 (cont'd)

(Subject: Poplarville lynching)

". . . It is true that I invited the FBI into the case because under the Federal Kidnapping Statues they would have come in, anyway, in 24 hours. Had I not invited the FBI, the NACCP would have been pounded on the doors of the Congress, claiming that none other than the Governor of the State, who represented the sentiments of all the people, was giving the lynchers a head start to conceal the crime, and that he was doing whatever else he could to assist the lynchers.

February 5, 1959

(Subject: Discussion of the South's power in the coming election.)

p. 12

A new governor will be in office succeeding Coleman of Miss. who had a large part in toning down the 1956 civil rights plank.

February 3, 1959

p. 1

(Lieutenant Governor Gartin has the backing of Governor J.P. Coleman in the gubernatorial race.)

February 25, 1959

p. 1

Gartin: "I am committed to a total battle for total segregation now and at all times and I do not want out people to weaken or to yield on this matter, now or in the future." Gartin in a recent speech declared that if some attempts were made to integrate the schools of Mississippi, he would not hesitate to close them in favor of a private school system as provided by the legislature.

March 20, 1959

p. 1

Governor Coleman said that integrated schools will not and can not come to the state.

March 17, 1963

p. 1

Former Governor J.P. Coleman Thursday night promised there will be no racial integration of public schools in Mississippi during the next four years if he gets a second term in the governor's office.

"there will be no necessity to abolish the public schools," he promised again Thursday. "Nor will there be any mixing of the races in none (sic) of the state-operated educational institutions. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

"The people will remember Clennon King and where he landed," he said. "If you want your schools and colleges to remain open and to remain separate, then give me your vote and I shall not betray your trust," he vowed.

He said that he planned to be a leader among the Southern states, and recalled that he was unanimously elected the Southern leader at the annual meeting of governors in Chicago, 1956.

May 17, 1963 (cont'd)

"You will remember," he said," that after a two-week battle that convention refused to endorse the Supreme Court school integration decision of 1954," he declared.

May 19, 1963

(Subject" Reply to the attack of other candidates)

p. 8

Coleman arose to declare that "when I was governor, segregation was maintained." He said that he voted for Kennedy and Johnson but that one vote does not make a man's career, and you cannot condemn him forever. Coleman then reminded his audience that as attorney general in Mississippi for five years he would not let mixed prize fights or baseball come to Mississippi, thought pressure was brought.

June 12, 1963

Coleman called Kennedy's Tuesday night speech after the Alabama integration "the greatest challenge to the South in 100 years."

He said the South has two weapons to battle the Kennedy plan. One of these is the filibuster in the Senate, and the other is the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee, in the hands of Senator J.O. Eastland of Mississippi.

Coleman said rumored attempts to purge Eastland because Mississippi bolted the Democratic Party in the 1960 election was the main reason he supported the party ticket in that election.

Coleman said he will fight "any man who is an enemy of Mississippi." Whether his name is "Kennedy or Rockefeller or any other you might name."

He said a Coleman defeat in the August 6 primary would "please Bobby Kennedy beyond expression. I can mix it up with them."

He said he would let the NAACP, CORE, and similar professional rabble rousers "Know what I propose to do and how it is to be done when the time is ripe, and not a minute before."

"I propose," he said, "to seek a South-wide convention to take stock of our troubles and to come up with a remedy which at least a half dozen Southern states will support... No national politician can laugh at the solid effect of as many as six states."

"You have no intention of tolerating the destruction of these institutions (schools and Universities of Mississippi) by the process of integration."

He said that Mississippi's relationship with the federal government is the state's paramount problem at present. "Not only in the field of race relations, but in every other area of activity of the federal government."

He said he thinks Mississippi can defeat federal encroachment on state's rights through "quiet, effective work, backed by all the power and dignity of the governor's office in a statesman-like manner."

July 10, 1963

p. 1

Former Governor J.P. Coleman said Tuesday his opponents have taken a defeatist attitude on the race issue. Speaking at Monticello, Morgantown, and McComb, Coleman said he is the only candidate "with hope of stemming widespread integration and the ability and experience to do it. My opponents say that I cannot stop it," he declared, "because they have apparently lost hope and have offerred no plan or suggestion for maintaining separation of the races."

p. 10

"We're sorry now for the things Kennedy has done, but we saved

Senator Eastland's judiciary committee chairmanship, and we're glad of that. That chairmanship is the major bulwark between us and Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill."

July 12, 1963

p. 16

Coleman said separation of the races can be maintained with calm and dignity, with no distrubing headlines circulating the country. "This is how it was accomplished during my first term as governor, and it can be done again."

July 16, 1963

p. 10

"The only racial trouble in this state from 1956 - 1960 was when Negro Clennon King decided he wanted to go to Ole' Miss. He went in the front door and out the back door to another state institution (a state mental hospital). He decided then he wanted to leave the state, and he hasn't been back since."

July 23, 1963

p. 12

At Ripley, Mississippi, former Governor J.P. Coleman said...he was "better qualified to fight the Kennedies" than his opponents for the State Gubernatorial nomination...

July 24, 1963

p. 16

"I'd shut up every schoolhouse before we see education by federal bayonet," Coleman said...

July 26, 1963

p. 12

"When I was your governor, Clennon King was escorted by officials as he attempted to enroll in school," Mr. Coleman said, "but it was red-blooded Mississippi Highway patrolmen and not a federal marshal."

August 1, 1963

p. 16

Claiming that both Johnson and Sullivan "feel that an uproar and turmoil are inevitable in the fight for states'-rights," Coleman said that sovereignty can be maintained peacefully.

"But not by knocking over the paramount rules of the United States. You just have to learn how to plow around them," he added.

"But if Coleman goes down in defeat, you can look forward to half a dozen poli ical opportunists running against Senator John Stennis next year with the same argument. And the same thing goes for Senator Jim Eastland the following year."

"Because they voted the Democratic ticket in 1960, also. We did it to save Senator Eastland's chairmanship of the vital Senate Judiciary Committee...one of our main weapons against the civil rights bill."

August 2, 1963

p. 12

Coleman cited his handling of Negro Clennon King, "who wanted to go to Ole' Miss, but who wound up in another of our fine institutions caled Whitfield."

He said King "learned more at Whitfield than he would have at Ole' Miss in three years." We gave him his diploma, he went to Hawaii, and that's about as close to Mississippi as he ever wants to be."

He (Coleman) told the crowd, "if you really want to help the Kennedy's then vote for the candidate who is not prepared by experience and training to do battle with them and who will be duck soup and the easiest for them to run over, and I can assure you that that man is not J.P. Coleman."

August 3, 1963

p. 2

Coleman repeated the story about Negro Clennon King, who attempted to register at Ole Miss during Coleman's tenure as governor but who was committed to Whitfield after two weeks after being held in-communicado for some time by highway patrolmen.

"The point of this story," he said, "is not the fact that one man was kept out of Ole Miss. Rather it shows that we know how to protect your rights in such a way that the federal government could find no excuse for putting hands on the state of Mississippi."

August 16, 1963

P. 3

"My opponents and his friends try to belittle my record as a public official," Coleman said, "but as attorney general and later as governor our institutions including segragation remained intact while I held office."

The former governor said he"fought the battles for the people of Mississippi for 30 years and now my opponent who has served as lieutenant governor for only 3½ years thinks he is best qualified."

Former Governor J.P. Coleman, branded by foes as "the Kennedy Man" is Mississippi's bitter gubernatorial race, said Thursday night he might support Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential

race.

"I will actively support that man who gives the State of Mississippi the best chance of surviving the four years ahead," the long time Democratic leader said. "It's possible that man night be Goldwater."

August 17, 1963

p. 3

"But I (Coleman said) have served the people of Mississippi for more than 30 years and have never lost a battle with the Federal Government."

August 18, 1963'

P. 14

(Full page add, "J.P. Coleman's Platform, 1964 - 1968" "Submitted to and Approved by A.F. Summer, State Campaign Manager." "For Segregation - Peace - Prosperity J.P. Coleman for Governor."

August 23, 1963

P. 12

Citing his success in halting the attempted enrollments of Negroes Medgar Evans Evers and Clennon King, the former governor said "the people will now have to decide whether they want to be led by a man who stood up for three minutes and failed or one who stood up auccessfully for ten years."

August 24, 1963

P. 3

Coleman scroed his opponent for claiming to be a "political descendant of Bilbo." "It tickeles me to that he is going around and making that claim because Paul Johnson Sr. fought Bilbo as long as he could breathe. My opponent is no more kin to Bilbo than someone from Massachusetts."

The former governor said Johnson had accused him of "being associated with a long list of people, including Martin Luther King, Jr." "If he would resort to such tactics as going on television and comparing another white man to a Negro what do you think he might do as governor?" "If the people will buy that sort of thing, then God save Mississippi, because it is in need of salvation."

August 26, 1963

P. 11 (taken from a full page advertisement)

For Segregation - Peace - Prosperity; Elect J.P. Coleman Governor of Mississippi (Submitted to and Approved by J.P. Coleman")

~~August 27, 1963~~

-END-

~~P. 9~~

~~Coleman cited his success in maintaining racial segregation as "the~~

Washington Human Rights Project
12 10th Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C.
543-8699
June 23, 1965

SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM ON APPOINTMENT OF FORMER MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR J. P. COLEMAN TO U. S. FIFTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS: BILLS SIGNED INTO LAW BY GOVERNOR COLEMAN

A review of a few of the legislative enactments signed by James P. Coleman during his term of office as Governor of Mississippi seems to conclusively demonstrate that he would be actively opposed to protecting and securing the civil rights of Negro American citizens if confirmed by the United States Senate as a Judge on the United States Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit. This review follows, together with an attached appendix of some of these laws.

1. In 1956 Governor Coleman signed into law Chapters 273 and 288 (Gen. Laws Miss. 1956), acts confirming a steadfast policy of racial segregation in the state's public schools and repealing the state's compulsory education laws (so as to be able to close individual schools within the state if required to desegregate by federal court orders). He also signed acts requiring railroad and bus companies to maintain separate waiting rooms and toilet facilities for the races traveling in intra-state commerce and requiring all intra-state passengers to use such separate facilities. (Chapters 258-60, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956). Criminal penalties of $1000 and/or one year in jail for each violation of these acts were provided, and it was explicitly stated that an intra-state passenger arrested for violating the state-imposed segregation laws, could have no action of false imprisonment against the arresting officer, nor could he recover damages from common carriers complying with these statutes.

2. In 1956, when Governor Coleman signed these acts, it was perfectly clear from the broad language in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade all racial segregation in the public schools, and all other state enforcement of racial separation such as prescribed by the acts requiring that segregated waiting rooms and toilet facilities by maintained by common carriers.

In signing these acts into law, Governor Coleman was intentionally seeking to frustrate what he knew to be a requirement of the Federal [1] Constitution. The acts repealing the state's compulsory educatinn laws and confirming its policy of racial segregation were deliberately designed to circumvent anticipated efforts by the federal courts,[2] on which James P. Coleman seeks to sit, to enforce the Constitution of the United States.

3. Even more frightening is the support given to the patently absurb doctrine of interposition by Governor Coleman which he signed into law Chapter 254, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. The law sought to "give effect to the Resolution of Interposition, Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125, and to the principle of segregation of the races" by directing the Governor and the entire executive branch of the State of Mississippi "to prohibit by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means, the implementation of or the compliance with the integration decisions of the United States Supreme Court. . . and to prohibit by any lawful, peaceful, and constitutional means the causing of a mixing or integration of the white and Negro races in public schools, public parks and public waiting rooms." That Governor Coleman should have sought to frustrate a federal constitutional policy is bad enough; that he signed his name in support of a constitutional doctrine long and rightly regarded as ridiculous, and which, if adopted, would reduce our federal republic to a meek confederation of states serves to point out his compelling disqualifications for appointment to a judgeship in a circuit which elaborates constitutional policy.

Governor Coleman's sincere support of interposition and deliberate opposition to the United States Constitution is further evidenced by his approval of Chapter 365, an Act creating the State Sovereignty Commission of which the Governor was chairman. The duty of this body was to perform "all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi, and her sister states, from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government." (Ch. 365, Sec. 5).

4. Additional impediments to the fulfillment of constitutional rights are found in Chapter 253, an Act to prohibit the fomenting of litigation by making it unlawful to donate or receive funds for the purpose of filing or prosecuting lawsuits. This legislation was aimed at the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP and other organizations seeking to confirm by lawsuit the constitutional rights of Negro citizens.

5. Governor Coleman also signed an enactment (Ch. 257, General Laws, Mississippi, 1956) conferring upon all public businesses an absolute right to select their customers and subjecting any person refusing to vacate a public place at the owner's request to a fine of up to $500 and/or imprisonment of up to six months. The custom of segregation by private individuals was further buttressed by the Governor's approval of Chapter 256, a broad breach of the peace statute, covering "any person who shall enter any public place of business (and) . . . create a disturbance or a breach of the peace in any way whatsoever including, but not restricted to. . .the making of threats or attempting to intimidate.

1 See Jackson Clarion-Ledger, Feb. 25, 1956. 2. Ibid.

6. In 1958, Governor Coleman signed into law Chapter 311, a measure designed to cope with any attempts to desegregate Mississippi schools by authorizing the Governor to close any one or more or all schools of any or all school districts. The Governor also signified his approval of Chapters 257 and 261 of the General Laws of 1958, acts providing that the Attorney General should offer legal assistance to any school district or executive officer, agency or commission of the State of Mississippi proceeded against in state or federal courts or investigated by the federal civil rights commission.

7. In addition to supporting these plainly unconstitutional objectives, Governor Coleman gave his approval to Chapter 484, an act requiring investigation by the state Attorney General or legislative committee of any organization deemed subversive. Subversiveness consisted of having a national or state officer who either in the past or at present is or has been an officer of any organization designated as subversive by the United States Attorney General or a Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. The purpose of the investigation was to secure a membership list from such organizations, and thereby to intimidate their members and keep them from participating in activities designed to achieve equality for all citizens of Mississippi.

8. In 1956 Gov. Coleman also signed into the state's law books legislation which almost made it impossible for local citizens to get lawyers from other states to defend them in Mississippi Courts. This legislation, Chapter 255 of the 1956 General Laws of Mississippi, repealed the old section 8666 of the 1942 Code which had permitted any attorney from any other state to appear in local courts. The only requirement was that the attorney be in good standing in his home state.

But the new Mississippi law sets up elaborate procedures which an out-of-state attorney now must follow before he can represent anyone. Under Chapter 255 a private group, the State Bar Association, is given the power of making the determination. Its only guideline for deciding is the vague phrase of "the usages and customs of the State of Mississippi."

The real impact of this law can only be seen by considering the background in which it operates. It is virtually impossible to get white Mississippi lawyers to take civil rights cases, Even if the individual attorney would want to, his ordinary legal practice would be seriously hurt and socially he would become a pariah. Of course, Negro attorneys in Mississippi will handle such cases, but there are only four of them for the entire state.

Thus Chapter 255 as approved by Governor Coleman makes it exceedingly difficult for Mississippi citizens to secure adequate legal protection of their civil rights against discriminatory practices.

9. Finally, in 1958 Governor Coleman approved the enactment of

Chapter 257 which authorized the State attorney general to defend "upon request and at his discretion" circuit clerks and registrars of various counties who are either sued or called as witnesses in state or federal court by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, by the United States Government, or by any other federal agency. A similar discretion is also given the attorney general with regard to suits brought against officers or employees of school districts and other state and municipal officials. (See Chapter 261 of General Laws of Mississippi of 1958.)

Time and again in recent years suits have been brought against the above public officials because of their violations of the civil rights of American citizens. This legislation clearly has no other object than to permit Mississippi officials to continue their tactics of evading the law and to place through taxation the financial burden of legally defending these officials upon the very people whose rights have been violated.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF LAWS APPROVED BY GOVERNOR J. P. COLEMAN

1956

(1) Chapter 273. General Laws of Mississippi. 1956. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, April 5, 1956.

The main purpose of this act is to reorganize school districts. It contains however the following provisions:

> "In all school districts, separate schools shall be maintained or otherwise provided for children of the white and colored races."

(2) Chapter 288, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, February 24, 1956.

An act to repeal the compulsory education laws, thus allowing parents to withdraw their children from school in the event of desegregation and clearing the way for Chapter 311 of the General Laws of 1958, Infra (See below), authorizing the Governor to close any or all schools in the state.

(3) Chapter 258, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, 7787.5.

Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, February 21, 1956.
An act requiring common carriers to maintain separate waiting and reception rooms for the races traveling in intrastate commerce and criminal penalties are prescribed for violation.

(4) Chapter 259, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, 2351.5.
Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, March 9, 1956.
An Act to require common carriers to provide separate toilet facilities for the races traveling in intrastate travel, with criminal penalties prescribed for violation.

(5) Chapter 260, Gen. Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, 2351.7.
Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, March 22, 1956.
An Act to require all person traveling in intrastate travel to use and occupy the waiting rooms required to be marked and provided for such persons by chapters 258 and 259 (see above), and to provide criminal penalties for failure to comply therewith.
Section 3 provides that "no action or suit in law or in equity may be brought in any court of this state against any law enforcement officer for damages for false arrest of any passenger because of a violation of this act; nor shall any common carrier . . . be subject to suit for damages on account of such common carriers . . . complying with the provisions of this act."

(6) Chapter 257, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, Sec. 2046.5. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, February 21, 1956.

An Act to confer upon any person . . . engaged in any public business, profession or trade the right to choose and select the customers . . . of such business; and the further right to refuse to sell or render service to any person. Criminal penalties are provided for any person who refuses to vacate a public place when ordered to do so by the owner or an employee thereof.

(7) Chapter 254, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, Paragraph 4065.7. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, April 5, 1956.

An Act to give effect to the Resolution of Interpositinn, Senate Concurrent Resolution Number 125, and to the principle of segregation [1] of the races.

Chapter 254, Senate Bill No. 1870, p. 303, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956

"Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi: Section 1. That the entire executive branch of the government of the State of Mississippi, and of its subdivisions, and all persons responsible thereto, including the governor, the lieutenant governor, the heads of state departments, sheriffs, boards of supervisors, constables, mayors, boards of aldermen and other governing officials of municipalities by whatever name known, chiefs of police, policemen, highway patrolmen, all boards of county superintendents of education, and all other persons falling within the executive branch of said state and local governmetn in the State of Mississippi, whether specifically named herein or not, as opposed and distinguished from members of the legislative and judicial branches of the government of said state, be and they and each of them, in their official capacity are hereby required, and they and each of them shall give full force and effect in the performance of their official and political duties, to the Resolution of Interposition Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125, adopted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi on the 29th day of February, 1956, which Resoltuion of Interposition was adopted by virtue of an dunder authority of the reserved rights of the State of Mississippi, as guaranteed by the Tenth Amendment to the Consitution of the United States; and all of said members of the executive branch be and they are hereby directed to comply fully with the Constitution of the state of Mississippi, the Statutes of the State of Mississippi, and said Resolution of Interposition, and are further directed and required to prohibit, by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means, the implementation of or the complaince with the Integration Decisions of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954. (347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. ed. 873) and of May 31, 1955 (349 U.S. 294, 75 S. Ct., 753, 99 L. ed. 1083), and to prohibit by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means, the causing of a mixing or integration of the white and Negro rzces in public schools, public parks, public waiting rooms, public places of amusement, recreation or assembly in this state, by any branch of the federal government, any commission

---

[1] See above.

board or agency of the federal government, or any subdivision of the federal government, at to prohibit, by any lawful, peaceful, constitutional means the implementation of any orders, rules or regulations or any board, commission, or agency of hhe federal government, based on the supposed authority of said Integration Decisions, to cause a mixing or integration of the white and Negro races in public schools, public parks, public waiting rooms, public places of amusement, recreation, or assembly in this state."

Sec. 2. The prohibitions and mandates of this act are directed to the aforesaid executive branch of the government of the State of Mississippi, all aforesaid subdivisions, boards, and all individuals thereof, in their official capacity only. Compliance with said prohibitions and mandates of this act by all of aforesaid executive officials shall be and is a full and complete defense to any suit whatsoever in law or equity, or of a civil or criminal nature which may hereafter be brought against the aforesaid executive officers. Officials, agencies, or employees, of the executive branch of State Government of Mississippi, by any person, real or corporate, the State of Mississippi, or any other state, or by the federal government of the United States, any commission, agency, subdivision, or employee thereof.

Senate Concurrent Resolution Number 125, Approved by both houses, February 29 1956. Chapter 466, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956.

"A concurrent resolution condemning and protesting the usurpation and encroachment on the reserved powers of the states by the Supreme Court of the United States and declaring that its decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955 . . . are in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the State of Mississippi, . . . and invoking the historic doctrine of interposition to protect the sovereignty of this and the other states of the Union."

(8) Chapter 365, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, Sec. 9028-9031. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, March 29, 1956.

An Act creating the State Sovereignty Commission of which the Governor was a member and chairman.

Sec. 5. The duty of the commission is to perform "all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protest the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi, and her sister states, from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government:( Sec. 5)

Sec. 8. It was empowered to . subpoena and examine witnesses, to require the appearance of any persons and the production of any books, records, papers or documents as evidence and to publish failure to appear or to produce such documents with fine or imprisonment.

Sec. 11/ Any witness is granted immunity from prosecution for any fact or act touching which he is required to testify. If he still refused to testify on the grounds that he will thereby incriminate himself, "The commission shall consider such refusal as a part of the evidence and shall inform the public of the refusal of such witness to testify and the facts and circumstances underwhich such refusal was made."

(9) Chapter 253, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, Secs. 2049-01 et. seq. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, February 20, 1956.

" An act to prohibit the fomenting and agitation of litigation; to prohibit the solicitation, receipt, or donation of funds for the purpose of filing or prosecuting lawsuits . . ."

"Sec. 1. "It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, partnership, corporation, group, organization or association, . . . either before or after proceedings commenced:

(1) to promise give or offer, or to conspire or agree to promise give, or offer,
(2) to receive or accept, or to agree or conspire to receive or accept,
(3) to solicit, request, or donate

any money . . . or anything of value, or any other assistance, as an inducement to any person to commence or to prosecute further. . . any proceedings in any court or before any administrative board or other agency in the state of Mississippi, or in any United States court located within said state; provided, however, that this section shall not be construed to prohibit the constitutional right of regular employment of any attorney at law, or solicitor in chancery.

" Sec. 2. Any person violating any of the provisions of Sec. 1 of this act shall be guilty of maintenance and, upon convintion thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment for one year in the state penitentiary.

"Sec. 3. Every person who commences or prosecutes or assists in the commencement or prosecution of any proceeding in any court . . . shall, on motion made by any of the parties of such proceedings, or by the court or agency in which such proceeding is pending, . . . fill the following affadavit:"

(swearing that he has neither received nor conspired to receive any valuable consideration or assistance whatever as an inducement to the commencement of further prosecution of the proceedings in this matter)

Section 4 prescribes a similar affadavit for the attorney; that to the best of his knowledge no person has given valuable consideration to his client as in inducement to commence or prosecute further the proceedings.

Section 5 deals with punishment for perjury of any person or attorney who shall file a false affadavit. Moreover, any attorney filing a false affadavit is to be disbarred.

Section 6 provides that no person shall be excused from attending or testifying before any court or grand jury in any prosecution based upon violation of the provisions of this act on the grounds that such evidence might tend to incriminate him. However, immunity from prosecution is granted to all persons required to testify except that no person shall be exempt from prosecution for perjury in so testifying. (Emphasis supplied.)

1958

(1) Chapter 311, General Laws of Mississippi, 1958. Mississippi Code, Secs. 6232.21-6232.32. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, May 6, 1958.

An act authorizing the Governor to close any one or more or all schools or any or all school districts and institutions of higher learning when, in his discretion, such would be to the best interests of the district or persons, or the state of Mississippi.

The act also provides for the transportation and attendance of certain educable children and enrolled students to other school districts in the event that some schools are closed under the provisions of this act.

(2) Chapter 257, General Laws of Mississippi, 1958. Mississippi Code, Sec. 3841.2. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, April 25, 1958.

" An act to authorize the Attorney General of the State of Mississippi . . . to render such services as he may deem necessary to assist in advising and representing any officers or employees of any county district, county or municipality of the State of Mississippi or any agencies, boards, or commissions thereof . . . should they . . . be sued, prosecuted, or cited . . . or charged with contempt. . . or called as a witness in any state or federal court or by the federal civil rights commission."

(3) Chapter 261, General Laws of Mississippi, 1958. Miss. Code, Sec. 3841.3. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, April 25, 1958.

An act in similar to Chapter 257 above authorizing the Attorney General to assist in advising and representing any officer of any school district or institutions of higher learning should they be prosecuted or proceeded against in any manner.

(4) Chapter 484. Gen. Laws of Miss., 1958. Miss. Code, Sec. 4194.01 et. seq. Approved by Governor J. P. oleman, May 8, 1958.

An act to empower the Secretary of State to require an investigation by the Attorney General or the General Legislative Investigating Committee of certain organizations or associations; to require the names and addresses of members of such groups to be filed with the Secretary of State.

Sec. 1. ..." (When) an organization or association having a chapter, branch or unit in this state has a national or state officer or director who either in the past, or at present, is, or has been, an officer, or director of any organization, association, or group listed or designated as a subversive or communist-front group or organization by the United States Attorney General, or a Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities . . ( the Secretary of State shall require an investigation of that organization by the Attorney General or the General Legislative Investigation Committee.)

Sec. 2. Such organization shall be required to file a full, complete and true membership list with the Secretary of State.

Sec. 3. "No person shall hold, assist in holding, or attend any assembly, meeting, or gathering of an organization or association described in Section 1 hereof, or of a subdivision or subordinate chapter, unit, or other branch thereof, unless the list of officers and members required by Sec. 2. has been filed with the Secretary of State."

Statement of Mr. Aaron E. Henry, President
Mississippi State Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
On the nomination of J.P. Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals
Tuesday morning, June 29, 1965

The nomination of former Governor J. P. Coleman by President Johnson to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals totally ignores the long years of suffering by the Negro community of Mississippi at the hands of J.B. Coleman during the time he was Attorney-General and Governor.

Before making this nomination, the President and the Attorney-General were informed that J. P. Coleman as Attorney-General and Governor of Mississippi was a major participant in the enactment of our State's current voter registration laws which deny thousands of Negroes their right to register and vote. In the past four years some 69,000 Negro citizens have gone to the county courthouses in Mississippi and asked for their right to vote. Fewer than 6,000 have made it because of the voting laws passed during the time that J.P. Coleman was Attorney-General. In order to register, these laws require a citizen to interpret any of the 286 sections of the Mississippi State Constitution to the satisfaction of the circuit clerk. The applicant does not know which section of the Constitution he will be asked to interpret until he appears at the registration office. As a result of the enactment of these laws in 1955, Reverend George W. Lee, a NAACP voter registration official was killed in Belzoni. Mr. Gus Courts of Belzoni was shot. Mr. T. V. Johnson was intimidated to the point that he had his name removed from the registration rolls of Humphries County. These three were the only Negroes in the county registered at the time.

The President and Attorney-General were also informed that the State Sovereignty Commission was established by the Mississippi legislature during Governor Coleman's term of office. The Commission is a segregationist watchdog committee, sitting in judgment upon all of us in Mississippi, both Negro and white, who advocate the obedience to Federal law within the State. The State Sovereignty Commission has consistently given funds to the White Citizens Councils to support their evil existence and constant intimidation and harrassment of the Negroes of Mississippi. The Council also intimidates white Mississippians who just want to obey federal law.

The President and Attorney-General were also reminded that in dealing with a Negro's right to attend the University of Mississippi, Governor Coleman had the student applicant, Clennon King, committed to the State institution for the mentally ill. He has proudly boasted of his actions in this incident many times.

These are but a few examples of the actions and attitudes of J. P. Coleman which to thousands of Mississippi Negroes disqualify him for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This position would require him to render decisions upholding federal law and to be fair and impartial to all citizens without regard to race, creed or color. J. P. Coleman has consistently demonstrated his unwillingness to uphold federal law and the lack of fairness to all people regardless of race.

The Senate of the United States has recently passed a bill which will greatly help the Negroes of Mississippi to finally secure their right to vote. I implore the Senate not to confirm the nomination of a judge who will be able to subvert the intent of that vitally-needed law. Negroes in Mississippi have waited too long for simple justice from State Officials to now be denied justice by racist federal judges.

# BRIEF

IN OPPOSITION TO THE APPOINTMENT OF

JAMES PLEMON COLEMAN

TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

Washington Human Rights Project

12 10th Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C.
543-8699
June 29, 1965

More and more Americans are becoming alarmed about the proposed appointment of James P. Coleman, former governor of Mississippi and architect of many of the state's segregation laws, to the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The purpose of this memorandum is to show that the choice of J. P. Coleman would be a tragic one. To demonstrate this contention we have presented responses to the arguments given by those who are supporting his nomination.

Those in favor of Coleman have offered the following three arguments. First, he is a moderate, and not an ardent segregationist. Secondly, the next appointee to the Fifth Circuit must come from Mississippi and the best possible man that Senator Eastland will approve is J. P. Coleman. Finally, it is asserted, even if Coleman were a segregationist in the past, his impartial position as a federal judge with life tenure would enable him to escape both local political pressures and his own racist background.

Before considering these arguments, it is necessary to emphasize how important it is to find the right man to fill the current vacancy. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals is the keystone in the development of legal doctrine for the protection of rights guaranteed to Negroes by the laws and Constitution of the United States. The district courts within the six states comprising that circuit are notorious for their refusal to enforce these rights. And the Supreme Court, burdened with an ever-heavier caseload, has shown a great willingness to rely upon decisions of the Fifth Circuit in the area of racial discrimination. This court itself rarely sits en banc, i. e., as a whole, with all nine members. Rather, three judges at a time hear a case. Hence, looking at the alignment of the entire court on civil rights matters is an unfruitful pursuit. As long as there are as many as four judges of a segregationist bent, they will constitute a majority on some of the panels, and thus be in a position to thwart crucial efforts at securing equal rights.

One of the glaring examples of such judicial obstruction was provided by the late Judge Cameron, whose seat Governor Coleman has been nominated to occupy. The Justice Department had filed suits against the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, seeking to have declared unconstitutional many of the voting provisions responsible for Negro disfranchisement in those states. The Louisiana case overturned that state's literacy test, the familiar requirement of interpreting the Constitution, LSA-R.S. 18:35. It also suspended in 21 parishes the use of its "citizenship" test, LSA-R.S. 18:191 (requiring the applicant to demonstrate his knowledge of the duties and obligations of citizenship) until such time as the effects of prior discrimination shall have been removed from the regis-

tration rolls, if need be by a complete reregistration. United States v. Louisiana, 225 F. Supp. 353 (E.D.La 1963). The decision was recently affirmed by the Supreme Court. Louisiana v. United States, 380 U.S. 145 (1965).

In the Mississippi case, however, on which Judge Cameron sat as part of a statutory three- judge panel (28 U.S.C. §2281), the court refused to let the case go to trial. United States v. Mississippi, 229 F. Supp. 925 (S.D. Miss. 1964). And yet the government had produced evidence of the most detailed and exhaustive sort, very similar to that in the Louisiana case and just as convincing. Mississippi has both the constitutional interpretation test and the citizenship test. Miss. Const. 1890, §244, as amended by Miss. Laws, 1955, Ex ch 133. In a thorough and persuasive dissent Judge Brown found abundant evidence of the unconstitutionality of this Mississippi constitutional provision. 229 F. Supp. at 974.

However, among the grounds assigned by Judges Cameron and Harold Cox for the dismissal of the action was a refusal to recognize the propriety of joining the state of Mississippi as a defendant. The decision was wholly repudiated by the Supreme Court on the same day it affirmed Louisiana. United States v. Mississippi, 380 U.S. 128 (1965). The court held unanimously that "nothing has ever been seriously supposed to prevent a state's being sued by the United States." 380 U.S. at 140. Of Judge Cameron's opinion, it said that "it seems rather surprising that the District Court entertained seriously the argument that the United States could not constitutionally sue a state." 380 U.S. at 140-41.

The second main ground relied upon by Cameron and Cox for dismissing the suit was that the Government had stated no claim of action upon which relief could be granted. Reacting sharply to this argument the Court declared:

> "The allegations of this complaint were too serious, the right to vote in this connection too precious, and the necessity of settling grievances peacefully in the courts is too important for this complaint to have been dismissed. . . . The case should have been tried. It should now be tried without delay. 380 U.S. at 144.

Thus the case was remanded for trial; but, as a result of the Cameron-Cox dismissal, the final decision has been delayed for at least a year if not longer.

Besides U. S. v. Mississippi, Cameron was also part of a three-judge panel in a number of other important civil rights cases. In Boman v. Birmingham Transit Co., 292 F. 2d 4 (5th Cir, 1961), he maintained that there were essential differences between the two races and that these justified a policy of segregation. He rejected the Brown school board decision of 1954 by stating that segregation did not have an adverse effect upon Negroes and Negro children. In U. S. v. Wood, 295 F 2 772 (5th Cir 1961), he echoed his Boman stand and declared that circuit court judges in the South should render their decisions according to the "ethos of the people whose servants they are." In Bailey v. Patterson, 323 F 2 201 (5th Cir, 1963), where three Negroes, on behalf of themselves and all other members of their race, sought to enjoin the enforcement of municipal segregation laws affecting common carriers, Cameron wanted to uphold the district court's decision which ridiculously declared the laws unconstitutional only with regard to the three Negroes and not as to others. Thus any Negro wanting to ride in the front of a bus would first have to sue before he could sit down.

Fortunately, in all these cases Cameron was alone in dissent so that the plaintiff's rights were safeguarded. Thus, at first glance, it would seem that Cameron's racial views were nullified. It might be argued that, even if Coleman were a segregationist, his views also would be negated in most cases by a two-to-one vote. But this argument overlooks the damaging effect which a biased judge can have on a three-judge court. There is room for harassment and the use of delaying tactics while sitting. A greater hurden is now cast upon the other two judges. Instead of being able to rely upon their colleague to do his share of legal research and reasoning, the two must do the work which the law originally intended for three. This problem is even more serious when it is recalled that four of the nine judges in the Fifth Circuit are either inclined toward segregation or are outright segregationists. These circumstances can only result in a loss of time, overcrowded dockets, and of greater consequence, the delay and even the denial of protection to citizens of their basic civil and political rights.

Perhaps the most shocking example of how a judge can abuse his power was Judge Cameron's actions in the famous Meredith case. Meredith v. Fair, 305 F 2d 343 (5th Cir), cert. denied, 371 U. S. 828 (1962). The long odyssey of James Meredith, a Negro who sought only to enroll in a state university which his own tax money supported, finally seemed to have reached a successful conclusion when the Fifth Circuit ruled in his favor. But this hope was premature, for Judge Cameron on four separate occasions held up the remand directive to the district court. Without the directive, Meredith could not enroll. Ultimately, it took the intervention of Justice Black of the Supreme Court who was forced to invoke his power and set aside the fourth

stay order. Only then was Meredith's quest for justice completed.

After reviewing these and other instances of misbehaviour by segregation-minded judges, one author evaluated the various means which could be used to remedy the problem. In summing up, he wrote in his article "Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit" at 73 Yale Law Journal 90, 122 (1963):

> ". . . The ability of a judge to resist discipline, limited only by the near-impossibilities of impeachment or contempt, is profound testimony to the importance of selecting judges who will comply in the first instance."

"The principal cure," he concluded, "must be found in the appointment of judges who will disinterestedly comply with decisions of higher courts." 73 Yale Law Journal 131.

At the present time, there is no indication that the tide of civil rights litigation will recede. In fact, the trend is in the other direction. If appointed to the Fifth Circuit, Governor Coleman would be in a unique position to further his segregationist ideals by the "legal" means he has always espoused for resisting Congress and the Supreme Court.

Consider, for example, a challenge to the constitutionality of any Mississippi statute or administrative proceeding, which must be made pursuant to the provisions of 28 U. S. C. §2281 (1958). The suit would have to begin with application to one of the District Court judges sitting in Mississippi. All three, Clayton, Cox, and until recently the late Judge Mize, have been known for their resistance to the implementation of Negro equality. Then, two more judges would be assigned by Chief Judge Tuttle of the Fifth Circuit. One would most likely be the Appeals judge sitting from Mississippi. In the U. S. v. Mississippi case, Cameron was the judge assigned. Therefore, if Coleman's nomination is approved, he and a Mississippi district judge will constitute a majority, and will be in a position to thwart every attempt to make Mississippi law conform to the requirements of the Constitution. It will be particularly ludicrous if Coleman sits as part of the court in the Mississippi case, since it was Coleman himself who was, first as attorney general, then as governor, and finally as a legislator, a leading figure in the erection of many of the legal barriers to full and equal voting rights in that state. (1)

The situation will be much the same in any other constitutional challenge to Mississippi's apartheid statues. Of particular concern to a Senate which has invoked closure and passed a strong voting rights bill is the potential role of ex-Governor Coleman under that act. The utilization of federal voting examiners to register

qualified Negroes in Mississippi is a recognized necessity and a provision of both the Senate and House versions of the bill. But the bill also provides that when the state seeks to challenge such registrations (as it assuredly will do in almost every instance), it must make direct application to the Court of Appeals. There Mississippi will have the friendly ear of Judge Coleman.

Lastly, the importance of filling the current vacancy with the proper person can also be measured by all of the other important civil rights matters which will be coming up in the near future. The regulations issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the dispersal of federal funds under the 1964 Civil Rights Act will undoubtedly be tested in Southern federal courts. No one knows how much litigation will be generated by the fair employment provisions of that same act. Test cases still have to be brought on restaurants and other public accomodations which have tried to evade the provisions of the '64 Act by converting into so-called "private" clubs. And then there are still the many public accomodations and even state-owned facilities in the South which simply flout the law and refuse to serve all Americans.

We would now like to return to those arguments which we stated at the beginning of this paper and which are often given for why Coleman should be appointed.

First, Coleman has been called a moderate. The evidence for this statement is supposed to be his political record in Mississippi State politics. After examining the evidence, our conclusion is exactly the opposite. In his own words, he has said,"Let there be no misunderstanding about it. I am a segregationist." (2) (See Appendix). Not only in his speeches, but also by his actions, Coleman has given ample proof to back up this claim.

He defied (3) the Supreme Court by advocating the moribund theory of interposition. This principle (4), contrary to the supremacy clause of Article VI of the Constitution, supposedly allows a state on its own motion to nullify federal law within the state. While Coleman was Governor, he signed Chapter 254 into the state law books, which attempted to bind all members of the Mississippi executive to a policy of segregation and interposition. (5)

His administration took drastic measures in attempts to impede school desegregation. He openly schemed (6) on how Mississippi could circumvent Supreme Court rulings. He even signed a bill which repealed the compulsory school attendance laws so that he would be able to close any school which was ordered to integrate. (7) Here was no moderation, no statesmanlike efforts at peacefully bringing about school desegregation. Here were active and continuous attempts to resist this constitutionally required change.

Every means was employed to deny Negro citizens of Mississippi their voting rights. As governor he candidly advocated the passage of new voting laws which would help to prevent Negroes from registering. (8) Such laws would be in direct conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment which promises that no American citizen will be deprived of his voting rights because of his race.

Coleman did not play a passive role while segregation was being further entrenched in Mississippi's social and political life. He constantly made suggestions on how the system of discrimination could be bolstered by further laws. (9) At one point he called for a state constitutional convention, (10a) but not even the Mississippi legislature was willing to tolerate this drastic proposal. To maintain a segregated school system, he was determined to close down any school ordered to desegregate (10b). He was one of the main instigators in getting Southern governors to cooperate with each other in order to oppose the Supreme Court. (11)

Coleman's administration also denied other rights guaranteed to American citizens by the Bill of Rights. School books were censored by the removal of all material which in any way could be construed as favoring integration. (12) The act signed by Coleman setting up the State Sovereignty Commission tried to despoil citizens of their Fifth Amendment right to be free from self-incrimination. (13)

In some situations the ex-Governor was willing to go to any lengths to preserve segregation, perpetrating actions which would be repugnant to anyone but a die-hard racist. When Professor Clennon King tried to register at the University of Mississippi in 1958, he was bodily seized by highway patrolmen and held incommunicado for two weeks. He then was placed in a mental hospital and finally was forced to leave the state. (14) Governor Coleman openly boasted that he was responsible for these events. (15a) Toward the close of Coleman's administration in 1959 another Negro who attempted to register in an all-white college was arrested on trumped-up charges and sent to prison. He later died, partly as a result of the mistreatment he had suffered. (15b)

It is hard to see how anyone who has impartially read what Governor Coleman has said and done could arrive at any other conclusion than that Coleman should be taken at his word, that he is a "segregationist." His constant and tireless efforts to preserve and strengthen Mississippi's system of segregation are eloquent testimony of his political and social philosophy.

The second argument presented in support of the Coleman nomination is that the next appointee to the Fifth Circuit must come from Mississippi to fill the seat Cameron held as a Mississippian and that the "most moderate" man Senator Eastland will approve is Coleman. It first must be emphasized that there is no law stating

that the next appointee must be from Mississippi. Not every state must have "it's representative" on one of the ten Circuit Courts. In fact, four states are totally unrepresented, having none of their citizens sitting on a Court of Appeals bench. (16) Moreover, the whole notion of a state having a Circuit seat is false. Circuit courts are not political bodies cutting future social and economic policy out of whole cloth. If they were, then the argument of state representation would be valid. True enough, we have outgrown the myth that judges "do not make the law, they only find it." Yet there are certain limitations within which judges must work, boundaries set by the Constitution, by Supreme Court decisions, by past precedents, and by the logical working out and historical evolution of legal doctrine. Thus there is no necessity dictated either by law, by custom, or by political theory that the next judge must come from Mississippi.

Some have asserted, however, that because of the privilege of senatorial courtesy Senator Eastland should have control over who is appointed to the Fifth Circuit. Again this is part of the theme that somehow the vacancy "belongs" to Mississippi. Even conceding that it may be expedient to allot appointments among the various states, there are strong grounds for stating that the privilege of senatorial courtesy should not be applicable when a Circuit Court appointment is at stake.

"Senatorial courtesy" is a term applied to two related practices of the Senate in its relationship with the President concerning federal appointments. Most federal appointments involve a particular state, for example, local federal marshals or postmasters. The custom has developed that each senator can recommend to the President, if he is of the same political party, a list of people who should be appointed to various federal posts in the senator's home state. Related to this is the practice that if a senator declares a particular appointment in his state is "personally obnoxious" to him, the other senators out of deference will not approve the nomination.

A three-fold rationale is normally presented to justify this privilege. First, the Fathers who wrote the Constitution intended that the Senate have a voice in federal appointments. Secondly, since each senator is more directly answerable to the people of his own state than either the President or the other senators, he will tend to be more conscientious in making sure that good men are appointed. The third and main reason was forcefully expressed by Senator Douglas in 1941 when he said that the President "cannot, in the nature of things, in the vast majority of instances, know the qualifications of lawyers and local judges within a given state as well as do the Senators from that State." 82nd Cong. 1st sess. (daily ed., October 9, 1941), p. 13101.

The answer to the first ground is that, although the Senate is required to approve all nominees, nowhere in the Constitution is any reference made to an individual senator having the power either to make recommendations or to block appointments. Indeed, the wording of the clause in Article II, Section 2, (17) seems to convey the opposite inference that an approval is to be the collective decision of the whole Senate with each senator making up his own mind.

As far as the second reason is concerned, it loses its logical force when applied to the appointment of a federal circuit judge. Whatever argument can be made as to the political responsibility of a senator for appointments to federal administrative offices situated within his state, the argument should carry little weight when we are talking about a judge. To allow senatorial courtesy to hold absolute sway here is to invite the danger that federal judgeships will become little more than political plums to be handed out by each senator as payment for past favors. Moreover, the argument is further weakened by the fact that a circuit judge hears cases from a number of states. Those living in other states simply have no way to hold the senator politically accountable for bad choices.

Thirdly, the Douglas defense of senatorial courtesy based on a senator's knowledge does have some relevance even as to the appointment of a circuit judge. But when this is balanced against the interest of the other states within the particular circuit that a qualified and impartial person be appointed,the courtesy privilege should not be given the same effect as in ordinary in-state federal appointments.

Thus, all of the various reasons normally given for the application of senatorial courtesy to federal appointments are either irrelevant or only marginally so when an appointment is to be made, as in the present instance, to fill a vacancy on a Circuit Court.

Finally, to round off the second argument, even if senatorial courtesy can properly be invoked in the case of a circuit judge, there have been occasions in the past when the Senate has, despite the invoking of the privilege, refused to concur in its exercise. In 1936 Senator Bilbo of Mississippi attempted to veto the appointment of Judge Holmes to the Fifth Circuit. But the Judiciary Committee unanimously recommended the nominee, and the Senate confirmed by a 59 to 4 vote.

An even more significant example of the Senate's discretion in this area was the attempted appointment in 1930 of Judge Parker, a citizen of the state of North Carolina. Parker, after having sat on the 4th Circuit bench for 5 years, was nominated by President Hoover to fill a Supreme Court vacancy. His name was placed in

nomination at a public hearing by Senator Overman of North Carolina who was the chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee. Due to the political activity of the N.A.A.C.P. and labor unions, both of whom feared that Parker because of his past record would be anti-Negro and anti-labor if appointed, Parker's nomination was not accepted. And this happened despite presidential backing and the enthusiastic support of Parker's home-state senator who was a member of the Judiciary Committee. The parallels of that situation with the present are striking. Here also Coleman has been nominated by the President. He is supported by his own Senator, James Eastland, who is on the Judiciary Committee. Parker was rejected partly because some feared his possible racist views. There is no reason why our present Senate could not, if they find that Coleman is a segregationist, likewise withold consent to his nomination.

The third contention which the Coleman proponents fall back on is the old belief that if appointed to the bench, a man will lose his political biases, that he will become fair-minded and impartial. This belief, however, will not stand up under historical scrutiny. Using a person's past background, it has been relatively easy to predict, especially with regard to the lower federal court appointees, what kinds of decisions a particular judge would be inclined to render.

Justice Black, however, is one example many have cited as to the effect a judicial office can have on a person. Supposedly, Black, who was at one time a member of the Ku Klux Klan, was changed into the liberal that he is today by his appointment to the Supreme Court. But historically this is absolutely false. His link with the KKK seems to have been nothing more than an honorary membership conferred upon him by the Klan in the 1920's.

More importantly, his whole record as a Senator prior to his appointment shows him to have been a liberal in both domestic and foreign affairs. He was the only Senator who spoke out in July, 1932, about the "militaristic way" in which the Bonus Marchers had been handled by the federal government. In 1933 he introduced a bill advocating an unheard-of thirty-hour week for workers. He strongly supported Social Security, TVA, and minimum wage laws. By the end of his senate career, he was acknowledged leader of the Progressives and an ally of Senator LaFollette and Mayor LaGuardia. Black's career certainly cannot be used as a precedent for speculating as to a possible Coleman conversion.

Indeed, history gives an opposite lesson. At least five of the Kennedy appointees carried their racist views right along with them when they assumed their judicial offices. (18) The worst

example is Judge Harold Cox of Mississippi. Cox had been a roommate of Senator Eastland's at "Ole Miss" and both had remained life-long friends. More significantly, Cox had been closely aligned with the states-rights and rabid segregation faction of Mississippi politics. There should have been little difficulty in predicting what he would be like as a judge. Yet in private interviews with officials of the United States Justice Department just prior to the approval of Judge Cox, assurances were given that he was a moderate, and even if not, he would change. After examining Cox's appalling record as a district judge, one can only recall Santayana's oft-repeated warning that those who do not learn by history are forced to relive it.

In conclusion, the present vacancy on the Fifth Circuit is far more than a question of politics. Two hundred years ago our society committed itself to the proposition that all men are created equal. For two hundred years we have toiled to make that belief a concrete reality. Too many Americans have died now in too many wars. Too many have been lynched for freedom. Too many have shed blood in the struggle for civil rights. Our society has made a deep and fundamental choice: a man's rights will not be measured by the color of his skin. We cannot go back. The evidence gathered against ex-Governor Coleman is too damning. His very words and actions prove him an avowed segregationist. Moreover, there is too much here at stake to gamble on what history declares an empty hope that Coleman will change his views. Such a man should never be appointed to hold one of the highest offices, a federal Circuit Court judgeship.

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## APPENDIX

(1) As a legislator from 1960 on, Coleman voted in favor of the most recent major revisions to the Mississippi Election Code. These measures, now under constitutional attack in United States v. Mississippi, include the following:

H.B. No. 822: Require publication of name and address of applicants for registration to vote. Miss. House Journal 805, May 2, 1962.
H.B. No. 899: Amend law with reference to who is entitled to vote; clarify taxes that must be paid. Miss. H. J. 805, May 2, 1962.
H. B. No. 900: Clarify original intent of voting requirements. Y; 114-0.
H. B. No. 901: Eliminate from poll book color of electors appearing thereon. Y; 114-0.
H. B. No. 903: Providing what shall be endorsed upon applications to register. Y; 111-0.
H.B. No. 904: Provide method for third person to challenge good moral character of applicant to register. Y; 119-0.
H.B. No. 905: Enforce good moral character requirement for registering to vote. Y; 119-0.

(2) Clarion-Ledger, December 19, 1955, page 1.

(3) June 2, 1954, p. 1, The Clarion-Ledger.

Attorney General J. P. Coleman told a television audience here Tuesday night that the Congress of the United States never intended that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution be used as applicable to public schools. He declared further that Mississippi will maintain segregation in the schools, regardless of the U.S. Supreme Court. (Emphasis supplied.)

(4) January 27, 1956, p. 1, The Clarion-Ledger.

Governor C oleman . . . said that while there are no such legal terms as interposition or nullification, that he has never (Emphasis supplied) objected to the use of the term interposition and that he will support it in the terms he understands are implied.
Interposition, he explained, is a stand interposing rights of the people and the use of every legal means by the state to protect the rights of the state against unconstitutional edicts of the U.S. Supreme Court.

(5) Chapter 254, Senate Bill No. 1870, p. 303, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956.

(The adoption into law of the Resolution of Interposition Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125)

". . . all of said members of the executive branch . . . are further directed and required to prohibit by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means, the implementation of or the compliance with the Integration Decisions of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954."

(6) June 29, 1955, p. 7. Jackson Clarion-Ledger (Quote from address by Coleman.)

"First, we will stand on the provisions of our state constitution. When the U.S. Supreme Court strikes that down, then we will start assignments under the Gore Act, which is perfectly constitutional law. Should that fail, we can adopt a school on the local option plan, get it out of the clutches of the Federal Courts, and immediately re-establish it with a new set of trustees."

(7) February 25, 1956, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

Governor J.P. Coleman signed a bill repealing the compulsory school attendance laws - a move to protect the state integration cases. The bill was proposed by the Legal Education Advisory Committee, set up to find ways to evade the U.S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in schools. Members argued last year that the state would have firmer legal standing in integration cases if it did not require children - Negro and white - to attend school.

Chapter 273. General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Approved by Governor J.P. Coleman, February 24, 1956.

(This is an act to repeal the compulsory education laws, thus allowing parents to withdraw their children from school in the event of desegregation. It was proposed by Coleman while attorney general.)

September 27, 1957 television panel discussion as reported in the Clarion-Ledger.

"Governor Coleman will immediately invoke the constitutional authority to close any school at which integration appears imminent, leaving empty classrooms into which troops could march Negro children.

(8) August 30, 1957, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

Governor J. P. Coleman hinted today he may seek a change in the way Mississipians are registered to vote as a part of the State's defense against civil rights legislation. The governor told the Calhoun City Rotary Club he may ask that the registration function be taken from the circuit clerks under the new constitution he hopes to have written. Instead, three-man commission or board would meet at a regular time once a month to accept registrations.

February 4, 1958, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

Voter Registration in Mississippi would be taken out of the hands of circuit clerks and given county election commissioners and examiners under a measure introduced by Representatives David Glass and John Glayton of Attala county. Their resolution bore the notation "by request," which means they acted at the request of someone else.

(9) October 22, 1955, p. 9. The Clarion-Ledger.

Attorney General J.P. Coleman, as the next governor of Mississippi, will recommend to the 1956 Legislature that the common-law marriage in the state be outlawed. The action would be directed toward the continuing of segregation in the schools of the state and would be a part of several facts of the overall state plan to defeat efforts of the NAACP and the Supreme Court of United States to break down racial discrimination.

(10a) November 19, 1957, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

"He (Coleman) said the school's obligation to educate children should be removed from the Constitution so that the schools themselves could make a district-by-district defense against integration, sacrificing some schools if necessary, but saving the rest.

(10b) March 19, 1958, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

Governor J. P. Coleman told a joint assembly of the Mississippi Legislature here Tuesday morning that the only way to successfully handly onslaughts of integrationists is through a constitutional convention. Thus, he renewed his claim that only a completely new basic formula of law will maintain segregation in this state.

(11) January 27, 1956, The Clarion-Ledger.

Coleman said the governors of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina agreed with him that they should let the nation know "in no uncertain terms that the Supreme Court ban on segregation is unconstitutional and that we will oppose it with every legal means available."

(12) November 21, 1958, p. 1. The Clarion-Ledger.

Coleman announced the State Textbook Commission has completed work on the list of books approved for high school during the next four years.

Coleman, a member of the five-man group, said,"We have done our best to select the best books available and have carefully checked them all as to content.

Before the group of books went before the group, every one was examined by a committee of teachers, who screened out material that might be construed as for integration.

(13) Chapter 365, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956. Mississippi Code, Sec. 9028-9031. Approved by Governor J. P. Coleman, March 29, 1956.

(An Act creating the State Sovereignty Commission of which the Governor was a member and chairman.)

Sec. 11. Any witness is granted immunity from prosecution for any fact or act touching which he is required to testify. If he still refused to testify on the grounds that he will thereby incriminate himself, "The commission shall consider such refusal as a part of the evidence and shall inform the public of the refusal of such witness to testify and the facts and circumstances under such refusal was made."

(14) In June of 1958 Professor Clennon King of Alcorn A&M College attempted to register at the University of Mississippi. He was bodily removed from the premises and held incommunicado for two weeks by highway patrolmen. On June 6 he was committed to Whitfield State Mental Hospital for a period of observation to last a minimum of thirty days. These and other acts succeeded in intimidating Professor King not only to forego further attempts at registration, but to leave the state entirely.

(15a) July 16, 1963, p. 10, The Clarion-Ledger.

(This quote is taken from a campaign address by Governor Coleman.)

"The only racial trouble in this state from 1956-60 was when Negro Clennon King decided he wanted to go to Ol' Miss. He went in the front door and out the back door to another state institution. He decided then he wanted to leave the state and he hadn't been back since."

(15b) On September 15, 1959, close to the end of Governor Coleman's tenure of the governorship, another Negro, Clyde Kennard, attempted registering at an all-white Mississippi state college and suffered a tragic and fatal treatment at the hands of the Coleman administration. He was arrested on charges of reckless

(15b continued)

and illegal possession of liquor, purported to have been discovered in his car while he was attempting to register. He was tried and sentenced to serve seven years in prison, and was released from prison by Governor Ross Barnett shortly before he died of cancer, aggrevated by his stay in prison.)

(16) The four states are South Dakota, Oregon, Alaska, and Hawaii. Although the last two states have only been in the Union since 1959, they have had three opportunities to "secure" seats on the ninth circuit court.

(17) Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution:

> (The President) shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law.

(18) Kennedy made ten federal judicial appointments in the South. The five who turned out to be racists even on the bench were:

1. Judge West, Louisiana
2. Judge Elliott, Georgia
3. Judge Allgood, Alabama
4. Judge Cox, Mississippi
5. Judge Gewin, 5th Circuit.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS I. EMERSON, LINES PROFESSOR OF LAW, YALE LAW SCHOOL, BEFORE THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE CONSIDERING THE NOMINATION OF GOV. JAMES P. COLEMAN TO THE COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT, JULY 12, 1965

I join with those opposing the confirmation of Gov. Coleman. My two main reasons can be stated briefly.

First, solution of the difficult problems of race relations in the United States today turns in major part upon the perfomance of the Federal judiciary system. The basic principles of racial equality, as embodied in the Constitution, have been enunciated by the Supreme Court. The overriding issue now is the implementation of those principles. This is the prime function of the Federal district and circuit courts. Unless they perform this function wholeheartedly and effectively we will have a rule of chaos rather than a rule of law. Such an outcome would be disastrous for the nation. It would particularly be a calamity for the South.

Second, Gov. Coleman's public record on segregation is such that the country can have no confidence that he will perform his judicial function adequately or impartially. The point is not that Gov. Coleman is a segregationist. Every one is entitled to his own opinion. The point is that Gov. Coleman has publicly made clear his view that the Constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to segregation should be resisted to the utmost. He is entitled to that position also. But he is not entitled to maintain that position and at the same time occupy a post in the Federal judiciary, whose duty it is to uphold and firmly enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Today the whole question whether this country can solve its racial problem by orderly judicial process hangs in the balance. The Brown decision is 11 years old. But in large part the schools of the South are still segregated. Congress has passed three civil rights acts in the last nine years. But less than 10 per cent of the adult Negroes are registered to vote in Mississippi. We cannot continue at this pace much longer. In my view we are close to national suicide if we appoint men to the Federal bench who have not, by their public record, given clear evidence that they are fully committed to support the Constitution and laws guaranteeing racial equality.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS, JR.
First District - Michigan

on nomination of J.P. Coleman of Mississippi to Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals

before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee

Monday morning, July 12, 1965

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee:

I strongly oppose the appointment of James P. Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Let me make it quite clear at the outset that my opposition is in no way based on personal feelings since I have never met Mr. Coleman nor have I ever had any dealings with him, directly or indirectly. I oppose his nomination because he is a dedicated and effective segregationist who has consistently used his great legal skills to subvert federal court decisions and laws passed by Congress enforcing the Constitutional guarantees of equal justice for all regardless of race. It is incredible to me that the architect of the Mississippi laws of the 1950's designed to thwart federal civil rights legislation should now be appointed to the federal court handling most of the crucial civil rights cases in this country. As Mr. Coleman stated in June, 1959, "I am not entitled to be called a moderate," but instead claimed to be a "successful segregationist." In a phrase that Mr. Coleman much favors for describing himself, he is not an "amateur or a hothead," but instead a calculating legal technician adept at manipulating the judicial process in order to protect a racist social order.

As a member of the Congress which is now trying to pass an effective law guaranteeing the right to vote, I am very concerned that our Southern Federal Judges, particularly on the Courts of Appeals, be dedicated to the upholding of the United States Constitution and to equality for all men, regardless of color. But the most carefully drafted laws are meaningless if interpreted by judges opposed to them. Mr. Coleman has been quite successful at "plowing around" the paramount rules of the United States, as he himself boasted in August, 1963. Appointing him to the Court which has such complete control over the federal judiciary in the South and which is the court of last resort for most cases would make it incredibly easy for him.

My position has been well stated by the Southern Regional Council in a resolution passed at its 1964 Meeting on November 20 and 21: "It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications, however strongly urged by State or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national and democratic interests."

The crucial nature of this appointment is illustrated by the fact that the Circuit Court Judge from a State normally sits as a member of the three-judge court considering the Constitutionality of a state statute. Following that practice, Mr. Coleman will presumably sit as a member of the three-judge court which will re-hear the case of U.S. vs Mississippi which tests the Constitutionality of the very election laws supported and drafted by Mr. Coleman as Attorney-General and then governor.

If the Mississippi political system does not permit anyone better then J.P. Coleman to be appointed to the Fifth Circuit it would be far better for that seat to remain vacant. The absence of a vote is far better than a vote to uphold racial segregation.

In 1959, Mr. Coleman asked that the people of Mississippi ignore the statements of his political enemies and just look at the record. Examining Mr. Coleman's record of public statements and actions as a public official is just what I have done for the past week. In order that no one should question the source of my evidence, I have exclusively used the past issues of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger which is the largest newspaper in the State of Mississippi and is designated by the Legislature for the printing of official State notices. I feel sure the chairman will attest to the fact that the Clarion-Ledger is not an advocate of racial integration and so liable to pervert Mr. Coleman's statements.

I have grouped my excerpts from the Clarion-Ledger into three sections describing Mr. Coleman's general political position, his attitude towards the judicial process and an incident from his public record which shows his disregard for equal justice under law. Whenever possible I have used direct quotes of Mr. Coleman's. With me I have a thick sheaf of other quotations from the Clarion-Ledger which will prove that the quotations I have selected are not isolated examples.

J.P. Coleman: "Successful Segregationist" not a "Moderate"

June 30, 1959 (excerpt from a television speech by Coleman): "I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destroy my place in the affections of my fellow Mississippians by claiming that I am a 'moderate'. Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist ... I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what the record says ... I stand on a record of performance and I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that none of my friends have called me that."

Much has been said about Mr Coleman's endorsement of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960 as proof of his political moderation. I would first of all point out that Senators Eastland and Stennis supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket and no one has ever claimed that they were moderates on the race issue. In fact Mr. Coleman has made it very clear why he supported the national Democratic party ticket in 1960: "Coleman said rumoured attempts to purge Eastland because Mississippi bolted the Democratic Party in the 1960 election was the main reason he supported the party ticket in that election." (June 12, 1963). And again on July 10, 1963: "We're sorry now for the things Kennedy has done, but we saved Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee chairmanship and we're glad of that. That chairmanship is the major bulwark between us and Kennedy's civil rights bill."

Coleman: The Thinking Man's Segregationist

Governor Coleman is a renowned strategist at by-passing the federal judiciary and devising legal tecniques to thwart the series of laws passed by Congress to protect the civil rights of all Americans regardless of race. Throughout his public statements runs a consistent theme: he is the only person with the legal experience and skill to consistently out-manuver the Federal courts, Congress and the Executive.

Speaking about the school integration decision by the Supreme Court when he was the incumbent Attorney-General running for Governor (June 28, 1955): "We have already planned our strategy. First, we will stand on the provisions of our State Constitution. When the U.S. Supreme Court strikes that down, then we will start assignment under the Gore Act which is perfectly Constitutional law. Should that fail, we can adopt a school on the local option plan, get it out of the clutches of the Federal Courts, and immediately re-establish it with a new set of trustees."

October 14, 1956: "He (Coleman) told them of new laws most of which he wrote as Attorney-General and then signed when his people promoted him to governor -- to keep Negroes out of white schools. They include authority for the legislature to abolish public schools." For the benefit of the Committee the laws referred to are from the General Laws of Mississippi of 1956. Chapter 228, signed by Governor Coleman on February 24, 1956, repealed the compulsory school attendance laws, thus allowing parents to withdraw their children from school in the event of school desegregation. Chapter 273, signed by Governor Coleman on April 5, 1956 provided, "In all school districts, separate schools shall be maintained or otherwise provided for children of the white and colored races." I would point out that this law was passed nearly two years after the Brown vs. Board of Education case in which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the racial segregation of public school pupils.

Mr. Coleman is also smart enough to know when to make a tactical retreat. A year and a half after signing into law the authority for the legislature to abolish public schools, he advocated repeal because the legislative history of the bill would have been quite embarrassing in a court case. The November 19, 1957 Clarion-Ledger reported: "He (Coleman) said Mississippi's Constitutional authority to abolish schools should be removed because legislative journals show 'the clear purpose of that amendment was to preserve segregation to the last ditch and then abolish the schools as a last resort '"

June 21, 1957: "It would be utterly impossible to integrate the schools of any State or this State now, if the State will take the right legal approach.

August 31, 1957: "Asked today if he thought the civil rights legislation would result in any increase in Negro voting in Mississippi, the governor said: 'That all depends on a lot of things. It does not necessarily follow that more would vote, although it could follow through a lack of management and preparation.' He said that with the defense he outlined and 'certain very

necessary changes in the Constitution, the people of Mississippi will escape any substantial injury from this federal legislation.'"

July 10, 1963: "Former Governor J.P. Coleman said Tuesday his opponents have taken a defeatist attitude on the race issue ... Coleman said he is the only candidate 'with hope of stemming widespread integration and the ability and experience to do it.'"

August 1, 1963: "Coleman said that sovereignity can be maintained peacefully. 'But not by knocking over the paramount rules of the United States. You just have to learn how to plow around them.'"

case of Clennon King: Shows Willingness to Sacrifice Individual to Political Expediency.

The case of Clennon King, an Alcorn A&M College history professor, who attempted to enroll at the University of Mississippi in the summer of 1958, demonstrates Mr. Coleman's willingness to sacrifice one individual's Constitutional rights to the dictates of political expediency.

Let me quote the article from the Clarion-Ledger of August 3, 1963 reporting Mr. Coleman's boasts about the incident "Coleman repeated the story about Negro Clennon King who attempted to register at Ole' Miss during Coleman's tenure as Governor, but who was committed to Whitfield after two weeks after being held incommunicado for some time by highway patrolmen. 'The point of this story,' he said, 'is not the fact that one man was kept out of Ole' Miss. Rather it shows that we know how to protect your rights in such a way that the federal government could find no excuse for putting hands on the State of Mississippi.'"

I certainly agree with Mr. Coleman's assessment of the true significance of this incident. It demonstrates the cavalier attitude of Mr. Coleman to basic civil rights when opposed by the imperative of maintaining racial segregation. Mr. Coleman used incident as a major campaign issue in his campaign for re-election to demonstrate his ability to maintain racial segregation in Mississippi public schools for the next four years

March 17, 1963: "'The only racial trouble in this state from 1956 to 1960 was when Negro Clennon King decided he wanted to go to Ole' Miss. He went in the front door and out the back door to another State institution. He decided then he wanted to leave the State, and he hasn't been back since.'". The Clarion-Ledger of June 7, 1958 reported how it was that Clennon King was

committed to the State mental institution at Whitfield: "Examination by two Hinds County doctors was ordered by Chancery Clerk Frank Scott following a statement by Governor J.P. Coleman who declared King 'went berserk' during his attempt at entry to the University Thursday."

Conclusion: Coleman Unfit to Sit on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals

Mr. Coleman has never been a dissembler nor a trimmer. His political promises and campaign oratory have been reflected in his actions while in office. He has made it clear to all that he is a firm, consistent and able advocate of racial segregation. The Supreme Court, the Congress and the Executive Branch have all declared in the clearest possible terms that public racial segregation is unconstitutional and violates the spirit of American democracy. Surely we can no longer afford to appoint federal judges who have demonstrated their fundamental disagreement with this view of the Constitution and who have used their talents, experience and influence -- no matter how great those may be -- to subverting Supreme Court decisions and the Acts of Congress.

Statement of Louis Lusky, Professor of Law
Columbia Law School, New York City

On the Appointment of James P. Coleman to the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals

Before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee

My name is Louis Lusky. I live in Ridgewood, New Jersey. I am a professor of law at Columbia Law School in New York City.

This subcommittee is sitting to hear facts bearing on the fitness of James P. Coleman of Mississippi to sit as a judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This is an important public question because the Fifth Circuit includes the Deep Southern States which have most successfully resisted the enforcement of Federal law in civil rights matters, and in which the Federal district courts have shown most reluctance to enforce the mandates of Congress and the Supreme Court. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, over the past ten years particularly, has performed a uniquely important service. It has, on the whole applied the Federal law as Congress and the Supreme Court have directed it to be applied. By reversing dozens if not hundreds of persistently erroneous district court rulings, it has screened the Supreme Court from a crushing case load which might well have swamped it if it had been compelled to take jurisdiction of these myriad appeals in order to prevent judicial nullification of the Federal law. The role of the court, and its performance, are assessed in a comprehensive study entitled "Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit," which appeared in the November, 1963 issue of the Yale Law Journal.

The responsibility involved in confirming Mr. Coleman's appointment is a heavy one. If confirmed, he can sit on this court for the rest of his life. The Senate has one opportunity, and only one, to make a judgment as to whether he is likely to aid or obstruct the proper functioning of the Court.

In making that judgment, the Senate will of course consider Mr. Coleman's previous acts and statements in so far as they bear on his acceptance of his obligation, as a lawyer and a public official, to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States. But there are two particular points on which especially careful inquiry is justified. First, what is his attitude toward an oath of office? Does he respect it and consider it binding upon him, or does he subordinate it to some higher loyalty? Second, is he a competent lawyer? Does he have the legal skills that are required for satisfactory service on a court outranked only by the Supreme Court itself?

Since I have been asked to be brief, I shall confine my attention to one particular item in Mr. Coleman's record, which seems to me to raise very grave questions on at least one of these two scores. It concerns the interposition effort which he helped to devise in 1955, and which the Mississippi legislature, with his encouragement and full approval as Governor, adopted in 1956.

Interposition means the refusal of a State to recognize the validity of a Federal law unless and until it is confirmed by adoption of a new constitutional amendment. There was once a time when it was possible for a competent lawyer to believe that it was a lawful procedure. But that time passed a century or more ago. Interposition was proposed by John C. Calhoun in the early 1830's, in an effort to nullify the protective tariff. South Carolina attempted to put it into effect. President Andrew Jackson sternly repulsed this attack on the supremacy of Federal law. His message to Congress on January 16, 1833 (Misc. Doc. of the House of Rep. for 2nd Sess. of 53rd Cong., Vol. 37, Pt. (2) (1893-1894), p. 610) points out the many reasons why interposition cannot be good law. And he proceeded to make his position good. Any lingering doubts as to the soundness of his position were resolved by the Civil War, and by several clear decisions of the Supreme Court. Since that time it has not been possible for a competent lawyer to believe that interposition is or can be constitutionally permissible.

When Mr. Coleman was elected governor in 1955, he presumably took the oath prescribed by Section 268 of the Mississippi Constitution, which included an undertaking that he would "faithfully support the Constitution of the United States." On January 24, 1956, however -- according to a signed news article in the New York Times of the following day (a photocopy of which is submitted as an exhibit to my testimony) -- he joined with three other Southern governors in proposing interposition to prevent enforcement of the Supreme Court's school segregation rulings. The following month the Mississippi legislature adopted an interposition resolution (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125, adopted by both houses on February 29, 1956) which declared the school segregation decisions to be "a usurpation of power xxx and therefore xxx invalid and of no lawful effect within the confines of the State of Mississippi." A photocopy of this resolution, taken from the official Mississippi session laws, is submitted as an exhibit to my testimony. The State legislature then proceeded to enact a comprehensive series of statutes designed to implement this unlawful effort to

nullify the Federal law, including one (Chapter 254, Miss. Gen. Laws 1956) which required the entire executive branch of the State government and every local government to "give full force and effect xxx to the Resolution of Interposition" and "to prohibit, by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means, the implementation of or the compliance with the Integration Decisions of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954 (347 U.S. 483 xxx) and of May 31, 1955 (349 U.S. 294 xxx) xxx (or) of any orders, rules or regulations of any board, commission or agency of the Federal government, based on the supposed authority of said Integration Decisions xxx" Governor Coleman approved this statute on April 5, 1956.

This interposition program was intended to mobilize the entire establishment of State and local government to prevent enforcement of the equal protection clause in Mississippi. It had the desired effect. For nearly ten years officials have arrested, prosecuted, and otherwise harassed those who claimed their Federal rights in Mississippi. They are still doing it. The gap between the possession of Federal rights and the enjoyment of those rights in Mississippi is measured by the cost and suffering involved in arrest, imprisonment, and years of wearisome litigation.

A word should be said about the terms "lawful" and "peaceful" as used in the interposition legislation. It has been quite clear for at least the last hundred years that there is no lawful way in which interposition can be implemented. As used in this context, "lawful" can only mean "not violative of the criminal law," and "peaceful" must mean "not involving armed insurrection." The actual practice of the Mississippi government over the past decade shows that the terms "lawful" and peaceful" were understood to be used in this peculiar and limited sense. But there are many effective non-criminal ways of defying the Supreme Court. One of the most effective is for a Federal judge to abuse his vast discretionary authority to that end. The Yale Law Journal comment which I have already mentioned, shows concretely how this can be and, to some extent, has been accomplished in the Fifth Circuit.

-----more----

To nobody's surprise, the Federal Courts have flatly branded interposition as unconstitutional. Submitted herewith are photocopies of the opinion in Bush V. Orleans Parish School Board, 188 F. Supp. 916 (E.D. La 1960), and pertinent portions of the Supreme Court's opinion in Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (1958). Despite these decisions, the nullification effort in Mississippi has been remarkably effective -- and still is.

On the basis of his participation in the interposition effort, Mr. Coleman can rightly be asked these questions:

(1) Did he believe interposition was lawful when he proposed it?

(2) If so, does he still believe it?

(3) If he does not still believe it, what new law has he learned since 1956 that enlightened him on this point?

(4) Does he believe that his sponsorship of interposition was consistent with his oath as governor to support the Constitution of the United States?

(5) If so, would he place the same construction on his oath of office as a Federal judge? If he would consider such an oath to be more binding than his oath as governor, why?

It is hard to see how Mr. Coleman can give satisfactory answers to all these questions. If he does not, his confirmation would be hard to justify. Enactment of the Civil Rights Bill will mean little if the judges charged with its enforcement are in fact dedicated to its stiltification. Wolves are poor guardians for sheep.

JOHN CONYERS, JR.
1ST DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

COMMITTEE ON
JUDICIARY

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202
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# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D.C. 20515

July 20, 1965

Mr. Lesley Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The nomination of former Mississippi Governor J.P. Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has developed into one of the most controversial judicial nominations in recent years.

As you may know I testified against the nomination along with law professors and representatives of various civil rights, liberal and religious groups. As an attorney and as a member of Congress, I am concerned that we have a federal judiciary composed of men who faithfully uphold the Constitution and Supreme Court decisions. Mr. Coleman's long public record in Mississippi as a prosecuting attorney, attorney-general, and governor shows he will not bring to the bench a sincere willingness to implement the law of the land regarding racial desegregation.

As a prominent person concerned with the administration of justice, I thought you would be interested in reading some of the enclosed background material and statements presented to the Senate Judiciary subcommittee regarding this nomination.

I hope you might have the opportunity to share your views with me on this important matter.

Sincerely,

John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress

Enclosures

*From the desk of*

**HOWARD N. MEYER**

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FA - let discuss

August 3, 1965

Dear Leslie DUNBAR

For your confidential information.

The last paragraph particularly may suggest a thought to you.

Sincerely,

Howard Meyer

HOWARD N. MEYER
76 Tarence Street
Rockville Center, N.Y. 11570

(516) RO-6-5434

August 3, 1965

Hon. John Conyers, Jr.
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Mr. Congressman:

I was glad that Professor Louis Lusky suggested that you send me the background material on your good fight against the Coleman confirmation. I am afraid that I was on the side lines during the critical part of this fight, having been on vacation from July 10 to yesterday.

My interest in this subject was particularly sparked by my exasperation at the confirmation of Cox as District Judge for Mississippi without any recorded opposition at the committee hearing in 1961. The fight you led marks progress since that date. You may be interested in my article in The Common Weal, entitled "Wait Till Next Year", pointing up the Southern Federal Courts' judicial obstructionism and suggesting a remedy. (I still do not know of any remedy short of the one suggested in my article that will really put an end to tokenism; as I wrote my friend, Hoyt Fuller the other day, we are about to enter a period of "super-tokenism".)

You will be particularly interested in the letter my partner, Paul O'Dwyer wrote to the President on April 29, 1965, within a week after the death of Judge Sidney Mize. That letter was published in P. D. East's Petal Paper and thereby given more publicity by this courageous Southern-white integrationist than in the Northern-white liberal press media. Political observers, so-called, scoffed at Mr. O'Dwyer's suggestion of Mrs. Motley to fill the Mize vacancy. Now, I read that she may be designated to the Federal Circuit Court for the Second Circuit. I think that it would do a thousand times more good to have her or someone like her designated for the District Court in Mississippi. I have heard

the name of Jack Young mentioned. If I know the press manipulation tactics used on high, the inspired talk of designation of Mrs. Motley for the Second Circuit is preparation to cover up a bad nomination for the Mize vacancy. Meanwhile, every day that the Mize vacancy remains unfilled, Judge Cox is the Sole representation of Federal Judicial power in Mississippi - a fact which should be mentioned, perhaps with asperity, on the House floor.

As to Judge Coleman, I have two suggestions, which you might want to consider: the first would be a rider to the Justice Department appropriation bill providing that no part of the funds appropriated shall be used to pay the salary of any judge who has by his public pronouncements indicated that he took his oath of office with mental reservations as to his support of the Constitution of the United States and each of its Amendments.

One final thought: when Paul O'Dwyer was campaigning last year for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator from New York, he publicly advocated the impeachment of Judge Harold Cox. I would recommend, since the House Judiciary Committee would initiate any proceeding for the impeachment of a Federal District Judge, that your committee conduct at least a staff inquiry to determine whether grounds exist for his impeachment. I have seen attributed to Judge Cox the making of statements from the bench which demonstrate conclusively, to my satisfaction, that he should be impeached, and I have so informed my own Representative, the Hon. Herbert Tenzer, a member of your committee with whom you may want to consult on this subject.

With every good wish,

Respectfully,

enc.

HOWARD N. MEYER

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE BEFORE THE SENATE JUDICIARY SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF JAMES P. COLEMAN TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee,

I am John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. After just having been released a few days ago after ten days in the Jackson, Mississippi, jail, it is with a troubled mind that I come before this committee to testify against the appointment of J P. Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. I cannot stress too strongly the opposition of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to this appointment and I feel that most Americans would join us if they could foresee the results which would ensue from this appointment. Moreover this appointment is an affront and an insult to the Negro people of the South and to all Americans of good will.

Since 1954 our Federal judicial system has been the primary force in preventing a level of violence and bloodshed which the South has not witnessed since the Civil War. We know all too well Mr. Coleman's attitude regarding the 1954 Supreme Court decision, for it was he who said as late as 1963 that if he were elected governor there would be no further integration of the public schools of Mississippi

Since 1957 the Senate has passed a lengthy series of acts which purport to eliminate centuries of racial discrimination aimed at American Negroes. Now this same body is considering naming James Plemon Coleman to the branch of the United States Courts

which carries the heaviest load of civil rights litigation and holds a position of judicial power over the lives of millions of American Negroes second only to the United States Supreme Court. The results of this action may be predicted with certainty--a complete nullification of all the civil rights legislation which our Congress worked so hard to create.

Moreover this appointment can only result in the retarding of the growth of full citizenship for American Negroes, a policy which I feel neither this committee nor the United States Senate wishes to embrace. Furthermore if the United States Senate chooses to consent to this appointment then it goes on record as favoring the perpetuation of segregation, and all American Negroes will know once and for all just where this body stands on the racial issue. If this body wishes to eliminate or make ineffective past legislation, let it do so by outright repeal so that the American Negro knows where he stands. If this body wishes to ignore the years of suffering, of death, and of dingy prison cells that the Negro has had to face then let it confirm the appointment of J. P. Coleman. But on the other hand, if this body wishes to insure the enforcement of civil rights legislation then it has only one course of action to follow--refuse to consent to the appointment of J. P. Coleman, a vicious and clever segregationist.

If anyone in this room questions the truth of these charges, I direct his attention to the laws of the state of Mississippi which were passed during the period in which J. P. Coleman was governor of Mississippi and over his signature.

We of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee feel that

the record of James P. Coleman speaks for itself as a record of race hatred, prejudice and defiance of the United States Constitution, the Supreme Court and Congress. I would like to point out that as a United States judge, Mr. Coleman would be called upon to interpret the Constitution, laws of Congress and Supreme Court decisions. In light of his past actions can anyone question the result or the course that he would take?

I would like to make it crystal clear to this committee that we reject the argument that Mr. Coleman is the best that Mississippi has to offer. When is it that justice is based on the lesser of two evils? We also feel it is morally wrong for the President to appoint Mr. Coleman as a political pay-off for Mr. Coleman's work during the 1960 Kennedy-Johnson campaign. Furthermore we reject the argument that Mr. Coleman has changed his views. For during the 1963 gubernatorial campaign, Mr. Coleman's position was basically the same as his 1957 stand when he ran for Governor. Therefore we would rather see the seat remain vacant, for fair-minded judges from throughout America are now filling that vacancy.

Gentlemen, the issues are very clear—Negro citizens of this nation cannot and will not stand idly by while one of their major forums for seeking redress is eliminated. I feel obligated to put this committee and our nation on notice that the appoinment of this outspoken segregationist is such a denial of justice that it may cause Negro citizens of the deep South, many of whom we work with every day, to lose faith in the judicial process. They may be forced, in the name of freedom, to carry on mass social dislocation and civil disobedience throughout the South. Gentlemen, the decision is yours. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF MRS. VICTORIA J. GRAY, ON BEHALF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee,

I am Mrs. Victoria Gray and I represent the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which has a membership of more than 100,000 adults of Mississippi. It is with unbelieving and indescribable shock and fear that we learned Friday a week ago of the tragic nomination of former Governor James P. Coleman of Mississippi to be a judge on the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The man who designed and implemented much of the legislative system which still enslaves us, has now been appointed our judge. This man has spent almost all of his adult life advising and planning in one way or another how to continue the suppression and dehumanization of the Negro people of Mississippi. He did this as district attorney, as judge on the Mississippi Supreme Court, as Attorney General, as Governor,and as representative to the State Legislature. His record is complete, is so extensive that it encompasses almost every type of office in Mississippi and is so consistent with segregation and white supremacy that it is inconceivable that rational men could believe that this man would be an unbiased judge over the rights of the Negro citizens of the states of the Fifth Circuit.

Gentlemen, I have lived in Mississippi for the many years that this man has been a dominant force in the state. I have personally experienced a life that has suffered from his brilliant and able fight for the supremacy of the white man. Senators, I now wish

to speak of a matter of which I have personal knowledge, the tragic case of Clyde Kennard, a brilliant Negro ex-serviceman whose initial efforts to get an education in a state institution of higher learning took place during the ex-Governor Coleman's administration. Ex-Governor Coleman gave Mr. Kennard his personal assurance that if he would wait until after the gubernatorial elections had been held he would be able to continue his education at Mississippi Southern College. Mr. Kennard accepted ex-Governor Coleman's proposal in good faith and after the election had been held, he again attempted to enter. At this time he was arrested on leaving the registration building. He was not informed of the charges until after he had been locked up. The arrest was followed by a withdrawal of his credit which was especially serious for him as he was a poultry farmer. Finally he was arrested and sentenced to seven years in the state penitentiary on the false charges of instigating the theft of seven bags of chicken feed. Kennard was denied access to medical treatment even though the medical officials had instructed that he must not be made to do hard labor, which he was forced to do, and that he should receive periodic medical treatment. Kennard was not given treatment for cancer until just before he was granted a suspended sentence. Kennard died within a few weeks. I do not know what part ex-Governor Coleman played in the final series of events which led to Kennard's death, but it was his agreement with Kennard which triggered these events.

This Congress has indicated its deep concern for enforcing the precious right to vote for those whose sole disqualification has been the color of their skin. This was the promise of the Fifteenth

Amendment nearly one hundred years ago. And this is the purpose of the Challenge to the seats of the Mississippi Congressmen, who sit by virtue of the nearly total exclusion of Negro citizens from the registration rolls of my state. Their disfranchisement has been accomplished in part by intimidation, terror, violence, and murder, and in part by legal trickery. Governor Coleman as the author and architect of much of the latter, the Kennard case for example, is intimately familiar with these legal devices.

He formed the notorious State Sovereignty Commission, whose purpose is the preservation of the white supremacist system. It is supported on state funds, and has donated $193,000 of the money to underwrite the activities of the White Citizens Councils. He helped to organize the Southern governors for the achievement of these same racist goals on a region-wide basis. He signed into law Mississippi's interposition statute, thus codifying a doctrine which is wholly in opposition to the American system of federalism, and Article VI, the Supremacy Clause, of the Constitution. The statute directs the executive branch of the Mississippi State Government to decide for itself whether it wishes to comply with Supreme Court desegregation orders. The absurdity of such a notion speaks for itself, and requires no further comment on my part.

Governor Coleman's official actions are a matter of public record. I would like now to turn to a lesser known aspect of his lack of qualifications for the position to which he has been named. It must always be borne in mind that as a judge on the Court of Appeals he will stand in the pathway of the successful implementation of the Voting Rights Bill, for the passage of which this Senate

labored mightily, and the Negroes of Mississippi and elsewhere await with high expectations. For that bill provides that when the federal voting examiner registers qualified applicants, the state has a right to appeal the registration of those persons. To avoid the injustice Negroes have received at the hands of district judges such as Cox of Mississippi, this appeal is taken directly to the circuit court, that is directly to, I fear, Judge Coleman. It is intolerable that a man who has taken the public position that Negroes should not have the right to vote, will sit in judgment on the qualifications of Negroes who must go to a federal registrar because Governor Coleman's registration laws have made it impossible for them to meet the rigid standards of state registration officials.

But allow me to tell you now what sort of a man we have found Governor Coleman to be, what sort of a man we may find sitting on one of the highest and most dignified appointive offices in the United States. You are probably familiar with the Challenge in the House of Representatives. Governor Coleman has been retained as attorney for the four Democratic sitting members. As such he entered into certain stipulations regarding technical requirements for the taking of depositions. In reliance upon these agreements over 15,000 pages of testimony were gathered. But on June 8, B. B. McClendon, attorney for Republican Representative Walker, wrote to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, on behalf of Governor Coleman and himself. In the letter he urged that the Clerk disregard the stipulations and refuse to print the testimony. The lower House of this Congress has dealt with such behavior in the past, in an election contest involving

the seat of Fiorello LaGuardia. When his attorney disregarded stipulations as to the time limits for collecting testimony, and argued in his brief that the depositions taken in reliance upon those stipulations were invalid, the House Elections Committee said:

> ". . .(T)he contestee's attorney joined in the stipulation to waive the requirements of the law,. . . and was afterwards guilty of a breach of legal ethics when he raised the point of lack of diligence."

The Canons of Professional Ethics say that a lawyer's conduct should be characterized by "candor adn fairness" and that " it is dishonorable to avoid performance of any agreement" affecting clients' rights. Governor Coleman's apparent role in repudiating stipulations and agreements made with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party constitutes professional conduct that is highly questionable from an ethical point of view. It raises the gravest apprehensions as to his suitability to assume a position of highest honor. I, for one, am compelled to speak out against his appointment. Many others have joined me in this protest, for they share my alarm and concern. I cannot emphasize too strongly that this Senate should refuse to approve his nomination, for to give consent to it will be an affront to the judiciary of the United States, and an insult of the grossest nature to the hopes and aspirations of Negroes who for the first time in this century see the prospect of equality and full freedom within their reach.

I repeat that Governor Coleman's official actions are a matter of public record and would close this testimony with a quote taken from a television speech made by Governor Coleman: (Jackson, Clarion-Ledger, June 30, 1959)

"I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destroy my place in the affections of my fellow Mississippians by claiming that I am a 'moderate.' Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist. They have made a great sham of this, and every time they can get a chance they try to stir it up. I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what the record says. . . I stand on a record of performance and I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that none of my friends have called me that."

These, Gentlemen, are some of the words and acts of the man who has been nominated to occupy a position that by its nature demands the implementation of the very rights he himself has done a near perfect job of destroying, both for the Negro and for a large portion of the white population of our state of Mississippi. We feel that confirmation of Mr. Coleman will be no less than sanction of continued police state for Mississippi and the states of the Fifth Circuit.

I thank you.

TESTIMONY ON THE APPOINTMENT OF FORMER MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR J. P. COLEMAN TO THE U.S. FIFTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS:

My name is Richard T. McSorley. My address is 37th & O Street, Washington 7, D. C. I am a Roman Catholic priest and professor of theology at Georgetown University.

A review of the public speeches and actions of former Governor Coleman show him to be fully committed to the practice of color segregation and discrimination. In his Inaugural Address as Governor, January 1956, he said;

> "My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1955, I said in my official platform: There will be no mixing of the races in any of the state-operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject."

He lived up to his promise. He led in the fight to deny Negro citizens the educational opportunity, voting rights. His public life is the story of striving to deny civil rights to Negro Americans in Mississippi. I present with my testimony thirty two pages of information on the public speeches and actions of Mr. Coleman that will substantiate this statement.

The judge is the official guardian of justice in the area of his jurisdiction. To commit the care of justice to a man who has in all his public actions exemplified a public pattern of injustice toward the Negro is, I think, morally wrong, unless there is some proof that the public pattern of injustice will cease. It is morally wrong because it promotes and rewards injustice.

Official statements of the Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic religions have condemned the practice of color segregation and discrimination in the United States as morally wrong.

> BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES, Discrimination and the Christian Conscience, 1958, Nat'l Cath. Welfare Conference
>
> CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, Commission on Justice and Race, A Time for Greatness of Soul, A Message For Race Relations Sabbath, 1958 and also The Challenge to America, A Message for Race Relations Sabbath, 1959, N.Y.
>
> PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL BISHOPS, "Pastoral Letter from Protestant Episcopal Bishops, Oct. 17, 1958, Meet, Know and Listen," in New South Vol. 13, No. 12, issue of Dec. 1958, p.4-8.

Pope John 23rd in his encyclical letter, "Peace on Earth" , "Racial discrimination can in no way be justified ..." (sec. 44) and "Truth requires the elimination of every trace of racism. (sec. 86)

Because the practice of racial segregation and discrimination in the way it was publicly practised by former Governor J. P. Coleman show him to be opposed in practice to sound moral teaching, I do not think he should become the judge who is to decide the civil rights issue in the sensitive area of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Fifth Circuit encompasses the two worst states in the nation in terms of denial of civil rights, Mississippi and Alabama. Many of the important decisions based on the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and the coming Voting Rights Bill of 1965 will be made in the Fifth Circuit Court. The record of former Governor Coleman does not qualify him to make such decisions. I express the hope that you will not confirm his appointment.

Suffrage - Miss.



lution introduced for this purpose. My distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] and other Senators joined me as coauthors. That joint resolution was reintroduced on the opening day for receiving resolutions and bills in the present Congress.

Mr. President, the facts are that on July 23, 1962, only a short time before the joint resolution was introduced in this Chamber by me and cosponsored by my colleague [Mr. LAUSCHE] and other Senators, the Plain Dealer, a great newspaper in Cleveland, Ohio, and in our Nation, published an excellent article on Winston Churchill. The article was entitled, "Hero of Two Nations." Its author was Kay Halle.

Miss Halle is one of the outstanding women in the United States. She is a personable television and radio commentator, a journalist, an author, and a world traveler of note. Not only is she at the present time one of the world's outstanding women, but also during World War II she served her country in an executive capacity in the Office of Strategic Services. In recent years she has been serving the administration as a member of President Kennedy's Advisory Committee on the Arts.

Miss Halle, of Cleveland, Ohio, first met Winston Churchill in 1931. At that time she was writing a column from London for the Cleveland News. During her stay in England in the following years, she spent many weekends at Chartwell with the Churchill family. She recalled those years, 30 years later, in her article published in the Plain Dealer.

In that article she wrote of the contribution and the service which Winston Churchill had rendered to his nation, to the United States and, in fact, to all the nations of the free world. She suggested that it would be fitting if the President of the United States, under an act of Congress, should bestow upon Winston Churchill honorary citizenship of this country.

When the word goes out from Washington that the President of the United States has issued such a proclamation—and it will be issued very shortly, due to the authorization by both bodies of the Congress—it will be a fitting honor, and, I fear, one of the final honors which will come to this great citizen of the world.

I invite attention, Mr. President, to the fact that although many resolutions have been introduced in both bodies to confer honorary citizenship upon Winston Churchill, we should recall at this time that Kay Halle of Ohio was the person who first suggested that this be done.

We can all take some satisfaction that this action, without precedent in the history of our country, has taken place; and that, in his final days on this earth, Winston Churchill, former Prime Minister of England, former leader of the free world, is an honorary citizen of the United States.

Mr. LAUSCHE and Mr. DIRKSEN addressed the Chair.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield first to my distinguished senior colleague.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I merely wish to commend my colleague for the beautiful remarks he has made with respect to Sir Winston Churchill. I was glad to join him in sponsorship of the measure. I am prouder now, knowing that the objective is reaching its achievement, to be a sponsor along with him of this very fine measure. I commend him for the remarks he has made.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I should afford full credit to the distinguished Senators from Ohio and West Virginia for having introduced the measures in the Senate.

I was directed by the Committee on the Judiciary this morning to report the House bill and ask for its passage, because the Senate bill carried a preamble. Since there was a variance as between texts, the Senate bill would have had to go to conference. Time was of the essence. Therefore, we submitted the House version, and the bill was passed today.

I am deeply grateful to my friend from Ohio for having taken cognizance of this matter quite some time ago.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The distinguished minority leader has, from the beginning, been enthusiastic in his support of this measure, and all Americans can be grateful to him for the fact that, largely due to his leadership, this action was taken today.

The bill will go immediately to the White House, and very shortly Winston Churchill will be made an honorary citizen of the United States.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield once more?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Yes, indeed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Since the Constitution of the United States allows for no titles of nobility, I think the record ought to show that, here, he will be Mr. Winston Churchill.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I agree. Like the distinguished Senator from Illinois, I have no truck with titles of nobility.

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## THE SITUATION IN GREENWOOD, MISS.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I desire to speak briefly concerning the situation at Greenwood, Miss., largely a factual statement, and I prefer not to yield until I have finished my brief statement, at which time I shall be glad to yield.

The public statements about the situation at Greenwood made by outside agitators and picked up and circulated by the newspapers, radio, and television, have painted a very unfair and wholly misleading picture.

I am not saying the newspapers gave slanted accounts—certainly not all of them—but the statements themselves were slanted, and as reflected through this medium, gave a very unfair and wholly misleading picture. Also, these statements are an unjust vilification of the fine people and public officials of Greenwood and Leflore County.

The facts are simple. The people of Greenwood are the innocent victims of organized pressure groups imported into Greenwood from outside Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of miles away. Under the guise of assisting the local Negro people in registering to vote, these professional troublemakers have organized one of the most bitter hate campaigns ever devised in this country. In conducting these meetings, they have gone out of their way to flaunt their organized mobs and publicize their intentions to secure the widest possible public notice and to create all possible resentment. In short, they have purposely inflamed the public mind, through their meetings, their organized mob marches on the courthouse, and their wild charges and speeches. They have misled not only the local Negroes they profess to be assisting, but they have misled the people of the Nation into believing there is a wholesale effort on the part of local city and county officials to prevent the local Negroes from registering to vote.

The fact, however, is that the circuit clerk, Mrs. Martha Turner Lamb, a fine public official, has received the applications for registration offered by those who presented themselves.

If I may add a statement at this point, it should not be in order for mobs of people to congregate and push themselves as a group into the office of any public official, much less the office of a lady public official; and it should not be in order to do so anywhere, and make immediate demands on the lady official, or any other official, so far as that is concerned, for immediate mass attention and immediate favorable response to their requests, whatever they may be. If we have reached the point where that is the rule to be followed, we have reached the point where we no longer have law and government.

Those found by Mrs. Lamb to be qualified for registration, according to the laws of the State of Mississippi, have been registered. The office of the circuit clerk, the registrar, is open each day. Each day, a number of qualified applicants have been registered. Last week, during 1 day alone, I am advised that 50 Negro applicants were actually registered to vote.

I do not know that all 50 had applied that day—there has to be an examination—but I am told that at least that many were put on the rolls that day. Others registered as late as yesterday.

Of course, the law does not permit any organized group, white or Negro, to form in the middle of a public street in the business district of the city of Greenwood, blocking, traffic and disturbing the peace and good order of the community, and march shouting to the courthouse, creating further violence every step of the way.

And of course, this is what the officials of the city of Greenwood have stopped. They have the legal duty and responsibility to maintain law and order, to quell disturbances, to keep traffic moving and to arrest those disturbing the peace. They have not interfered with an attempt of any person to enter the courthouse or the county registrar's office, individually or in small groups, to make an application to register to vote.

But, in the face of these facts, the Justice Department has filed a suit,

with many requests for the court to enter orders against the local officials.

The Justice Department should stop its well-known practice of filing suits right and left whenever a member of some minority group makes an allegation unsupported by proof, and contrary to the facts. The Federal Government does not have a monopoly on protecting constitutional rights. Under the facts, it has no authority whatever in this matter in the city of Greenwood. Our State and local governments have the responsibility for maintaining law and order; and Greenwood, Miss., and Leflore County are doing this very thing under the most difficult circumstances.

The law-abiding citizens of a peaceful community like Greenwood rightfully look to their local public officials to maintain law and order and to protect them from unlawful invasions and breaches of the peace.

In connection with this very suit, I should like to turn briefly, not merely to what I might say about the situation, but to what Judge Claude F. Clayton said yesterday at the regular term of court in Mississippi, in passing on the application of the Justice Department for a temporary restraining order against these very officers I have been talking about.

Judge Clayton is one of the outstanding Federal judges in the entire Nation. I assure my colleagues that I know Judge Clayton personally, and have known him for a long time. He is an experienced, able judge. He had served on the bench before he was appointed a Federal judge. He is a man of firm convictions. He is resolute by nature. He has the greatest professional pride and also the highest judicial pride. He represents integrity on and off the bench.

As I have said, in hearing this matter yesterday, on a temporary basis, Judge Clayton very properly ruled that the request of the Justice Department was not sufficient to "warrant trampling on the rights" of these officials, and he refused to take any action pending a full hearing on the merits on Thursday of this week.

In announcing his action, Judge Clayton said:

> I detest any action on the part of anyone which interferes in any way with any right of any person which is given and protected by law.
>
> This includes the right to register and the right to vote, provided the standards now rightfully established by the laws of the State of Mississippi are met.
>
> These are the rights which belong to all of us. These are the rights which belong to the city of Greenwood, its officials and its police officers and to the officers of Leflore County.

Mayor Charles E. Sampson, of Greenwood, has rightfully announced his intention to keep law and order in Greenwood, Mayor Sampson and City Commissioners B. A. Hammond and W. G. Mize, Jr., have done an outstanding job in dealing with this most difficult situation.

The chief of police, Curtis Lary, has taken precautions to prevent breaches of the peace, and has repeatedly made a public announcement to these groups, as follows:

> Because of present public excitement resulting from recent events here, it is considered necessary to peace and order that no large organized groups be allowed on the streets of Greenwood. Therefore, you must disperse. If it is your purpose to go to the courthouse to apply for voter registration, you will not be prevented from doing so but in order to insure that there will be no breach of the peace you must proceed in smaller groups.

This is a step which is absolutely necessary in order to maintain law and order under the most difficult circumstances and tremendous provocation.

The real issue is whether unwanted and unwelcome outside organizers, vote peddlers and pressure groups will be permitted to invade a peaceful community for the sole purpose of creating turmoil and disturbing the peace.

These professional troublemakers are not interested in Greenwood, in Leflore County, or in Mississippi. Nor are they truly interested in the welfare of the Negro citizens of that community. Nor are they welcome or wanted by either race. Their sole purpose is to create strife and discord and to overturn the peaceful and harmonious cooperation among the people of the two races built up over generations.

These people, representing the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, CORE, and other notorious busybodies, had hardly parked their cars in Greenwood before they were sending telegrams to Washington calling for Federal troops.

As is usual in such cases, once the trouble starts these paid professional agitators will be satisfied and will move on elsewhere to start new battles and new tensions, leaving behind them the turmoil and unrest they were paid to create. Unfortunately, they also will leave to the local people of both races the hopeless task of repairing the damage and attempting to restore the peaceful and harmonious cooperation between the races built up over the years.

The people of Greenwood are not responsible for the situation in which they find themselves. They have acted in good faith, with remarkable patience and admirable restraint, under the most extreme provocation.

I am confident the duly constituted law enforcement officers of the city of Greenwood and Leflore County will continue to maintain law and order.

To the degree that I have kept in touch with these gentlemen during this ordeal, I can say that they are carrying this added responsibility, and have uniformly obtained certain assurances which were supported by action from day to day.

I think the public will soon realize what is happening and will no longer follow these schemes of publicity and building up of false issues and the carrying out of such planned provocation.

Instead of the Federal Government filing suits against local authorities, if they are going to be there at all, they ought to be standing side by side or at least encouraging them to follow a pattern of their own law as made by the legislature and as written in the regular constitutional way and in the processes of self-government, and to maintain law and order and orderly processes of government in that way.

Heretofore all the complaint has been directed to the charge that local forces do not maintain law and order. In this case the entire pattern has been within the processes of the law, according to the statutes, and action through duly constituted authority.

If that is not protection through local government and self-government and representative government and free government, I do not know where we can turn for an example of it.

I warn the people of this Nation against taking a superficial and surface impression, artificially created. They should look to the facts and determine the real issues and to get down to the heart of the problem.

Instead of condemning, we should commend. I believe that the filing of suits of injunction against all the officers is an invitation to violence and an invitation for some group outside the law to act for themselves.

I hope that this matter will be reconsidered. In the meantime I urge the people of the city of Greenwood and the county of Leflore, through their officials, to stand their ground and continue, of course, to follow their course as in the past.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Mississippi.

Mr. EASTLAND. As my colleague realizes, there has been no allegation that an attempt has been made to prevent people from registering.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator is correct. I have not had an opportunity to read the bill of particulars in the suit that has been filed. Perhaps the Senator has.

Mr. EASTLAND. There has been no allegation of that kind; in fact, 300 persons have applied to register in the past few days. Those who are qualified will be registered. There is no such contention as has been suggested. Outside agitators from New York and other areas talk to Negroes and say, "If you want to get relief, if you want to get social security, if you want to get commodities, come with us." Then they take them in a body and parade them down the street, demonstrating and stopping all traffic, walking through red lights, and being taken to the courthouse. The only obstacle has been that they cannot demonstrate, they cannot stop traffic, they cannot violate the the ordinances of that city. When they reach the courthouse they can go to the clerk's office at any time and make their application, as provided by the laws of our State.

Judge Clayton is a great lawyer. I agree with my colleague that he is one of the great judges of this country. Charley Sampson, the mayor, has rendered distinguished service. The chief of police has done a good job. The city attorney has done a good job. There is no allegation anywhere that an attempt

has been made to prevent these people from applying for registration. In fact, they have come forward by the hundreds to do so. They have been there at the instance of outside agitators who say, "You cannot get relief, you cannot get social security, you cannot get commodities unless you follow us, and follow us down the main street, against red lights, and deprive the citizens of the city of the right to govern their own affairs."

The suit which the Department of Justice has filed is not a voting rights suit. The question is, Can the people maintain order on the streets of their own city?

Mr. STENNIS. Through their own officials.

Mr. EASTLAND. Of course; through their own officials. That is the test. Judge Clayton was eminently correct in his decision.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank my colleague.

This situation can come close to home in the case of each of us in Washington in our official offices. It can come much closer home than anyone might think. Only last week some of this same group that is in Greenwood, Miss.—perhaps not the same individuals, but individuals with the same connections—showed up in our offices in the Senate Office Building, to parade and picket and make a show. The way we learned about the probable presence of these people in our offices was through the members of the Senate Press Gallery, who called and said, "Have they gotten there?"

The response was, "Whom are you talking about?"

We were told, "We have been called by this group and they said they were going to picket your offices."

The purpose is to make a show of publicity, to create a disturbance, and to create a false issue, merely to carry a point or to create a disturbance and mislead the American people.

It is pitiful to me—and I say this with the greatest respect to our news media—that items like this can be instantly picked up and publicized in every living room or drawing room, and on every newsstand all over the Nation, causing the public to fall victims to such misleading tactics and to planning of this kind.

It is a severe strain upon free government.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. I live close to the city of Greenwood. I was in Greenwood several days last week. I speak with firsthand knowledge. This demonstration had not caught on. There is not the tension in Greenwood that has been pictured in the eastern press. The movement is not supported by a majority of the Negro race or by a majority of the white race; in fact, it is condemned by a majority of the Negro race. The Justice Department action was merely an attempt to rescue a drowning baby. It is not possible to get citizens of the Negro race from the city of Greenwood to participate. So the instigators have gone into the rural areas and have contacted Negroes who want commodities and have said, "Join with us, and we will lead you to the promised land, provided you march down the street, obstruct traffic, walk a red light, and go to the court house."

Those acts of walking down the street and obstructing traffic are the heart of the suit that has been filed.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator.

The officers, the board of aldermen, the mayor, the police, the city attorney, and others, are due the commendations and the appreciation of the whole body of people of the Nation, especially those who appreciate the difficulty that is always present when any kind of agitation starts which would try to pit the races one against the other.

I feel certain that every Senator, if he understood the situation, would join with me in heartily commending the action taken by those officials. I hope they will continue their pattern of conduct; I believe they will.

## AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 94)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EDMONDSON in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(For message from the President, see House proceedings of today).

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield for that purpose?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I yield for that purpose, with the understanding that I do not lose the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be the understanding. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I have agreed to yield to the Senator from Alaska, with the understanding that I will not lose my place on the floor.

## WHY STAND IN THE WAY OF CUBA'S FREEDOM FIGHTERS?

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, yesterday, while the able senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] was criticizing the Cuban refugees for their raids on Castro's Cuba, I engaged in a colloquy with him in which I expressed my sympathy for, and understanding of, these courageous freedom fighters who feel impelled at the risk of their lives to strike whatever blows they can at Castro's totalitarian tyranny and its ruthless and bloody suppression of the liberties of the Cuban people.

While I did not engage in a lengthy discussion with the Senator, who was making his customarily effective presentation of the legal and other aspects of these raids, condemning them unqualifiedly, I sought to indicate my view that there was another side to this issue, and that I was not convinced of the correctness of his view and of the position which the administration appears to be taking that these raids should at all costs be prevented by the United States.

I was therefore interested to note in this morning's Washington Post a column entitled "The Cuban Raids," with the subtitle "Why Stand in the Way?" written by Roscoe Drummond. The article expresses a view with which I find myself in general accord. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CUBAN RAIDS—WHY STAND IN THE WAY?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Many Americans must feel both confused and frustrated by the difference between what the administration says about Castro's Cuba and what it does.

Unquestionably President Kennedy seeks the goal of a "free Cuba." He told the released Cuban invasion prisoners on their return to Florida that he was confident their battalion flag would fly victoriously in Havana.

But when those Cubans hit at the Castro and Soviet forces, the President wants them to stop it.

Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON tells the graduating class of the Inter-American Defense College that we "cannot be content until communism is gone from Cuba."

But when the Cuban refugees, who are intent upon wresting their freedom from those who have taken it from them, take action to do something about it, the highest officials of the administration express only disapproval.

Thus far President Kennedy has given no adequate explanation as to why he does not want the anti-Castro Cubans to fight the Castro-Soviet forces at any point they can make contact.

Until the administration makes a more persuasive case against the Cuban refugee's harassing their oppressors every chance they get, my instinct is on the side of the refugees.

I think a good case can be made that the refugee raids are useful and that we ought not to discourage them or stand in the way.

We say we want the Castro regime overthrown. We say that only the Cuban people can bring it about. With those two conditions, who is to begin the process unless it is the Cuban refugees?

You may believe that the hit-and-run raids are only insignificant, hectoring pinpricks. So were Castro's first hit-and-run attacks on Batista. The only way to begin is to begin.

Remember Hungary? Surely any prudent man could have told the latent and fer-

menting Hungarian freedom fighters that it would be fantastically foolhardy for them to consider attacking the occupying Soviet tanks with their bare fists and handmade grenades. But they did. You couldn't have prevented them. And despite the ultimate repression, it was a revolt for freedom which was worth all the bravery that went into it. Hungary is better off today for it.

Admittedly there are risks for the United States in the Cuban hit-and-run raids. Castro might sink an American boat in a spasm of anger. But might it not be better to deal with such an incident than to say that the Cuban freedom fighters must not decide how they shall fight for their freedom?

The administration has said it "will not be content until the last of Soviet forces are withdrawn from Cuban soil." It can be honestly argued that the refugee raids may provide an excuse for Moscow to keep Soviet troops in Cuba. The opposite may be nearer the truth. Is it likely that finding things calm in Cuba will provide any incentive for Khrushchev to call his troops home?

In 1960 Mr. Kennedy proposed that we would do more to help the Cuban resisters both inside and outside Cuba. Now that the refugees are regaining their morale after the Bay of Pigs, it seems ironic, at the very least, that the United States should send the FBI and the Coast Guard after them.

Telling the Cuban resisters what not to o isn't going to further the cause of a free uba. If the administration is convinced at the Cuban refugees are doing it wrong, n at the very least it should be making estions and helping them to do it right.

## E SITUATION IN GREENWOOD, MISS.

JAVITS. Mr. President, will the r from Arizona yield, provided he not lose the floor?

Ir. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I d to the Senator from New York, with e understanding that I do not lose the r.

r. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have n informed that while I was at lunch, e distinguished junior Senator from ssissippi [Mr. STENNIS] made a statent on the Senate floor which at least rings into question the propriety of the ction taken by the Attorney General of the United States in connection with the situation in Greenwood, Leflore County, Miss., where the United States is seeking to enjoin local authorities from nterfering with a petition by the local citizenry—Negroes, to be precise—for the redress of grievances.

I express my approval of the action of the Attorney General in instituting he suit. I think it was his manifest duty to do so, in view of the fact that onstitutional rights are brought into uestion, including the right of petition or the redress of grievances by constituted authorities. I approve very much of the Attorney General's taking this action.

As r of general principle, I have th in the processes of the urts. I have argued this d I do so again. In the ns which have such insibilities as in this particabout which the press has so much, the chances will be very better for the processes of order nd tranquillity if an individual citizen feels that tongue may be given for his grievances through the courts, and that there is a possibility of redress.

The Attorney General is in this civil injunction suit proceeding under section 1971 of title 42 of the United States Code, which was part of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The important thing, which I wish to emphasize, is that here is an outlet, here is a substitute for either the effort which the marchers are making or the efforts to stop them which are being made by the police and other municipal authorities. In an area where there are the raw materials of violence, the capability of the courts to act in situations of this kind is designed to head them off and to give, as I say, an outlet, a tongue, to every man's grievance.

Therefore, I have always favored strongly the so-called part III in regard to civil rights, so that the Attorney General might sue in representative cases; and I feel very deeply that this is the way to save ourselves from the dangers involved in such situations—dangers which we have already seen erupt into violence, not only like that which occurred at Oxford, Miss., where marshals and troops are employed, but also the danger involved when people are fired on while they are in their homes and the danger involved when buildings are burned. This is no tea party. This situation is very, very dangerous, in terms of the future of the Nation. So anything we can do to give it a peaceful outlet—and I think recourse to the courts is the most logical and most desirable procedure—we should encourage.

Although I respect, and indeed would fight for, the right of the Senator from Mississippi to say whatever he believes he should say, I also feel it my duty to juxtapose to the general thrust of the statement of the Senator from Mississippi—as I understand it from what I have been told by my assistants who heard him make it—this statement of my own position.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I should like to say to the Senator from New York that, if I correctly understood him, I am glad he did not substantially contradict the facts I related in regard to the registration—in other words, that the applications were being received and were being passed on, without denying any person the right to file his application in an orderly way and to have it passed on. The Senator from New York does not know of any exception to that general statement, does he?

Mr. JAVITS. I was addressing myself to what we have read in the press about the action of the police and other authorities in blocking and breaking up any march by a number of persons—for example, on one day last week by a group of some 100, and on another by a group of some 42. It is claimed—and the courts will try it out—that in the community there is a climate of intimidation which runs counter to the fundamental provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act which prohibit interference with any effort to register and to vote. I say to the Senator from Mississippi that the courts will decide as to that.

For myself, I believe that the path of constitutional propriety is to permit people to march peaceably in order to petition for redress of their grievances.

But the fundamental point I make now is even more limited than that. I only say that if we do not want violence—and I know of no Senator who does want it—in my opinion, people must have an outlet. So I think litigation of this character is a proper and sensible outlet; and I hope very much the Attorney General will prosecute this suit with speed and with diligence.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, let me say that it would be one thing to bring a suit if someone had been denied an opportunity to file an application or to take the examination or to register, or even had protested and had been arrested on that account, or if someone wanted to test the legality of an arrest. But this is a broadside lawsuit, in the absence of an application by anyone to have the law-enforcement machinery used to enjoin such action. It has not been charged that there has been a violation of anyone's right. It is to that point that I addressed my remarks.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I only say that when it appears that in a particular community it would be unhealthy for some persons to register and to vote, the U.S. Government has a right to take action. In my opinion, those who at least seemingly make the situation look unhealthy have the burden to withdraw such barriers.

So I think the Attorney General is taking action in that situation; and I am glad he is doing so by means of action of that kind.

## U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY—PLAN WITH SOVIET UNION FOR RECIPROCAL BURNING OF OBSOLETE BOMBERS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, at this time I see on the floor the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. Therefore, I wish to refer now, briefly, to a statement he made yesterday.

Mr. President, yesterday the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], had a number of remarks to make about my efforts to get a straight story from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency on its plan with the Soviet Union for the reciprocal burning of obsolete bombers. He charged me with doing a "disservice to the cause of peace" by implying that officials of the Disarmament Agency are either guilty of crass dishonesty or are being misunderstood by newspaper reporters. He then went on to make out a case for the fact that the Disarmament Agency officials were misunderstood by newspaper reporters.

Mr. President, the whole episode goes back to March 9, when, in a speech I made in Aurora, Ill., I asked whether it was true that plans were in the making for the reciprocal burning of 30 American B-47's and 30 Russian Badgers, in a giant disarmament demonstration. On March 11, wire service stories which appeared in the newspapers reported:

U.S. Disarmament officials deny that any plan has been shaped for reciprocal burning of bombers by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Now let me quote the reference by the Senator from Pennslyvania to the denial story, in his remarks on the floor yesterday. He said:

This story which appeared in the papers on Monday, March 11, was based on telephone conversations between reporters and the Agency spokesman. These conversations took place on Sunday, March 10. On Monday morning, March 11, the Agency representative who spoke to the press the day before felt after reading the morning papers that his earlier comments to the newspaper correspondents evidently had not been clearly understood. To clarify any misunderstanding the agency at noon that day released the following statement through the State Department.

The statement referred to by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] was that the Disarmament Agency had been engaged in several internal studies, and that among them was the possibility of a simultaneous reduction of B-47's and Russian Badgers.

Before I proceed, Mr. President, let me quote from a press release which the Senator from Pennsylvania issued yesterday in support of his remarks on the floor. Here is what it said, in part:

It is a disservice to the cause of peace to imply that honorable men patriotically and intelligently serving their country are either guilty of crass dishonesty or are being misunderstood by reporters. Neither charge is true. The first suggestion is inaccurate; the second, just plain wrong.

Mr. President, if my suggestion that Disarmament officials are being misunderstood by reporters is "just plain wrong," as the Senator from Pennsylvania claimed, why is it necessary for him to defend the denial story which was based on the conversations with the Disarmament official? Why is it necessary for the Senator from Pennsylvania to point out that, after reading the newspapers, the Disarmament official decided that he had not been clearly understood?

Another point I should like to raise right here is that if—as the Senator from Pennsylvania contended—the Disarmament official hastened to issue a statement clarifying the situation at noon on March 11, why did the press release referred to carry the date of March 12? Could it be that the testimony of Secretary of State Dean Rusk before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 11 prodded the Disarmament official to issue a clarification on March 12? In that testimony, Secretary Rusk told the committee that the bomber-destruction plan had been under study and consideration, and that the stories about a denial from the Disarmament Agency must have stemmed from a misunderstanding.

Another point made in the press release by the Senator from Pennsylvania was that the Disarmament Agency told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the bomber-destruction plan. This raises several questions.

First. If the Disarmament Agency had told the whole truth—including the fact that the bomber-destruction plan about which I inquired had been under discussion—is it likely that competent newspapermen would have been so lacking in understanding that they would have taken that statement to be a flat denial of the plan?

Second. Why did it take the Disarmament Agency 3 days to tell the whole truth?

I submit that the fact remains that I asked a perfectly legitimate question, based on solid information; and the Disarmament Agency answered it in a fashion that caused most newspapers in the United States to publish headlines to the effect that the Government had denied the existence of a bomber-destruction plan. The fact also remains that the Disarmament Agency apparently did not get around to trying to correct this impression until after Secretary of State Rusk had testified that the denial story was erroneous. With the flow of news being what it is today, of course, the Agency's clarification never saw the light of day in any newspaper I read. So the public was left with the impression that the question I had put to the administration had no basis in fact. I say this was as neat an operation in news management—whether wittingly or unwittingly—as any I have witnessed since the New Frontier came into office.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this time to place in the RECORD two newspaper stories, one from the Washington Post of March 11, 1963, entitled "Plan To Burn 30 Bombers Hotly Denied," and the other from the Washington Star of the same date, entitled "Administration Denies Bomber-Burning Plan."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 11, 1963]

PLAN TO BURN 30 BOMBERS HOTLY DENIED

U.S. disarmament officials denied yesterday that any plan has been shaped for reciprocal burning of bombers by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The disavowal of such plans came as a result of a speech given in Illinois Saturday by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, a spokesman for Republican conservatism and a frequent critic of U.S. disarmament negotiations.

GOLDWATER asked, "Is it true that there are plans in the making to give up 30 of our B-47 bombers along with 30 Russian Badgers—that there then would be a gigantic bonfire in which all these weapons would be destroyed for the benefit of mankind?"

GOLDWATER said, "I have heard that the administration is seriously considering a pool with Russia to destroy weapons, item for item." He added this would be "stupid (and) ridiculous."

A spokesman for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency said he is puzzled by GOLDWATER's reference to 30 bombers and hazarded a guess that the Senator might have been confusing it with the figures in a proposed general disarmament treaty suggested by the United States at Geneva last summer.

That draft called for mutual destruction of 30 percent of all basic weapons in the first phase of a move toward general and complete disarmament.

The proposals never got anywhere and one of the chief obstacles was, the spokesman said, that while the Russians agreed that there should be mutual inspection of the destruction of weapons, they rejected further inspection to determine what arms remained. The U.S. position was that there could be no destruction without the right of followup inspection.

The spokesman said that in view of the failure of this broad proposal, there has been some internal discussion within the Government of less ambitious programs as first steps toward a general program which seems many years away.

But, he said, none of these proposals has even been agreed upon internally, let alone offered to the Russians. He noted that destruction of 30 B-47's and 30 Badgers would be no more than a token gesture, in any event, since there are many hundreds of each type in service.

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[From the Washington Star, Mar. 11, 1963]

ADMINISTRATION DENIES BOMBER-BURNING PLAN

U.S. disarmament officials deny that any plan has been shaped for reciprocal burning of bombers by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The disavowal of such plans came as a result of a speech given in Illinois Saturday by Senator GOLDWATER of Arizona, a spokesman for Republican conservatism and a frequent critic of U.S. disarmament negotiations.

Senator GOLDWATER asked, "Is it true that there are plans in the making to give up 3[illegible] of our B-47 bombers along with 30 Russia[illegible] Badgers—that there then would be a gigan[illegible] bonfire in which all these weapons would [illegible] destroyed for the benefit of mankind?"

GOLDWATER STATEMENT

Senator GOLDWATER said, "I have [illegible] that the administration is seriously c[illegible]ering a pool with Russia to destroy we[illegible] item for item." He added this wo[illegible] "stupid (and) ridiculous."

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INTERNAL DISCUSSION

The spokesman said that in view of the failure of this broad proposal, there has been some internal discussion within the Govern[illegible]ment of less ambitious programs as firs[illegible] steps toward a general program which seem[illegible] many years away.

But, he said, none of these proposals h[illegible] even been agreed upon internally, let alon[illegible] offered to the Russians. He noted that destruction of 30 B-47s and 30 Badgers—both obsolescent bombers—would be no more than a token gesture in any event since there are many hundreds of each type in service.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I am happy to yield to my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I listened with interest to the comments made by my good friend from Arizona. As a result of what he has said, I should like to ask him whether

LWD, PA, ML, VEP, Research 4-8-63



spurned his proposed increase in auto license fees and lopped $70 million off his spending program. He managed to get $35.4 million of a proposed boost in liquor license fees.

▶Oregon Republican Rep. Stafford Hansell proudly sported a tie clasp in the shape of a meat cleaver after GOP Gov. Mark Hatfield charged that the legislature's Joint Ways and Means Committee, to which Hansell belongs, was using a "meat-cleaver approach" to the governor's higher education budget. Hatfield's new state budget totals $405.2 million, an increase of nearly 13 per cent. The jump would be financed by $49 million in new taxes.

Across the nation, surpluses are hard to find. Gov. George Romney of Michigan has one estimated at $34.4 million—the legacy of 1962's nuisance taxes on telephones, cigarettes, and liquor. But the leftover money won't lower taxes; it will be applied against the state general fund's $51.2 million deficit, a burden inherited from the '50s. Romney's first full-year budget aims at producing a surplus of $13.6 million, also to reduce that deficit.

Why the tremendous problems of state spending and taxation? From the standpoint of raising needed funds, Hawaii's state budget analyst Nils Eueki has one answer: "The problem of state budgeting is that the states, unlike the Federal government, can't print money when they need it—they have no means of manipulating the economy." But what hits even harder is the relentless rise in the need to spend, and that reflects the overwhelming phenomenon of the 1960s—the population explosion.

**Funds Needed:** The major expenses of the states lie in the fields most affected by soaring birth rates and the triumphs of modern medicine: public health, education, welfare, and highways. For twenty years, school-age populations and the numbers of aged Americans have vaulted, while the percentage of the population in the wage-earning—and tax-paying—age brackets has actually declined. At the same time, state governments constantly are asked by local governments to offset education, health, welfare, and transportation costs because the localities are finding it harder to raise more money from local real-estate taxes.

Education gets relatively little Federal aid, but even in fields such as welfare and highways, where Federal grants are available, states often find it hard to come up with the matching funds required by Washington. In Nevada, for example, the Senate Finance Committee rejected participation in the Manpower Development and Training Act because the state would have to pay $172,000 in 1964-65 to enter the Federal program.

Politically, the financial crisis of the state governments is a growing hazard for nationally prominent governors. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown is gambling in his new budget that the Kennedy Administration's proposed tax cut will so stimulate California's economy that he'll be able to collect an additional $100 million to $150 million in tax revenue to balance the budget without new taxes. But will it? Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania, who must bridge an estimated $130 million budget gap, probably will have to expand the sales tax to cover such major family purchases as clothing and shoes. If Pennsylvania voters revolt (New York motorists angrily pasted "Don't Tread on Me" stickers on their cars in protest over Rockefeller's auto-fee proposal), Scranton's political future will hardly benefit.

Few of the states' ambitious chief executives can forget that when salesgirls and café cashiers, collecting Texas's new sales tax in 1962, began telling customers, "Give me a penny for Price," the political fate of three-term Democratic Gov. Price Daniel was all but sealed. (Ironically, Daniel had battled against the sales tax for years, accepted it only to prevent the state's finances from collapsing.) In all, thirteen incumbent governors were toppled in 1962, a year when soaring expenditures and the higher taxes they produce were major issues in nearly every one of the nation's 35 gubernatorial elections. Indeed, with such political turnover, the governor's office, while still a traditional steppingstone to the Senate or the White House, is increasingly a possible stumbling block as well.

FEDERAL RESERVE:

## Money to Burn

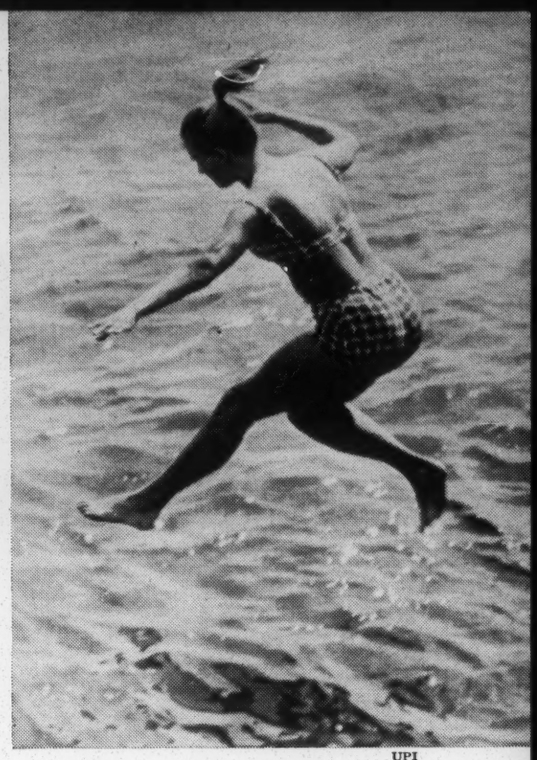
Something was missing at the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco: $7.5 million worth of negotiable U.S. Treasury bonds had vanished from the vaults last July. As bank president Eliot Swan explained it last week, they literally went up in smoke—burned accidentally with the waste paper in the bank incinerator. It was, he said, a "million-to-one human error."

Or was it a $7.5 million-to-one inside job—the biggest theft on record?

The idea was tantalizing. The bank noted that, though some of the bond coupons came due last Nov. 15, no one had tried to cash them. But what if someone had unloaded the bonds abroad at a discount, or deposited them in a foreign account, where they can be drawn on for up to 90 per cent of their face value? The bank, Swan admitted, had considered the possibility of theft; it sat on the story, in fact, for nine months as a matter of "good investigative practice," hoping to keep it quiet until the May 15 maturation date on the bonds had passed. Meanwhile, six employes who had access to the vault took lie-detector tests—and passed.

So the bank settled on its own theory. The twelve bonds—collateral posted by an undisclosed Western bank—were kept in an accordion-pleated Manila envelope with an accounting form on one side. As such forms are filled up, the custom is to put the bonds in a new envelope—and burn the old one. Somehow, Swan thought, the bonds had been burned, too. Federal Reserve rules require that the discarded envelopes be split open first. Even so, Swan said, "nobody is being blamed or disciplined."

No one, apparently, stood to lose; the Federal Reserve issued a credit covering the missing millions, and anyone who tried to cash the bonds when they came due in May would risk almost certain arrest. Besides, Federal investigators agreed with the bank's account: instead of the fattest theft, it was simply the biggest bondfire in U.S. history.



UPI

**Springy Aspect:** *When temperatures hit the 70s down East last week, Endicott Junior College freshman Susanne Michel, 19, of Wellesley, Mass., was tempted to leap into the Atlantic, which at 40 degrees sent her right out.*

INTEGRATION: Newsweek 4/8/63

## 'Mind on Freedom'

Gulf. Miss.

In the first golden glow of spring, Greenwood, Miss., looked like anything but a battleground. The redbud trees blazed along the town streets. At city hall, Mayor Charles Sampson marked the season by sticking an orchid into a 7-Up bottle on his desk. And all around

Leflore County, bare-armed Negroes crisscrossed the fields on tractors, breaking the black Delta soil for still another cotton crop.

But Greenwood had become a theater of war, a likely successor to Little Rock and Albany, Ga., and Oxford, Miss., as landmarks in the Negro's long, painful revolt against discrimination. The issue was the right to vote—a right shared by 92.5 per cent of the county's 10,274 eligible whites and only 1.9 per cent of the 13,567 eligible Negroes. If they seemed to be pursuing an abstraction, the Negroes—and their allies in Washington—had come to regard the vote as the key to the bread-and-butter rewards of equality. And they had picked tough, intransigent Leflore County for the facedown—the "testing ground for democracy."

All last week, as they had for seven months, registration canvassers drove the dirt roads after dark, looking for prospects. All week, in increasing numbers, Negroes rallied in their brick and clapboard churches, fortified themselves with speeches and prayers and freedom songs, and marched downtown to register. All week, Leflore fought back, and the strands of tension drew taut.

**Night Riders:** First, on Sunday night, a fire broke out in the cramped campaign office on McLaurin Street. Tuesday, after dark, night riders trailed 19-year-old George Greene and two fellow canvassers to the Greene home and fired two shotgun blasts. One narrowly missed Greene; the other stitched a dozen holes over a bedroom mantel. Was Greene frightened? "You're gonna die anyway," he shrugged, "so it might as well be for the cause of freedom."

The fire was the second in a month, the shooting the third. But the next morning, 100 Negroes marching from church to city hall to protest met a new adversary: a police dog.

A policeman—one of a dozen lined up outside the buff-brick city hall—held the German shepherd on a long leather leash. Mayor Sampson, a beefy, cigar-puffing member of the segregationist Citizens Council, warned: "I'll give you two minutes to get out . . . If you don't, we are going to turn the dog loose."

The Negroes stood fast, and the police moved in, shoving them back. Lunging into the crowd, the dog knocked one Negro down and ripped open one leg of campaign director Robert Moses' trousers. Police arrested two leaders at the scene on disorderly conduct charges, tailed the others back to church, and prodded nine more into patrol cars. (By the weekend, eight were convicted and given the maximum penalties—four months in jail and $200 fines.) With knots of sullen whites clustered around the courthouse square, the street was barricaded and the registration office closed. But when it reopened that afternoon, 100 Negroes were there, filing inside to fill out registration forms.

Associated Press

**Testing Ground: Tucker leads Negroes to voting registration**

The dog was back next morning as the Rev. D.L. Tucker led 42 Negroes double-file from the courthouse back to church. They had gone two blocks when police cars pulled up. "All right," the dog handler yelled, "break it up and go on, or I'm going to turn him loose." As the Negroes rounded the corner, the dog bounded at Tucker. The minister fell, clutching his bitten left ankle. Two marchers crossed hands to make a seat for him and carried him off. "Sic 'em, dog!" onlookers shouted. "Let him git the niggers!"

Still the ritual procession downtown went on. Leflore was tough, and the vote workers had precious little to show: two new Negro voters on the rolls. But the harder Leflore fought, the more Negroes turned out for the nightly church rallies—and joined the daily pilgrimage to the courthouse.

**'I'm Not Going Home':** "The days are over when they can shoot people and burn them out, and they are gonna learn it," Bob Moses told 1,000 cheering Negroes at one church meeting. And the dog? "That dog is going to have to bite every Negro in Leflore County before we quit," the Rev. James Bevel told 2,000 more. Was the road long? "Every time a Negro stands in line and says, 'I'm tired but I'm not going home,' the walls of segregation begin to tremble," Bevel cried. "Amen," the Negroes chanted back, and they sang: "Woke up this morning with my mind on freedom, hallelujah!"

But the Negroes needed more than songs and slogans, and their leaders knew it. The channels of communication were shut down; Mayor Sampson predictably blamed "outside agitators" for the trouble in Greenwood, and he had his own prescription: "We'll just have to load up the jail." So the Negroes looked for help elsewhere—in Washington. All week they chafed as a Justice Department fact-finding team of FBI men and lawyers prowled Greenwood. Finally, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy sent an aide to seek a Federal court order requiring local officials to end "intimidation" of Negroes, free the eight prisoners—and call off the dog.

## Death in the Family

Ronnie Costly was hands down the most popular of the 400 students at Wirt County High School in little Elizabeth, W.Va. Living on his grandparents' hard-scrabble farm 11 miles from town, he had to get up at 5 every morning to help with the chores and walk a mile to the school bus stop. Even so, he was a three-sport athlete and an honor student, tenth in his class; two colleges had offered him scholarships. When he ran for student-body president, he won, 10 to 1, over an opponent who had to be coaxed into the race.

So, when a fatal heart attack felled Ronnie Costly at 19 in the school locker room, it was like a death in the family for all Elizabeth. "Students were crying openly in the classrooms," principal Ray Jarvis said. "We had to call an assembly so the school chaplain could calm them." Townspeople chipped in $500 for a funeral in the school gym and 1,000 turned out—250 more than the whole town population. It was a remarkable occasion—the more so because, in an all-white high school in an all-white town, Ronnie Costly was the only Negro student.

Staff Miss

APR 6 1963

# AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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April 4, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Colleague:

Showdown in Mississippi. Greenwood, Mississippi, population 20,436, is the county seat of Leflore County, in the heart of the Delta. The non-white population of the County makes up 64.6% of the population, but less than 1% of the voting-age Negroes are registered voters. Last August the Department of Justice brought suit to enjoin the discriminatory practices of white voting registrars. Tired of waiting for effective action by the Federal District Court, four Negro agencies united in a registration drive. They are the NAACP, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Their plan is to encourage registration by the use of teams of 30 to 40 persons so as to achieve a breakthrough in the fear which held back Negroes from seeking to register.

The speedup efforts of these groups, operating as the Council of Federated Organizations, immediately resulted in both unofficial and official retaliation by the white community. Last month James Travis, a Mississippian and Field Secretary for SNCC was shot. A fire was set to buildings in the Negro community in Greenwood, but was put out before it reached the one in which the SNCC office was located. This mishap was immediately righted by the burning of that building as well. The car in which a group of organizers were riding was shot up. Finally, when Negroes mobilized to march in large groups to the courthouse for the purpose of registering, Greenwood police, augmented by civilian auxiliaries, set police dogs on them and arrested a number of the marchers. All of the 11 arrested at the first demonstration were convicted of disorderly conduct and sentenced to four months in jail and fines of $200. Eight of them are still in jail.

At this point the Department of Justice stepped in again by another suit to enjoin County and City officials from harassing voter registration workers and interfering with the rights of Negroes to assemble peaceably or conduct demonstrations. The suit also seeks the release of the eight registration workers who are still in prison.

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Application for a restraining order pending a hearing on the request for a preliminary injunction was made to Federal District Judge Claud Clayton, Jr. on Monday and immediately rejected by him. As a result, police have continued to arrest demonstrators and presumably the Mississippi courts will continue to convict them on charges of disorderly conduct. With a display of speed unusual for him, Judge Clayton set the request for a preliminary injunction down for formal hearing today. His record for procrastination in other civil rights cases leaves no doubt, however, that such promptness in granting a hearing in the present suit was due to an awareness on the part of Judge Clayton that, otherwise, the Department of Justice would "go over his head" and apply to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for a restraining order. He was obviously mindful of the fact that this course of action was followed by the Department of Justice last October when another diehard segregationist, District Judge William H. Cox, refused to enjoin the prosecution of John Hardy, a leader in the campaign for Negro registration.

On September 7, when Mr. Hardy brought two Negroes into the office to register, the white registrar hit him on the head with a gun and the sheriff immediately arrested him on the charge of breach of the peace. The Justice Department promptly appealed to Judge Cox, who had been newly appointed by President Kennedy, to enjoin the prosecution. When this application was refused, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit forthwith granted a temporary restraining order pending a full trial at which the Justice Department would have the opportunity to offer proof to sustain its charge that the State criminal proceedings were being used to prevent Negro registration. The 2-to-1 decision of the Court of Appeals was made by Judge Richard T. Rives of Alabama and Judge John R. Brown of Texas. Judge Ben F. Cameron of Mississippi dissented. The Supreme Court of the United States refused to grant review.

The record of Judge Clayton, an Eisenhower appointee, does not provide any reason to expect that he will grant the relief sought by the Department of Justice. Indeed, probably the best that can be hoped for is that Judge Clayton will grant a full hearing and hand down an early decision which can then be presented to the Court of Appeals for review.

Two cases will, I believe, indicate Judge Clayton's hostility to civil rights. In Noelle Henry v. The Coahoma County Board of Education, a complaint, along with a motion for preliminary injunction, was filed in October, 1962, alleging that the plaintiff, a Negro school teacher, had been refused a teaching contract for the current school year in reprisal for her membership in the NAACP and her activities, and the activities of her husband, in the civil rights field. The motion for preliminary injunction has not yet been set for a hearing, notwithstanding several letters from plaintiff's counsel requesting that this be done. Early responses from Judge Clayton were based on the fact that certain members of the defendant School Board named in the complaint had resigned and it was the Judge's contention that the suit should not be heard until this problem was corrected. An order dropping the former Board members and naming the newly added members was signed on February 15, 1963, but Judge Clayton has even since claimed that his busy calendar will not permit hearing.

Judge Clayton displayed no greater wish to expedite matters even in a suit brought to end the obviously unconstitutional practice of racial segregation in Mississippi travel facilities. In that case, Bailey v Patterson, suit was filed on June 9, 1961 seeking injunctive relief against the State of Mississippi, the City of Jackson, and various common carriers. Because a State segregation law [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Judge District Court was convened. It consisted of Court of Appeals Chief Judge Elbert Paul Tuttle of Atlanta, Georgia and District Judge Sidney Mize and Judge Clayton, both of whom are Mississippians. (It was Judge Mize who, in another case, repeatedly refused to order the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith and was reversed by the Court of Appeals.)

A motion for preliminary injunction was set for July 10, 1961, at which time Judge Clayton and Judge Mize, over the strenuous objection of Chief Judge Tuttle, voted to grant a motion for a continuance until August 7, 1961, based on the alleged illness of the State's Chief Counsel. A hearing on the case in September, 1961, resulted in a 2-to-1 decision on November 17, 1961 in which Judge Clayton joined with Judge Mize in voting to deny plaintiffs' request for injunctive relief on the basis of the doctrine of abstention, i.e., that the Federal Courts should withhold relief until the case had been carried through the State judicial system. Circuit Judge Rives of Alabama wrote a strong dissenting opinion. The majority's decision was summarily reversed, on February 26, 1962, by the United States Supreme Court in a per curiam opinion.

At his press conference yesterday, President Kennedy said, "I would hope that the court would find that there has been a denial of rights which seems to me evident but which the court must decise"...The Constitution of the United States and the laws enacted thereunder -- in this case, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1958, to protect the rights of Negroes to register and vote -- are the "supreme law of the land." However, one cannot expect that supremacy to be upheld by the appointment of United States District Judges who are hostile to such legislation and to the guarnatees of equal protection of the laws promised by the Fourteenth Amendment.

"Bull" Connor Defeated. Yesterday former Alabama Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwelle, a soft-spoken segregationist, was named Mayor of Birmingham in a run-off election in which the total vote of 51,378 was a record high for a city election in the State's most populous city. Mr. Boutwelle received 29,630 votes to 21,648 for City Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor. The winning margin was certainly accounted for in large part by the 8,000 Negroes who were among the 68,000 registered voters. They had good cause to vote solidly against Connor since he has long been notorious, locally and nationally, for his ruthless enforcement of segregation. The fear in which Bull Connor has been held is attested by the fact that even white Christian ministers have been afraid to meet with Negro clergymen for fear of being arrested for violation of a Birmingham ordinance forbidding mixed meetings. It is, of course, a sad reflection upon the courage of the white ministers that they were unwilling to risk arrest and thereby challenge what is clearly an unconstitutional local law.

The Whipping Post and the Constitution. Yesterday the Delaware Supreme Court unanimously rejected the appeal by Franklin W. Cannon from a sentence of 20 lashes as a probation violator. The sentence requires that the whipping be inflicted "publicly by strokes on the bare back well laid on." Cannon contended that such a whipping constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment" prohibited by the Eighth Amendment and made applicable to the States by Due Process of Law Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Originally Cannon, who had a record of juvenile arrest, was sentenced to 20 lashes for automobile theft, and placed on probation. When he was arrested several months later and charged with larceny, the whipping sentence was reimposed.

Delaware is the only State which continues to allow whipping of criminals. Its statute goes back 246 years and, no doubt, this form of punishment was once generally prevalent in the United States. In my opinion,

however, in this day and age it so offends the respect for human personality that it will be held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and it is my hope that the case will go to that Court.

Amicus Curiae And The Supreme Court. The March issue of the Yale Law Journal carries an article, "The Amicus Curiae Brief: From Friendship to Advocacy." by Professor Samuel Krislov, of the Department of Political Science at Michigan State University. It traces the evolution of briefs submitted as a "friend of the court." In the course of the article, Prof. Krislov notes that: "An increased reliance on litigation as a means of vindicating minority rights otherwise difficult to obtain through the political process, however, resulted in civil rights organizations such as the ACLU, and the American Jewish Congress, being among the most active filers of amicus curiae briefs over the past few years."

At another point in the article, Prof. Krislov observes that: "Some amicus curiae briefs have, of course, been of great legal guidance to the Court...Mr. Justice Frankfurter relied greatly upon the Synagogue Council of America brief in the McCollum case, for example..."

In McCollum, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the conduct of released time for religious classes in public school buildings during the school day. Actually the brief referred to by Prof. Krislov was submitted not only on behalf of the Synagogue Council - comprising the Rabbinical and Synagogue organizations of the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox groups - but also the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a co-ordinating body of national Jewish organizations and the local community relations organizations. The brief in that case was prepared by Leo Pfeffer, National Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of AJCongress.

It is interesting to note that Chief Justice Warren made reference last month to another brief prepared by Leo Pfeffer for the Synagogue Council. and the NCRAC. This occurred during the argument of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Bible reading cases. The Attorney General of Pennsylvania had just stated that the opposition to these practices stems from persons who were seeking to further atheism. The Chief Justice called his attention to the fact that the Court had received a brief submitted on behalf of the Synagogue Council of America. Needless to say, the Attorney General dropped his argument on this point like a "hot potato."

The Right of Conscience And The Obligation of Jury Service. On March 8 the Supreme Court of Minnesota unanimously upheld the contempt conviction of a woman who had refused to serve on a jury because of her belief that such conduct violated the Biblical admonition, "Judge not so that you will not be judged." The Court rejected the contention that compulsory jury service constituted a denial of religious freedom guaranteed by the State and Federal Constitutions. Justice Otis said: "The likelihood of this [woman's] conscience being unduly burdened by service on a jury is slight compared to the sense of guilt which might well afflict a conscientious objector who may be required to kill another human being in time of war without any constitutional right o exemption." Whatever the power of Congress to require a person to serve as a combatant, the fact is that our draft laws have consistently granted such persons exemption on grounds of religious beliefs. Moreover, it verges, in my opinion, upon the absurd, to analogize the obligation of jury service with the obligation to defend one's country. It is fantastic to urge, as did the Minnesota Supreme Court, that to allow exemption from jury service because of religious principles, "is to invite erosion of every other obligation a citizen owes his community and his country."

Sincerely yours,

Leo Pfeffer

Leo Pfeffer

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Pick up the ball in other ventures that the Federal Government has invited them to help with. Billboard control is an example. In the 5 years since the Federal act was passed, only 17 States, again including Pennsylvania, have qualified to participate and earn bonus payments.

Deprive central government of its growing role by acting themselves to meet such urgent social problems as housing, education, civil rights. Pioneering in these fields has been left to Uncle Sam.

Talk is cheap. Only legislative deeds count in the effort to keep Government close to home. State legislatures that abdicate their responsibilities are ill qualified to complain about Federal fulfillment of vaccums they ignored.

Suff. Miss.

## Action Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, April 4, 1963*

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the time is now for immediate and drastic executive action, for accelerated legal procedures by the Attorney General, for positive congressional action to strengthen and extend the law by giving to the Attorney General the legal authority to protect the rights of the Negroes of Mississippi, as well as the rights of minorities everywhere in the United States, to the limit.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to solicit the aid of every Member of the Congress of the United States to join me now in protesting and denouncing the illegal actions on the part of the authorities of Mississippi and elsewhere insofar as the actions of those authorities in anyway hamper the constitutional rights of Negro citizens.

I call the attention of my colleagues to a long series of outrages suffered by Negroes of Mississippi and I emphatically state that these crimes cry out for positive and courageous action, not tomorrow, but now.

CHRONOOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

January 1, Greenville, Washington County: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and, according to the local police chief, fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, was seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, was shot in the right leg.

March 30, Jackson, Hinds County: Club-swinging police and 2 police dogs chased more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where 9 Negro students were convicted for staging a sitin demonstration. Several were struck by the clubs and at least one person was bitten by the dogs.

May 7, Jackson, Hinds County: Several white youths, riding in an open convertible, lassoed 9-year-old Negro Gloria Laverne Floyd with a wire and dragged her along the street. The girl suffered a deep gash in her head that required three stitches, cheek bruises, a laceration of her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck. Police made arrests.

August 15, Amite County: Robert Moses, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "who's been trying to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent 2 days in jail.

August 22, Amite County: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

August 26, McComb, Pike County: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

August 27 and 29, McComb, Pike County: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and 8 months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a State school for delinquents.

August 29, McComb, Pike County: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant, of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "were behind some of this racial trouble."

August 30, McComb, Pike County: SNCC Workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound buslines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

September 5, Liberty, Amite County: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

September 7, Tylertown, Walthall County: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

September 13, Jackson, Hinds County: 15 Episcopal ministers—among them three Negroes—were arrested for asking to be served at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

September 25, Liberty, Amite County: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white State representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

October 4, McComb, Pike County: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18 years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totaling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and 6 months in jaid, said:

Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered.

October 5, McComb, Pike County: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were fieldworkers for SNCC.

October 11, McComb, Pike County: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association, and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an antisegregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occurred in the business section of the city.

October 13, McComb, Pike County: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

October 22, Jackson, Hinds County: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge:

"He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him."

Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

November 9, McComb, Pike County: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality—CORE—field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18; Alice Thompson, 22; Thomas Valentine, 23; and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

November 10, Jackson, Hinds County: Jessie Divens, 12-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain of Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17:

With the understanding that the Reverend Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation.

November 18, McComb, Pike County: Persons unknown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Street. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

December 1, McComb, Pike County: Four white men attacked three newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, Life magazine, and Simmons Fentress, Time magazine.

December 2, McComb, Pike County: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

December 26, Jackson, Hinds County: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

February 6, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to undressed and to lie on her back. The officers [illegible] other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed Federal charges against the officers.

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, State president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teenage hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Smith County: Cpl. Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U.S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by Policeman Bill Kelly, when, according to an NAACP news release, Duckworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was en route from Camp Ritchie, Md., to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Miss., hospital.

April 1962, Lucedale, George County: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor, of the Mississippi Free Press, said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped en route from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young men said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm they were placed in an isolation [illegible] beaten by a guard named Keith while other prisoners held him. Keith beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening:

Nigger, I'll kill you.

August 16, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about 5 minutes.

There is no use reporting it to local authorities—

He said.

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: SNCC workers Samuel Block, Luvaghn Brown, and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their voter registration office. They said armed white men invaded the premises intent upon doing them harm.

August 17, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he did not know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having. The mayor said he knew it—presumably, civil rights for the Negro—was coming, and he was not going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that would not do it, they would use whatever they had available. See entry below for September 3, 1962.

August 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station an officer said:

All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house.

McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cottonfield, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

August 21, 1962, Liberty, Amite County: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrar's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them:

Get your ——— off the front porch, and don't come back in.

[illegible] Wells got off the [illegible] A few minutes later, [illegible]

[illegible] Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with failure to yield right-of-way after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

August 30, 1962, Indianola, Sunflower County: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—SCLC.

August 31, Indianola, Sunflower County: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer:

Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?

The judge turned to the officer and said:

He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer.

The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola agitating again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed—allegedly for violating city ordinances.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough:

We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school.

He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field-workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote:

We gonna see how tight we can make it—gonna make it just as tight as we can.

[illegible] Sunflower County, Hicks and Aaron Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the "folks getting the people to register." Moses and Moore answered yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man said then:

I've got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel.

September 3, Ruleville, Sunflower County: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

September 10, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Marylene Burkes, 20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

October 3, Biloxi, Harrison County: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov cocktails" which caused more than $4,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician, who is active in integration efforts. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

October 5, Harmony, Leake County: Night riders fired shotguns into eight Negro homes and a Negro store. An elderly Negro said he was struck in the knee by a squirrel shot while he and his 9-year-old grandson were sleeping. He said he was not seriously hurt. Harmony Negroes had recently petitioned authorities for school desegregation.

October 10, Columbus, Lowndes County: A "Molotov cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

October 29, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was walking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said:

Nigger, do you know the way out of town?

McLaurin replied:

Yes.

The officer said, with more obscenity:

Nigger. Can't you say "Yes, sir?"

The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets.

[illegible] McLaurin replied:

No.

The officer said:

Then you're going to jail.

At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale Police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

October 31, Jackson, Hinds County: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commisison on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping operations of his neighbors. The man presented 11 witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The justice of the peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Washington County: Two WAF's and two airmen—all white—from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

December 26, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from Federal surplus commodities. The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist. They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for investigation. After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women, Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

1963

January 17, Canton, Madison County: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

February 2, Greenwood, Leflore County: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 20, Greenwood, Leflore County: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said "yes", the voice said:

You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of.

The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC field secretary, was arrested 2 days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

February 28, Greenwood, Leflore County: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U.S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by 11 bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

March 4, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: The show windows in the Fourth Street drugstore were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

March 6, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up beside their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the headliner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

March 12, Greenwood, Leflore County: A 12-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

March 20, 1963, Jackson, Hinds County: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE field secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 East McLeurin Street, making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

March 27, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about 10 other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

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## A Voluntary Medical Care Plan for the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, April 4, 1963*

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues, the gentleman from Ohio, FRANK BOW, has had the foresight to present to this Congress a constructive program dealing with the problem of providing adequate medical care for our elderly citizens. The Bow bill is a progressive approach to the problem, meeting it head on and provides the care required by the free enterprise approach without the stigma of socialized medicine. On April 1, 1963, my distinguished colleague presented his program to the American Academy of General Practice at Chicago, Ill. In this speech he explains the merits of his bill and I am happy to include his speech in my remarks:

A VOLUNTARY MEDICAL CARE PROGRAM FOR THE ELDERLY

(Address of Representative FRANK T. BOW, of Ohio, before the American Academy of General Practice, at Chicago, Ill., April 1, 1963)

In his invitation to me, Dr. Rhoades suggested that I might be considered the middle-of-the-road member of this panel. Perhaps that is a fair description, because in almost every aspect of political philosophy I am certain I stand far to the right of Secretary Nestingen, and with respect to medical care for the elderly, I am certainly to the left of those who want to stand pat on the present laws or programs in this field.

Insofar as the provisions of my own legislation are concerned, I am neither left nor right of them but far out in front for I propose to do more and do it better than either of them.

As I said to some of you in Detroit a few weeks ago, you are entitled to an explanation of why FRANK BOW, a conservative member of the House Appropriations Committee, is here at all, for it is most unusual to find such a man sponsoring something drastically new in the field of social legislation.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF HEALTH CARE

Let me say, first, that I have been concerned by efforts to federalize—or nationalize or socialize, you can choose your own term—the health care of this Nation for many years. My interest was stimulated 10 years ago when I became the counsel of the Harness Committee, a congressional committee investigating the lobbying activities of Federal agencies. One of the worst offenders that era was the Federal Security Age predecessor of the Department of Hea Education, and Welfare. Oscar Ewing, C of the Agency, was engaged in a widesp lobbying campaign to place the Federal G ernment in control of all health service the United States and guarantee cradle the-grave security for every American, object of his affections was the old Wag Murray-Dingell bill. His principal ag who has now returned to Government close associate of my fellow panelist, Assistant Secretary Wilbur Cohen.

The Forand bill of several years ago, King-Anderson bill of the 87th Congress, the present Kennedy bill are the direct scendants of the Wagner-Murray-Din measure.

When it was discovered that Americ were not ready to accept Government c trol of all medicine, and compulsory hea insurance for everyone, the approach modified in the Forand bill to include eve one who receives social security bene And when the American people refused buy that package, it was further modifie include only people over 65 who are cove by social security.

Each step of the way Mr. Forand and other sponsors of the legislation assured t supporters that the retreat was tempor They say that if we can get hospitalizat for the aged under social security, we can the next Congress to add doctor bills house calls, and the next Congress to widows and orphans, and so on, year by y until we will cover everyone for every hea need by a compulsory tax. That would b sad day for the American people, for a have often said, government medicine is good medicine.

ELDERLY NEED PROTECTION

However, I find merit in the proposal provide a special program to help reti men and women meet the cost of medi care. I am convinced that this is a seri problem and one that deserves the attenti of the Federal Government. It is a probl because people who retire must live on duced income, sometimes greatly redue They often lose the group health insura benefits that protected them during th years of active work or, if they can afford they can continue the protection at hig individual rates. However, sadly enough, w many of our retirees cannot afford to p the premiums necessary to obtain adequ protection.

Most of these people can get along inso as the customary expenses of a modest even frugal living are concerned. Their di culty arises when they are confronted wi an unusually large extra expense, such as th of a severe illness, and they simply cann meet such additional expenses on retireme income.

As members of the medical profession, y know far better than I some of the hardsh that older people encounter.

The administration proposal as present advanced does not solve the problem. T Kerr-Mills law does not solve it, for the people are not medical indigents. They b come so only after severe illness wipes o their resources.

It seemed to me that someone must devel a better plan than King-Anderson or Ke Mills, and that it should be a plan embod ing these fundamentals:

1. It should be voluntary.

2. It should provide generous coverage take care of major medical expenses, to t maximum possible extent.

3. It should avoid establishing a new Fe eral bureaucracy.

4. It should avoid Federal control or i terference in health care.

5. It should cover everyone who cannot a ford to take care of himself.

NY Times, 4/28/63 Suff Miss.

PA, ML, WB, JS, JSC

During a Negro voter registration drive in Greenwood, Miss., police attempt to disperse marchers.

# Inquiry Into the Mississippi Mind

**Racial conflict has made this Southern state the symbol of uncompromising resistance to change. Herewith, an examination of Mississippi's plight, the causes and the outlook.**

By CLAUDE SITTON

JACKSON, Miss.

WHEN Mississippi Negroes gather to discuss their struggle for equality, as they frequently do, one story they tell concerns a plantation field hand named John. Seized by civil rights fever, he pays a visit to the big house to proclaim the new order.

"Mister Charlie," he says to the white planter, "all these years you and Miss Ann has called me 'John.' That's all right. But things is changed. There ain't gonna be no more 'Mister Charlie' and 'Miss Ann.' It's just 'Ann' and 'Charlie' now. And, Charlie, one other thing: Ain't gonna be no more Mississippi, either. From now on, it's just 'Sippi.' "

Mississippi whites see little humor in the story. Mister Charlie and Miss Ann quickly lose the graciousness and warmth with which they are rightfully credited if one suggests that racial customs must be modified. They know that change is inevitable. But the mind boggles at the thought—and sometimes slips its moorings to reality.

This irrational reaction partially explains some of the shocking events of the past year: The bloody riots over a Negro's admission to the University of Mississippi, the continued denial of minority voting rights—dramatized by recent violence in the Delta—and the harassment, intimidation and force employed against the whites who dare dissent from segregationist orthodoxy. Perhaps the most damaging effects, however, of this state of mind are being felt in other areas of public life.

IN the current emotional atmosphere the unscrupulous have virtual immunity so long as they act in the name of segregation. Charlatans who would be laughed off the streets in normal times find a receptive audience. History is rewritten, substituting pleasing fiction for unpleasant fact. And the Mississippian, who bows to no man in loyalty to country, lends encouragement or stands by silently while his public officials flirt with sedition.

The extent to which these developments have tried the patience of persons outside the state is apparent in a recent recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission. The commissioners pointed out that Mississippi paid only $270,000,000 in taxes into the Federal Treasury during the 1962 fiscal year, while receiving $650,000,000 in return. They urged President Kennedy to determine if he had legal authority to withhold this aid until Mississippi ended its "subversion of the Constitution." (The President said he did not have such power.)

The day of the commission's proposal, a state official suggested that Mississippi might retaliate in kind. Fred Ross, State Commissioner of Public Welfare, said: "The question now arises as to how much longer the white population of Mississippi will continue to consent to be taxed and drained of its sustenance for the benefit of a race and nation which show no appreciation for their sacrifices, in order to destroy itself by integration."

Can Mississippi afford its uncompromising position on race? What social debits has it incurred by its intransigency? What factors underlie the refusal to face reality? Is there basis for hope that the state will heed the few courageous leaders who are urging a return to sanity? These questions can be examined but not firmly answered.

To understand Mississippi's interracial conflict, one must first consider the nature of the state and its people. Despite its monolithic image, Mississippi is a mosaic.

THE Gulf Coast gives it a touch of Florida. Salt marshes and piney woods alternate with groves of moss-draped live oaks and stretches of sandy beach. Mansions of fading elegance compete with plush motels for attention along U.S. Route 90. The coast already has shipbuilding, papermaking and fishing industries, and soon will have a $125 million oil refinery and a $400 million testing center for moon rocket engines.

To the north lie cut-over timberlands, small farms and a succession of dusty county-seat towns. Deserted fields and empty storefronts tell of the loss of population to the state's small but growing cit- (*Continued on Page* 104)

**CLAUDE SITTON** is Southern Correspondent for The New York Times, based in Atlanta.

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## The Mississippi Mind

(*Continued from Page* 13)

ies — Pascagoula, Gulfport, Hattiesburg, Meridian, Jackson, Vicksburg and Greenville.

The rolling hills that extend northward from the Gulf coastal plain are broken on the east by stretches of Black Belt prairie and on the west by the Delta. This football-shaped expanse of level fields of sandy loam and buckshot clay reaches 200 miles from Vicksburg to Memphis, one of the richest cotton-growing areas in America.

MISSISSIPPI was settled by planters and slaves from the worn-out farms of the southern Piedmont. Streaming into the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw at the beginning of the 19th century, they built an empire on cotton. The state became one of the nation's richest. But much of its wealth was wiped out by the Civil War, subsequent depressions and the boll weevil.

With the coming of agricultural mechanization, cotton production remained profitable only in the Delta. Even there, the tractor, the mechanical picker and chemicals have slashed the need for labor. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Mississippians have migrated to the North and Middle West.

Negroes, who once outnumbered whites, now make up only 43 per cent of the state's population of 2,178,141, according to the Bureau of the Census. They are in the majority in the Delta counties, but more and more are leaving because they have no work for eight or nine months a year.

Mississippians are still a largely rural people. Only 38 per cent live in urban areas. Most of the state's manufacturing jobs are in scattered, small textile and apparel plants. Jackson, the capital, is the state's largest city. It has a population of 150,000, a jet airport under construction, and one of the nation's few gold-plated bathrooms. This last was installed in the Governor's mansion at a cost of $10,000 by Gov. Ross R. Barnett.

MISSISSIPPI is the poorest state in the nation and some residents considered the Governor's expenditure excessive in view of a shortage of funds for education and other state services. The state had a per capita income in 1961 of only $1,229, compared with a national average of $2,263. The median annual family income of its whites was $4,209, and of its Negroes, $1,444.

The state has the third highest illiteracy rate—4.9 per cent —in the nation, trailing only South Carolina and Louisiana. A total of 32,196 of its Negroes and 8,444 of its whites have never attended school. A far larger number, 119,741 Negroes and 40,274 whites, are considered functional illiterates.

Mississippi offers a study in contrasts, especially in the Delta. Greek-revival mansions and rambling ranch houses in groves of shade trees look out on weather-beaten rows of clapboard cabins and tar-paper shacks, most of which have open privies and some of which lack even running water. A planter dressed in expensive Western boots and hat gets up from a leisurely meal in a restaurant and displays a rare dime valued at $90 from his coin collection. Less than a mile away, a Negro mother arises and prepares a breakfast of sugar syrup and hoecake for her

OLD MISSISSIPPI — Negroes pick

children, some of whom cannot attend school because they have no shoes.

The state's campaign for economic expansion has reached a promising stage. The International Paper Company plant whose towering smokestack dominates the tidewater town of Moss Point, the cargo ships and nuclear submarines on the ways in the Ingalls Shipyard in Pascagoula and the Standard Oil refinery under construction at Bayou Casotte offer impressive evidence of progress.

BUSINESS experts see no evidence that segregation has hampered such industrial growth. Continuing racial unrest is another thing indeed. A leading financial economist in the Southeast predicts that Mississippi's number of new plant acquisitions will begin to decline at midyear. "It will continue shrinking for a long time to come, until and unless the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union," he says.

High as is the economic cost of intransigency, the social

cost is higher. A thumbnail sketch of what white supremacy means in Mississippi is provided in a current report of the state advisory committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission. It should be noted that its members are Mississippians.

"The committee's investigations have indicated that in all important areas of citizenship, a Negro in Mississippi receives substantially less than his due consideration as an American and as a Mississippian. This denial extends from the time he is denied the right to be born in a nonsegregated hospital, through his segregated and inferior school years and his productive years when jobs for which he can qualify are refused, to the day he dies and is laid to rest in a cemetery for Negroes only."

Further, Negroes frequently are denied the most effective

cotton by hand in the Delta.

recourse from these wrongs—the ballot. The extreme to which disfranchisement goes and the irrational behavior of some whites when confronted by a mere attempt to remedy the situation have just been underscored in Leflore County in the Delta.

MORE than 95 per cent of the county's whites 21 years of age and older are registered, but less than 2 per cent of its Negroes. State law gives voter registrars almost sole discretion in saying who may and who may not vote.

The Justice Department recently instituted a Federal court action against registrars in Leflore and six other Mississippi counties. But even under reasonable regulations fairly applied, the ignorance and impoverishment of many Leflore County Negroes would preclude their registration. Thus, it would appear that, with the cards so patently stacked in favor of white political supremacy, the registration campaign started there last August would have caused no stir. Not so. Campaign workers have been threatened, harassed, beaten and shot.

Such terrorism has not been restricted to Leflore County or to the Delta. The Voter Education Project, an Atlanta-based organization financed by national foundations, has issued a list of 64 separate acts of violence and intimidation directed against Negroes since January, 1961, in more than a dozen counties. Virtually all of these incidents were related to registration activities.

THE corrosive effects of racism on whites as well as Negroes are shown even more clearly in the story of Mississippi's resistance to desegregation in education. The last chapter has yet to be written about this phase of the struggle. But it already has brought the entire state to the brink of rebellion against the Federal Government.

The action came last Sept. 13, when Governor Barnett invoked the legally discredited doctrine of interposition. He announced that he was placing the power of the state between the University of Mississippi and the Federal Courts to prevent the admission of James H. Meredith, a 29-year-old Negro. It is doubtful that Mr. Barnett, a shrewd damage-suit lawyer, thought interposition would work for him more than it had for Gov. Jimmy H. Davis of Louisiana in his efforts to block Negroes from the New Orleans public schools.

Nevertheless, like demagogues before him, Governor Barnett apparently felt compelled to stage a show of defiance while negotiating a surrender under the table. If such was his intention, he misjudged the mood of his people with fatal results.

GIVEN the Governor's refusal to preserve order and the Kennedy Administration's decision to enforce desegregation initially with Federal deputy marshals rather than with troops, the riots of Sept. 30 and Oct. 1 on the Ole Miss campus and in the adjoining town of Oxford were inevitable. One might have thought that the death of two men and the incalculable damage to the state and nation would have had a sobering effect on segregationists. Any such illusions were soon dispelled by declarations of the type made by a Jackson newspaper columnist:

"Watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brotherly love," he wrote. "For us . . . we'll just go on being a bigot, a reactionary, a rebel and lick our wounds till the next fight starts and plan to win somehow. We are licked but not beaten!"

Some Mississippians believe that the rest of the nation is on their side and that succor cannot be long in coming. "I

*(Continued on Following Page)*


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*(Continued from Preceding Page)*

found a lot of sympathy in the Midwest for our position, particularly in regard to our respect for states' rights and the Tenth Amendment," said one returning missionary.

What underlies this refusal of white Mississippians to face reality? Undoubtedly, the heritage of slavery, the stark poverty and profound isolation that Mississippi has known have played a part. Another important factor has been the fear of the Negro felt by what until recently was a white minority.

THERE is also bitter resentment against the North. This was first aroused by abolitionism and reinforced by the North's failure to follow a consistent racial policy, either in its demands made upon the South or in its handling of the problem in its own backyard. In a word, Mississippians consider Northerners hypocritical.

The genesis of the current agony, of course, lies in the school-desegregation decision of the Supreme Court. Dr. C. Vann Woodward, an authority on the history of the post-Civil War South, has written that Mississippi came forward in 1954 "in her historic role as leader of reaction in race policy, just as she had in 1875 to overthrow Reconstruction and in 1890 to disfranchise the Negro."

Significantly, many of the state's present leaders—Governor Barnett, House Speaker Walter Sillers and Senator James O. Eastland—grew up in the climate of reaction created by those earlier benchmarks of Southern democracy. And they served their political apprenticeships in the school of Senators James K. Vardaman, "The Great White Chief," who advocated repeal of the 15th Amendment as the first step toward saving Anglo-Saxon civilization, and Theodore G. Bilbo, known as "The Man," who plumbed the depths of demagoguery.

Raw material from this background combined with the catalyst of the court's desegregation ruling to touch off a racial conflagration. The first alarm was sounded in the Delta county of Sunflower, home of Senator Eastland, in the summer of 1954 when the first Citizens Council was founded. This was the initial step toward institutionalized bigotry in a more or less respectable setting.

There followed a campaign of indoctrination with few parallels in American history. The results have been described by Dr. James W. Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi, in The New Mexico Electric News: "Most organizations and individuals (press, pulpit, politicians, patriots, philosophers) capable of influencing public opinion are militantly arrayed in the indoctrination process. A never-ceasing propagation of the 'true faith' goes on day after day. The constant demand, particularly in emergencies, for a united front requires that potential nonconformists and dissenters from the accepted code be kept under wraps, squelched, or, in extreme cases, run out of the community."

WHAT happens to those who dissent is shown by the case of Ira Harkey, editor and publisher of The Chronicle at Pascagoula. Harkey who resembles a low-key Jimmy Cagney, holds that the rights of every man should be protected, "whether he be white, black, yellow, green or shades in between." One of his most biting editorial commentaries on the Mississippi scene followed publication of a letter from a relative of Governor Barnett who is a missionary in Africa. She criticized Mississippians for sending persons to minister to Negroes abroad and then undercutting the missionaries by mistreating Negroes at home. To this, The Chronicle said:

"In Mississippi, a person who attempts to carry Christianity out the church door, who dares to practice the Christian virtue of tolerance outside the church, is cursed as a liberal, a leftist, a Communist, a Niggerlover. Christ was the greatest champion of the underdog the world has ever known. If He were to visit us here, now, by whose side would He stand, beside the brick-throwing, foul-mouthed,

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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**NEW MISSISSIPPI** — Factories like this are springing up.

destroying, profaning, slavering members of the mob and their 'nice-folk' eggers-on, or beside the trembling victim of their hate?"

Harkey's rewards have included a bullet through The Chronicle's front door, a shotgun blast through his office window, an advertising boycott, "hate" mail and social ostracism.

Other dissenters who have broken the silence imposed by fear or expediency have received similar treatment. Among them are Methodist ministers who have lost their pulpits, students who have been hounded out of the University of Mississippi for befriending James Meredith, and faculty members such as G. Ray Kerciu, an assistant professor of art who was threatened with penalties totaling seven months' imprisonment and $600 in fines for a painting inspired by the Ole Miss riots.

There is no ready panacea for the social ills that afflict Mississippi. But there is hope. The pressure on Mr. Harkey has been eased since Claude Ramsay, the bluff president of the state A.F.L.-C.I.O., and a handful of others came to his support. The charges against Mr. Kerciu have been dropped.

And there are other harbingers of a new day: voting applicants standing patiently at the courthouse door in Greenwood for hour on endless hour, a Justice Department attorney shaking hands with a Negro while a white woman shivers with rage, the songs of freedom rolling out of the little Negro churches into the blackness of the Delta night, and a white man, trapped by a system he inherited, smiling sadly and saying, "We would like to be more responsible than we can afford to be."

Sitting in his modernistic office overlooking Jackson, a prominent lawyer spoke of the state's responsible citizens and their weariness with racism and its fruits. "The human mind can accept just so much of this type of thing, then it seeks relief," he said.

Former Congressman Frank Smith of Greenwood gave voice to the sentiments of this group as he left office. "We cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the United States any more than the United States can isolate itself from the world. . . . Our racial problems are going to remain for years to come. But the most certain thing about them is that any remedies based on hate will merely aggravate the problems instead of simplifying them."

It is questionable that Mississippians are yet prepared to heed the advice of Mr. Smith, now a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The state will elect a new Governor next fall, and it now appears that another member of the Vardaman-Bilbo school will succeed Barnett.

The most effective influence could be exerted by industrialists and financiers outside the state, although they are traditionally hesitant to become involved in such matters. Indeed, concern over the possible harmful effects of the controversy already has led some prominent Mississippi businessmen to exert pressure for moderation.

It seems evident that Mississippi cannot long delay some compromise with the legitimate demands of its Negro citizens. The hazards of the present situation are implicit in the mounting evidence of widespread bitterness. In the crowded sanctuary of a Negro church one warm spring night, a speaker at a voter registration rally referred with sarcasm to "the good white people." A voice from the audience shouted: "They ain't no good! None of them!"


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HOW 90,000 MISSISSIPPI NEGROES DEFIED RACISTS TO CAST UNOFFICIAL BALLOTS

# The Freedom Voters triumph over terror

By Len Holt
Special to the Guardian

JACKSON, MISS.

THE MESSAGE of the Mississippi Freedom Vote campaign Nov. 2-5 in which about 90,000 Negroes marked unofficial ballots for a biracial slate for governor and lieutenant governor is that the disenfranchised Negro will vote, despite threats and mobs and police harassment, if he is legally permitted to do so.

Aaron Henry, Negro Freedom Vote candidate for governor, added to that message to Missisippians and the rest of the nation a variation on the Biblical parable of Esther: "If you continue to remain quiet at a time like this, God's going to find another way to deliver his people." Robert Moses, campaign manager, said after the results were announced that while the returns demonstrated the Negro's desire to vote, it was clear that the Mississippi Negro would not get to vote "until the equivalent of an army is sent there." He added: "No political machinery of this country will do this until there is pressure from all over the country."

Henry's running mate was Rev. Edwin King, a native, white Mississippian who is dean of students and chaplain at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Miss. King's campaign photos show a bandage which covers facial scars and a pencil-size hole in his jaw from an auto "accident." In a Mississippi drawl he confesses "I'm scared as hell." These are his words. His conduct differs. He has the arrest and beating record typical of so many in the civil rights struggle.

**DIRTY CAMPAIGN:** The Freedom Vote campaigners refused to stoop to racial epithets, but this was far from the case in the Republican and Democratic race. Rubel Phillips, over television, radio and in the press, vied with his Democratic foe, Paul Johnson, in what seemed to be the only issue in their campaign: Who hated the Negro most? Republican Phillips' campaign workers were threatened by Democratic officials of the state government with loss of contracts and jobs for supporting him. Phillips told a **Clarion-Ledger** reporter that a South Mississippi banker had been warned by the state bank comptroller, Llewellyn Brown, that "his bank would suffer if he did not remove a Phillips campaign poster from his yard." Phillips said that Rep. Walter Hester had been "on the telephone every day" using his influence as a member of the General Legislative Investigation Committee to pressure state employes and businessmen into "supporting all Democratic Party nominees." The cars of three campaign workers were doused with acid while they attended a precinct meeting. Phillips was quoted as saying: "They are treating my workers like niggers."

**THE FREEDOM CANDIDATES: THEY LED A GRIM CAMPAIGN**
*The votes piled up, despite harassment by the police*

**TERROR AND VIOLENCE:** The Freedom Ballot project was conducted by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), composed of local civil rights groups and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

COFO had hoped that between 100,000 and 200,000 Negroes over the age of 21 who live in Mississippi would cast ballots. There are more than 400,000 Negroes of voting age in the state. The difference between the goal and the number of votes cast can be attributed to white harassment and violence inflicted on campaign workers.

One of the purposes of the Freedom Vote was to expose the lie in the assertion that the Negroes of Mississippi didn't want to vote. Another aim was to provide a choice for the adult Negroes of Mississippi among three parties: Republican—which ran Rubel Phillips for governor and Stanford Morse for lieutenant governor; Democratic, with Paul Johnson and Carroll Gartin as candidates, and the Freedom Party, backing Henry and King. Freedom Ballots listed all the candidates—official and unofficial—in alphabetical order. Less than 300 persons voted for each of the segregationist candidates. In the official election Johnson received 192,000 votes to defeat Phillips, with 118,000.

**COURT ACTION:** A week before the Freedom Party mock voting was to take place, the City of Jackson began pressing in the Chancery Court of Hinds County for a permanent injunction to bar all civil rights organizations from the state, in the same manner in which Alabama has barred the NAACP for almost seven years. Police began following cars going to and from COFO's campaign headquarters on Lynch St., Jackson. The campaign of terror and harrassment was under way.

Henry, King and Moses, Mississippi SNCC project director, are generally considered to be prime targets of racists. They are part of what was once a hated quartet. A fatal bullet through the back of Medgar Evers, state field secretary of the NAACP, reduced the size of the "wanted list." On this list one is not wanted "dead or alive"—just dead.

The current sick joke in the Movement relates to the best "get-rich-quick scheme in America"—an insurance policy on Henry, King or Moses.

Henry is a 41-year old Negro pharmacist who operates a drug store in his home town of Clarksdale, Miss., despite both "legal" and illegal threats to his life and his livelihood. On appeal are at least six criminal convictions with penalties of six years in the Parchman state penitentiary and one civil judgment of $43,000. Henry was recently acquitted on a ludicrous sodomy charge, but a retrial has been ordered.

**GRIM REALITY:** The Freedom Vote campaign was everything but "mock." There was a grim realness about bullets and stones directed at campaign workers. In one case a highway patrolman placed a cocked pistol at the head of SNCC's Ivanhoe Donaldson when he gave the "wrong" answer to the question asked by the cop: "Ain't white folks better'n niggers?"

There were more than 200 incidents of harassment and arrests by cops. Persons were jailed on such varied charges as parking more than 18 inches from the curb, passing bad checks and sodomy. The limits on the police seemed to be their imagination.

The voters, too, risked some of the violence directed at the candidates and campaign workers. In Biloxi the windows of United Church of Christ's Back Bay Mission were broken by a crowd which stoned the building during a campaign meeting. Henry said the building was "under siege" and police in the crowd just watched. "The cops," he said, "were there to prevent us from retaliating against them."

A Hattiesburg meeting was surrounded by fire trucks and firemen and police marched into the church. Votemobiles were watched by police so that local whites could keep tabs on who participated in the balloting. Police made it clear to voters in Yazoo City that they would suffer later.

**THE PLATFORM:** The candidates ran on a platform which covered freedom, voting and justice for Negroes, and gave detailed attention to the economics of Mississippi. There were comments on the problem created by the almost total subsidization of the large planters by the federal government. These large planters take over the small farms, displacing both owners and workers. The platform of the Freedom Vote Party urged such things as:

- Long-term, low-interest loans for farms less than 300 acres in size.
- Government assistance in the creation of cooperatives for small farmers.
- Public works programs to relieve unemployment and improve communities.
- Minimum wages of $1.25 an hour and a maximum work-week of 40 hours.
- Fair employment practices in hiring, with penalties for those not complying.

The last three planks of the platform are more than academic. Mississippi is expanding rapidly as an industrial state. Jesse Morris, SNCC field worker, said: "It's near impossible for an industry to stay out of here. They are offered free land for building factories and homes, state-constructed access roads if needed, low-interest loans, 10-15 years of tax exemptions and the cheapest non-union labor in America."

Henry described Mississippi schools thus: "No matter how many states join the union, Mississippi is always last. When there were 48 states, Mississippi was 48th. Now that there are 50, Mississippi is 50th in educational achievement.

It doesn't matter how bad the schools are so long as the white school is better than the colored one."

**STUDENTS AID:** There are 82 counties in Mississippi. Each is an island unto itself, with its own corrupt rulers who ape the tactics of the state leaders. Not one of the 82 counties was left untouched by the Freedom Vote Ballot campaign.

Sixty Yale University students and 30 Stanford University students came to Mississippi to work in the campaign. They joined 49 SNCC workers (boys and girls paid $9.64 a week) and six CORE field workers, thus making almost 150 full-time persons working in the state for the two weeks immediately prior to the end of the campaign. They were assisted by about 300 part-time workers.

All canvassed, got names, placed Freedom Ballot boxes in churches, stores, lodge halls and homes, worked long hours. They ate salt pork, grits, and greens. They slept in basements, in trucks and even in the woods.

The students stood tall, and took everything that was dished out to the SNCC workers with them. An example of their steadfastness was the behavior of Bruce Paine. Beaten in Natchez, Miss., one day, he insisted on returning the next day with George Green of SNCC. They were stopped and shot at three times.

Paine wondered aloud: "Do you think those two fellows really intended to kill us? Those bullets did hit the car sorta low." King responded "It is error to confuse good intentions with poor aim."

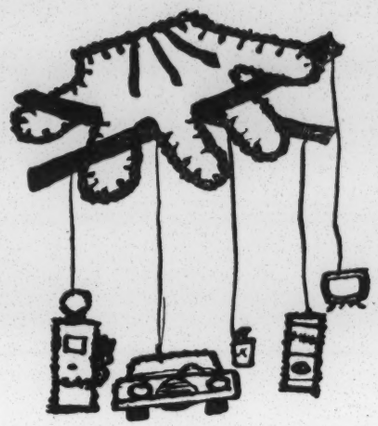
At the victory rally Nov. 4 in the Masonic Temple in Jackson (where Medgar Evers's funeral was held) Moses said: "We don't expect to correct the evils of Mississippi by this snail's-pace voting registration, but we do expect to build enough pressure to make it politically impossible for a federal government to remain so indifferent.

"We expect our efforts to dissuade those who believe that anything less than federal troops will work."

productivity — then they will produce the same number of bobby pins at roughly the same cost and unit costs will not rise.

Thus one way to cut hours and avoid the cost difficulties is to spread the reduction in hours over several years. Instead of dropping hours from forty to thirty-five in one jump and increasing hourly pay rates by 14.3 per cent (as shown in the table), do it over a period of around five years. Of course, the impact will be different on some individual firms and industries than on others because of individual differences in productivity, cost structure and peculiarities in equipment, methods and products. But average unit costs in the nation should stay relatively stable.

Yet two important caveats remain even under these conditions. Keeping the decline in hours in line with productivity gains would tend to make existing jobs more secure and might require hiring new workers to increase production, but it is possible that the new workers required could be obtained from new entrants into the labor force so that no dent would be made in existing unemployment. Other measures would then be required to cut the existing unemployment rate. The hours reduction would serve only to keep the rate from rising. And to be sure that new workers instead of



overtime hours were added in order to raise output, it might be necessary to raise the penalty overtime rate—say from time-and-a-half to double time for overtime.

A second important caveat is this: there is strong pressure in this country for increases in wage rates when unemployment declines and output approaches capacity. Yet it would be necessary to forgo wage hikes at a time when hours were being cut if stable unit costs were to be maintained. Thus some type of formal or informal agreement between labor, management and perhaps the President would be necessary to prevent wage rates from rising, the President bringing the full weight of public opinion to bear on any offending union or other group of workers. And no one can be sure, of course, that this type of arrangement would be completely successful. Hence we have another of the many uncertainties associated with workweek legislation.

Whether or not the standard workweek is indeed reduced in the next few years will be dependent in large measure upon the success of the President's tax reduction proposal. Will it pass? Will the resulting increase in expenditures be sufficient to create employment opportunities for an expanding labor force and to reduce the present unemployment rate? If not, the pressure for a workweek reduction may become irresistible.

Most economists agree that the workweek will probably decline in the long run. For the fundamental advance in technical know-how is rendering the labor force increasingly productive, and we will probably desire more leisure to enjoy the goods we produce.

If the tax reduction is indeed unsuccessful in getting unemployment down to tolerable levels, then it would seem desirable in the *short run* to implement what we expect in the *long run*—to reduce the workweek, providing we can keep the cut in line with productivity gains and keep a lid on wage demands.

## Mississippi

The Nation 12/7/63

# UNDERGROUND ELECTION . . . Jeannine Herron

Suff. Miss.

*Jackson, Miss.*

Bullets, beatings, arrests and fines drove the campaign of Aaron Henry, a Negro, for Governor "underground" as the 1963 gubernatorial campaign neared a climax in Mississippi. The outrageously "uppity" plan for a mock campaign of unregistered Negro voters to dramatize the flagrant totalitarianism of Southern politics was taken seriously by the white power structure. As a result of this, harassment and intimidation plagued Henry's campaign workers all over the state.

Despite the unexpected severity of these difficulties and a disappointing blackout by local news and national wire services, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) polled a highly significant 82,000 votes. COFO (consisting of NAACP, SCLC, CORE and SNCC), working on a state-wide project for the first time, managed to total the margin of difference between the Republican and Democratic votes in only three weeks of campaigning.

Two things undoubtedly worried Southern traditionalists. First, the integrated ticket — Dr. Aaron Henry, a Negro pharmacist, and Reverend Edwin King, white Tougaloo College chaplain — confounded their argument that Negroes, if allowed to vote, would "take over" the state.

Second, the platform of the Freedom Party raised issues at the heart of the depressing problems in Mississippi, a state that seems to rank fiftieth in almost every field. It is unprecedented to speak of justice, free elections, economics and education even in a game of "Let's Pretend We Have the Vote." In the official gubernatorial race. Rubel Phillips, the first Republican candidate since Reconstruction, repeated monotonously, "K.O. the Ken-

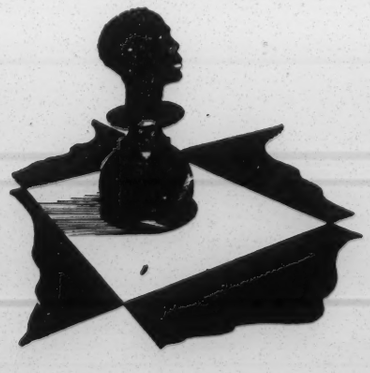
*Jeannine Herron is a free-lance writer in Jackson, Miss., who has been active in civil rights and the peace movement for several years.*

nedys!" while Paul Johnson's Democratic pamphlet warned darkly, "DANGER, Two party system in Mississippi would END OUR WAY OF LIFE. Vote November 5 to stamp out Republicanism!"

But the final tally for Henry and King proved that Negroes are capable and willing to engage in the political affairs of their state, that they are vitally interested in a better society for *all* Mississippians and that they will have even greater resistance to overcome before the make-believe becomes real.

The unusual protest technique of a "mock ballot" was augmented and modified by the flexibility of such resourceful leaders as Robert Moses, campaign manager, in meeting unpredictable problems. In areas where threats had genuinely frightened local leaders and no churches or stores were available for polling places, he contrived "votemobiles," mobile ballot boxes carried in cars by campaign teams. Where even votemobiles were forced out and ballots confiscated, the campaign encouraged underground ballots, or mail-in votes. The committee made skillful use of an amazing contingent of more than seventy-five out-of-state students, mostly from Yale, who joined local workers to canvass and poll nearly every little town in the state.

The power of local authorities in exercising their whims was effective insofar as it kept the Negroes from realizing their goal of 200,000 votes. Nearly everyone actively working on the campaign was arrested, detained or fined. There were at least seventy arrests for everything from littering and vagrancy to sodomy. Bonds went as high as $1,000 for fictitious traffic violations. With only three or four lawyers daring to take civil-rights cases in all of Mississippi, several cases that should have been appealed were not contested. Had Negro citizens been free of fear, the vote most surely would have been doubled.



Among the particularly hazardous areas was Natchez. Bruce Payne, a Yale student, was pulled out of his votemobile and beaten by four white men in a gas station. They warned him to "stay out of Natchez." The next day Payne and George Greene, a SNCC worker, were forced off the road by the same men. Making a crucial decision, Greene reversed suddenly and got back onto the highway as three shots hit the car, one puncturing a tire. Speeding away on the slowly leaking tire, he somehow managed to lose his pursuers. The following day, in the same area, another votemobile was chased at speeds up to 115 mph.

In Picayune, three Hattiesburg Negroes and two white Yale students were detained by police for questioning. When they returned to their car, they found the gas tank full of water. The local garage could not repair the damage. A crowd of men and boys followed them while they hired a car and driver to take them out of town. Police and members of the crowd stopped the car north of Poplarville, and officials took the driver away in their car. In the confusion one boy was separated from the others and walked from 1 to 7 A.M. when he was picked up by a SNCC search car. The other four finally managed to flag down a Greyhound bus, which took them to New Orleans.

It took remarkable courage to enter a town like Belzoni where two Negroes have been shot in the last eight years for registering to vote. Willie James Shaw (they call him "preacher Shaw" at SNCC) was not going to be turned around. He sat on the hood of his votemobile and started singing freedom songs. The local Negroes stood in a silent, fearful group, not daring to vote in the presence of several police officers. Then Shaw got angry and began to preach.

"What's wrong with you? Negro, don't you know you got nothing left to lose? White man's got everything. Stand up and tell that white man you gonna be FREE!" The atmosphere of fear got thicker, but Willie preached on, seeming to have mesmerized himself, the

crowd *and* the police. Then, miraculously, two women and a little girl joined Willie's singing. One by one they began to vote. Thirty-eight ballots were polled for Henry and King in Belzoni, but the police confiscated them as they took Willie off to jail for parking too close to a fire hydrant.

It may have all been make-believe, but both sides read it as a true story and as a portent of the future. Although the outcome of the Freedom Campaign had no effect on the actual gubernatorial race, the image of thousands of Negroes casting ballots for the first time for candidates they believed in could not be taken lightly by the white elite. With the issue of schools looming ahead next year they will let no challenge go by without battle. Their frantic efforts to submerge a mock campaign reveal their fear. They have left hasty, inadequate trenches behind them as they have backed away.

The confusion of a retreat sometimes leaves little time for consideration of where the next line should be drawn. Desperation and impotence create poignantly humorous scenes, such as the public library in Selma, Ala., that has no chairs, or the benchless Jackson zoo. In some places where selective buying is crippling local businesses, the Citizens Councils are threatening anti-boycott boycotts.

The campaign had its moments too. A votemobile driver so infuriated a state trooper that in a dramatic seizure of frustration he snatched the boy's license and scrawled "AGGITATER" across it. Several times students were arrested for resisting arrest. No other charge. In Hattiesburg, police tried various means of stopping a cam-

paign rally. After sulking because they could not tell the difference between Yalies and local whites, they triumphantly decided to admit only whites who could produce Yale I.D. cards! Outside, in a final burst of petulance, they blew horns and fire sirens to drown out the speaker, but Aaron Henry broke his rhythm only long enough to shout, "There's a fire burning in here, all right, but those firemen will NEVER put it out." The sirens were silenced by cheers.

Norman Thomas, who spoke for the Freedom Party in Greenwood, and who narrowly escaped harassment himself, summed it up in a letter to President Kennedy: "We have in Mississippi a state obsessed with maintenance of segregation in support of white supremacy. It is a religion which, like communism to its believers, cleanses and sanctifies lies, perjury, perversion of law, perhaps even murder to maintain itself. This situation is America's business. I do not write as a sensationalist but as a veteran campaigner who has frequently covered the United States without finding a parallel or precedent for what I found in Mississippi."

*Memo* FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

WB ✓

KJ ✓

PA ✓

MJ - file

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8 1/2 Raymond Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

file

# SNCC'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

## ITS GOALS AND NEEDS

The needs of the young people who work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the south, and the populace with whom they work, makes the development of a comprehensive educational program imperative.

During the past three years, more than 200 young men and women have interrupted their education at various levels--high school, college, graduate school--to devote themselves to the task of securing basic rights for Negroes in the South. While they have benefitted from their commitment to bettering the security of their fellow men, they have sacrificed important elements of education and socialization found in formal academic settings. Secondly, through the efforts of these students, the barriers of a destructive educational system which has been sanctioned by the political enforcement of the South is beginning to break. Now a constructive program is needed to deal specifically with southern educational problems.

For these reasons, SNCC has set certain goals. First, to realize their full potential by combining social involvement and intellectual growth for members of the SNCC staff. And secondly, to provide the information, education and motivational services needed by the people in the South.

While the organization has already received impressive

assistance with forming the program for this project, it must raise $332,912 to implement it. This proposal outlines our educational program and deals specifically with the funds needed to put it into effect.

## ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

A full time staff is needed to coordinate and administer this program. It should include two professors who will be responsible for program content, development of materials and training of teachers and workshop leaders. These professors should receive salaries equal to those received for their previous year's teaching. Four graduate students and four teacher trainees are also needed to implement the training of the teaching staff and to lead conferences and discussion groups. Their salaries should be equal to what they would receive as graduate assistants, perhaps on the basis of scholarships for returning to school at the end of the year. Adequate secretarial staff and office space must also be acquired.

Total money needed for Administrative Staff is $37,112.

## WORK-STUDY PROJECTS

In the fall of 1963, SNCC initiated work-study projects at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi, and Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama. Twenty students took leave of absence from their college careers to participate in a program which

alternated between field work in the civil rights movement and a study program of readings, discussions and lectures.

Unlike work-study plans with formal academic programs, such as the one at Antioch College, no academic credits were granted with this project. The students were given subsistance pay by SNCC when working in the field. An educational grant of $30,000 was split between the two colleges, with $10,000 covering educational activities during this year. A $1,000 scholarship is guaranteed to each student for return to formal college training at Tougaloo and Miles in the fall of 1964.

Three additional colleges wish to begin similar programs in the school year of 1964-65. Plans now call for a series of two to six week study periods during this year for work-study students. They will spend the remainder of the year working in the rural South, and will return to the colleges for formal matriculation with $1,000 scholarships in the fall of 1965.

A grant of $75,000 is needed for this educational program and for the return-to-school scholarships.

## FREEDOM SCHOOLS

Twenty day schools and two resident schools are being planned for the Mississippi Summer Project. The day schools will accomodate about fifty students each, and will run for three weeks. One resident school is designed to help high school dropouts in Mississippi, and the other is for students who have shown leadership ability. Up to two hundred students

will attend each six week session, to live and study in a college-like atmosphere.

All the schools will have a high teacher-student ratio. Professional teachers are being recruited by Professional Teachers Associations, the National Council of Churches, the Presbyterian Church and other institutions with educational resources. Non-professional teaching assistants, who will include nurses and dieticians, will be selected from applicants for the Mississippi Summer Project.

The Freedom School curriculum will be geared to challenging the students' curiosity about the world, giving him a better image of himself and his Negro heritage, and teaching basic literary skills. Students will study problem areas, specific incidents close to their own experiences, and the basic tenets of a democratic society. A multi-dimensional, integrated program is designed to overcome some of the students' problems of retention and concentration resulting from their usually deprived educational experiences.

The total cost of the Freedom School program is $114,100.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Southern students who want to work with SNCC's summer program are faced with the fact that they must earn between three and five hundred dollars over the summer in order to return to school in the fall. It is essential that these students be able to participate in SNCC's projects this

summer, since they are the nucleus of leadership throughout the South. We cannot ask these people to work with us unless we can provide them with scholarships for their return to school in the fall. Minimum aid for 100 students will require $30,000 by September, 1964.

Scholarship funds are needed for the 95 members of the SNCC staff who have been unable to enter or complete their college work. SNCC's program has been made possible because of the committment of these students. But they must return to school for the education they need to maintain their effectiveness. To provide full scholarships for at least 30 staff members this fall, a minimum of $60,000 is needed.

Tax exempt contributions toward this scholarship program can be made to SNCC through the National Council of Negro Women.

## STATE CONFERENCES

A primary goal of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is the training of young leadership in Southern communities. All too often in the past, such potential leadership has drifted to the greater educational opportunities of the North, and has not returned to aid the people of their homes with their skills and knowledge. At the root of this problem is the failure of the Southern school systems to provide educational facilities for the training of Negro leadership.

SNCC plans to hold three-day conferences in each state

each attended by approximately 100 students and staffed by speakers and resource personnel from college campuses, government agencies within the state and policy experts. The conference theme will revolve around "Leadership and its Responsibilities," with emphasis on the need for graduating students to remain and work in their own states.

Cost for each conference will be $2000; the five conferences will require $10,000.

LEADERSHIP INSTITUTES

The Leadership Institute will be an intensive seminar in specific methods of problem-solving. It will draw people from the state conferences who show exceptional interest and ability, as well as students in the work-study program, SNCC project directors and some staff members. The number attending will be limited because of the need for intensive discussion groups. Topics for discussion will include: anti-poverty campaigns, rural area development, manpower training, running apolitical candidates, etc.

Total cost of the Leadership INstitute will be $6,700.

FINANCES

| | |
|---|---|
| Administrative Staff | $37,112 |
| Work- Study Projects | 75,000 |
| Freedom Schools | 114,100 |
| Scholarships | 90,000 |
| State Conferences | 10,000 — OK - 5 regional |
| Leadership INstitutes | 6,700 |
| | $332,912 |

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
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# LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

The problems of the southern states, and the protest areas in which the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee works only accentuate the problems of the nation. It is unrealistic to expect a better society unless students place primary emphasis upon the democratic processes of the nation.

The state conferences are primarily to emphasize the dysfunctioning elements involved in the system organized by the state, and how and why the state has planned the system in that manner. To further exemplify how the problems of the state accentuate the problems of the nation, a comprehensive analysis is needed to point to these problems and their relationship to the nation, as well as the role of policy making.

## PROGRAM

The programming of a leadership institute will be developed by the educational staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in conjunction with persons in policy studies and professors. The goal of the program is to allow for intensive discussion and workshops with experienced personnel. The discussions and workshops would deal with specific methods of solution to such problems as: anti-poverty campaigns, rural area development, manpower training, running a campaign for a political candidate, etc.

## PARTICIPANTS

The Institute is primarily for students from the state conferences; students in the work-study program, SNCC project directors and other SNCC staff with leadership potential will also attend. The number should be limited, so that intensive discussion and workshops can be maintained.

## SPEAKERS AND RESOURCE PERSONNEL

The speakers and resource personnel will be drawn from government specialists, economic and social policy organizations, research and from universities. The intention is to draw upon several different agencies so that different points of view are presented concerning policy decisions.

## LOCATION

The ideal location for an institute that attempts to deal with these intentions is a cultural center where resource personnel can be readily called upon. The location should be within reasonable travel proximity of students. Suggested locations are: Washington, D.C., Nashville, Tenn., or Atlanta, Ga.

## MATERIALS

The materials needed include research studies by policy institutes, government publications, and publications by persons who have dealt with the particular problems relating to the subjects dealt with by the institute.

## BUDGET

| | |
|---|---|
| Room and Board for 300 students | $4,000 |
| Expenses for speakers and resource people | 500 |
| Transportation scholarships | 2,000 |
| Materials | 200 |
| TOTAL | $6,700 |

#

Student Aid Society Inc

# Proposal for Scholarship Program

## I. The Problem

Many young people who work on civil rights programs in the South have not been able to complete their formal education, either because of their full-time commitment to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or because of economic and cultural deprivation. There are approximately 95 full-time workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who have either not begun or not finished their undergraduate training . A larger number of students who have been involved in various protest movements throughout the South are denied opportunities for higher education because they lack money, encouragement, and adequate preparation for many colleges. Still another group of young people are college students, particularly Southern Negroes, who wish to participate in SNCC's summer programs, like the Mississippi Summer Project, but are reluctant or unable to do so because summer employment is necessary to meet college costs for the coming year.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee realizes the importance of both practical training and formal education in the total learning experience of those who must direct and carry out the programs for a better society in the South. SNCC feels responsible in helping to provide and insure educational opportunities for those who have committed themselves or are willing to commit themselves actively to civil rights work in the South. A program is needed, therefore, that would provide encouragement and financial assistance to help such students take advantage of college opportunities.

## II. The Summer Program

. Negro College Students

There is an immediate need of scholarship money for college students, who, by participating in the Mississippi Summer Project rather than getting summer employment, will be short of funds in the coming school year. In the past, many Negro college students in the South have not been able to participate actively in the civil rights movement for financial reasons. To allow this to continue is to deny the South's future leaders a very essential part of their training. These students are the very ones who will have to assume positions of leadership in the South's changing society and should have first hand, practical experience with those forces which underlie and shape a changing society.

The Mississippi Summer Project calls for at least 500 workers to man comprehensive programs of freedom schools, community centers, and voter registration. Funds should be available for at least 100 Southern college students who by participating in the Mississippi Summer Project will have a gap between college costs and financial resources. Applications are now being received and the response from Southern applicants is good. One staff member is currently informing Southern college students about the project and recruiting volunteers. Two staff members would receive and process the applications from those students expressing financial need. The need and qualifications for aid would be determined and awards would be made with the approval of a scholarship committee composed of trustees of the fund, if any, the executive secretary and chairmann of SNCC, and one of the SNCC advisors The awards, payable to the college would be about $300 each, equal to the amount that the average college student can earn toward college

during the summer.

111. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Staff

Scholarship funds are needed for 95 students presently working for SNCC who have not completed undergraduate training. These students did not complete their educations in many cases because they committed themselves to SNCC. The operation of SNCC's staff and program has been possible only because of their comitment. The present size and composition of SNCC's staff will permit some of these students to return to school full time. The nature of SNCC's programs and the greater demands on its workers to man these programs now require that all have at least undergraduate training. Community centers, freedom schools, and research programs call not alone for staff who are willing to receive on-the-spot training, but also staff who in an academic setting have increased their store of knowledge, refined their skills in reading and writing, and have exposed themselves to a rigorous and meaningful exchange of ideas. Formal college training will serve to sharpen the worker's tools for analyzing the field situation and putting together, again, the necessary elements that make for a creative program of action in a changing society.

Funds should be available for use in the '64-'65 school year for at least 30 of these staff members to return to school full time. These scholarships should attempt to meet the student's full need after the student has exhausted all means of financial support in the form of college scholarship and work, non-college scholarship, and family contribution. Funds would be administered by two staff members upon the approval of a scholarship committee composed of the trustees of the fund, the Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

1V. The Scholarship Program

The program will be directed towards southern Negro students, SNCC staff members, and the placement of Negro students in newly desegregated colleges that are seeking Negro students.

First, the program should recruit or identify those students in local protest movements in the South, who should be attending college. Secondly, a comprehensive counseling and referral program would provide information on opportunities for college admission and financial aid; refer students to the

appropriate colleges and sources of aid; alert and interest colleges in possible candidates for admission and aid. Thirdly, a fund would provide scholarships for these students who, because of their poor academic training and cultural deprivation, are not able to compete for scholarship aid at many institutions.

V. Finances

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 scholarships for Mississippi Summer Project participants @ $300 | $30,000 |
| 30 staff scholarships @ $2000 | $60,000 |
| Travel to colleges and recruitment | $1,000 |
| | $91,000 |

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
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# WORK STUDY PROJECT

## THE REASONS FOR A "WORK STUDY" PROJECT

The Work Study project was devised to provide a meaningful solution to the conflict which now exists between the inclinations of young people to continue their education and to become involved in the civil rights movement, with its pressing needs for manpower. The program seeks to resolve this conflict by integrating the two activities of field work in civil rights, and academic training in the form of study led by graduate students and other well qualified people. Many who would otherwise have taken a year out of school to work in the movement have not been willing to do so because of their fear of losing scholarships or not being able to earn money for the following year's tuition. For this reason the program also offers scholarships to its participants in order that they might be assured the following year's tuition.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT PROGRAM:

There are several very positive aspects of the project as it has operated so far. Close observers can testify to the growth of the participants in the program. They are much more resourceful and responsible as workers than they were at the beginning of the program. They show initiative and can be relied on to begin and carry through projects. One of the most impressive aspects of growth has been in their ever-increasing ability to express themselves concerning the current political, social and economic issues. The project has been unquestionably successful in its ability to supply the civil rights movement with additional staff to carry out its activities. The participants themselves speak of having a new incentive for continuing their higher education. Taken together these achievements of the program add up to the beginning of a new value and concept in our society; that of the creation of a more meaningful form of education which does not separate the practical and the theoretical, but rather realizes that for study to have meaning and pertinance it must grow out of and remain close to the real life, field situation.

## PLANS FOR AN EXPANDED PROGRAM:

This coming academic year SNCC would like to expand the program in order to reach many more students and involve more Negro colleges across the nation.

A. Work program: The participants would be divided into teams in order to man various SNCC projects across the South.

B. Study Institutes: They would come together for four study institutes to be planned by the SNCC educational staff.

## CURRICULUM FOR THE STUDY INSTITUTES:

An example of a particularly stimulating group of discussions in this year's program were those centered around the issue of Free Speech. Mr. J.R. Actermann, of the Tougaloo History Department, and Mendy Samstein, who has an M.A. in history from Cornell University, led discussions of the history of Free Speech in Europe. Oscar Chase, graduate of Yale Law school, gave a quick summary of some of the more

famous Free Speech cases in American History, while Dona Richards Moses, who has a B.A. in philosophy from the University of Chicago led discussions of the opinions of Justices Brandeis and Holmes in some of the more relevant cases. (The last three discussion leaders mentioned are SNCC field secretaries.) In this discussion John Stuart Mill's philosophy was introduced as having been influential on the American view of Free Speech and the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights. This series of classes culminated in a very successful discussion in which the group participated enthusiastically. They expressed opinions on such issues as why Freedom of Speech is desirable or crucial in a democracy. They were encouraged to explore the questions in terms of the relationship of liberty to order. Spontaneous discussions have led to the groups' awareness of some very broad and philosophical questions relevant to their lives.

We hope the staff of the Institutes will develop new approaches to understanding the complex problems which face these students. (e.g. See the attached outline for classes at the Summer Freedom Schools for Mississippi.)

PLANS FOR WORK PROGRAMS:

The students will be divided into teams. Each team will work under the direction of an experienced SNCC field secretary. This year's participants helped organize for the Hattiesburg Freedom Day and remained there afterwards to continue to rally around the picket line. (The picket line still continues.) Some of the members of the group are working to organize the Mississippi Student Union as a result of their work in Hattiesburg. Others are doing research and writing speeches and organizing for the Freedom campaigns of the candidates for the U.S. Congress and the Senate. In other words, their activities will by no means be concentrated solely around demonstrations. They will learn to be organizers for the increasingly complicated work of the civil rights movement.

SOME GOALS OF THE WORK STUDY PROJECT:

In general what we are interested in doing is creating among the participants an awareness of themselves in relation to the very large complex problems of the society in which they live. Economics, Politics, Sociology and History among other things will show themslves in the form of real problems instead of as "disciplines" unrelated to life in general and more specifically, to the lives of the student workers involved. We can anticipate on the basis of this year's program that our most substantial achievement will be to whet the appetite of these young people for further study, along with providing a new incentive and added meaning to the learning experience. It is for this reason and the fact that the Work Study project affords colleges involved an opportunity to become involved in the community, that Tougaloo College and SNCC initiated such a program, and that other Colleges have now expressed interest.

STATE CONFERENCES

1. Background

The South is an area of economic, social, and cultural destitution as a region. To render any one of these areas as an area of improvement will create changes in another. The destitution in the local areas drains the resources of the state, and of the nation. Local areas form the root of the problem in the South, and wherever there is one of these problems there is evidence of another.

Because of the divergence from the mainstream in the South, it also lacks in leadership that can effectively relate to the ideals and goals formulated by the larger society. It is not the point that the South is without leadership, but the point is that the leadership in the South usually does not relate to ideals of the larger society, nor do these leaders relate to sources of change.

11. Sources of effective leadership

To effectively reach the sources of leadership potential in the South, the politically guided educational system must be combated. The private institutions in the South are at present the most fertile grounds for breeding southern leaders. These colleges have led the struggle in the educationcal sphere against the mandates of southern laws. Basically, there are attempts to create atmospheres of academic freedom, and cultural attributes. They are usually the only true cultural outlets in the state. Their opposition to the southern methods of education have been proven by their stands on education, and by their invitations to liberal minds.

111. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Southern Colleges

Although many southern institutions both Negro and white such as: Morehouse, Duke, Tougaloo, Tulane, Emory, Talladega, and Vanderbilt have openly opposed southern education, there has been no drastic revolutionary change in education. Primarily this has been because the state still reaches the minds of most students in elementary and high school, and they have enforceable control even over private institutions.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee realizes the value of bringing white and Negro southern students together to discuss problems of education, and problems of the South: first, because they will be the leaders of the South and future opposition between the two must be curtailed. And secondly, because there is a need in the South for each state to have realistic evaluations of problems, and attempt to deal with these problems.

IV. State Conferences

The solution to bringing campus leadership together is first on the level of state conferences that deal specifically with local issues. This is the most realistic solution because it deals with issues closest to the students; it allows generalizations to be kept at a minimum. Negro and white students and professors have expressed interest in this idea.

The plan is:

A.

In each state approximately 100 students will be brought together for three day periods on a college campus or an available conference site. Major speakers and resource personnel will be persons from college campuses, government agencies within the state, etc.

B.

The conference theme will revolve around " Leadership and its Responsibilities," with emphasis upon the need for graduating students to remain and work in their own states. Workshops will be conducted during the conference on issues that concern the students, and what they can do to aid progress in their state.

C.

Budget:

| | |
|---|---|
| Room and board for 100 students..... | $ 1500 |
| Expenses..... | 200 |
| (a) Speakers, (b) Resource personnel | |
| Transportation scholarships..... | 250 |
| Materials..... | 50 |
| Total | $ 2000 |

## THE EDUCATIONAL STAFF

The purpose of an educational staff with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to have competent and experienced persons to deal with the educational programs now in progress. or proposed educational programs.

The function of the educational staff will be to plan, coordinate and administer. The staff will be responsible for program content, the development of materials, research, and the training of teachers and workshop leaders.

The persons on the staff should include:
(1.) Two resident college professors (with a year's leave from their posts). The two professors will develop research materials and study materials for persons in the Work-Study Programs; develop scholarly studies on the educational and political system in the south; constantly develop the skills of the graduate assistants.

(2.) Four Graduate Assistants (with graduate degrees or graduate hours). These assistants would be responsible for programming the research materials developed by the resident professors; conduct classes for persons in the Work-Study program, and discussion groups; serve as workshop coordinators when needed on campusses or by civic groups.

(3.) Four Teacher-trainees (college graduates). These trainees would shift their time between work in the office and field situations. They would be responsible for tutoring sessions for high school students; teaching assignments in the field when needed; developing background materials for students who will be aided by the scholarship fund.

(4.) Secretarial help and office space (these should be skilled persons who type and can take shorthand). Secretarial help is required in order to continually keep materials filed, and to handle correspondence. Office space will be required for the staff because they can not be placed in the present facilities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta. There should be enough space for files, offices and materials.

FINANCE

(1.) The two college professors should have their salaries of the past academic year matched. An estimate of these two salaries would be $20,000.

(2.) The four graduate students should receive the same assistantship salaries as graduate schools grant. This would amount to $3,000 per year. For four graduate students the cost would be $12,000.

(3.) The four teacher trainees should receive travel expenses and living expenses. This would amount to $2,000 per year unless a special fund is granted for travel expenses.

(4.) Secretarial help varies, but the usual salaries are $200 per month. The cost of office space varies, but the costs in Atlanta are usually $75 to $150 per month.

(5.) Materials will have to be financed as the need arises. Certain material expenditures can be anticipated now (typewriters, etc.) but materials such as books and special studies will arise during the course of the year. An estimated cost of materials for a year would be $3,000.

Suffrage, South JLC Labor Reports Sept 61



REGISTER FOR PROGRESS

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a leader of the Southern civil rights movement, has announced that a new program of "stand-ins" aimed at doubling the number of Negroes registered to vote will soon be started in the South. At the present time 1,300,000 Negroes are registered. However, 5,000,000 Negroes in the South are eligible to vote, but have been unable to exercise their right partly because of intimidation and rigged registration procedures.

The new campaign will utilize the dramatic, non-violent techniques that have succeeded in abolishing lunch counter discrimination through "sit-ins," and ending discrimination in bus transportation facilities through the "freedom rides."

Dr. King, speaking of the new drive, observed that "we are seeing the last days of 'massive resistance' to integration," and predicted that in ten years all major urban cities in the United States will be desegregated.

We enthusiastically support this campaign and its objectives which are basic to the democratic structure of our society. Organized labor has always felt that a fundamental democratic right of every American is the right to vote. It is hard to believe that in a country which prides itself on the universal franchise for all of its citizens, 5,000,000 Negroes in one section of the land are denied this right because of racial prejudice.

The achievement of the right to vote by several million Negroes in the South would be a most important step in the fight for civil rights. For the first time real possibilities will exist for removing reactionary and segregationist politicians who are opposed to economic progress, as well as equal opportunity for all.

It is interesting to note that at the same time, a number of labor federations in the South reported the opening of new drives to get members to register. This was in response to the increasing harassment of organized labor by the "right to work" forces in the southern states that are preventing labor from achieving its goals. It is becoming increasingly clear that the goals of the American worker and the American Negro are closely related: full employment for all, more and better schools and housing, improved minimum wage, unemployment insurance and social security laws. And this can only be achieved at the ballot box.

These two new developments -- the registration drives among Southern Negroes and trade unionists, reaffirm the point made by AFL-CIO President George Meany recently.

In a speech before the Fourth National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights he said: "It should be clear that Negro workers need the trade union movement. Anyone who weakens or damages the trade union movement is building barriers against the future advancement of the Negro himself."

Meany further stated: "The labor movement also needs the Negro workers. Not just for moral considerations, either, as paramount as they may be. The trade unions need Negroes for practical reasons."

The new registration drives in the South are a most important step in bringing this about.

Randolph's charges, the United States Civil Rights Commission issued a somewhat more objective report that concluded: "Most international unions have failed to exhibit any profound concern over civil rights problems" and several craft unions, "including those in the building and construction trades, have clung to their historic attitudes" of denying Negroes work in their trades.

The Commission unanimously recommended that Congress amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (the Landrum-Griffin Law) to provide that no union deny membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Here, it seems to us, is an effective instrument to combat discrimination in the unions. Here, too, is a timely opportunity for labor leadership to demonstrate good faith in support of its good intentions by pressing for such legislation when the AFL-CIO Convention is held in Miami Beach this month.

## The Old Frontier

The bulging budget for armaments has led the Kennedy Administration to "reevaluate" its spending for nonmilitary purposes. The first agency to respond was the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Secretary Abraham Ribicoff announced a slash of nearly $102,000,000 in appropriations for the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Public Health Service, and the Social Security Administration.

Hardest hit was the Public Health Service, which was cut $76,806,000, of which some $15,000,000 had been earmarked for cancer research by the National Institutes of Health. Dr. I. S. Ravdin of the University of Pennsylvania said that if the cut is sustained, clinicians may not be able to use twenty-three promising new drugs which have been tested in the laboratory stage at the National Institutes of Health.

This strikes us as the most self-defeating kind of economy—the kind we hardly expected to encounter on the New Frontier. It seems to us inconceivable that the richest nation on earth, now spending more than

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

**Closed Shop**

fifty billion dollars a year on armaments, must pick the pockets of its cancer research program of fifteen million dollars as a gesture to economy. We simply can't afford that kind of economy.

## The Hat Trick

Robert Welch, founder and proprietor of the John Birch Society, recently estimated that one-half of one per cent of the Catholic clergy in the United States are Communist sympathizers—"Comsymps" as he puts it. This is a pretty small percentage for a man who thinks the Eisenhowers and the Dulleses sold out to the Kremlin, but still it troubled Catholic leaders. They asked for particulars.

Specifically, *The Pilot,* official publication of the Boston archdiocese, asked the pandjandrum of the rabid Right how he had come by his figure.

"It was a complete guess . . . simply pulled out of a hat," he explained.

We have never seen Welch with his hat on, or hat in hand, for that matter, but we can see that hat now in our mind's eye—a wide, roomy, Texas job, perhaps twenty gallons, from which he pours the names and numbers and percentages of Comsymps without benefit of a jigger. It reminds us, somehow, of the trick Joe McCarthy used to play on the sawdust circuit. He would jump onto the platform with a briefcase which he implied was bulging with damming documents, launch into his expose of Communist infiltration of the highest echelons of government, and turn his eyes for confirmation to the briefcase—which he never opened. We often wondered if it contained his laundry.

## The Battle for the Ballot

The Negro's fight for freedom in the South is now concentrating on a front which may well develop into the key battle in his long and painful campaign for equality. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced recently that a drive has been launched to double the number of Negroes registered to vote in Southern states, a movement backed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. King is president. Victories won by the sit-in movement and the Freedom Riders have encouraged the Southern Negro to win for himself freedom of the ballot, but this fight promises to meet more formidable resistance from segregationists than any of the inspiring movements so far aimed at changing "the mind of the South."

Dr. King reported that of five million eligible Negroes in the South, only a fourth could now vote, largely because of stubborn, and so far successful, resistance of white officials to Negro registration. Few Negroes, and in some instances none at all, are registered in one hundred counties in eight Southern states. In scores of other counties, especially where Negro population is heavy, Negro voting, like school segregation, is little more than token.

Yet prospects for progress are brighter than ever before—not only because the "new Negro" is more insistent on obtaining his rights, but because he now has two powerful allies eager to fight in his behalf: the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Civil Rights Commission began functioning four years ago under the terms of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Its findings and recommendations during the first two years of its life, under the chairmanship of John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, resulted in the

Civil Rights Act of 1960, which strengthened the hand of the Federal government in protecting Negro voting rights. The published report of the Commission, based on a mountain of evidence acquired in scores of hearings in the South, reveals the magnitude and the intensity of Southern resistance to Negro participation in the political life of the nation.

## Keeping Them in Their Place

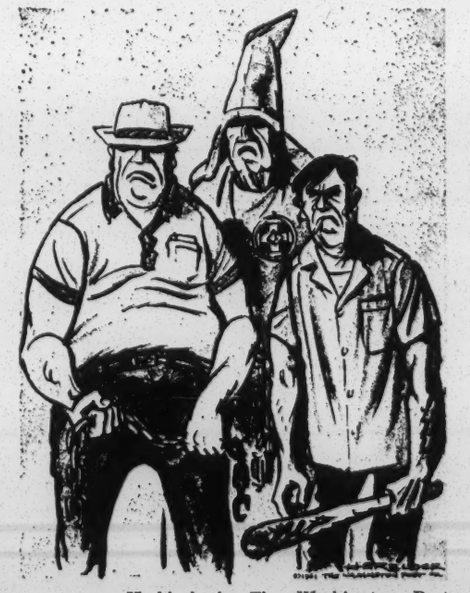
The Louisiana story, as developed at the Commission's New Orleans hearings, provides the most complete picture of the variety of devices used to prevent the Negro from voting, although the same techniques are used throughout the South in varying degree. The Louisiana state legislature and executive branch, county and city officials, white citizens' groups, landowners, merchants, bankers, and in some measure state courts, have all joined forces to deprive the Negro of his vote. Even some Federal district judges have moved only reluctantly to protect the Negro until ordered to act by a higher jurisdiction.

The hearings brought to light wholesale purgings of Negroes from voting lists; defective voting machines; locked doors to a voting booth at the end of a long line of prospective Negro voters; segregated voting machines with no assurance that their votes would be counted; displays of arms; threats of violence; insults; collusion among registrars, election boards, sheriffs, and other law officers; official refusal to recognize the validity of constitutional amendments ("the Fourteenth Amendment was never adopted")—these are only some of the techniques used to keep Negro citizens "where they belong."

The Commission concluded from the evidence that there was apparently no limit to which segregationists would not go in their efforts to keep the Negro off the polling lists. For example:

¶ In Louisiana, two months after the Supreme Court's school segregation decisions, the state legislature established a joint legislative committee empowered "to provide ways and means whereby our existing social order shall be preserved and our institutions and ways of life maintained." It went into action in all parts of the state, in conjunction with a newly formed "Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana." Its activities culminated in the so-called "segregation law package," a combination of constitutional amendments and new statutes that even attempted to define disqualifying "bad character" as opposed to "good character." "Bad character" now includes common law marriage, historically recognized in the state; having illegitimate children; illiteracy; misdemeanors except traffic and hunting law violations. The new statutes went further. Common law marriage became a felony. Such "misdemeanors" as refusing to leave a public place when ordered, or obstructing a public passage, became "criminal mischief."

¶ In Ouachita Parish, in northern Louisiana, more than 5,000 Negroes received mailed notices that their right to be on the rolls had been challenged. They were given ten days to answer or have their names stricken. The reasons were varied and frivolous: some could not write legibly (proved by failure, for example, to put a dot on an "i"); others did not have telephones; individuals, even though resident in the community for years, were challenged to prove their identity.



Herblock in The Washington Post

**"We Don't Want No Troublemakers from the United States"**

¶ In succeeding elections Negroes won an apparent but transitory victory. In 1954 voting machines were provided, but the machines segregated for use by Negroes kept breaking down, entailing long waits. In 1956, the report quotes a Negro voter, "The door that the Negroes entered into the polling place was closed and locked. I stood there for three hours and fifteen minutes, not a single Negro voting, but the whites were continuing to go in and vote."

¶ In Madison Parish, no Negro has turned out to vote in more than thirty-seven years, according to the testimony of the registrar. A Negro who goes to the courthouse to register is told he had better talk to the sheriff. One Negro who tried to register and was referred to the sheriff was the Reverend William J. Neal of Tallulah. Said the sheriff: It "wasn't advisable" for Negroes to register just now; the time had not come for Negroes to vote in that parish; the Negro progresses too fast; with the vote he would have too much power.

The sheriff's last statement reveals the motive behind the Negro's drive to gain his voting rights. It also describes the fear behind the segregationists' bitter resistance; to the extremists, the fundamental democratic right of choice is "too much power." The ballot is a powerful weapon in the Negro's fight for freedom and the Southern segregationist is determined the wall will not be breached.

Yet the wall is being breached. In the last decade or so, the number of Southern Negro voters has doubled, and in some urban areas their votes are decisive. In Atlanta, for example, Negro voters recently defeated a segregationist candidate for mayor—who commanded a slight majority of white votes—by a substantial margin.

The Negro's hopes have brightened now that the Civil Rights Commission has exposed the opposition's illegal, ruthless, and often ridiculous tactics. The Justice Department has already undertaken several positive actions to stop these practices, and has given evidence of taking further steps. But more than anything else, it is the new determination of the Southern Negro to secure his rights which holds the greatest hope for success in the most crucial movement yet to develop in the South.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Mat. — Suffrage, South

Department of Justice
Washington

DM
JA file

January 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

In further response to your request of December 27, I am enclosing some lists of cases.

The list of voting cases includes three intimidation suits in Haywood and Fayette Counties (Nos. 6, 7, and 8) and one each in East Carroll Parish (No. 9) and Walthall County, Mississippi, (No. 19). The Tennessee cases, of course, all arose out of the same situation.

Of these voting suits, the registration cases in Terrell County, Georgia, and Washington Parish, Louisiana, and the white primary case in Fayette County, Tennessee, (No. 4) were completed before I took office. All of the other cases have been started or continued since then.

The list of voting records demands does not include some places where we obtained inspection of the records without making a formal demand.

I hope that these lists give you the information you want. I will be glad to see Mrs. Shaughnessy when she wants.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

| | State | County (Parish) | Date Filed | Title (U.S. v. --) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1958 | |
| 1. | Ga. | Terrell | 9-4 | Raines |
| | | | 1959 | |
| 2. | Ala. | Macon | 2-5 | Alabama |
| 3. | La. | Washington | 6-29 | McElveen (Thomas) |
| 4. | Tenn. | Fayette - I | 11-16 | Fayette County Democratic Executive Committee |
| | | | 1960 | |
| 5. | La. | Bienville | 6-7 | Association of Citizens Councils of Louisiana |
| 6. | Tenn. | Haywood - I | 9-13 | Beaty |
| 7. | Tenn. | Haywood - II | 12-1 | Barcroft |
| 8. | Tenn. | Fayette - II | 12-14 | Atkeison |
| | | | 1961 | |
| 9. | La. | East Carroll - I | 1-19 | Deal |
| 10. | Ala. | Bullock | 1-26 | Alabama |
| 11. | Ala. | Dallas | 4-13 | Majors |
| 12. | La. | East Carroll - II | 4-28 | Manning |
| 13. | Miss. | Clarke | 7-6 | Ramsey |
| 14. | Miss. | Forrest | 7-6 | Lynd |
| 15. | La. | Ouachita | 7-11 | Lucky |
| 16. | Ala. | Montgomery | 8-3 | Penton |
| 17. | Miss. | Jefferson Davis | 8-3 | Daniel |
| 18. | Miss. | Walthall - I | 8-3 | Mississippi |
| 19. | Miss. | Walthall - II | 9-20 | Wood |
| 20. | La. | Plaquemines | 10-16 | Fox |
| 21. | Miss. | Panola | 10-16 | Duke |
| 22. | La. | Madison | 10-26 | Ward |
| 23. | Miss. | Tallahatchie | 11-17 | Dogan |
| 24. | La. | New Orleans | 12-28 | Louisiana |

## VOTING RECORDS DEMANDS

| County (or Parish) and State | Date Served |
|---|---|
| McCormick, S. C. | 5/12/60 |
| Webster, Ga. | 5/16/60 |
| *Wilcox, Ala. | 5/12/60 |
| *Sumter, Ala. | 6/6/60<br>10/31/60 |
| Hampton, S. C. | 6/6/60 |
| *East Feliciana, La. | 5/23/60 |
| Clarendon, S. C. | 6/6/60 |
| *Ouachita, La. | 5/23/60 |
| Fayette, Ga. | 6/6/60 |
| Early, Ga. | 5/23/60 |
| *East Carroll, La. | 5/13/60 |
| *Montgomery, Ala. | 5/23/60 |
| *Forrest, Miss. | 8/11/60 |
| Union, Fla. | 8/11/60 |
| *Bolivar, Miss. | 8/11/60 |
| Leflore, Miss. | 8/11/60 |
| Gwinnett, Ga. | 8/11/60 |
| Claiborne, La. | 4/11/61 |
| Jackson, La. | 4/11/61 |

*Court actions were brought to enforce the demands to inspect voting records. Still pending in three counties (Wilcox, Ala., and Forrest and Bolivar, Miss.).

Voting Records Demands (Continued - Page 2)

| | |
|---|---|
| Autauga, Ala. | 5/9/61 |
| Lowndes, Ala. | 5/10/61 |
| Plaquemines, La. | 7/10/61 |
| Pickens, Ala. | 6/28/61 |
| Greene, Ala. | 6/28/61 |
| Elmore, Ala. | 8/2/61 |
| Russell, Ala. | 8/11/61 |
| Barbour, Ala. | 7/31/61 |
| Red River, La. | 7/21/61 |
| St. Helena, La. | 7/22/61 |
| Miller, Ga. | 9/22/61 |
| Seminole, Ga. | 9/27/61 |
| Macon, Ga. | 9/25/61 |
| Lee, Ga. | 9/28/61 |
| Baker, Ga. | 9/26/61 |
| Franklin, La. | 11/28/61 |
| Morehouse, La. | 11/28/61 |
| Perry, Ala. | 12/14/61 |
| Hale, Ala. | 12/13/61 |
| Clarke, Ala. | |

## NON-VOTING CASES

U.S. v. Harrison County
(S. D. Miss.)

U.S. v. Chappell
(M. D. Ala.)

U.S. v. I.C.C.

6/61 U.S. v. City of New Orleans (airport)
(E. D. La.)

7/61 U.S. v. City of Montgomery (airport)
(M. D. Ala.)

9/61 U.S. v. Pitcher (declare unconst. the law requiring pay
(E. D. La.) bus terminals & airports enforcement)
East Baton Rouge parish

U.S. v. Fraiser
(N. D. Miss.)

U.S. v. City of McComb
(S. D. Miss.)

U.S. v. Lassiter
(W. D. La.)

# AMICUS PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

## School Desegregation

Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 188 F. Supp. 916 (E. D. La.) 1960, affirmed, 365 U.S. 569

Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 190 F. Supp. 861 (E. D. La.) 1960, affirmed, 365 U.S. 569 and sub nom. New Orleans v. Bush, 366 U.S. 212

Bush v. Orleans Parish, 194 F. Supp. 182 affirmed, 368 U.S. 11

Allen v. State Board of Education, No. 2106 (E. D. La.) 1961

Angel, et al. v. State Board of Education No. 1658 (E. D. La.) 1961

Davis v. East Baton Rouge Parish School Board, No. 1662 (E. D. La.) 1961

Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board, No. 1068 (E. D. La.) 1961

Allen v. Prince Edward County, (E. D. Va.). Government motion to intervene denied June, 1961. brief ~~[illegible]~~ 4/22

Taylor v. Board of Education (New Rochelle, New York) 195 F. Supp. 231, (S. D. N.Y.). Certiorari denied 12/11/61, -US-

## Voting Rights

Baker v. Carr, 366 U.S. 907 (1961)

## Discrimination in Public Accommodations

Burton v. Wilmington (Del.) Parking Authority 365 U.S. 715 (1961)

Garner v. Louisiana, O.T. 1961, -US-

Discrimination in Public Accommodations (Continued)

Bailey v. Patterson, No. 3133 (S. D. Miss.) 1961

Lewis v. Southeastern Greyhound (No. 1724-N, M. D. Ala.,) 1961

Other

Green v. Continental Airlines, Nos. 19771, 19215 (S. Ct. Colo.,) 1961 (Suit attacking racial discrimination in employment practices of airlines)

3-22-62 Suffrage, South



More significantly, we had no United Nations possessed of both these powers of check and veto—plus, as matters now stand, the power not only to outvote us in a forum of the world but also to affirm the rightness of acts of naked aggression (e.g., India in Goa) whenever the new U.N. majority may so choose. For the postwar world has brought us a most melancholy innovation: An extraordinary occasional alliance, in some very critical matters, of neutralism and Soviet communism against the interests not only of the West but also of freedom and ordered justice itself.

As I have said, our present strategic problem involves the exquisite choice between new Africa and old Europe—with infinite care being required not to give new Africa too much and not to leave old Europe with too little. But at heart, tactics is no less complicated. For the necessity here is to avoid destroying the U.N.—that is, to prevent a suicide of the U.N. resulting from the contagious madness of the Communists—and at the same time not to permit the U.N., under its new neutralist and Soviet pressure-bloc management, to destroy both the ancient values and the present reality of the Western alliance.

KATANGA FEVER

It is within the context of this maze of somber truths that Kennedy must work his way forward to a new national policy. That policy must be blended so as neither to throw away Western safety on behalf of the nonalined and hostile states, nor to allow the Russians to seize the U.N. lock, stock, and barrel on the claim that a reactionary West has abandoned the enterprise. Within this context our national debate must be conducted with decency and responsibility—lest we find ourselves in a witches' Sabbath of oversimplifications, name calling, and suspicions.

At this moment, while the crisis of Katanga is at the forefront of my mind and of the minds of many others, the top figures of the Kennedy administration have wisely recognized this danger. They have moved to restrain their own lower placed extremists. I do not intend to rehash here the pros and cons of the U.N. action in Katanga, except for its bearing on the central point of this piece.

I was one of those who opposed that action—not because I thought Katanga's secession was a good thing, or Moise Tshombe a prince of good fellows, but because I believe that a sensible order of priorities cannot permit us forever to go against the interests of our old Western allies, in obedience to African wishes. (Moreover, in the specific action against Katanga, we found ourselves in unhappy company with Russia—although the Soviets have, of course, bitterly opposed all other phases of the U.N. operation in the Congo.)

Those of us who took this position were called rightwing extremists and other such rubbish, sometimes by night-club commentators in their vast wisdom. Lower level State Department functionaries took up this sort of nonsense. The responsible people there slapped them down, not because they relish critism of American support of the U.N. in the Congo but because they are aware that this debate must have the dignity of honest, adult dispute over issues of almost preternatural gravity.

We on our side—that is, we who are Western alliance firsters—must be equally sensible and generous if and when any responsible people may suggest that John Kennedy and Dean Rusk and such are going along in the Congo because they are soft on communism. (At this time, to be sure, I know of no responsible critic who has made any such absurd accusation.)

There is no reason why those who must bear the burden of this complicated policy search—Kennedy, Rusk and company—should be forced into some either-or position here. They will never be forced into it so long as national discussion does not descend to the gutter or rise to a scream. The adult critics on both sides have the deepest obligation to see that it doesn't.

THE MISSION WITHIN

These are the outlines of this vast policy problem: what are the administration's present human facilities for handling it? As I see it, the position is about as follows: All at the apex of the administrative pyramid—Kennedy himself, Rusk, Under Secretaries George Ball and George McGhee, and so on—are not as much Western alliance first as people like me would like. But they are also not nearly so close to Africa first as people like us might fear. They are pragmatic men, desperately trying to put one foot precisely after the other in walking a high wire between the urgent demands of the one side and the indispensable requirements of the other. The President, while he does not intend to become an ally of colonialism in any form, also has no slightest intention of liquidating the Western alliance.

When one looks below this top group of moderates, however, the story is very different. It is my belief, based upon studious observation, that the second level at the White House and State Department is on the whole so emotionally committed to "anticolonialism" that the President will need to show great force lest they carry his policies outside his own viable, middling position by sheer evangelical zeal and, finally, wreck the alliance.

These are men of decency and, it goes without saying, of unimpeachable patriotism and good intentions. They are, however, men seized with holy mission, almost as zealous as the abolitionists who so plagued the fair and reasonable and practical Lincoln. Despite their disclaimers, they have on the whole become so preoccupied with Africa and with "anticolonialism" as almost to forget what are to me two cardinal truths: (1) The Western alliance is still the free world's one real shield from the brutally aggressive Communist imperialism; and (2) that alliance cannot forever endure in strength if a majority of its members continually find their vital interests ignored or opposed and if they feel themselves the chosen whipping boys of the United Nations—an instrumentality which they themselves largely created and for which they have made substantial sacrifices.

It therefore follows that even if Africa first is "right" in the academic sense—I concede this only for the sake of argument—it is still not "right" enough if we are to carry it to the point of outlawing our oldest and strongest friends. It is palpable that divisions among the Western nations over Africa and in the U.N. will be tolerated only at frightful risk. Take a single example, the Common Market. All Europeans understand, if Americans do not, that the whole underpinning of the Kennedy administration's new, bold, and desperately needed world trade policy is imperiled by the anger and alienation felt by both the French and Belgians at our course to date in the U.N.

This becomes a matter of the highest practical importance, surely, when one recalls this simple but gut fact: The United States badly needs Britain's entry into the Common Market as an essential element of our own new program to make common cause with that market. But Britain cannot enter the Common Market without receiving exemption hatches of various kinds, mainly in order to protect her Commonwealth ties. These exemptions will simply not be forthcoming without a good deal of hospitable generosity by France and Belgium.

UNTIL READY

Allied diplomats of distinction and of long-proved loyalty to the West and to political liberalism have told me in confidence of extraordinary confrontations they have had with the Africa first mind in the lower echelons at State. These diplomats are neither hysterics nor extremists. But more than one of them, to my personal knowledge, have gone out from visits to the State Department with the terrified conviction that some of its functionaries are so obsessed with the very word "Africa" they have all but forgotten that there is a place called Europe and a thing called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

True enough, most of these people were hired specifically to work on African problems. They include G. Mennen Williams, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; some members of his staff; and Mr. Bowles, who is now a special adviser to the President on our dealings with underdeveloped areas, including Africa. Consequently it is their job to see that proper attention is paid to African needs, and points of view, in the top councils of government. No one can quarrel with that—so long as they recognize that other interests have to be considered as well, notably those of our European friends.

These men are mostly able, and they are universally dedicated. But universally also, in my opinion, they lack the sophistication to see that the United Nations cannot any longer be allowed to dominate American policy, or Western policy, though this is surely no recommendation for its destruction. They lack, generally, a respect for power, even power rightfully used—that decent power which Pascal once said must rule the world until the right was ready. They are so caught up in the myths of the evils of colonialism—as well as with the undoubted evils themselves—that they are not inclined, in their indiscriminate anticolonialism, to safeguard much else that is good and right.

So stands Kennedy's—and this Nation's—great and unexampled problem: to find a sure path through the jungles not merely of Africa and of a compromised U.N., but also through the jungles of emotionalism; to help make ready the new world without destroying what is irreplaceable in the old; to make true, calm choice between what in the Western alliance is really expendable and what can never be regarded as expendable if we wish to live in strength and freedom.

Mr. DODD. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

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## THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON NATIONAL MONUMENT—AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION DEALING WITH POLL TAXES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 29) providing for the establishing of the former dwelling house of Alexander Hamilton as a national monument.

I

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the procedure being pursued in connection with this poll tax proposal does violence, I think, to the traditional processes of the Senate.

A. It is rather strange, to say the least, to use a proposal to establish Alexander Hamilton's birthplace as a national memorial as a vehicle for amending the Constitution.

B. The point of order which will be raised by the senior Senator from Georgia is, I believe, well taken. Although the rules of the Senate with respect to amending legislation are very broad, they are not broad enough to permit submission of a constitutional amendment as a substitute for an ordinary piece of general legislation.

C. Year after year the traditions and rules of the Senate are stretched beyond recognition when so-called civil rights legislation is considered. Our rules operate very well for every conceivable type of legislation, but for some the reason proponents of so-called civil rights bills are never content to abide by the standard practices. They nearly always insist on special treatment, or seek special priority for their measures.

II

During the course of this debate, nothing has been said to justify this unusual parliamentary procedure.

A. Efforts to eliminate the poll tax either by statute or by constitutional amendment have been coming before the Congress from time to time ever since I have been a member of this body. Yet it has never been shown that the poll tax is used as a device to prevent anyone from voting.

B. The constitutional amendment proposed by the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] has been before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee since February of last year. Five of the six members of this subcommittee are listed as cosponsors of the resolution; however, it still has not been voted out, for consideration, by the full committee.

C. If the committee members who are cosponsors are so concerned about elimination of this tax, I would assume that the measure would long ago have been reported for full committee action.

D. I understand that there are now 68 sponsors of the proposed constitutional amendment. In spite of the fact that the sponsors number far more than a majority of the Members of this body, I know of no move on their part to discharge the committee from further consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 58 under the procedure of rule 26.

This, it would seem to me, if they have due regard for our rules, would be a proper approach to this problem.

III

Mr. President, I would like to review some history in connection with the question of qualifications of voters.

A. The question of whether the qualifications of electors of Representatives should be decided by the States or the Federal Government was thoroughly considered by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The distinguished junior Senator from Virginia, only yesterday, I believe, or the day before, reviewed at considerable length and in a most revealing and incisive manner the nature of the discussion of the debate on this matter in the Constitutional Convention. The major dispute was on the question of whether a provision would be included in the Constitution that would allow landowners only to vote or that establishment of voting qualifications would be left to the individual States. The advocates of limiting the privilege of franchise to landowners was defeated by a vote of seven States to one, and the plan of the Committee on Detail was adopted without a dissenting vote. After a slight change in language, it became that part of section 2, article I, of the Constitution which reads:

The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

IV

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were obviously quite familiar with qualifications required by the individual States, then Colonies, as a prerequisite to voting. They knew full well what they were doing when they agreed on the language in section 2, article I, leaving the establishment of qualifications of electors up to the individual States.

A. The qualifications for voters prescribed by the States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution are rather interesting in the light of the hue and cry made today about the oppressive effects of the poll tax.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The senate shall be the first branch of the legislature, and the senators shall be chosen in the following manner, viz:

Every male inhabitant of each town and parish with town privileges in the several counties in this State, of 21 years of age and upwards, paying for himself a poll tax, shall have a right at the annual or other meetings of the inhabitants of said towns and parishes, to be duly warned and holden annually forever in the month of March; to vote in the town or parish wherein he dwells, for the senators in the county or district whereof he is a member.

And every person qualified as the constitution provides shall be considered an inhabitant for the purpose of electing and being elected into any office or place within this State, in that town, parish, and plantation where he dwelleth and hath his home.

The members of the house of representatives shall be chosen annually in the month of March, and shall be the second branch of the legislature.

All persons qualified to vote in the election of senators shall be entitled to vote within the town district, parish, or place where they dwell, in the choice of representatives.

MARYLAND

That the house of delegates shall be chosen in the following manner: All freemen, above 21 years of age, having a freehold of 50 acres of land, in the county in which they offer to vote, and residing therein—and all freemen having property in this State above the value of 30 pounds current money, and having resided in the county, in which they offer to vote, 1 whole year next preceding the election, shall have a right of suffrage, in the election of delegates for such county. * * *

NEW JERSEY

That all inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth 50 pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for 12 months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly; and also for all other public officers, that shall be elected by the people of the county at large.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The qualification of electors shall be that every free white man, and no other person, who acknowledges the being of a God, and believes in a future state of rewards and punishments, and who has attained to the age of 1 and 20 years, and hath been a resident and an inhabitant in this State for the space of 1 whole year before the day appointed for the election he offers to give his vote at, and hath a freehold at least of 50 acres of land, or a town lot, and hath been legally seized and possessed of the same at least 6 months previous to such election, or hath paid a tax the preceding year, or was taxable the present year, at least 6 months previous to the said election, in a sum equal to the tax on 50 acres of land, to the support of this government, shall be deemed a person qualified to vote for, and shall be capable of electing, a representative or representatives to serve as a member or members in the senate and house of representatives, for the parish or district where he actually is a resident, or in any other parish or district in this State where he hath the like freehold. Electors shall take an oath or affirmation of qualification, if required by the returning officer.

NEW YORK

That every male inhabitant of full age, who shall have personally resided within one of the counties of this State for 6 months immediately preceding the day of election, shall, at such election, be entitled to vote for representatives of the said county in assembly: if, during the time of aforesaid, he shall have been a freeholder, possessing a freehold of the value of 20 pounds, within the said county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of 40 shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to this State. * * *

MASSACHUSETTS

There shall be a meeting on the first Monday in April, annually, forever, of the inhabitants of each town in the several counties of this Commonwealth, to be called by the selectmen, and warned in due course of law, at least 7 days before the first Monday in April, for the purpose of electing persons to be senators and councilors; and at such meetings every male inhabitant of 21 years of age and upward, having a freehold estate within the Commonwealth of the annual income of 3 pounds, or any estate of the value of 60 pounds, shall have a right to give in his vote for the senators for the district of which he is an inhabitant.

PENNSYLVANIA

Every freeman of the full age of 21 years, having resided in this State for the space of 1 whole year next before the day of election for representatives, and paid public taxes during that time, shall enjoy the right of an elector; provided always, that sons of freeholders of the age of 21 years shall be entitled to vote although they have not paid taxes.

GEORGIA

All male white inhabitants of the age of 21 years, and possessed in his own right of 10 pounds value, and liable to pay tax in this State, or being of any mechanic trade, and shall have been resident 6 months in this State, shall have a right to vote at all elections for representatives, or any other officers herein agreed to be chosen by the people at large; and every person having a right to vote at any election shall vote by ballot personally.

NORTH CAROLINA

That all freemen of the age of 21 years, who have been inhabitants of any one county within the State 12 months immediately preceding the day of any election, and

shall have paid public taxes, shall be entitled to vote for the members of the house of commons for the county in which he resides.

That all persons possessed of a freehold in any town in this State, having a right of representation, and also all freemen, who have been inhabitants of any such town 12 months next before, and at the day of election, and shall have paid public taxes, shall be entitled to vote for a member to represent such town in the house of commons. * * *

VIRGINIA

The right of suffrage in the election of members for both houses shall remain as exercised at present; and each house shall choose its own speaker, appoint its own officers, settle its own rules of proceeding, and direct writs of election, for the supplying intermediate vacancies. (The acts of the earlier assemblies under the colonial charter had prescribed not only taxpaying requirements but also property-owning requirements, and that same were in existence and were incorporated in the setup of the new State when that constitution was adopted.)

*Colonial charters*

Delaware established qualifications for voting in her constitution of 1792. That came just after the adoption of the constitution. Connecticut and Rhode Island did not adopt constitutions until 1818 and 1842, respectively.

CONNECTICUT

In 1769, in Connecticut, separate qualifications were established for voting for deputies or representatives to the general court (legislature), Governor, and Deputy Governor (laws 1769, pp. 45, 301), and for voting for town officers (laws 1769, p. 240). Only freemen were eligible to vote and "An act relating to freemen" set forth the requisites to become a freeman, as follows:

"That all such inhabitants in this Colony as have accomplished the age of 21 years, and have the possession of freehold estate to the value of 40 shillings per annum or 40 pounds personal estate in the general list of estates in that year wherein they desire to be admitted freemen. * * *"

DELAWARE

Persons be of the age of 21 years or upwards, and be a freeholder or freeholders in this government, and have 50 acres of land or more well settled, and 12 acres thereof cleared and improved, or be otherwise worth 40 pounds lawful money of this government clear estate, and have been resident therein for the space of 2 years before such election. * * *

RHODE ISLAND

In Rhode Island prior to admission in the Union a person in order to vote had to be admitted as a freeman and be enrolled as such. In order to be admitted as a freeman the following statutory requirement had to be met:

"That no person whosoever shall be permitted to vote or act as a freeman in any town meeting in this State, but such only who are inhabitants therein, and who at the time of such their voting and acting are really and truly possessed, in their own proper right, of a real estate within this State, to the full value of $134, or which shall rent for $7 per annum, being an estate in fee simple, fee tail, or an estate in reversion which qualifies no other person to be a freeman, or at least an estate for a person's own life, or the eldest son of such a freeholder: And that no estate of a less quality shall entitle any person to the freedom of this State."

B. The poll tax is certainly a minor prerequisite to voting when compared with these requirements of the original States.

V

It is, I think, interesting to note that the five States commonly listed as being the only ones which require the payment of a poll tax have something in common with the New England States. The Library of Congress has prepared an enlightening study of poll taxes as they are levied in New England States. I would like to review the application of these taxes in the various New England States for the information of my colleagues:

MAINE

Upon whom levied: Males whether citizens or aliens who are inhabitants of the State who are above the age of 21 years.

Exemptions:

(1) No person shall be considered an inhabitant of a place on account of residing there as a student in an educational institution.

(2) Indians, blind persons, and persons under guardianship.

(3) Persons in active service in the Armed Forces.

(4) Persons aged 70 and over; persons who are veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean war; and persons who by reason of age, infirmity, or poverty are in the judgment of assessors unable to contribute toward the public charges.

(5) Veterans of the Civil War; veterans receiving a State pension; veterans of the Indian and Spanish Wars; veterans of the Philippine Insurrection; disabled veterans of World Wars I and II.

Rate, $3.

Payment a prerequisite: Payment is a prerequisite to: (1) granting of a motor vehicle operator's license and registration of a motor vehicle; (2) issuance of a resident hunting or fishing license.

That is quite interesting. It goes considerably further than the provision in my own State. I continue to read:

Collection: The tax is collected principally by local officers from each taxable person in the place where he is an inhabitant on April 1 in each year. With certain exceptions, proceeds of this tax are paid into the State treasury. Remedies for collection include the imposition of interest and the levy by distress and sale upon the real and personal property of the delinquent as well as arrest of the latter. Delinquent taxes also may be sued for in an action of debt against the party liable.

As a matter of fact, the $3 poll tax in Maine is enforced, I would say, much more vigorously, and without any reasonable possibility of escaping it, than is the tax in my State.

I continue:

Relation of payment of poll tax to voting: Boards of registration entrusted with the function of preparing lists of eligible voters are assisted in this task by the receipt annually from tax assessors of lists compiled by the latter by house-to-house canvass and containing the names, age, addresses, and occupations of males aged 21 and over and liable to pay a poll tax and of females eligible to vote. The boards in completing their voting registers rely upon such lists; but any eligible voter whose name did not appear on the lists thus transmitted may be registered by applying in person to such boards. However, the registration boards exchange information with the tax assessors, and supply to the latter the names of all registered voters which did not appear on the voting lists submitted by the assessors. The assessors are thus apprised of persons liable to pay the poll tax whose names hitherto have been omitted from the tax lists.

I would say, as a practical matter, that the $3 poll tax in Maine is very effectively imposed. For all practical purposes, it is a prerequisite to voting, even though in form it is not stated in the law itself. In substance and in fact certainly it would clearly prove to be, inasmuch as a person could not either register an automobile or have a driver's license, among other things, without paying it.

I read further:

MASSACHUSETTS

Upon whom levied: On every male inhabitant above the age of 20, whether a citizen or an alien (Gen. Laws Ann. (West, 1958) ch. 59, section 1).

Exemptions: (1) Male inhabitants who are 65 years of age or over, or who, during the preceding calendar year, were recipients of old age assistance or of aid furnished by municipalities from funds appropriated by them for the relief, support, maintenance, and employment of the poor shall be assessed for, but shall be exempt, at their request, from the payment of a poll tax. Such request, when filed in any year, shall continue in effect with respect to poll taxes assessed in subsequent years, unless such inhabitant in writing shall otherwise direct. (2) Persons who by reason of age, infirmity, and poverty are in the judgment of the assessors unable to contribute fully toward public charges. In the event that a person so relieved of poll taxes dies leaving a net estate in excess of all his debts, said estate shall be charged with the amount of taxes from which he is so relieved with interest at 6 percent from the date when such taxes except for such relief, would have been due. (3) Veterans of the Civil War, Spanish War, Philippine Insurrection, and Chinese Relief Expedition shall be assessed for, but shall be exempt at their request from payment of a poll tax. (4) Members of the Armed Forces are unconditionally exempt during their services (Gen. Laws Ann. (West, 1958) ch. 59, secs. 5 (17A, 17B, 18, 23), 5A).

Collection: Poll taxes are assessed by local assessors on each person liable thereto in the town of which he is an inhabitant on January 1 in each year. Minors liable to taxation are assessed to and in the place of residence of the parents or guardians. If a person liable to a poll tax, who is in a town on January 1, refuses to state his legal residence, he shall be deemed a legal inhabitant thereof. If he designates another town as his legal residence, the assessors of the latter town are notified and thereupon complete the assessment.

Bills for poll taxes are distributed not later than October 1 of the year in which they are assessed, and are dated January 1 of the year to which the tax relates. Poll taxes are due and payable at the expiration of 30 days from the date upon which the bill was distributed. Remedies available to the local collectors to enforce collection include the seizure and sale of real and personal property sufficient to pay the taxes including the fees chargeable upon delinquency; or, in the event that the debtor has no tangible assets, imprisonment in jail for not more than 7 days. On poll taxes unpaid when due, interest shall be paid at the rate of 4 percent per annum, computed from the date when such taxes become due. The receipts including interest are paid over to the city or town treasurer (Gen. Laws Ann. (West. 1958) ch. 59, secs. 9–10, 57; ch. 60, secs. 2–5, 29, 35 (Supp. 1959), ch. 60, sec. 15A).

Relation of payment of poll tax to voting: As an aid in determining the residents of cities and towns who are entitled to vote, town and city registrars, by a house-to-house canvass, compile annually in January and February lists containing the name, age, occupation, citizenship, and residence on

January 1, in the preceding and current year of every person, 20 years of age and older, residing in their respective cities and towns. On or before April 15 in each year, they transmit to the assessors from the lists thus compiled the names of all male persons, 20 years of age and older; and thereafter they furnish promptly to the assessors notice of any subsequent addition to or correction of their lists insofar as such changes relate to male persons aged 20 or over.

The registrars compile their annual registers of qualified voters by transferring thereto from the aforementioned lists of residents the names of all persons whom they can identify as having been included in the voting lists employed in the election held during the previous year. Persons omitted from registration lists thus prepared must appear in person and petition the registrars to correct the omission, and, if necessary, prove to the satisfaction of the registrars that the applicants are qualified and entitled to be registered. A male applicant may offer, as proof of his residence, a tax bill or notice from the assessor showing that he was assessed as a resident of his city or town. Tax assessors are apprized of all changes made in correcting the registration lists (Ann. Laws (1953), ch. 51, secs. 5–6, 8–9, 11, 34–35, 37–39, 42–43 (Supp. 1955), ch. 51, secs. 1, 4, 7. Gen. Laws Ann. (West. 1958) ch. 51, secs. 1–6, 8–9, 11, 34–35, 37–39, 42–43 (Supp. 1959), ch. 51, sec. 7).

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Upon whom levied: On every inhabitant of the State, from 21 to 70 years of age, whether a citizen of the United States or an alien. A husband shall be liable for the payment of his wife's poll tax if, when it was assessed, they were living together as man and wife (Rev. Stat. Ann. (1955) ch. 72 secs. 1, 5).

Exemptions: Paupers, insane persons, the widow of any veteran who served in the armed forces in wars which the United States was engaged, the widow of any citizen who served in the armed forces of an ally, veterans of any war in which the United States has been engaged, and veterans of any ally, provided such veterans record with the selectmen or assessors of the town in which they live their pension certificates or their certificates of honorable discharge. The term "veteran" includes members of any woman's auxiliary service which was subject to and under military law (Rev. Stat. Ann. (1955) ch. 72, secs. 1–4 (Supp. 1957, ch. 72, sec. 1–a).

Rate, $2.

Collection: Poll taxes are assessed before June 1, unless the time is extended, by town selectmen or city assessors and are payable to the collector on demand and without previous notice. Interest at 6 percent is charged on all taxes not paid on or before December 1 after assessment. The proceeds of such taxes are retained by the respective towns, cities, or counties. Remedies for collection include the seizure and sale of personal property sufficient to pay said taxes, or, if no personal property can be found, the arrest and commitment of the delinquent taxpayer to the county jail or house of correction. When any person is so committed to the county jail or house of correction where there is a workshop connected, he shall be credited for his labor therein at the rate of $1.50 per day, to be applied on the amount of his tax and costs of commitment. He shall be required to pay the jailor of the institution board at the rate of $2.50 per week, the same to be earned in the employ of said institution. Suit may also be instituted against a delinquent taxpayer for the amount of any taxes owed; and wages may be attached for payment (Rev. Stat. Ann. (1955) ch. 54, sec. 6; ch. 73, sec. 1; ch. 74, sec. 1; ch. 76, secs 2–5, 13; ch. 80, secs. 1–2, 8–11, 13–15, 50; (Supp. 1957) ch. 76, sec. 12; ch. 80, sec. 12).

Payment a prerequisite: Every applicant for a permit to register a motor vehicle or for a hunting, fishing, or trapping license must first submit an affidavit that he has paid his poll tax for the preceding year or was relieved of payment by exemption or abatement; but the permit or license may be issued if the selectmen or assessors certify that the same should be granted notwithstanding failure to pay said tax.

The tax collector, after making demand of a delinquent by a registered letter and receiving no payment within 14 days thereafter, shall identify the delinquent taxpayer on a form provided by the commissioner of motor vehicles or the director of the fish and game department; and upon receipt thereof the commissioner or the director shall revoke the registration or the license of the delinquent taxpayer and refuse to restore the same until the delinquent tax has been paid (Rev. Stat. Ann. (1925) ch. 80, sec. 3, ch. 214, secs. 10, 12 (Supp. 1957), ch. 214, sec. 11, ch. 266, secs. 4–8).

VERMONT

Upon whom levied: Upon all inhabitants of the State, citizens and aliens, over 21 and under 70 years of age.

A husband living with or supporting his wife shall be held liable for the payment of a poll tax and an old-age assistance tax assessed against his wife. A wife who is supporting her husband shall be held liable for said taxes assessed against her husband (Stat. Ann. (1959) title 32, secs. 3601, 5011).

It strikes me that this is a very unusually harsh requirement.

I continue:

Rate, $1 plus an additional levy of $6 for old age assistance.

(2) Incorporated villages are empowered, by vote, to levy additional poll taxes of their own (Stat. An. (1959) title 24, sec. 1369).

Exemptions: (1) Veterans of the Civil War, Spanish War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion, World Wars I and II, the Korean war, or Federal emergency service and their wives and widows, and the wives and widows of members who died in such service, if the veteran is receiving disability compensation and if application for such exemption is made on or before May 1 of each year and a Veterans' Administration certificate is offered. Receipt of retirement pay defeats the exemption; (2) members of State militia or of fire companies, if the town wherein they reside so votes; (3) persons actually poor; (4) persons receiving old age assistance; (5) persons serving in the Armed Forces during their period of service (Stat. Ann. (1959) title 32, sec. 3801).

Collection: Poll taxes and old-age assistance taxes are collected locally in the same manner as other State and local property taxes. Receipts from the poll tax are retained by the town treasurers; but 90 percent of the proceeds of the old-age assistance tax is remitted to the State. Towns and their municipalities, by vote, may fix dates of payments, and may allow a discount, up to 4 percent, on payments made in advance. Similarly, by vote, a town may collect interest at the rate of one-half percent per month on poll taxes that are delinquent as of December 1. Remedies to enforce collection include the following: (1) Distraint and sale of personal property; (2) arrest and commitment to jail, until the costs and taxes are paid, of a delinquent taxpayer who has no personalty available for seizure and sale; (3) suit in court for delinquent taxes, with attachment of assets in the hands of the delinquent taxpayer's debtors or of salary exceeding $10 in the hands of his employer. If wages in excess of $10 are attached, only $2 per week shall be withheld therefrom to be applied toward payment of the delinquent taxes (Stat. Ann. 1959), title 32, secs. 4004, 4062, 4111, 4152–4153, 4646, 4731, 4734, 4771–4774, 4791–4793, 5011–5023, 5071–5076, 5091–5093, 5136–5141, 5161–5164, 5191–5194, 5221–5227).

Payment a prerequisite:

(1) The commissioner of motor vehicles, on written notice from the collector of taxes of any municipality, including school districts, shall suspend, for the unexpired term of the license, the operator's license of any person who fails to pay all taxes for previous years, excepting property taxes, for which he is liable.

(2) Payment of poll and old-age assistance taxes, unless a person is otherwise exempt, is a prerequisite to voting in town elections. Payment must be made prior to January 1 preceding the town meeting. A person who is qualified to vote in a town meeting shall be qualified to vote in all other municipal meetings.

The collector of town, town school district, or incorporated village taxes, annually on January 15, shall make a list of taxpayers whose poll taxes are unpaid and deliver same to the clerk to be used by the board of civil authority at an annual or special meeting to determine who are not legal voters in such meetings (Stat. Ann. (1959), title 17, sec. 207; title 23, sec. 601; title 24, sec. 701; title 32, sec. 5161).

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that under the statutes of Vermont a person must pay the poll tax before he can get a driver's license?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that no matter what the emergency may be for driving a car, a person cannot drive a car and cannot get a driver's license, and if he does drive a car without the license he is in violation of the law, if he has not paid the poll tax?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is absolutely true. He is also subject to being put in jail. It is a rather unusual provision in these days in any State, to put a man in jail for failing to pay either his debts or his taxes. Nevertheless he is subject to arrest and commitment to jail until the costs and taxes are paid.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Is it true that there is no such penalty provision with reference to the very small poll tax required to be paid by Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In my State it is $1. It is noncumulative. I have never heard of any one being put in jail because he did not pay it, or of any other effort being made to force the person to pay it.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that there is no provision in any statute in any one of these five States for anyone to be put in jail for failure to pay the poll tax?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is quite correct. I have great respect, of course, for the wisdom of the New England States. It has always been my impression that their affairs, especially at the local, town meeting level, are well run. This poll tax requirement may account for or contribute to that happy result.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Is that not basically what the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from Alabama are fighting for; namely, to let these people make their own determination at the local level and to let them determine their own affairs?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is exactly right. I think it is a shame to intervene or interfere in the affairs of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. These provisions have been in their laws for many years. It would be a great injustice and very shortsighted by this method to attempt to intervene in their affairs.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that the more power that is vested in the people and in the towns and in the communities and local habitats the more conscious they are of their responsibilities and of their duties as citizens?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. There is no doubt about it. I believe the provisions which I have read may very well account for the political consciousness and astuteness that these people in New England have shown. While we have had certain differences in certain economic and political matters, nevertheless, the basic character of their democracy, as exemplified by their town meetings, has always been admired by the people of this country. I was rather surprised by the nature of the provisions which still exist in these States.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that the town meeting symbolizes the very essence of democratic government of the people, by the people, and for the people?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is right. As we have noted before—and I know the Senator from Alabama has said it, because I have heard him say it—one of the great merits of our system as it was originally conceived is the diversity which it allowed in the States. None of us knows the answer to all these questions. Here, in a sense, we have 50 different laboratories. Each of these States varies considerably from the other States, even in New England, which has a common heritage, and where the States have been very closely allied from the very beginning by race and culture.

Yet they have their differences; and we learn, if we have any sense at all, from the experiences in these different political laboratories. However, in my opinion, to try to make the laws uniform would be the height of stupidity.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that the States have their differences as to climate, differences as to natural resources, differences as to agriculture, differences as to industry, and differences as to economies?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Absolutely.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Does not that raise different problems in the different States?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes; those differences, and even greater differences, arose as the country developed. There were also differences in the human resources of the various States. As the Senator knows, the original States were settled to a great extent by Anglo-Saxons. In the latter part of the last century there was a wave of immigration from non-Anglo-Saxon countries. Those immigrants were fine people, but they had different traditions and different political experiences. They were subject to entirely different conditions, it strikes me, suitable to their own backgrounds.

I think one of our mistakes domestically—and I have noticed that even in our foreign relations we tend to make the same mistake—is that we have the feeling that every other country ought to be made to conform to our model of democracy. That is a great mistake.

Many of our people have been extremely critical of other countries whose system of government varies slightly from our own. We have looked down our nose at various types of authoritarian governments and have called them dictatorships. Sometimes they were. Sometimes they merited criticism. But there was the implication of superiority; the idea that we had the answer to everybody's problems; that if everybody would do just as we do, everything would be fine. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth.

There are diversities among nations just as there are among the States of our Union.

Mr. President, the passage of the proposed constitutional amendment will have a broader effect than the mere abolishment of the poll tax required in the five States that have been mentioned.

A. According to a recent Library of Congress study it would, in addition, have the following effects:

VI

The proposed amendment would also nullify a permissive poll tax provision in Florida's constitution, even though the legislature of this State has repealed the levy.

A provision in South Carolina's constitution permitting a person to qualify either through ownership of property or meeting the educational requirement would be nullified.

The proposed amendment would possibly require new legislation in certain New England States. The constitution of New Hampshire, article 28, states that a person excused from paying taxes at his own request is disqualified from voting. The proposed resolution would appear to nullify this provision.

I emphasize that this is a provision in the constitution of New Hampshire.

I continue to read from the study made by the Library of Congress:

In Maine, voting registers are made up in reliance on lists prepared by tax assessors. However, any eligible voter whose name did not appear in the tax list, thus transmitted, may be registered by applying in person to such boards.

In Massachusetts, a similar method is used to draw up the voting register, and the persons omitted must then show proof of their qualifications to vote.

In Vermont, payment of poll taxes and old-age assistance taxes is a prerequisite to voting in town meetings (no mention of general elections).

It is questionable whether the laws of Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont would be affected by the proposed resolution.

In Rhode Island, constitutional and statutory provisions reducing the length of residence required for persons owning real estate would also be eliminated.

Several of the States have constitutional provisions disqualifying for voting "Indians not taxed" or "persons under guardianship." Indians have been granted citizenship by an act of Congress, and, though that does not grant them the right to vote, through State court decisions Indians are generally no longer disqualified from voting. Nevertheless, those provisions relating to "Indians not taxed" and such provisions relating to "persons under guardianship" when construed to mean "Indians not taxed" would violate the proposed amendment.

B. I can speak from personal knowledge about the ramifications of abolishing the poll tax in my own State. It would not only deprive Arkansas of a substantial source of revenue for the public schools but it would abolish our registration system since the list of persons who have paid their poll tax serves as a registration list for the election officials.

VII

Throughout this debate there have been no direct charges that the poll tax is used to discriminate against potential Negro voters. The Senator from Florida in his testimony before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments last year in effect said that the poll tax is not a deterrent to voting in the poll tax States. He said:

It has been accorded far greater importance than it deserves. The fact of the matter is that the amount of poll tax now required to be paid in the several States is so small as to impose only a slight economic obstacle for any citizen who desires to qualify to cast a ballot. This requirement operates, of course, equally on citizens of all races and colors and is generally subject to important exemptions which limit its application, such as the exemption of veterans, women, and citizens beyond a certain age. Nevertheless, the question has remained a vexing one.

A. The poll tax requirements in the five States which require payment of this tax as a prerequisite to voting have been liberalized substantially in the last 20 years. I wish to review some of these changes for the information of the Senate.

However, before I do so, I should add that the difference between these five States—of which my own State of Arkansas is one—and the situation in New England, which I have just described, concerning the prerequisites for voting, is largely one of form and not of substance, because, as a practical matter, under the enforcement provisions, in States like Maine and Vermont there is just as much pressure, if not more pressure, upon a person to pay the poll tax in order to vote at all as there is in

my State. This is largely a play with words. I do not think there is much difference in substance.

I think it would be wise to place in the RECORD some of the provisions which are in effect at present in the five Southern States concerned, so that they may be compared with the requirements in the New England States. As I said a moment ago, there is much in common among the various States.

I cite, first, for example, the law as it existed with reference to the poll tax in Alabama in 1940. This will indicate how these taxes have been liberalized. They are far more liberal than some of those in the New England area:

ALABAMA

(Unless otherwise designated, references are to code of Alabama, 1940, recompiled 1958)

As the law existed in 1940, a poll tax payment of $1.50 was required of every person over the age of 21 years and under the age of 45 years, who was not exempted by law from paying same (title 51, sec. 237; constitution, sec. 194).

Exemptions: The following persons were exempted from paying a poll tax:

1. All persons permanently and totally disabled from following any substantially gainful occupation with reasonable regularity, and whose taxable property does not exceed $500 (title 51, sec. 238).

2. Veterans who served honorably in the military or naval service of the United States between January 1, 1917, and November 11, 1918, from all poll taxes which have accrued or may hereafter accrue (title 51, sec. 238; amendment 14 to constitution).

3. Every officer and enlisted man of the National Guard or Naval Militia of Alabama during his active membership and forever, after he has actively served an aggregate of 21 years (title 51, sec. 238; title 35, sec. 11).

Elections: To entitle a person, otherwise qualified, to vote at any election, he shall have paid on or before the 1st day of February next preceding the date of the election at which he offers to vote, all poll taxes due from him for the year 1901 and for each subsequent year (constitution, section 178).

Since the poll tax is $1.50 per year, a person who has not voted before and wished to vote in 1940 could conceivably have to pay a tax as high as $36 for 39 years would have elapsed since 1901 and in that period a person could have become 21 years old and already passed his 45th birthday, a period of 24 years. Of course $36 would be the maximum that could possibly be required of anyone. The fact remains, however, that anyone offering to vote at an election would have to make up his back poll tax of $1.50 for each year since he attained the age of 21 even though he had not voted before.

In 1944 the exemption of veterans from the poll tax requirement (of taxes which have accrued or may thereafter accrue) was extended to cover all persons who served honorably in the military service of the United States at any time, past, present, or future, when the United States was, is, or shall be at war with a foreign state (amendment 49 to the constitution).

In 1945, exemption from the poll tax requirement was extended to every officer and enlisted man of the Alabama State Guard during his active membership, and forever, after he has actively served an aggregate of 21 years (title 35, sec. 214).

In 1951, the exemption of veterans from the poll tax requirement (of taxes which have accrued or may thereafter accrue) was extended to veterans who served honorably in the military services of the United States when the United States is engaged in hostilities whether as a result of declared war or not (amendment 90 to the constitution).

In 1935, an amendment to the constitution was approved requiring, as a prerequisite for voting, the payment of poll taxes for the 2 years preceding the election. Thus the maximum requirement at any election could only be $3 (amendment 96 to the constitution).

In other words, that was a very important reduction, let us say, in the severity of the tax, in that thereafter it could not be accumulated for more than 2 years. I Continue:

In 1954 a constitutional amendment exempted blind and deaf persons from the payment of poll taxes (amendment 109 to the constitution).

In 1960 as of today, $1.50 poll tax payment is required as a prerequisite for voting. The maximum such requirement, including arrears, is—

As I have said—

a payment of $3. Exempted from payment of poll tax, including arrears, are all veterans who served honorably in the military service of the United States whenever the United States is engaged in hostilities whether as a result of declared war or not. Also exempted from payment of poll tax are blind and deaf persons, all persons permanently and totally disabled from following any substantially gainful occupation and whose taxable property does not exceed $500, and every officer and enlisted man in the service of the National Guard, the naval militia, or the Alabama State Guard during his active membership, and forever, after he has actively served an aggregate of 21 years.

So from this recitation, Mr. President, we see that progressively over the years between 1940 and 1960, there has been a great amelioration of what was never a very severe burden; and certainly it is now a very minor burden on anyone, and is much less than the actual poll taxes in several of the New England States to which I have referred.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HICKEY in the chair). Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Did the Senator from Arkansas bring out the fact that in Alabama no person over 45 years of age has to pay a poll tax?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes, I did. That is why I said the maximum which ever could have been due was $36; but today the maximum is $3. So this change constitutes a very great liberalization—if one wishes to use that term in regard to it.

Insofar as the use of the word "liberalization" is concerned, I am not sure that this change has made any great improvement, in terms of voting. However, that is another matter. But from the point of view of those who object to poll taxes, this change certainly constitutes a great liberalization.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, let us consider the situation in my own State of Arkansas:

ARKANSAS

(Unless otherwise designated, references are to Arkansas Statutes 1947, Ann., 1956 Replacement and to 1957 Supplement thereto)

As the law existed in 1940, a poll tax payment of $1 was required of every person as a prerequisite for voting, except of those who reached the age of 21 after the period of assessment (constitution, art. 3, sec. 1; as amended by amendment No. 8; Ark. Rev. Stats. sec. 3-103, since then repealed and superseded by sec. 3-104.2; sec. 3-123).

In 1941, a law was enacted prohibiting the collecting of penalties for delinquent poll tax assessments (secs. 3-110.3-111).

In 1943 a law was enacted permitting men and women discharged from the armed services after the period for poll tax assessment has expired, to pay the $1 tax without the additional penalty (1957 Supp. sec. 3-113).

In 1944 Arkansas adopted a constitutional amendment permitting members of the armed services, if otherwise qualified, to vote in any election without having paid a poll tax (amendment No. 36 to the constitution).

In 1960, as the law exists today, a poll tax payment of $1 is required as a prerequisite for voting, but members of the Armed Forces of the United States, while in service, are exempted from this requirement. A person who has become 21 years old after the assessment may vote that year without paying the poll tax.

As I have stated before, it is not cumulative. If one has not paid his tax for 5 years, but still wishes to vote, he can do so after paying $1; and there is no law which provides for imprisonment because of failure to pay the tax—although imprisonment is provided for by law in some of the other cases I have mentioned, if one fails to pay the tax. So this matter in Arkansas is left to the choice of the citizens.

I submit that under this system there has been a very satisfactory participation, in my opinion, on the part of the people in my State in political activities. I would not wish to be personal about the matter; but I shall say that I do not see any great distinction or difference between the quality of the product under this system and the quality of the product under the systems in some of the States which do not have a poll tax. As a matter of fact, from the point of view of constituting a prerequisite for voting, the pressure—or the "penalties," if we wish to use that term—upon the people of Arkansas to pay this tax does not seem to me to be quite as great as is the pressure or the penalty in Maine in connection with the payment of the Maine poll tax, because in Arkansas one can obtain a driver's license or a hunting license even if he has not paid the $1 poll tax.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield again to me?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that today there are in the United States very, very few able-bodied adults who do not wish to have an automobile driver's license? In fact, is it not also true that under present economic conditions in the United States, today most adults feel it necessary to have a driver's license?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes, indeed. Certainly, today in the United States there are very few adults who do not regard it as necessary to have an automobile driver's license. I would say that about the only persons who, today, in the United States do not have a driver's license are paupers. As I recall, the other day I read a statement to the effect that there are now approximately 60 million automobiles in the United States; and that means that almost every able-bodied adult in the United States is able to own an automobile.

Mr. HILL. Is it not also true that practically every family in the United States today has, at the very minimum, one automobile, and a very large percentage of the families in the United States today own two automobiles?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes, that is quite correct.

Mr. President, I continue with Mississippi:

MISSISSIPPI

In 1940, as a prerequisite for voting, a person was required to pay on or before February 1 of that election year poll taxes due for the 2 preceding years (constitution sec. 241; code sec. 3160). The poll tax is $2 per year (constitution sec. 243).

Exempted from this poll tax requirement are persons over 60 years old, persons who are deaf, dumb, or blind, or who are maimed by loss of hand or foot (constitution sec. 243; code sec. 3163).

In 1944 Mississippi repealed the poll tax requirement for persons in the armed services, and allowed them to vote by absentee ballot, without payment of such poll tax (sec. 3196–07).

In 1952, a law was enacted permitting any member of the Armed Forces or any honorably discharged member of the Armed Forces to vote at any election without payment of any poll taxes which they have not had the opportunity to pay (sec. 3163–02).

In 1960, today, the law is the same as it was in 1940 but includes the exemptions enacted in 1952.

TEXAS

As the law existed in 1940 and as it exists today, the payment of a poll tax paid before February 1 of the year, is a prerequisite for voting (const. art. 6, sec. 2; election code arts. 5.02, 5.09).

All officers and men of the active milita of the State are exempted from payment of this poll tax except the poll tax prescribed for support of public schools (annotated statutes, art. 5840).

The poll tax required is $1.75 of which $1 goes to the support of the schools (const. art. 6, sec. 2, interpretive commentary).

Article 6, section 2a of the constitution was adopted in 1945 which waived the poll tax of any citizen of Texas who within 18 months prior to election has served in the Armed Forces (including the maritime service and merchant marine). It applied "during the time the United States is engaged in fighting a war or within 1 year after the close of the calendar year in which said war is terminated."

On November 2, 1954, article 6, section 2a, above, was repealed.

*Exemptions*

As the law read in 1951, the following persons were exempted from payment of poll tax: Persons over 60 years old, Indians not taxed, persons insane, blind, deaf or dumb, those who have lost a hand or foot, those permanently disabled, and all disabled veterans of foreign wars, where such disability is 40 percent or more (election code 1952, art. 5.09).

Article 5.09 of the election code was amended, omitting deaf or dumb persons from the above exemption (election code, 1960 supp. art. 5.09).

VIRGINIA

As the law provided in 1940, and as it is in effect today, a person, as a prerequisite for voting shall pay, at least 6 months before election his State poll taxes assessed against him during the 3 years next preceding the year of the election at which he offers to vote (constitution, sec. 21; code of Virginia, 1958 supp., secs. 24–120).

Exempted from this requirement are persons who served in the Army or Navy of the United States or the Confederate States during the War Between the States, and the wife or widow of such person (constitution sec. 22), and those pensioned by the State for military services (constitution sec. 173).

The amount of the tax is $1.50 per annum (code of 1950, secs. 58–49).

In 1944 Virginia created the armed services poll tax fund to be drawn upon for paying a poll tax for an individual in the armed services who applies for such payment at least 6 months before election. The act expired on July 1, 1946 (Laws, 1944, ch. 287).

So I would say it is quite clear, from this recitation, that the poll taxes in our Southern States have been very greatly liberalized in the last 20 years.

B. The Civil Rights Commission has apparently been unable to find any evidence that the poll tax is used as a device to prevent Negroes, or any one else for that matter, from voting. If the Civil Rights Commission was unable to find any evidence of discrimination due to existence of the poll tax requirement, I am sure that none exist. The Commission, in its recent report on voting, stated:

The absence of complaints to the Commission, actions by the Department of Justice, private litigation, or other indications of discrimination have led the Commission to conclude that, with the possible exception of a deterrent effect of the poll tax—which does not appear generally to be discriminatory upon the basis of race or color—Negroes now appear to encounter no significant racially motivated impediments to voting in 4 of the 12 Southern States: Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and Virginia.

Senators will note that three of the five poll tax States are singled out in this statement. At no place in the report is there any charge that the poll tax is used in the other two poll tax States as a discriminatory prerequisite to voting.

VIII

The present era has been appropriately called the age of conformity by many commentators on national trends. New studies of this tendency to sameness come to our attention practically every day. In this age of rapid communications and travel, when the many facets of our economy and our political and social life are so closely interrelated, there is a grave danger that we will lose the diversity that has such a significant factor in the growth of our national character. We are extending this same tendency to conformity to the very foundation of our governmental system when we attempt to eliminate a right which the States have enjoyed since the founding of the Republic.

The abolition of the poll tax will be only another step. In a short time the Senate will be asked to consider a bill establishing a uniform test for literacy. If the Congress accepts the philosophy that the States should no longer have the right, written into the Constitution, to establish qualifications for voters, there is no reason why a constitutional amendment, or even a statute, cannot be passed establishing uniform requirements for residency, or any other qualification for voting. Once the door is opened and the precedent has been set, there is nothing to stop the movement.

The issues involved here were well stated by Robert G. Storey, former dean of Southern Methodist University Law School, who is vice chairman of the Civil Rights Commission. In the recent Commission report on voting he said:

Proposals to alter longstanding Federal-State relationships such as that incorporated in the Federal Constitution, declaring that the qualifications of electors shall be left to the several States, should not be made unless there is no alternative method to correct an existing evil. Such is not the case today.

The Federal Government has sufficient authority under the Constitution and the existing framework of laws to enable it effectively to deal with denials of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, and national origin.

IX

If the Congress wants to homogenize the States, this is a step in that direction.

During this critical period in the Nation's history, unity is needed more than ever. By unity I mean a strong concensus of national effort in solving some of the critical problems which face us both at home and abroad. I do not mean uniformity with the connotation of mediocrity and adjustment to the lowest common denominator. The pending issue is one which tends to divide us and divert our attention from the real problems that must be faced during this session of Congress. This is an issue of no practical consequence to the Nation, and it is a tragedy that the Senate is forced to waste valuable time on such a question. The future of democratic governments will in the long run be determined by the ability of their citizens to make wise decisions, not by the mere act of casting a ballot by every adult in the Nation. Hitler rolled up an almost unanimous vote of approval from the German people, and the Communist Party candidates do it today in Russia and the satellites.

And I suppose the same could be said of some of the more underdeveloped nations, so far as the mere numbers of voters is concerned. The mere existence of the right to vote in no way guarantees a democratic system.

The Nation's Founding Fathers were acutely aware of the importance of education in a democracy. It strikes me education is of far more importance to the quality of government than is unfettered universal suffrage.

George Washington wrote:

Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of human happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionately essential.

Thomas Jefferson also had a unique understanding of the necessity for an educated and informed citizenry in a free society. Jefferson correctly said:

> If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.

He was as proud of his role in founding the University of Virginia as of his authorship of the Declaration of Independence.

God has not ordained that our form of government will succeed; nor is there any evidence from history to support the thesis that democracy is a natural form of society. Our form of government is the product of great human effort. It was created by our forefathers with the realization that man is potentially good, but also potentially a beast. Wise actions by our people will always be needed to keep the beast from seizing control. Through education we strive to bring out the good in our young people and to cultivate in them a desire to preserve and protect the values of our society. A good education is basic to good citizenship.

The exercise of the right to vote by one who is incapable of weighing the issues and making a rational decision does not contribute to the ultimate survival of this Nation. I can think of nothing better calculated to hasten our downfall than the casting of a ballot by a person who does not have the intellectual capacity to vote wisely. James Madison once said:

> Popular government without popular education is a prolog to a farce or tragedy.

The problem of education for citizenship was well stated in a comment by a noted scholar which appeared in a magazine some months ago. He said, in effect, that if he exercised his right to vote as carefully and thoughtfully as a citizen in a democracy should, he would spend all his time studying the candidates and the issues. This is a fair commentary on the awesome responsibilities of a citizen in a democracy in this complex and ever-changing world.

The frustrations of the cold war and the general complexity of life today prompt our people to look for easy solutions to complex problems. It is difficult for the shallow thinker to resist the impulse to believe those who have a knack for making complex problems seem simple. The apparent widespread interest in organizations such as the John Birch Society is symptomatic of a natural desire to find an easy answer to the difficult problems facing our Nation and the world. To blame all our difficulties on the Communists is simple enough to do.

It is much harder to face reality and to accept the world we live in, and then do something constructive to make it more to our liking. We can blame the Communists for our troubles from now until doomsday, but this will not contribute to the solution of our problems. A genuinely educated citizenry will not be deluded by crackpots and demagogs from within, or by alien doctrines from without. In the long run, the quality of our educational system and the intellectual capacity of our citizens will determine how well our heritage is enriched and preserved.

A short time ago I came across a very interesting essay by Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College and former president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In this essay, Dr. Gideonse gave a very lucid explanation of the need for education in a free society. His comments on the meaning of freedom are particularly pertinent at this time when there is a growing tendency for the individual to look at a public issue with the attitude of "'what is in it for me."

I am taking the liberty of quoting extensively from this essay for the information and enlightenment of my colleagues. Dr. Gideonse wrote:

> The greatest single cause of our confusion in the discussion of a national philosophy of education for citizenship in a free society lies in the fact that we no longer understand our own tradition. Our liberals and progressives talk of freedom as if individual rights can be separated from the common disciplines which free men must accept if a free society is to be sufficiently strong to make its guarantee of rights meaningful. Our relaxed grip on the fundamental principles of free society is perhaps the greatest single cause of our weakness as we confront an ideological alternative in which every social and cultural activity is directly related to a dogmatic faith.
>
> Freedom, however, is rooted in the responsibility of men as men, and not merely as specialized splinters of men. In our specialized pursuit of the development of free society we may easily drift into so intense a splintering of the total personality in which free society is anchored and rooted, that the quality of individual responsibility may vanish as the fruits of our specialization increase.
>
> The American conception of freedom is not merely the selfish expression of whim. It is not merely self-expression. Freedom is self-control as contrasted with control by others. The cultivation of innerdirectedness is therefore the core of the educational problem of a free society. The sources of responsibility are not cultivated by drift, nor by the pervasive advertising in press, radio, and television that promotes an ever-increasing diversity of material wants, nor by a journalistic overemphasis on news which is defined as the unusual, the pathic or the exceptional, nor by a sport page's systematic confusion of the reading public's ability to distinguish among commercial sports, spectator values and an educational interest in students who play rather than in athletes who register. Neither are they clarified by a view of freedom that stresses the removal of inhibitions, because the very essence of civilized society is defined by the presence of an appropriate selection of inhibitions, and this is merely another way of saying that freedom is self-control.
>
> The sense of responsibility from which this self-control is to spring is rooted in a disciplined life of mind as well as of emotion, a balanced grasp of frequently conflicting values; it is rooted in a sensible, realistic picture (to which reason and intellect can contribute) of the nature of man. The nature of man is not just intellect. Some of the biggest swine in human history have been great intellects. Some of the weakest spots in Western free society are due to excessive preoccupation with intellect, with analysis, and it is healthy to recognize this in the face of the fact that the great achievements of Western society also are rooted in the cultivation of intellect and reason.
>
> The hazard is in lopsidedness. The hazard is in doing only one thing and letting the rest go by drift. For if the rest goes by drift, the man on horseback may come along to exploit this drift. Whether he is a demagog from the right or one from the left makes no difference—the consequences to the freedom are just as serious in the one case is in the other. Typically, he is an expert in exploiting undisciplined emotion. And when it comes to that kind of challenge in a period in which national survival is at stake, you can trust the expert in the exploitation of emotion, whose only rationality consists in his rational exploitation of the irrational in man, to win—unless there is a systematic strengthening of the subjective factor in free society by the use of education in all of its broad ramifications.
>
> Now, in the matter of free government we can look the whole world in the face. Whatever they may say abroad about immature, young America, our written Constitution is the oldest one by a wide margin now operating in the world, and it was not written on the basis of a philosophy of faith in man. It was written on the basis of a realistic conception of the nature of man, wholly aware of the fact that man is potentially good—that's why we trusted ourselves with free Government institutions—but also deeply aware of the fact that man who is potentially good is also potentially a beast. Therefore, we would not trust the Government we set up with unqualified power. Therefore, we established governmental institutions that separated power and dispersed control. The reason we separated power and dispersed control is that we did not trust man with unqualified power, power that was not dispersed. In other words, we had a realistic theory of the nature of man. We saw him not just as mind, but we saw him as potentially evil in character; we saw even the potentially angelic element in man as, under the trust of complete power, most vulnerable indeed to the temptations and the lusts for power that bring out the bestial.
>
> The Greeks had, as they often did, a word for it. The word "idiot" as we use it today describes, technically, a type of feeble-minded person and, popularly, a person who is very stupid and incapable of intellectual effort, one who has an idiotic way of doing things. The Greek word, of course, meant something very different, although it is the word from which we drew ours. The Greeks used the word "idiot" for a man who might have very keen analytical capacity, who might be a scholar, but who had no interest in the whole of things. The Greek idiot was an altogether private man. He had no public spirit, as we might express it. He had no awareness of his being part of a larger whole. In that sense, we can say that the American college and university, with all of its specialists who know only one thing and are very little interested in the total impact of all these separate things on the whole of the young personality for which they are responsible, contains—in the original Greek use of the term—a larger percentage of idiots than the population of the country as a whole.
>
> And the whole of public life is full of idiocy in the Greek sense of the term, because all of public life is rooted in the assumption that the determining fact of all public policy is its bearing on the pursuit of higher standards of material living. This is taken for granted on the right as well as on the left. Presidential candidates differ in the United States not in their acceptance of this objective, but in methods of achieving that objective. Some Democrats will say that we can achieve it with a little more public action, some Republicans with a little less public action, but they will all agree that the purpose should be the increase of material standards of living. But increasing

material standards of living implies more specialization, more division of labor, more conveyor-belt, doing-just-one-thing-all-the-time action, because that's the way in which analytical man has demonstrated that he can increase material returns per individual involved in production.

If there is anything to the picture I have presented here, it will be observed that the implications of the public drive toward increased productivity, toward applied science and technology, toward specialized, conveyor-belt production, is a sharper drive toward increasingly specialized use of only a small part of man's whole personal endowment. The danger of increasing unawareness of the need for cultivating the whole of a balanced human personality is implicit in the temptation to increase vocational and specialized pressures directly related to economic as well as to defense needs.

Historically and morally we know that freedom is anchored in a realistic view of the nature of responsible man, and in his nature as a whole. And this has challenging educational implications especially in a time in which family, church and community have in varying ways lost a good deal of their effectiveness as educational agencies. Man has a body as well as a mind, man has glands as well as a brain, and free man has a need for disciplined emotions as well as for a disciplined mind. It may be a fatal gap in our total defense of free society to overlook the role of disciplined emotion, trained imagination, the significance of rhythm, tradition and ceremony, the cultivation of the subjective and the valuational in our exclusive pursuit of intellectually and economically productive byproducts of specialized competence.

There is great peril in a blind continuation of present educational tendencies to serve existing vocational needs in our rapidly shifting economic order. Automation and modern scientific developments have given a special urgency to Woodrow Wilson's warning more than 50 years ago that "the man of special skill can be changed into an unskilled laborer overnight." If public education is to be genuinely in the Nation's service it should be deeply concerned with the erosion of community values and all the other unplanned and unintended cultural byproducts of the proliferating variety of economic and technical interests which are part of the mainstream of our economic life. We should increasingly think of education as concerned with the total of the formative influences that are brought to bear on our youth by the American community. The content of formal education should be modified in accordance with observable shifts in the formative impact of other social activities such as those of the church, the family and the increasingly more significant influence of competitive advertising in the press, in the movies, in radio and in television.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will yield for a question.

Mr. CARLSON. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Arkansas if he is quoting the views on education of someone else; or are they his own views? Personally I think it is a very fine statement.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I am reading from a statement by Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, and former president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. I shall comment on his observations in a few moments.

I continue to quote from Dr. Gideonse:

There is a sense in which freedom will ultimately be preserved or lost in this Nation's educational establishments. No amount of technological productivity and no increase of professional military proficiency can overcome the vital fact that the effectiveness of a nation's total performance in the world community will be finally determined by the disciplined will and purpose of its youth, and by their commitment to and their experience with the values of free men and women. These qualities are not byproducts of specialized or vocational scholarship, and they are not supplied by a program of supplementary verbal indoctrination as if they could be finally added to the program of instruction much in the manner in which a fudge sauce is poured over a dish of ice cream.

That ends the quotation from Dr. Gideonse's essay.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. CARLSON. I should like to inquire again who Dr. Gideonse is and what his background in the educational field is.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. He is president of Brooklyn College. He is a distinguished scholar. I met him some time ago. He has been a leading educator in this country for a number of years and has always taken a very enlightened interest in public affairs, which not all academic people do. But I think he was especially qualified to comment upon the subject.

One of the reasons why—and I shall refer to it later—I believe it is especially appropriate here is that we are spending hours, as we do every year, and days, and sometimes weeks, arguing about a matter such as the poll tax, which I think, as I have already stated, has no real, significant impact upon our democracy. Yet we have been unable to pass in Congress—although the Senate has passed it four times—a bill to aid education. Members of Congress who are interested in improving the quality of our democratic processes can help bring it about through better education, just as Dr. Gideonse has stated. I have already quoted George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to the same effect. They were all quite aware of it.

While it is not a time for pessimism, it is not difficult to see that there is need for improvement in the functioning of our democratic system. This need will not be met by eliminating the poll tax. My point is, as it is also Dr. Gideonse's, that if we are going to do anything about it, the obvious, clear, and fundamental way is to do something about the quality of education in this country.

Mr. CARLSON. Would not the Senator from Arkansas agree that so long as we are discussing the poll tax issue, we are at least not enacting legislation which might not be in the public interest of this country, and that this might give us a little breathing spell to think about it?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I must agree with the Senator from Kansas that in view of the rather unjustified and unwarranted measures, in my view, that have been passed time and time again, there is something in what the Senator says, although I am not sure that we would be passing something that would do more harm to the country than the measure under discussion. The particular measure we are discussing affects the educational system in my State. The money derived from the poll tax in Arkansas is devoted to the public schools. I represent a materially poor State. It is a much poorer State than the State represented by the Senator from Kansas. Approximately $600,000, the amount taken in by the poll tax in the traditional way, is devoted to school purposes. There has been no complaint about it. The people in my State submitted this question to a referendum some 6 years ago. It was done to find out what they thought about it. The question was whether they wished to repeal it. They voted by a very large majority to retain it. Ordinarily when the people have an opportunity to repeal a tax, 9 times out of 10 they will vote to repeal it, no matter what the tax is.

I believe the Senator will agree with me that taxing is not one of the most popular functions of government. In this case the people of my State voted to keep the tax as it was. It is a tax from which a substantial amount of money is derived for the schools. I do not like to include the Senate in this statement, because in my opinion the Senate has performed very well on aid to education. It has passed an aid to education bill four times. It passed a good education bill last year. So I do not believe that we in the Senate should bear any blame. We passed such a measure four times. The other body has failed each time. It has always been able to tie it up or kill it. In the light of that action it seems the height of absurdity and indefensible to deprive a State that needs the money, as does mine, of this source of revenue. If we are not going to get the kind of assistance we ought to have from the Federal Government, we ought not to deprive the State of the right to collect taxes from its own people.

If the Members of this body sincerely want to improve our society and make our Government more effective in the long pull, we should be discussing the status of our educational system and what can be done about it rather than this emotional issue which will have no bearing on the success or failure of our democracy. I received a letter a day or so ago from Mr. C. C. Stuart, Arkansas City, Ark., who is president of the county school supervisors association in my State. I quote this letter for the information of the Senate:

DESHA COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION,
*Arkansas City, Ark., March 17, 1962.*

Re poll tax bill.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The county school administrators of Arkansas requested me, as their president, to express to you our hope that the school funds lost by this legislation, should it pass, will be replaced by some form of amendment.

It has been our experience that election rights are not affected by our poll tax requirements.

We take this opportunity to express to you our deepest appreciation for the support

you have given to securing a wider financial support for our schools in Arkansas.

Yours truly,

C. C. STUART,
*President, Arkansas County School Supervisors Association.*

I believe that the very least that the sponsors of the amendment should do is to join to it a provision providing for the States the money that they will lose by the passage of the amendment. In our case it approximates $600,000.

I hope the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], if he intends to press the amendment, and the other 67 sponsors, will support an amendment making up to the State of Arkansas the money that it will be deprived of by adoption of this proposal.

I believe that Mr. Stuart makes a very good point. He suggests that some form of amendment should be added. I have been thinking about what kind of amendment can be offered under the present parliamentary situation. It is a rather difficult problem, when we have before us a bill creating a memorial for Alexander Hamilton, and the proposed constitutional amendment will be offered as a substitute. Under the circumstances I am not quite certain how I could go about adding a provision which would replace the $600,000 which will be taken away from the schools of my State. I would solicit some advice from my colleagues as to how we might make up this loss.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. CARLSON. I am wondering whether the Senator from Arkansas could inform us if we are again to consider the Stella School bill, which I know is still on the calendar.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not know. I get the Senator's point. We find ourselves in a similar parliamentary situation.

I note that the Senator from Florida has returned to the Chamber. I have read a letter from the president of the Arkansas County School Supervisors Association, which reads as follows:

DESHA COUNTY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
*Arkansas City, Ark., March 17, 1962.*

Re poll tax bill.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The county school administrators of Arkansas requested me, as their president, to express to you our hope that the school funds lost by this legislation, should it pass, will be replaced by some form of amendment.

It has been our experience that election rights are not effected by our poll tax requirements.

We take this opportunity to express to you our deepest appreciation for the support you have given to securing a wider financial support for our schools in Arkansas.

Yours truly,

C. C. STUART,
*President, Arkansas County School Supervisors Association.*

I have just said that the complex parliamentary situation is bothering me a little. I believe that in all fairness the Senator from Florida, being the principal sponsor of the resolution, ought to find a way to help me discover how to replace the $600,000 of which his amendment, if it is adopted, will deprive our school system. We are not a rich State, like the great State of Florida, which siphons most of its accumulated wealth from all of the other States.

We are very hard up for money for schools. I hope the Senator will give consideration to finding a way by amendment to replace the $600,000 which will be taken from the Arkansas schools if his proposal is enacted.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does not the Senator know that the enactment of this amendment and its ratification by the States would not interfere in the slightest with the present law of Arkansas or with the present collection of the poll tax in Arkansas? Does he not know that the only result of the adoption of the amendment would be to lift the requirement of poll tax payments as a prerequisite for voting for electors for President and Vice President and for Senators and Members of the House of Representatives? Does he not know that his great State of Arkansas could still have its poll tax; that its people could still pay it; that its teachers could still get it; and that the requirement of the poll tax payment, so far as this measure is concerned, could still exist with reference to voting for Governor and all other State, county, and local offices? Does not the Senator from Arkansas know that?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I know that; but before the Senator came into the Chamber, I said the people of Arkansas had voted on this question. It was submitted in the form of an initiated amendment only 6 years ago. It was one of the few instances I can recall in which the people are asked if they wish to continue a tax upon themselves or to do away with it. The people voted by a large majority to continue the tax.

I agree that it would always be possible to adopt some other tax or try to get the revenue in some other way. But to abolish the poll tax would cause difficulties. Its abolition through the passage of this measure would upset a traditional way to raise revenue for schools.

Arkansas does not have, as many States I have mentioned do have, a provision by which a person can be put in jail if he does not pay the poll tax. As I understand the law in Vermont and New Hampshire, if a person does not pay the poll tax there, he can be put in jail. That is a very effective way of increasing tax collections.

If a person in Arkansas does not pay the poll tax, no one will come around to attach his property, arrest him, or put him in jail. In Arkansas a person who does not pay is left alone. The payment of the poll tax is voluntary. One does not have to pay it unless he wishes to vote. I was surprised to learn in my research that one could be put in jail in some New England States for not paying the poll tax.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield for another question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does not the Senator know that the proposed amendment which the Senator from Florida hopes he will have an opportunity to offer does not affect in the slightest the right of the State of Arkansas, under its present poll tax law, to continue to collect the poll tax and to continue to require the payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting for State, county, and local offices? Does not the Senator think it is almost unkind of him to allow the official in Arkansas who has written him to believe that this amendment really affects him in that way at all?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. If I understand what the Senator from Florida is saying, it is that if the proposed amendment were enacted, it would have no effect whatever upon the operation of the Arkansas poll tax since payment of a poll tax could still be made a prerequisite to voting for State and local officials. However, voting for Federal officials is one of the greatest incentives to voting, as the Senator from Florida well knows. The Senator can look at the record of the payment of the Arkansas poll tax in national elections and learn that the income from that tax is always substantially higher—and I am sure it is higher in other States—in the presidental election years.

The poll tax provides a substantial sum for the school fund. I think the proposal to abolish the poll tax is an attempt to intervene in the affairs of Arkansas and deprive us of that amount of revenue.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does not the Senator recall that while he was speaking the other day in response to questions asked by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], it was made abundantly clear that it was not elections for Presidential and other national offices that brought out the heavy votes, but elections for courthouse candidates, local candidates, and State candidates that resulted in heavy turnouts? Does he not recall that it was in those years that the poll tax receipts were the heaviest? Does not the Senator remember that?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not think that is entirely true. Very often in special county races that is true. But the situation varies from year to year. Some elections are held with very little interest; but at another time the issues and the candidates stimulate a large turnout. In Arkansas, there is always a heavy vote in the general election in a presidential election year.

My State is a little different from the Senator's State, as all States are different. Thank God they are not all the same. Arkansas does not have as many Republicans as does the Senator's State of Florida; but we still have a good number of them. They get busy and vote in

large numbers in a national election. They do not vote in such large numbers in what we call strictly local elections. But every 4 years, when the presidential election is held, the Republicans turn out in threateningly larger numbers. Recently they came pretty close to winning—too close for comfort. In any case, they vote in very large numbers in presidential election years.

The Civil Rights Commission has not found any evidence that the poll tax is used as a discriminatory device. Certainly that is true in my State.

I predict that the poll tax States will be called upon to institute a new source of revenue if the proposed amendment is enacted. Something different will have to be done. I do not know what the solution will be, but it will necessary to raise more money. It will be necessary to have another tax, or else to do without the revenue which is now being received.

As I see it, the poll tax does no harm to our democracy or to voting in the States. At the same time, it provides a substantial sum of money for our educational system.

I do not wish to repeat it, because I do not for a moment want to reiterate my argument. However, I have already described the same situation in Texas. The $1.75 poll tax in Texas goes to the schools.

Mr. President, Mr. Stuart, in his letter, has pointed out one of the major considerations which has influenced my attitude toward this proposed amendment. I certainly agree with him that Congress should, if it approves this proposal, enact some measure which would replace the school revenues which will be lost in Arkansas and other poll tax States by the adoption of this amendment. Of course, I hope that Congress will go much further and will approve a realistic general Federal aid to education proposal at this session. In spite of the substantial majority which approved the Federal aid to education bill in the Senate last year, as evidenced by the 49 to 34 vote, the House of Representatives appears to be hopelessly bogged down, and the outlook for final passage of a bill this session is rather dim.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield for a question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLAND. Did the Senator give any thought to the financial question when he so kindly joined with the Senator from Florida in introducing this amendment in the 82d Congress, the 83d Congress, and the 84th Congress, over a period of 6 years, during which he evidently thought the amendment would be good for his State and for the whole Nation?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I certainly gave thought to this aspect of the question. In practically every measure that comes before the Senate there are some plusses and some minuses. Nevertheless, if it were to be done, I thought then that this was a better method than to accomplish it by mere approval of a statute. It would do much less violence to the Constitution.

Mr. President, I believe that before the Senator from Florida entered the Chamber, I had made the point that even though we are faced with an overwhelming majority—as apparently we are, at least judging from the number of sponsors of this proposal—in favor of the proposal now under discussion—at least the Senator from Florida is proposing to follow the constitutional method by which this matter could be changed in contrast to proposing that the change be made by means of an ordinary statute. As he knows, several former sponsors of the Senator's proposal were faced with the alternative of either sponsoring and supporting a proposed constitutional amendment or having a statute passed to abolish the tax. Such a statute would clearly be unconstitutional.

Of course, having so little respect for recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, we did not wish to take the chance of hoping that the Supreme Court would declare such a statute unconstitutional, although it clearly would be.

However, today all we are faced with is a proposed constitutional amendment. Of course, if the Senator from Florida has the good sense to withdraw or drop his proposal—and I think he should do so—and if the Senate were then to proceed to the consideration of a bill dealing with this subject, I would oppose the bill, too.

At any rate, I am trying to point out that the real danger to our democracy is not the poll tax which is imposed in only five States. Instead, the real danger lies in our general neglect, as a nation, of education over the past 50 years.

I am sure the Senator from Florida has no idea how difficult it is to find new tax funds in a State as poor as my State is. The other day I read that lots at Cape Canaveral or at Cocoa Beach, or at some other place in that area, which 15 years ago sold for $10 each, are now selling for $50,000, or some such figure. I am sure the Senator from Florida knows all about those matters. In Florida, the money is pouring in so rapidly and in such great quantities that the people there have difficulty finding places or ways to spend it. However, that is not at all the case in Arkansas; and it would be a blow to our schools to be deprived of this revenue.

So I hope the Senator from Florida will give sympathetic consideration to some way to replace or make up for the loss of the funds which enactment of the constitutional amendment he proposes would force upon my State. At least, I solicit his sympathetic consideration in that connection.

Mr. President, the Congress should be concerned with the quality of the electorate; but the failure to pass a Federal-aid bill over all of these years that such a bill had been considered indicates that this concern is not very deep. Admiral Rickover, the father of the atomic submarine, and one of the Nation's most incisive commentators on our educational system, in a speech in Chicago last October made some very cogent comments on education in a democracy.

Mr. President, Admiral Rickover is, I believe, one of the few persons for whom the Congress itself intervened and, we might say, overrode the military brass, by conferring upon him a great honor; and that action was entirely nonpartisan, and was an innate, instinctive recognition by Congress of his great ability. In the speech which Admiral Rickover made last October in Chicago he said:

> I suggest that political education should consist of a carefully planned course of studies in history, government, geography, economics and literature, continuing through elementary and secondary school and designed to awaken youth to an appreciation of the value of democracy and of its meaning. Children who are familiar with the tragic story of mankind's long and bitter struggle for political freedom, so rarely crowned with success, are not likely to take their privileges for granted. They will recognize them for the priceless heritage they are and wish to pass them on to future generations. These studies also help youth shed the childish notion that one can go through life demanding rights without recognizing the necessity of giving something in return. A child takes his first step toward political maturity when he understands that in the adult world right and obligation are correlative ideas. The next step is to rise above infantile dreams that look upon government as a cow that magically produces milk without being appropriately nourished. In reality all public disbursements come out of the pockets of the people. The account will be balanced either in a fair and orderly way through taxes or in a cruel and inequitable way through inflation.
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> The student will have attained full political maturity when he realizes that he is personally responsible for making democracy work; that he has no alibi if his country is badly governed; when he overcomes the myopia that afflicts persons who are wholly centered on self; when he attains the long-range vision that lets him see that the national interest is part and parcel of his own personal interest. There can be no real conflict between national and private interest when sovereignty is vested in the people. Only badly educated voters willingly turn their nation into a weak pressure group state.

Mr. President, that passage brings to mind what is likely to be the next step if this misbegotten measure is passed—and that is to try to establish a uniform literacy test for voting. I think the entire passage I have read just now from the speech made by Admiral Rickover has considerable pertinence to that issue. And the passage of the measure now being urged upon us would amount to the removal of a further link in our constitutional system, which has served us quite well.

In his speech, Admiral Rickover continued as follows:

> Our schools are much concerned with developing democratic and friendly attitudes in children and familiarizing them with parliamentary procedure; this is all to the good. But it is even more important to develop in them an attitude combining firm devotion to basic political principles, with flexibility toward means for attaining them. If we want to preserve our political principles, we must periodically reexamine and bring up to date the machinery through which these principles are put into effect.
>
> Any program of political education for our children must keep in mind that the public

virtues we must nurture in American youth are on the one hand self-reliance and independence of spirit, on the other hand readiness to cooperate, to accept the verdict of the polls, and if it goes against you, to act as a loyal opposition. Central to our concept of a free society is the autonomous individual who uses government as a means whereby he joins with fellow citizens in the pursuit of common ends. Government is not an alien "they" to him. He cannot indulge in the luxury of blaming what they do, for sovereignty is vested in him and it is he who has voted into office the men who govern him.

Nor should he fear or mistrust his Government for it is the only agency in his society over which he has effective control, and this is as true of Federal as of local or State government. There should be no conflict in his mind between the dependence of Government on his consent and the power of Government to enforce the law. He must obey the laws. If he deems them unjust, he is free to combine with like-minded citizens and elect men who will change bad laws. He must submit to being governed by persons who have been entrusted with legislative, executive, or judicial powers of Government, but he reserves the right to scrutinize their performance and to criticize it in public.

This right to scrutinize and criticize extends to all agencies of Government, including tax-supported public schools and universities. Educators sometimes forget that they are public officials, as when they deride criticism or claim that only professional educators have a right to judge the performance of the school. In our free society no public agency may demand to be exempt from public judgment. Were this not so, our liberties would soon vanish. Citizens in free societies safeguard their freedom in private life by their very participation in public life. The people themselves are the guardians of their several inalienable rights, each citizen being in truth the keeper of his brother's liberties. The Nation's business is the business of every one of us. It is our right and duty to talk on public issues after we have examined them and thought about them to our best ability. Schools that provide life or group adjustment instead of genuine education, people and institutions who attempt to degrade free, self-determining citizens into conforming organization men and vilify critics of the status quo—whether they know it or not, they all are busily at work eroding the very foundations of our free society.

Mr. President, there is a pressing need for improvement at all levels of our educational system. In May of last year in the Senate I made some remarks on the Federal aid to education bill, which I wish to recall:

Our people must not only be trained in ever increasingly difficult technical skills, but also in the development of those human traits which make up the political, economic, and social man. It is not enough if our scientists are experts in their technical field but know nothing outside and beyond their specialty. The degree of development in technical skills will not be the factor that determines our future. Our society's future will be molded by our success in creating self-discipline in our young people and imbuing them with an understanding of American traditions and institutions. According to Herbert Spencer, the overall object of education is the development of character. The quality of the character developed by our educational system in turn determines our national character.

The need for an educated citizenry is more crucial today than ever before. The world has entered an era of great instability filled with both dangers and promises. Great changes are taking place daily which are shaping the future world which our children will inherit. Remarkable advancements are being made in all fields of science—from the development of the power to split the atom to a cure for polio. Scientists have opened new vistas of knowledge which can be applied either to destroy civilization or to cure many of the problems of mankind. At the same time, our capacity for understanding and getting along peacefully in the world has not kept pace and—if anything—has deteriorated. Whether we use this fund of knowledge for mankind's benefit or his doom will, in large measure, be determined by what kind of educational system we have.

If our youth are to be equipped to cope with this complex world, we must improve our educational system at all levels. It is not enough to educate them for adjustment to present conditions. They must be armed with knowledge which will enable them to shape and master the future.

Charles E. Silberman has summed up the requirements of a modern education system, as follows:

"To be practical, an education now must prepare a man for work that doesn't yet exist and whose nature can't even be imagined. This can be done only by teaching people how to learn, by giving them the kind of intellectual discipline and the depth of understanding that will enable them to apply man's accumulated wisdom to new conditions as they arise."

The demands on our educational system were never greater and, if they are to be met, we must have a drastic revision in our sense of values.

In our society we must make sure that every individual has the means to develop his full intellectual potential. A quality education should be available to every boy and girl, whether he or she is from Arkansas or California. Waste in human resources is too costly in a democracy. The uneducated or undereducated man is not only incapable of being an effective participant in the democratic process, but also does not make his fair contribution to economic progress.

Education and economic progress go hand in hand. Each is essential to the other. Education more than any other factor raises the productivity of a nation—and of the individual. Industry today is more dependent on education than ever before. Automation—and technological progress in general—dramatized the vulnerability of the uneducated man to machine competition. In order to meet the challenge of this new industrial era, our educational system must be revised and updated.

The makeup of our labor force is changing rapidly, reflecting new technological developments. Occupations requiring a high educational level are expanding rapidly, while those requiring little education are contracting. The reasons for this trend were well stated by Dean Francis Chase of the University of Chicago when he said:

"The qualities essential to employability and productivity are coming closer and closer to the characteristics that have long been attributed to the educated person."

In 1910, considerable education was required of only a third of the labor force. This has now risen to one-half the labor force. The day is approaching rapidly when the man with only his energy to sell will have nothing to sell. Obviously, it would be a waste of time and money to give every young person a college education. But we can insure that every person has a chance, and is encouraged to develop his full intellectual capacity. If we do less, we shall be wasting the Nation's most valuable asset—the brainpower of its youth.

Mr. President, it goes without saying that the primary responsibility for operation and administration of the schools must continue to remain with the State and local governments. This fact, however, does not detract from the need for more attention to education on the national level. In 1960 almost 21 percent of those taking the selective service mental test failed to pass. I am sorry to report that 47 percent of the young men from Arkansas failed this test. This is a shockingly high percentage. It indicates not only the need for a renewed effort nationally in the field of education, but also the tremendous job that must be done in bringing the school systems of the underdeveloped States, such as Arkansas, up to a par with the national average. We have a long way to go in this country in bringing the educational level of our citizens up to where it should be in a representative form of government such as ours.

At this point I invite the attention of my colleagues to an interesting article which appeared in the May 7, 1961, issue of the Washington Post. This article, entitled "The Anatomy of Unemployment," clearly shows the relationship between lack of education and the unemployment problem. The subtitle, "Our Technology Outruns Education," is well chosen. Senators, especially those from the more industrialized States, will, I believe, be interested in some of the points brought out in this article. I read from the article:

THE ANATOMY OF UNEMPLOYMENT—OUR TECHNOLOGY OUTRUNS EDUCATION

(By Frank C. Porter)

In the play "Tobacco Road," Jeeter Lester let a handful of arid, wornout soil trickle through his fingers.

It was worthless land, he said—couldn't even grow turnips on it anymore. But it was his land, the land on which he had grown up and his daddy before him. Jeeter would be damned if he'd ever leave it.

If Jeeter Lester couldn't hoe turnips, anymore, what could he do? Operate a turret lathe, design missile parts, program a computer, manage a laundromat? No, none of these. He was too old to retrain for even the most simple semiskilled jobs. And even if he were younger, the training might not take.

Most of America's 4.9 million unemployed are not Jeeter Lesters. But for a great many of them, his quandary is theirs. And it illustrates the lack of human mobility and skills which underlie this Nation's chronic unemployment problem.

With most economists agreed that the recession bottomed out in February or March, the unemployment picture has brightened somewhat. The jobless total is down from 5.5 million 2 months ago and the unemployment rate of 6.8 percent is off slightly from the 6.9 percent recorded in the recession trough.

But no matter how bright the economic skies become, a hard core of substantial unemployment is expected to remain. After each of three preceding recessions, U.S. unemployment has leveled off on a progressively higher plateau—at approximately 2.5 percent of the labor force in 1952–53, at 3.8 in 1956–57, at about 4.7 in 1959–60.

The Kennedy administration has made unemployment countermeasures its first order of domestic business. But its approach is two-pronged. Part of today's joblessness—but only part—has been caused by the economic downturn from which we are just emerging, it believes. The remainder is chronic and the result of longer term influences.

Idle workers can be broken down into a number of groups:

Unemployables, who for various reasons—alcoholism, recurrent illness, laziness, a compulsion to punch every foreman on the nose—simply can't hold down a job for long.

The so-called frictionally unemployed—mostly those workers who are between jobs.

Cyclically unemployed—victims of the business cycle who are let go when the consumer slows his buying pace and when inflated inventories call for production cutbacks.

Those affected by a shift in demand. As the public changes its buying habits—purchasing more boats and fewer automobiles, say—a particular industry may have to lay off employees permanently by the thousands.

Those affected by a geographical shift. Textile firms, in pursuit of lower taxes and cheaper labor, deserted New England for the South, leaving thousands of unemployed in their wake.

The technologically unemployed.

The latter three factors are generally considered responsible for the bulk of chronic or structural unemployment.

And of the three, the technological factor is the most disquieting. Experts disagree over automation. Some, notably labor economists, feel that it is bringing a net decrease in the number of jobs available to industrial workers. Others insist that it will create more jobs than it destroys.

But no one can argue against its current impact. In 1947, for example, 649,000 production workers turned out 4.8 million motor vehicles; last year 612,000 workers produced 7.9 million.

Ten years ago the steel industry needed 540,000 men to produce 96.8 million tons of raw steel; last year 99.3 million tons were turned out with only 462,000 workers.

Machines will eliminate some 4 million office and clerical jobs in the next 5 years, according to a report compiled by Representative ELMER J. HOLLAND, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, for President Kennedy last February.

Robots which will displace thousands of assembly line and packaging workers are already in production. Computers run entire oil refineries and chemical plants with only a few men needed to handle the controls.

The vending machine industry has put its ingenuity to work developing devices that eliminate theater ticket sellers, parimutuel window operators, department store clerks, lunch counter personnel, cashiers, mutual fund salesmen, and a great many others.

Front loaders are eliminating the man with the shovel; mechanical crop pickers are displacing field hands; bootblacks are losing out to mechanical shoe cleaners.

And yet, in the midst of all this, jobs go begging, go begging by the thousands.

A knowledgeable report by the Wall Street Journal last week told how the Illinois State Employment Service is having trouble filling eight clerical vacancies on its own staff. Its counterpart in Cleveland says it is unable to fill 1,000 jobs each month, mainly in the clerical and sales fields.

The motel industry is sounding an urgent call for at least 90,000 new employees during 1961.

The United States is short at least 250,000 auto mechanics and nobody is training anyone, the Good Car Keeping Institute complains, despite thousands of laid-off auto production workers who could easily be converted.

The fast-growing computer services industry clamors for programers and is training high school students to relieve the shortage. In the next decade, more than 200,000 more programers will be needed, it is estimated.

The same conditions obtain in a dozen fields: In teaching, in engineering, in top level executive positions, in sales.

The paradox is easily answerable. Most of today's unemployed are not qualified to fill the hundreds of thousands of unfilled jobs.

The Wall Street Journal offered statistics showing that the rate of unemployment among professional and technical personnel in March was only 1.6 percent, less than the amount usually attributed to frictional unemployment alone.

The rate among clerical personnel was 4.9 percent; among skilled workers, 9.1; the semiskilled, 12.1; and unskilled workers, 19.1 percent.

This would tend to show that the chances of unemployment are inversely proportional to a worker's educational level.

Officials within the Kennedy administration have been discussing ways and means of training, retraining, and even relocating displaced workers. A concrete step was taken a few weeks ago when Labor Secretary Arthur J. Goldberg set up an Office of Automation and Manpower, one job of which would be to help relocate and retrain workers for new jobs.

The task may be too monumental, however, for any single agency or even for the massed resources of the entire Federal Government. The root of the problem is in the very heart of our educational system and in the aims and attitudes of 180 million Americans.

As the Wall Street Journal suggests, the problem of school dropouts is a major factor contributing to the serious shortage in specialized skills. Until recently, the dropout was considered the special province of the sociologist; now he has become the concern of the economist.

The Labor Department estimates that of the 26 million persons from 14 to 24 entering the labor force in the 1960's, some 7.5 million or 30 percent will not have completed high school. And of these, 2.5 million won't even have a grade school education.

These 7.5 million youths will find jobs increasingly tough to come by. Most of the work they could have done a generation ago will not longer exist; much of it will be done by machine. Meanwhile, as many of them join the ranks of the unemployed, the need for qualified persons to design and build and run and program the machines will become more and more acute. Far from being just a sociological problem, the dropout will prove a drag on the Nation's economy and its potential for growth.

In essence, this Nation's technology has outrun its education. We have built a machine that promised to save us labor and create more leisure. Now we must work and think harder than ever before to keep it going.

Mr. President, the retraining bill retraining bill recently signed into law indicates that Congress is concerned about the human displacements caused by our growing technology. But it does not go to the root of the problem, which is education geared to meet the needs of a highly complex economy.

In recent weeks there has been much public discussion about school dropouts. A recent report by the Arkansas State Department of Education indicates that about 70 percent of the Arkansas students entering the first grade do not complete high school. This is a frightening situation which cannot help but act as an oppressive drag on Arkansas efforts to build a more prosperous economy.

The problems of meeting the demands on our educational system will get worse before they get better. The school age group since 1950 has grown twice as fast as the total population. Public school enrollment last fall reached a new high of 37.5 million and is expected to go up by more than 1 million next fall. President Kennedy, in his recent message on education, said that by 1970 the Nation must provide facilities for 14 million more elementary, secondary school, and college students.

In 1949 an estimated $5 billion was spent for public elementary and secondary education. This increased to almost $17 billion in the last school year. Although expenditures have tripled in a little over 10 years, it is expected that more than $30 billion will be required in the 1968–69 school year just to maintain existing standards. The Rockefeller report on education pointed out that, in spite of the fact that educational expenditures are rising rapidly, the percent of gross national product devoted to education has remained relatively constant at about 3.5 percent since 1930. The net result has been that there is a smaller expenditure of the GNP per pupil proportionately today due to the rapid rise in enrollments. We still spend as much on tobacco and alcohol and over twice as much on purchase and operation of automobiles as we do on public elementary and secondary education. It would be interesting to know what historians several centuries from now will say about nation that spends three times as much on its Military Establishment as on its public schools.

The status of teachers in our public schools is a national disgrace. They are woefully underpaid and overworked. It is not surprising, in view of the low status of teachers, that we have such serious difficulties in attracting and retaining qualified teachers. An Office of Education report stated that 89,700 or 6.1 percent of the teachers in public elementary and secondary schools did not meet full certification standards this year. It is surprising that the number is not larger, in view of our complacency toward the teaching profession. Until we give teachers true professional status and salaries commensurate with their positions, we cannot hope to attract the best talent available.

I have spent considerable time today discussing education because I firmly believe that this is a subject that should receive priority attention from the Congress this year, although there is little hope that it will be accorded this status. The question of whether or not five States are to be deprived of their right to levy a poll tax is an inconsequential issue in comparison to the Nation's educational problems. Although the Southern States, which are still suffering from the effects of the Civil War, need financial assistance for the schools more than any other section, there is still an obvious need for the improvement in the educational systems of the more prosperous States—particularly those in the North whose representatives in the Congress are so quick to find fault with the people from my section. There is a particularly urgent need to bring about better education in the North on the meaning of the Constitution.

The poll tax issue is only a Trojan horse which will inevitably lead to de-

mands for passage of other measures aimed at the South. We are already on notice that an effort will be made to abolish the poll tax by statute. In a few weeks the Senate will be confronted with a proposal to establish a uniform literacy test. No doubt a multitude of other unconstitutional and unwarranted measures designed to embarrass the people of the South and curry votes from minority groups in the North will be presented during the course of that debate.

I, for one, am weary of the meaningless ritual which so-called civil rights proponents force this body to go through every year. It is a waste of time, effort, and the taxpayers' money—and the public business suffers. But there seems to be no escaping this annual effort to purge the South of supposed evils and bad habits. I submit, Mr. President, that the people of the South are no more or no less pure at heart than citizens in any other section of our land. Every section of the Nation has its peculiar problems of human relations. But these problems cannot be solved by passage of a law but only through passage of time and a constantly improving educational system.

As I have said before, there is no evidence that the poll tax is used as a device to prevent Negroes from voting. Even if it were used in this manner, the Federal Government has more than ample authority to protect the constitutional rights of any citizen who has been wronged. Even before passage of the voting rights laws of 1957 and 1960 there was a multiude of statutes on the books which were designed to guarantee enforcement of every individual's constitutional rights. Discrimination and bias cannot be legislated away. As long as human beings act like human beings there will be discrimination and bias. The Members of this body would do well to remember that we cannot legislate goodness.

In closing, I refer again to Dean Storey's comment in the recent report of the Civil Rights Commission on voting. He said:

> Proposals to alter longstanding Federal-State relationships such as that incorporated in the Federal Constitution, declaring that the qualifications of electors shall be left to the several States, should not be made unless there is no alternative method to correct an existing evil. Such is not the case today.
>
> The Federal Government has sufficient authority under the Constitution and the existing framework of laws to enable it effectively to deal with denials of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, and national origin.

I hope that Members of the Senate will heed his advice.

Mr. President, I certainly hope the Senate will not consider the joint resolution.

## STOCKPILE INVENTORIES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, several weeks ago the President of the United States in his press conference called our attention to the fact that the Nation has an unnecessarily large inventories in its stockpile. The President made the statement that he thought when all the facts concerning its acquisition had been fully exposed to the American people it would border on a national scandal. He inferred that there had been many instances of unconscionable profits and abuses.

I complimented the President at that time on the fact that he was going to roll the wraps of secrecy from this program. I think the time is long overdue when the American people should be told since in many instances hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent for unnecessary items accumulated in the stockpile. Prices for items many times have been far in excess of market value and far in excess of the prices which were necessary to be paid.

In an effort to get more information on this program, under date of February 9, 1962, I directed a letter to Mr. Bernard L. Boutin, the Administrator of General Services Administration. In the letter I asked for an itemized breakdown showing the amounts of Government inventories of items in the so-called strategic stockpile which are in excess of that amount which has been certified as essential for defense requirements.

I emphasized in the letter that in the report I wished to have not only the quantity and the cost to the Federal Government of the commodities when procured but also an estimate of the annual storage cost. I asked for the report to show how much of each commodity was currently under contract for future procurement and the present price being paid.

In the request for information I emphasized to the Administrator of General Services Administration that I was asking only for this information on those items in our national stockpile which were in excess of our stockpiling needs. Therefore I saw no reason why such information should be classified. Certainly the committee which has been set up by the U.S. Senate upon the request of the President to investigate this program cannot do a good job until at least the committee and the Senate know how much of these inventories there are on hand in excess of our needs. The Congress cannot plan an intelligent program of selling these commodities which are in excess of our national defense needs until there is some knowledge as to how many of these commodities are on hand.

I have been officially advised that there is no reason why there should be any classification of secrecy on this information.

Under date of March 6, I received a complete report from the Administrator of General Services Administration in which he answered the questions I had asked and in which he gave a complete breakdown of the inventories in excess of our stockpiling needs. This report shows the quantities on hand in the national stockpile, the quantities under the Defense Production Act, that which is under the Commodity Credit Corporation barter agreement, that which is under the supplemental program, and some left over from the RFC. The report also gives a detailed breakdown of the cost along with the present market values.

All of these different programs must be taken into consideration when one figures how much there is on hand of each item. To release the information on that which is held under only one part of the stockpile program would give the wrong impression not only to the Congress but also to the American people. All of this information concerning all the programs should be released at one time so that when we speak of how much aluminum, lead, zinc, or other item there is on hand we shall know how much there is on hand as a total, not merely a total for one particular agency.

I have all this information and wish it were possible to put it in the RECORD. Much to my regret, however, the information is marked "secret," even to the extent that it is considered dangerous if Mr. Khrushchev should find out how much castor oil there is on hand over and above what we need.

Perhaps it is thought the small fry of our country will feel more secure knowing that the Government has an excessive stockpile of castor oil to take care of any emergency needs.

To show the complete absurdity of the classification, they have even classified the storage costs on the items.

I have talked with officials in the executive branch, including officials of GSA. They agree that the information could be properly declassified and insist it will be done. For the last several days they have been saying, "Tomorrow I think it will be declassified."

I noticed on the ticker this afternoon that information on our stockpiling program has been declassified, but I quote from the wire service report:

> The information will be made public later at the first meeting of the Symington committee.

In this same release several items are listed which are proposed to be removed from the cloak of secrecy. I supported the establishment of the Symington committee. I think that this investigation is needed. I was glad that the President was interested in telling the American people all of the facts. I still support the committee. But I do not see why, when we as Members of the Senate obtain information, a cloak of secrecy should be placed on such information with instructions that we can discuss it only after it has been officially released through a congressional committee.

I do not think we have to set up a congressional committee and waste the time of the staff and the members of the committee to call a special hearing in order to make available to the public information which could be incorporated in the RECORD by unanimous consent. We have all of that information here, and it certainly does not require a congressional committee to make it available to the public.

Certainly the ability of the members of the committee can be put to a better use. We do not need a congressional investigation to find out how much of

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providing for the establishing of the former dwelling house of Alexander Hamilton as a national monument.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I offer as a substitute for the pending amendment an amendment in the nature of a substitute, which is at the desk and is identified as 3–15–62–B.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to state the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that the text of it may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the text of the amendment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the Congress finds that the requirement that a poll tax or other tax be paid, or that any property qualification be met, as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote at primaries or other elections for President, Vice President, electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, is not and shall not be deemed a qualification of voters or electors voting or registering to vote at primaries or other elections for said officers, within the meaning of the Constitution, but is and shall be deemed an interference with the manner of holding primaries and elections for said national officers, an abridgment of the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States, a tax on such rights and privileges, an obstruction of the operations of the Federal Government, and an impairment of the republican form of government.

"SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful for any State, municipality, or other governmental authority or any subdivision thereof, or for any person, whether or not acting on behalf of any State, municipality, other governmental authority or subdivision thereof, to levy, collect, or require the payment of any poll tax or other tax or to impose a property qualification as a prerequisite for registering to vote or voting in any primary or other election for President, Vice President, elector for President or Vice President, or Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, or otherwise to interfere with or prevent any person from registering to vote or voting in any such election by reason of such person's failure or refusal to pay or assume the obligation of paying any poll tax or other such tax or meeting any property qualification. Any such levy, collection or requirement, and any such tax or property qualification, shall be invalid and void insofar as it purports to disqualify any person otherwise qualified from voting at such primary or other election."

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to protect the right to vote in national elections by making unlawful the requirement that a poll tax be paid as a prerequisite to voting in such elections, and for other purposes."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the amendment is offered on behalf of myself and Senators DOUGLAS, KEATING, BUSH, HART, NEUBERGER, CASE of New Jersey, PASTORE, SCOTT, ALLOTT, MORSE, PROXMIRE, BEALL, WILLIAMS of New Jer- and KUCHEL.

President, the amendment I would ute for the constitutional amend- ch is now before the Senate is of a statute eliminating the

poll tax in elections for Federal Government officials.

I am well aware of the intention of the majority leader to move to table this particular substitute. Nonetheless, I have offered it because I feel very deeply that if we are to do anything, after the pain and anguish which we always go through in these matters, let us do something now instead of deferring the day when we will do something.

Aside from every other argument on this subject—and this has been a matter of disputation for a very considerable period of time—the argument which seems to be most persuasive is this: If we pass a constitutional amendment and it is approved by the States, we will still have to be back here to pass a statute, because no amendment to the Constitution is self-operative. We must pass a law to implement it. Therefore, why go through all of this circumlocution if we can constitutionally—and I believe it is now clear beyond peradventure that it can be done—do the same thing by statute now? Do we want a repetition of the events of the last 2 weeks, if it is completely unnecessary?

The constitutional amendment technique has been with us for 14 years. We actually passed it in the Senate in 1960, but nothing has happened. So here we are again with the same constitutional amendment at this session.

On the other hand, in the House, on five successive occasions, there has been passed a simple statute to outlaw the poll tax. If we had seen fit on any one of those occasions to do exactly as the other body had done, the matter would long since have been settled. May it be said to the credit of this body that this was attempted on one occasion. In 1945 the Judiciary Committee actually reported to the Senate a bill which is very similar to the one I have offered today, which would have outlawed the poll tax in respect of elections for Federal officials. However, that bill ran afoul of extended debate, as it is euphemistically called, and cloture was not successful; so the matter fell by the wayside.

Mr. President, the first point of argument is, Why should we try to do it by constitutional amendment, when we will have to pass a statute ultimately anyhow, and when we can enact legislation right now? I shall go into that question in some detail later.

The same matter was debated and discussed and voted upon in 1960, at which time the Senate voted to table this statutory approach by a vote of 50 to 37. However, since that time we have had the experience of having passed a constitutional amendment which, when it went to the other body, got nowhere. I do not know what will happen to this one, but I do know that if we pass it as a statute now we have assurance that it will be passed by the House, by reason of the fact that on five successive occasions in the other body such a statutory method has been adopted and enacted. Consequently, a provision outlawing the poll tax is more likely to be enacted this time as a statute than as a constitutional amendment.

I repeat, first, the most important point is that we will have to pass a statute anyhow sooner or later; therefore, we might as well do it now, since we have the power to do it.

Secondly, as to the chances for enacting a constitutional amendment, let us remember that there are 11 States which either have the poll tax now or have had it in the very recent past. So we start with that problem. We also have the fact that 11 States did not ratify our last previous constitutional amendment, giving to residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in presidential elections. We have also the fact that a considerable number of States—12 to be exact—disqualify paupers or inmates of charitable institutions from voting. It strikes me that when we take the 11 and add to that number—and then we need only 2 more—the 12 States which have laws preventing paupers or inmates of charitable institutions from voting, we are running some risk that a minority of the country, both as to the number of States and as to population, may frustrate the whole design of Congress. Therefore, I believe we must ask ourselves the logical question: Why do it the hard way? Why not do it the direct way which is available to us, and in which the other body has time and again shown a disposition to join?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I should like merely to add one sentence. Then I will be very glad to yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. President, I must, of course, demonstrate—as I shall now undertake to do—that to take the statutory course is permitted by the Constitution, because whether it can be tested or not, we are too responsible to move in that way unless we are convinced the Constitution allows it. So I shall now attempt to demonstrate that to the Senate.

I now yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. What reason does the Senator have for thinking that the States which have pauper statutes, so-called, would be interested in defeating this amendment?

Mr. JAVITS. I think any of the States which have pauper statutes may be interested in defeating the amendment. It will be argued in more detail in respect to the Senator's amendment when we reach that part of the debate, assuming that I do not succeed, but it may very well be that those States which have that kind of provision may entertain some doubt about continuing under their laws. They may say, "This is an out on that score because of doubt as to what that may or may not mean"; and hence they may find an interest in not ratifying the amendment in order to continue their own laws with respect to paupers.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator knows, does he not, that we struck out of section 1 the reference to property qualifications?

Mr. JAVITS. I do not want to deal with that in full at this point because property disqualification can and will be discussed, I am sure, in connection with the constitutional amendment, and raises some questions. I was only trying to answer specifically the Senator's question as to what States might be against this proposal.

Mr. HOLLAND. I cannot follow the Senator's logic. When we strike out of section 1 the only thing that related to section 2, by striking out the property qualification provision, I do not see how the pauper provisions of the 12 States involved could have any application at all to this amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. I am not trying to apply the constitutional amendment proposal to the State laws; I am only trying to apply the acid test to the proposal: Whether we are likely to have the amendment approved by three-fourths of the States. I point out that a number of States have an interest because of those laws to let the Constitution remain as it is.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does the Senator think there is anything in the amendment which would interfere with those States or the pauper provisions?

Mr. JAVITS. I would rather not pass upon that question until the questions of exclusion and inclusion raised by the Senator have been dealt with in the debate, as I feel certain they will be.

The question of constitutionality, which is involved in the statutory substitute I am offering, has been very much discussed; but I think constitutionality is firmly based upon a number of grounds, all of which are recited in my amendment itself, in which the Congress finds as a fact that the poll tax is an attempt to interfere with the manner of holding elections and primaries, a tax on primaries, an abridgment of rights and privileges of citizens of the United States, a tax on such rights and privileges, an obstruction of the operations of the Federal Government, and an impairment of the republican form of government. This relates to the various elements of the Constitution upon which I depend in urging the constitutionality of such an approach as this.

The first question is: Is the poll tax a qualification for voting within the language of the Constitution, article I, section 2, which gives the States power? Or is it a regulation as to time, place, or manner within article I, section 4, which expressly authorizes the Congress to act? The word "qualification" has been defined time and again in the Congress. Interestingly enough, I find the most exact definition in a message sent by the Governor of South Carolina to his own legislature in 1947, urging the legislature to repeal the poll tax. In his message, the Governor of South Carolina said:

> There has been much misguided agitation about the poll tax as a qualification for voting. Capacity, in accordance with the other constitutional provisions, to exercise the right of franchise should be the only qualification of an elector.

In short, what the Governor was really saying was that any kind of financial or property prerequisite for voting is not a qualification. He himself defines the word "qualification" as synonymous with the concept of capacity. It seems to me that that concept is borne out by the cases, particularly the one case upon which the proponents of

the constitutional amendment theory constantly rely, the case of *Breedlove* v. *Suttles* (302 U.S. 277), decided in 1937. There the Supreme Court refers throughout to the poll tax not as a qualification for voting—or, to use the words of the Governor of South Carolina, as relating to capacity—but as a "prerequisite of voting."

I respectfully submit that treated as a prerequisite, as a condition precedent for voting, it falls far more within the time, place, and manner of holding elections, over which article I, section 4, of the Constitution gives Congress the power, than it does within the term "qualifications," over which article I, section 2, gives the States power.

This is also borne out by other cases which have been decided by the Supreme Court under article I, section 4. But I find a very interesting reference with respect to it in the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, when he testified the other day before a subcommittee of the other body, in which the main thrust of his testimony was with respect to literacy. The Attorney General, when he argued the question with respect to the poll tax, said that the statutory method for eliminating the poll tax was in his opinion just as valid an exercise of congressional authority as it was with respect to literacy. However, he said that the administration preferred the constitutional amendment approach; and so he said he preferred that method. But he said, as a basic and organic element of his opinion, that the statutory method for outlawing the poll tax was just as effective and valid as it was with respect to literacy.

The cases which can be cited in support of that process go back to 1879. I refer to *Ex parte Siebold* (100 U.S. 371) in which there were convictions for ballot-box stuffing under Federal criminal law. The convictions were upheld on the ground that Congress has the power to assume the entire regulation of the election of Representatives and may, as it did in that criminal election fraud statute, undertake only partial regulation.

A very important aspect of that case—and it is true of a whole series of cases—is the proposition that under article I, section 4, State regulation applies only unless and until Congress steps in, and then only to the extent that those State regulations are not superseded by Federal law. So it is plain that Federal law can be effective notwithstanding the fact that the Supreme Court has upheld the poll tax. The Supreme Court upheld a State poll tax statute in the Breedlove case, to which I referred, on the ground that it was not discriminatory on its face; the statute made distinctions as to women and certain other categories of voters who were exempt, but that was before Congress stepped into the situation and, in terms of its own authority, there is a whole line of cases which holds that so long as Congress does not assert its authority, State regulations may remain in effect and may, indeed, be constitutional without contravening the power of Congress, when Congress chooses to exercise it.

I cite next the case of *Davis* v. *Ohio* (241 U.S. 565), which dealt with redistricting in that State. There, again, the Supreme Court stated that Congress had the express power to prohibit the way in which redistricting had been done by the State so long as the Congress chose to exercise that power. Since the Congress had not chosen to exercise the power, the Court held, the State retained the power. A similar was *Smiley* v. *Holm* (285 U.S. 355), in which the Court stated that Congress has a general supervisory power over the whole subject of Congressional elections.

The most convincing case in terms of the authority that we are discussing today is United States against Classic, in which convictions were upheld under a Federal statute prohibiting the denial of rights secured by the Constitution for altering ballots cast in a primary election. The question was whether constitutional guarantees applied to primary elections. In that case, the Court said, at page 310:

> Such right as is secured by the Constitution to qualified voters to choose Members of the House of Representatives is thus to be exercised in conformity to the requirements of State law subject to the restrictions prescribed by section 2 and to the authority conferred on Congress by section 4, to regulate times, places, and manner of holding elections for Representatives.

And at page 315:

> While, in a loose sense, the right to vote for Representatives in Congress is sometimes spoken of as a right derived from the State [citations omitted], this statement is true only in the sense that the States are authorized, by the Constitution, to legislate on the subject as provided by section 2 of article I, to the extent that Congress has not restricted State action by the exercise of its powers to regulate elections under section 4 and its more general power under article I, section 8, clause 18 of the Constitution "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

Madam President (Mrs. NEUBERGER in the chair), it has also been argued—and quite properly, I think—that under present conditions the poll tax is an abridgment of the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States. One of those rights and privileges is the right to vote for Federal officials; and it seems to me that the imposition of a tax on any such right is clearly an abridgment of the rights and privileges of citizens.

It is argued that there were property qualifications in the States at the time of ratification of the Constitution, and that they were not considered as anything other than the normal course of events at that time. But the difficulty lies in the contrast between the situation of the country then and the situation today, when the passage of time has made us feel that the voting right should not be encumbered either by a property qualification or by any financial consideration, and that Congress can assert that the developments in our whole social order now result in making what may formerly have been considered tolerable as an institution, an encumbrance under present conditions and an abridgment of the rights of citizens to exercise their rights and privileges as citizens of the United States.

And finally there is the constitutional provision—one not too often construed—which relates to the duty of the Federal Government to provide for every State a republican form of government.

It will be noted that in this discussion of constitutionality—which I repeat is mainly premised on the two points of the times, places, and manner of holding Federal elections, which are clearly within the power of Congress, and upon the obstruction of, or imposition of a burden on, the right to exercise one's rights and privileges as a citizen of the United States—there is yet another point, namely, the way in which the poll tax has worked to discriminate against Negroes in the exercise of the voting right, so that Congress has power to act under the 15th amendment.

We do not have as much evidence on this subject as we have with respect to use of the literacy test as a means of discriminating in connection with voting. However, we are by no means without evidence on this subject. For instance, it is very interesting to me to note that the Senator from Florida, in arguing in favor of his amendment, has always argued as a fact, and has given figures from his own State to show, that removal of the poll tax has had a material effect in increasing the number of voters there and also in increasing the number of those who seek to vote. I think that is a most important argument, and it is an additional plea in favor of adoption of this proposed constitutional amendment.

But on the negative side, and in regard to use of the poll tax for purposes of discrimination, I should like to refer first to the 1961 report of the Civil Rights Commission on voting, at page 162:

> A striking situation exists in one of the eight counties, Issaquena, Miss., where no Negroes are registered to vote. A wealthy Negro landowner and merchant pays more than $2,000 taxes annually to his county, and when bond issues are approved by the white electorate, he carries a large share of the financial burden. Yet, he says, as consistently as he proffers his $2 poll tax along with his other taxes, it is refused by the collector.

Let us remember that in most of these States, the poll tax has to be paid long before the time to register and the time to vote. Hence, the poll tax is a tipoff to the authorities that a particular Negro may have decided that he wants to vote; and then all the machinery is set in motion to discourage him from what some in that area consider to be a very bad idea.

Madam President, in the testimony recently taken before a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the other body in regard to the poll tax, there was evidence from two citizens of Mississippi; and I should like to read part of that evidence, if I may, to my colleagues, because it gives some idea of how the poll tax is used. The chairman of the committee was addressing Mr. Smith, a witness:

> The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any experience to indicate that? Did you do any

checking on records or have you had the experience to indicate that the removal of the poll tax would be a great improvement relative to the number of Negroes who can register and vote?

Mr. SMITH. Maybe I could substantiate this with an experience in Holmes County—that is in central Mississippi. The county seat is about fifty miles from the State Capital, which is Jackson, where I live.

There is a small college operated for Negroes there. They have students from thirteen foreign countries. The president of that college is a Negro woman, Dr. Mallorey, well educated. She has traveled around the world and knows her way around.

She has a farm about 2 miles from the school. She sent the check for her taxes on her farm, and included $2 to pay her poll tax. The man who is chief deputy sheriff now—his wife at present is the Sheriff—the man who is chief deputy sheriff—he served the last time and his wife succeeded him—sent the check back and everything and he used language that I would feel embarrassed to use before this committee.

But in substance finally he said—he didn't use words that are worthy of repeating in your presence, but it had references to Negro citizens paying their poll taxes.

He said when he got ready for them to pay them, he would send for them. Not one single Negro in that county—and in connection with that, Negroes constitute the majority of the population in that county.

And so forth. So that is another factual example.

Also, Madam President, the Department of Justice has instituted litigation on the ground that the poll tax is being used as a means of discriminating against Negro voters in Tallahatchie County, Miss. The title of the case is United States against Dogan. The district court has denied a motion by the Government for a preliminary injunction on the ground that no good faith effort was made to pay the poll tax. But again I cite this instance to lend some factual basis—which I think very clearly exists—for the point that payment of the poll tax can be used, and as a matter of fact is used, as one of a number of means of discrimination in connection with the exercise of the right to vote.

Madam President, in a social sense—and I believe it important to analyze this aspect—the poll tax is certainly a discouragement to voting, especially in the areas and upon those whom it affects with the greatest impact. Although the poll tax is not large in amount, the difference between the amount of income enjoyed by citizens who do vote and the amount of income of citizens who apparently can very easily be discouraged from voting is very marked. For example, the national figures show that in 1956 the average per capita income of white citizens was $2,917, whereas the average income for individual nonwhite citizens was $1,075. These are figures from the 1960 Bureau of the Census report.

Also, when one looks at the rates of nonwhite income in the South, something in the amount of $23 or $25 a week, he can see that a cumulative poll tax, which is the case in some of the States that have the poll tax, can take away a material part of a week's pay. This is not to say that it is a burden that is absolutely impossible, but it is a material drawback to the exercise of the privilege, and the Federal Government, through the Congress, has a right to act in this field, under the economic and other conditions we presently face in our country.

Madam President, if I may, I wish to summarize the argument I have made in favor of the statutory approach. I have not detained the Senate long, because this matter has been debated once before. I would like to summarize the situation as follows:

First and foremost, the path of a constitutional amendment, which has been around here for the last 14 years, has never been a path which the other body has followed. The other body has consistently, on five separate occasions, voted a statutory means for outlawing the poll tax. The only opportunity which the Senate has had to vote on it was in 1960, when the constitutional amendment which it passed came to naught in the other body. The Senate has on one previous occasion, in 1945, had a statutory provision reported by the Judiciary Committee.

If we adopt the constitutional amendment, we shall have to double back on our tracks and adopt a statute, because the amendment is not self-implementing. On the other hand, if we enact a statute, it immediately becomes operative and the poll tax is removed in the five States in which it remains.

Before I leave the constitutional amendment process, it has been stated there is some doubt—and I think there is some doubt—as to ratification when we have 11 States which did not ratify the amendment to give voting rights to citizens of the District of Columbia, and when we have 12 States which disqualify voters who are defined as paupers, with the possibility that certainly 2 of those States will prefer to leave the system as it is now instead of running the risk of what the amendment will or will not do in respect of paupers.

A brief word on the question of whether it is constitutional. I have before given the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, which I submit is entitled to be very seriously listened to by the Congress. I am referring to the opinion of the Attorney General as he testified on the question on March 15, 1962, before a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. He said:

Let me turn now to House Joint Resolution 404 and other proposals to abolish State poll tax laws.

For the past quarter century, Congress and the Nation have been keenly aware of the unfair burden caused by such laws.

Federal legislation to eliminate them, either by statute or by constitutional amendment, has been introduced in every session since 1939. Anti-poll-tax bills were passed by the House five times. Similar proposals have been favorably reported by Senate comittees, and 2 years ago, one such measure passed the Senate.

I am completely in favor of these proposals. In the second half of the 20th century poll tax laws are out of date.

Only five States still have them—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Within recent years Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia, among others, have dropped these antiquated requirements. The State of Florida reports a notable increase in registration to vote since it abandoned the poll tax. So does Tennessee.

And so forth. Now I come to the question of constitutionality in the Attorney General's opinion. He said the following at page 9 of his statement:

How poll tax laws are to be eliminated is up to the Congress. I believe that Congress has the power under the Constitution to enact legislation abolishing State poll tax laws applied to Federal elections. I believe it has this power under sections 4 and 8 of article I of the Constitution, which I have already discussed; under section 4 of article IV, which gives the Federal Government a responsibility to guarantee a republican form of government to the States; and under the 14th and 15th amendments—

The basic reason for my belief is this: In America, the right to vote is the rule and restrictions on that right are the exception. The poll tax is an arbitrary and meaningless requirement, having no reasonable relationship to the rights and privileges of citizenship, and it may therefore be forbidden under the provisions I have mentioned.

Nevertheless, a constitutional amendment is a realistic and commendable path to the same goal. There should be little doubt of speedy ratification of such an amendment, since 45 of our 50 States already do not have such useless legislation.

I, therefore, endorse this method of eliminating poll taxes as a condition for voting in elections for Federal officers.

In short, the Attorney General found the statutory method perfectly constitutional. He also found the constitutional amendment route to be perfectly valid. In view of the fact that the administration's proposal was the amendment route, he adopted that. But it seems to me that the Congress unquestionably has the power to proceed by the statutory route, and the whole point of my argument today is that it ought to exercise that power.

Again by way of summing up, the power, in my opinion, is derived from the authority of the Congress to determine the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Federal office. It derives from the right of Congress to eliminate burdens upon or abridgments of the right to vote for Federal officials. It applies to the right of Congress also to deal under the 15th amendment, with situations which tend to create discrimination in voting, or under the 14th amendment with deprivations of the privileges and immunities of citizens.

On any one of those grounds, both on the factual basis which I have described, and on the basis of law which I have referred to, there is ample authority for Congress to proceed by the statutory method.

Finally, the provision that States shall have the authority over qualifications for voting is not a provision which defeats the power of the Congress in respect of the matter we are discussing now, because I point out that in the leading case on that point, the case which sustained a poll tax statute as constitutional on its face, Breedlove against Suttles, the court at no point referred to the poll tax as a qualification for voting, but spoke of it as a prerequisite. We respectfully submit that prerequisites for voting belong in the category of times, places, and manner of voting, which is within Congress power, rather than in the category of qualifications.

Now I would like to conclude my argument, if I may, upon the substantive aspects of this question, aside from its constitutionality, which I have discussed, and aside from the risks of getting a constitutional amendment ratified.

I might say to my colleagues that, of course, we should all try to do our utmost to get the amendment ratified if that is the choice of Congress, but, given the choice of means and the opportunity to eliminate the anchronism by statute—and it is an anchronism—I think we ought to take advantage of that opportunity.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial in the New York Times which I think properly epitomizes the choice which we face between a constitutional amendment and a simple statute.

The Times says, with respect to the poll tax amendment:

> Congress is taking the long way to a good end in its consideration of a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax. This archaic system of restricting the right to vote survives in only five States, and fairness to both Negroes and whites requires its total discard with maximum speed. Its effectiveness in negating democracy is seen with special force in a State such as Mississippi, where the combination of poll taxes and literacy tests has been a factor in keeping three-quarters of the citizens from voting.
>
> The quickest way to get rid of this obstacle to true majority rule would be through a simple law prohibiting the States from making payment of a poll tax a requirement for voting in Federal elections. But the southern Democrats are not ready to move with such directness, and the administration has decided to settle for the much more cumbersome method of a constitutional amendment.
>
> Such an amendment cleared the Senate two years ago by a margin of nearly four to one, but never came to a vote in the House. This year it may again get lost in the endless jockeying that bedevils every effort to inch ahead on the civil rights front. President Kennedy's declaration of support for the measure should reduce this noxious possibility. Even after the proposal gets through Congress, it faces a wearying wait for ratification by the States. No sectional controversies were involved in the 22d amendment barring a third Presidential term. Yet it took almost 4 years from passage to effective date. A start on abolishing the poll tax is already long past due.

In short, in view of the tortuous experience which we have had with the constitutional amendment route, it seems clear to me that we should take the most direct statutory route, particularly in view of the fact that notwithstanding the administration's support for the constitutional amendment, the administration's representative, the Attorney General, who represents the administration on legal matters, nonetheless supports the proposition which I have stated, that it is perfectly constitutional to proceed by the statutory route.

Madam President, under these circumstances it seems to me we should not ourselves invite, without any assurance of success considering past history, the long and tortuous passage on which we shall be embarking if we adopt the constitutional amendment route. We should do something definitive. We have the opportunity to do something definitive. Let us do something definitive. Let us pass the statute. Ultimately we shall have to act by statute anyway. Let us act by statute now, especially in view of the very strong case which can be made for acting in that fashion.

It was said a long time ago by Salmon P. Chase, "The way to resumption is to resume." I say the same in respect to this problem. The way to outlaw this anachronistic poll tax is to outlaw it now, by statute in the Congress, especially since we have every encouragement from the fact that the other body, having passed such a provision five times, is far more likely to adopt a statutory provision than to adopt a constitutional amendment, which the Senate has passed once and which never got anywhere in the other body.

For those reasons, Madam President, I hope the Senate will support my substitute and the statutory approach toward solving this problem.

Mr. COOPER. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. As I understand the Senator's argument, he takes the position that either the statutory or the constitutional amendment is adequate to prohibit the imposition of a poll tax by the States.

Mr. JAVITS. I must say to my colleague that I would not wish to say precisely that—and I am sure my colleague knows my love and respect for him—because he used the word "adequate." If the Senator will allow me to say it my way, I would say that certainly the statutory or constitutional amendment approach, assuming enactment and implementation, would bring about an end to the poll tax.

I have argued, and I am deeply convinced, that the statutory approach is by all odds the better way to proceed.

Mr. COOPER. Madam President, will the Senator from New York yield further? I do not wish to intrude upon the time of the Senator from Illinois, but this may be the only opportunity I shall have to make a comment, because I understand that a motion is to be made to table the amendment offered by the Senator from New York. I am led to intervene also, because of my great respect for the Senator from New York.

As the Senator knows quite well, I do not believe there have been many legislative issues upon which we have disagreed, particularly with respect to those issues which affect the field of civil rights. Whatever may be said about this issue, and how much it may be quieted down, this is an issue which is involved in the field of civil rights.

I intend to vote against the motion to table, when it is made, because I believe those who support the amendment of the Senator from New York, should have as reasonable an opportunity to support this amendment by argument and debate as those who have opposed the Holland amendment. I do not believe they would use up as much time.

But, because my position would not be known if the amendment is tabled, I state that if a vote comes upon the merits I will vote against the amendment offered by the Senator from New York. I do not believe that constitutionally the imposition of the poll tax by the States can be inhibited by the enactment of a legislative statute by the Congress.

We are in a dilemma. I believe the poll tax has been used in some States to discriminate against voters. I am very thankful we do not have such a tax in our State. But, I am sure, as the Senator from New York pointed out by reference to specific cases, the poll tax has been used in some States to discriminate against voters.

Nevertheless, the Congress of the United States can move against this discrimination only in a constitutional way. I believe that the only way the poll tax restrictions can be removed is under the terms of the Constitution, and that is by constitutional method.

The Senator from New York and I would agree upon this point, I am sure. We have been debating civil rights issues in the Senate for years, as well as proposed legislation. There is much that can be done if the effort would be made. During the last 2 years, we have played around the edges of the subject. A few legislative measures have been proposed of doubtful constitutionality.

I say that the record of the present administration has been one of avoiding legislative action. Little progress made in the field of civil rights, except in the continuation and extension of measures undertaken and initiated under the administration of President Eisenhower. No legislation has been passed. Emphasis seems to be laid upon the appointment of able and outstanding members of the Negro race to office. This is all for the good and I have favored these appointments, but appointment of a few to office is not a substitute for legislative action to more nearly assure equal rights to all Negroes and all people in this country.

In addition to appointment to offices, the administration has made much of the issue whether a Negro can belong to some club. I have no fault with this administration on either approach, but I assert they do not meet the needs, and the necessity of providing by legislation and Executive action equality of rights to all citizens.

I suggest there are some things the administration can do and the Congress can do, if there is really a desire to come to grips with the problem of civil rights. There are measures which can be taken without doubt of their constitutionality. Something can be done in the field of housing, by legislative action and probably by Executive action. If it does require legislative action, there is no question about its constitutionality.

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled upon the Brown case. It has been 8 years since the ruling. If the administration wishes to make progress in this field it can have introduced in the Congress a legislative proposal to enable the Attorney General of the United States to intervene upon behalf of those who are

discriminated against, under the Brown decision.

The Senator from New York and I have introduced proposed amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 which would authorize the Attorney General to intervene, and give to him the same power with respect to integration of schools, as he has with respect to voting rights.

I have taken this opportunity to make the point that measures can be taken, both legislative and Executive, which will be effective in the field of civil rights, and which will not cut across the question of constitutionality. Those measures are not being taken by the administration or by the Congress.

The amendment offered by the Senator from Florida is a good amendment. I will vote for it. I am sorry in this instance I cannot join, as I often do, with my dear friend, a strong fighter for constitutional and civil rights, the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, I am very grateful to my colleague. I wish to join with the Senator in what he has stated about the fact that we are playing around.

Madam President, I think we are not hitting the main point and that we are playing around. I do not say this for a moment in any sense of derogation of the efforts of our friend from Florida.

Mr. COOPER. I do not, either.

Mr. JAVITS. I think all of us understand his position and his sincerity on this question for many years. But in relation to the substance of what we are accomplishing, I say we are still playing around. The administration has asked for only two measures. They are by no means earth shattering civil rights measures. Both are with respect to voting, in which the path has been thoroughly blazed. At the same time the administration "sits on its hands" with reference to an order that would eliminate discrimination in housing. It does not ask the Congress to do anything about segregation in the school systems. It does not even give power to the Attorney General to start suits in relation to those questions. I could not agree with the Senator from Kentucky more, and while he and I differ as to the constitutionality of this particular approach which I am urging, nonetheless, be it said, so far as I am concerned, I am offering it to the Senate, working for it here in the Senate, and debating it today because I do not want us to play around. If we really want to get to ultimates, let us at least do something which will be tangible and effective, instead of merely giving people power to do something about something later when they start a suit or when they ratify a constitutional amendment. If we should today pass the statutory approach which I have proposed, the House passes it, and the President signs it—as he will, because the Attorney General has said that the measure is constitutional—then we would have done something. We would have outlawed the poll tax, and that would be the end of it in the five States. We would have stopped playing around.

I wish the Senator from Kentucky—and I know completely the purity of his judgment and the sincerity of his views—had come to the other conclusion and that he could have joined with me today in trying to do something which would have stopped the playing around even in the very limited area in which the administration is allowing us to operate today.

Let it never be forgotten that we cannot get a civil rights measure of any kind passed unless the administration in authority asks for it. This was true with the Eisenhower administration; it is true with the Kennedy administration. I take a very dim view of the prospects, notwithstanding the great fights which will be put up by my colleague Senator KEATING on the subject of voting, by myself on the subject of education, and by others to whom were assigned various aspects of the new civil rights package which was introduced on March 13. Notwithstanding everything we do, it will take the administration to do more. We understand that. Hence my effort today at least to make what the administration is asking for, limited as it is, meaningful by making the measure a statute which could accomplish something, instead of a constitutional amendment which would go to the other body, where it has never succeeded before, then make the rounds of the States, and then come back for us to pass some kind of implementing statute. I say let us do it now.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I am sorry I have not heard all the able argument of the distinguished Senator. I wonder how he has dealt with the question of choice of electors to vote for President and Vice President. I notice that even the distinguished Attorney General, who testified on this question, testified that it presented very great trouble to him, and that it appeared to be one of the principal reasons why he preferred the amendment approach. As a basis for the Senator's comment, may I read or reread, for the Senator has read it already, the provisions in the Constitution on this point? The first provision to which I refer is in section 1 of article II, the second paragraph of which reads as follows:

> Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

Besides that provision, the only other provision on the choice of electors of which the Senator from Florida knows is that contained in paragraph 3 of the same article, which he reads as follows:

> The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

The Senator from Florida has not been able to figure out any means whereby any mind, no matter how capable in the field of law, could justify interference with those provisions through a statute, and he wonders why the Senator from New York has come to the conclusion that his proposed statute would be legal as applied to this particular field of the selection of electors to choose the President and the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. What my statutory approach and what the statutory approach adopted time and again in the House seeks to reach is the voter himself. If, therefore, the voter is to vote for electors, then his right to vote shall not be inhibited or encumbered by a poll tax. In short, if he does vote, the poll tax shall not represent a prerequisite to voting. It seems to me that that scheme is entirely consistent with every phase of the Constitution. Whatever function the voter performs, he shall perform it free of any requirement for a poll tax. That is the point of my statutory approach, and I think it is the point of the Senator's proposed constitutional amendment. I do not see where we would run afoul of any difficulty in respect of other matters in the Constitution so long as we limit whatever we do with respect to the particular voter and his ability to vote when he is called upon to do so.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I refer the Senator again to the words—

> Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors,

How does the Senator get away from the point that that provision, together with the later provision which I have already read, prescribes the whole of any Federal approach to the question of the naming of electors?

Mr. JAVITS. The fact is that when a voter votes for electors in a State, that being the method which the legislature has chosen for the designation as electors, a voter shall not be subject to the requirement of a poll tax. I do not see where there is any inconsistency in the scheme of control when we deal solely with what shall enable the voter to vote or what shall prevent him from voting. I do not see that that would in any way cross over or negate any of the provisions of the Constitution with respect to electors which the Senator has read.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I call to the Senator's attention a statement of Mr. Katzenbach, the very able Assistant Attorney General, appearing on page 368, part 2 of the hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. I shall read only one sentence:

> However, whether Congress may enact laws to abolish the poll tax as a condition for election of presidential electors presents a more difficult question.

The learned Assistant Attorney General differentiated between the two cases, that is, the selection of presidential electors and the selection of Senators and Representatives.

The Senator from Florida thinks that the constitutional provisions with reference to the election of Senators and Representatives are perfectly strong and

clear and that they make the question a constitutional one, as has already been stated by his good friend from Kentucky. But it seems to the Senator from Florida that the learned Assistant Attorney General who was testifying very properly called attention to the fact that on the question of the selection of electors for President and Vice President even a more difficult situation was presented. I wondered how the distinguished Senator from New York got around that point.

Mr. JAVITS. I just made my reply to that question. Will the Senator be good enough to key us again to the hearings to which he referred?

Mr. HOLLAND. I referred to the second volume of the hearings.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like to read it into the RECORD so we all know what we are talking about. It is the second volume of the hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate held June 27, 28, and 29, 1961.

In that regard I should like to point out the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Katzenbach's superior, as recently as March 13, 1962, in which he said:

> I believe Congress has the power under the Constitution to enact legislation abolishing State poll tax laws applied to Federal elections.

I hold with the Attorney General. I have defined my reason for that conclusion in terms of the law as being an effort by my substitute for the Senator's constitutional amendment to reach the voter when, as and if the voter is exercising his privilege of voting. At that point I say he shall not be in any way subject to the requirements of a tax, to wit, the poll tax.

Mr. HOLLAND. The question as to which is the superior as between the Attorney General and the learned Assistant Attorney General might be the subject of some argument in debate, but I will not debate that with the former attorney general of the State of New York, who may be prejudiced in favor of attorneys general. I merely wished to comment that the Assistant Attorney General had made a very scholarly statement on this subject, as is shown by his testimony, and that he very carefully delineated the difference between the election of Senators and Representatives, on which I personally believe the Constitution is completely clear, and stated that it was a still more difficult question to see how a State could be deprived of setting up machinery "in the manner" that the legislature might determine for the election of its own electors.

Surely the Senator recognizes the fact that here is a new question, a different question, and, the Senator from Florida thinks, a much more difficult question.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not quote the authority of the Attorney General as being supreme and conclusive and superior in legal judgment to that of Mr. Katzenbach. I was only giving the facts about the hierarchy of authority. I rather rely upon my own opinion that what I seek to do by statute is unaffected by this provision of the Constitution as it relates to the voter if, as, and when he is a voter in respect of elections for officials under the Federal Constitution. All that the Senator has read demonstrates that this elector is an official contemplated by the Federal Constitution. When, as, and if a voter is to vote for the elector, I do not wish that voter—and that is all I have tried to do by this statutory approach—to be subject to any taxes.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank my distinguished friend from New York. I am sorry that we are not of the same opinion. As I understand it, he is for his amendment, but he is also for my amendment if his amendment fails. In any event I am glad to have his support even on that kind of condition.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator from Florida is very gracious. Let us leave it that I am for doing something, and that if we want to do something we should adopt my amendment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, I rise to support the proposal, in the nature of a substitute to Senator HOLLAND's amendment, which has been offered by the Senator from New York, and which is sponsored by a group of bipartisan Senators on both sides of the aisle. Just as the opposition to effective civil rights legislation has been bipartisan in nature, I have always felt that the advocacy of civil rights should also be bipartisan in nature. We were very happy, therefore, when the Senator from New York, with his great ability, was willing to lead the fight for the method of statutory enactment rather than constitutional amendment for the abolition of poll tax.

I cannot however agree with the Senator from New York, who is my very dear friend, in the caustic criticism which he has made about the conduct of the Kennedy administration. When all the difficulties are considered, I believe the Kennedy administration has made great progress in the field of civil rights, as was recognized in the statement recently issued by the Southern Regional Conference. However, I am always happy to join with the Senator from New York in this struggle for civil rights. He is a host in himself. I am also always happy to have colleagues on the other side of the aisle who will join with us. I only hope that in the vote, which is coming shortly, he will be able to muster as many votes on his side of the aisle as we may be able to muster on our side, and that we may have, therefore, a rivalry in well doing. Let the rollcall show where the balance of merit may lie.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. It is always an occasion when we have a debate of this character to speak about bipartisan cooperation, which in all the 6 years that I have been in the Senate has been probably the most gratifying personal experience that I have had. It is a unique instrument which has been forged here in this civil rights struggle. I wish we had more troops. But we certainly have no need to doubt the loyalty or zeal of those we do have.

The Senator from Illinois came to this cause long before I did—not that I had not wanted to, but I was not in the legislature and in the seat of authority to do so. The Senator from Illinois is rightly considered—and if not, I shall make that nomination—the very dean and inspiration of the bipartisan civil rights struggle in this country. This struggle will ultimately succeed. We, at least, whatever may be our successes or failures of the interim, have the gratification of knowing that what we struggle for is not only morally right and essential for the future of our country, but also must succeed because our country's well being will tolerate no other resolution of these controversies and debates.

If the Senator from Illinois will have no other place in history—and he deserves one for his economic work and many other efforts in which he has engaged—his place in history is absolutely secure in this field by the acclamation of not only the people who are affected and by the American people, but, I would like to add, by the acclamation of those colleagues in the Senate with whom he has worked so closely in these things, including myself.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, I thank the Senator from New York for his gracious comments, of which I am undeserving. The Senator from New York is a most cooperative and able colleague. It has been a great pleasure to work with him. I am not interested in staking out any claim in this field for myself. I do now even wish to stake out a claim for the zeal with which the northern and western members of the Democratic Party have fought for civil rights. I hope that the very able Senator from New York will be able to muster as large a proportion of his colleagues in this cause as I hope we will be able to muster on our side.

### I. THE LEGISLATIVE QUESTION BEFORE THE SENATE

Madam President, it is not my purpose, as a layman, to enter into any long discussion of the constitutionality of Federal statutes outlawing poll taxes or discriminatory literacy tests. Suffice it to say that the able argument of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and the statement by the Attorney General have personally convinced me that such a law could be constitutional. At the very least it can be said that there are very strong grounds upon which the Supreme Court could declare such statutes constitutional, and that the members of the Court could do this without inflicting the slightest scar upon their judicial consciences.

I am ready to leave the question of the constitutionality of such a statute to the Justices of the Supreme Court and, I believe, we of the legislative branch should instead center our efforts upon the legislative questions as to whether, first, it is good public policy for us to try to abolish the poll tax, and if so; second, what is the most effective method of accomplishing it?

I know it is always a temptation for legislators to discourse at length on the constitutionality of bills which are under consideration, but I suggest that these

constitutional discussions are primarily influenced by the political and economic interests and emotional feelings of the participants. This, at least, has been the prevailing practice in the long history of social legislation.

We will recall now when the Wagner Act was proposed, many solons in this body declared pontifically that it was clearly an unconstitutional use of the commerce clause. The Supreme Court held otherwise.

When unemployment compensation and old-age security were up for action, it was argued that this was an obvious misuse of the taxing and spending powers of Congress. The Supreme Court held otherwise. When the Fair Labor Standards Act was introduced it was vehemently contended that this was a manifest misuse of the commerce clause as well as a violation of the fifth amendment which prohibits the Federal Government from taking property without due process of law. The Supreme Court held otherwise.

This experience should teach us all to be chary about pronouncing on the constitutionality of outlawing the poll tax by statutory enactment. We may more appropriately center our attention upon the proper ends to be sought and the best means to be employed.

This morning, at an early hour, I was reading some Gilbert and Sullivan. I came to a verse in "Iolanthe" in which W. S. Gilbert wrote about the House of Lords. In the early part of the 19th century, the House of Lords was the supreme legislative body in England. It regarded itself as the greatest deliberative body in the world, a description which is now frequently applied by Senators to the Senate of the United States. Mr. W. S. Gilbert expressed his opinion of this claim in some verses which I think are still amusing and still appropriate:

And while the House of Peers withholds its legislative hand,
And noble statesmen do not itch
To interfere with matters which they do not understand,
As bright will shine Great Britain's rays
As in King George's glorious days.

II. POLL TAX UNSUPPORTED BY POLITICAL THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Despite the recent speeches by certain Senators, not many will now openly defend the imposition of a poll tax as a requirement for voting. It was put into general effect in the South not immediately after the Civil War, not immediately after 1877, when the Federal troops were withdrawn, but between 1895 and 1910 for very specific reasons which I shall later discuss. The philosophic argument for it rests upon much the same ground as property requirements for voting; namely, that people without property or who are not able to afford the payment of a poll tax, either have no vital interests which the Government should protect or are so unqualified to vote that they cannot properly use the franchise. Traces of these arguments were contained in the first speech on this subject by the erudite junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

But if the history of the United States and of modern democracies teaches anything it is that while the proper protection of property is a function of government, it is not the only one. Governments should also protect the lives and liberties of its citizens, and in the Declaration of Independence, the founders of our Republic boldly declared that one of three basic rights of the individual which governments were instituted to secure was no less than "the pursuit of happiness." This was next reaffirmed by the Articles of Confederation which declared that one of the purposes of the new confederation was to aid in the general welfare.

The Constitution itself in 1787 not only declared that one of the six main purposes for the new Republic was to "promote the general welfare," but also in article I, section 8, prescribed that Congress might use its taxing and spending powers not merely for "the common defense" but also for the "general welfare."

Lincoln well summed up this principle at Gettysburg when he said that ours was a Government for the people as well as of the people. But it was and is something more. It is also a Government by the people. Not only did Lincoln so state, but the very preamble of the Declaration of Independence lays down as a fundamental axiom that Governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The people therefore were ultimately to control, and while this was originally strained through independent intermediate bodies in the choice of the President and the Senate, these barriers have now been eliminated. Property qualifications originally imposed by the States have also been repealed and the continuation of the poll tax is an anachronism which cannot be defended in a modern democracy. People have the right to protect their dignity and welfare as well as their property. Participation in public affairs makes them more informed and better rounded citizens.

III. POLITICAL REALITIES BEHIND ADOPTION OF THE POLL TAX

So much for political theory. But the political realities which caused the poll tax to be accepted in the South were of a direct and practical nature.

Here I shall rely upon the testimony of the most eminent historian of recent southern politics in the person of C. Vann Woodward, who has told the story in great detail in his books "Origins of the New South," and "The Strange Case of Jim Crow." First, however, let me qualify Mr. Woodward as a sympathetic authority on the South and defend him against the inevitable charge that he is either a northerner or a Yankee sympathizer.

I have looked up Mr. Woodward's record and checked it. It shows that Professor Woodward was born in Arkansas and took his degree at Emory University in Georgia. He did his graduate work at the University of North Carolina. He taught at Georgia Tech, then at the University of Florida, and following that at the University of Virginia. He has taught in Tennessee and Texas, and indeed, throughout the South, and he is now Professor of American History at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, which is at least half a southern city. I want to be strictly accurate in what I say, and I must admit that he did lecture for a year at Oxford. But I do not consider this to be a disqualification but in fact the opposite.

In fact, some of my best friends have been Oxford men. I submit, therefore, that Mr. Woodward is southern born, raised and educated, and almost his entire life has been spent in the South. If his credentials should be further questioned, let it be recorded that one of his grandfathers fought in the Confederate Army for 4 years, and it is my impression that he was wounded defending the Stars and Bars. Certainly, as a good southern soldier, he showed his patriotism by trying to kill as many northerners as he could.

In view of all this, I think it must be admitted that Mr. Woodward comes to us with an impeccable record from the southern point of view.

And now, what does this patriotic and learned son of the South tell us about the importance of the poll tax? He points out that the rise of the Farmers Alliance in the South in 1892 and particularly in 1894 frightened the dominant economic and political groups of that region.

These States had been run from 1877 on—that was the year when Hayes withdrew the Federal troops—by the planter aristocracy, the big merchants, the bankers, the manufacturers, and the railroads. We sometimes think of the Farmers' Alliance, or, as it became known in the West, the populist movement, as purely a western movement; but it was probably stronger in the South than it was in the West. The Farmers' Alliance sought, on the State level, more popular education, a reform of the tax structure, control over railroad rates, and many other features. Nationally, the Populist Party which became its predominant political arm advocated a Federal income tax, the direct primary and direct election of Senators, the nationalization of the railways, a Federal credit system, and other features thought at the time to be radical.

The alliance also had a parallel Negro organization which at one time claimed almost a million members. This parallel Negro organization was kept separate for social purposes but cooperated closely in political and economic efforts. It worked with much the same objectives, and there was a general attempt on its part to unite the poor whites and Negroes upon a common program of economic and political reform.

The Populist movement functioned as a separate party in a number of Southern States; such as, Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, and, under the leadership of Ben Tillman, inside the Democratic Party in South Carolina. In 1894, the Populists sometimes in fusion with the Republicans, polled an extraordinarily high percentage of the vote in most of the Southern States.

*Percentages of votes for Populist and Fusion State tickets in 1894*

| State: | Percent |
|---|---|
| Virginia | 27 |
| North Carolina | 54 |
| Georgia | 44 |
| Florida | 21 |
| Alabama | 48 |
| Mississippi | 27 |
| Louisiana (1896) | 44 |
| Texas | 36 |

It will be seen that the Populist movement and the Republicans carried North Carolina.

At that time the Georgia movement was led by Tom Watson, who worked very closely with the Negroes.

Alabama gave 48 percent of its votes for the Populist and Fusion State tickets. They nearly captured Alabama.

This extraordinary showing frightened the dominant political and economic groups in the South, and they moved swiftly to defeat it.

One of the two major devices which they used was to impose literacy tests together with property and poll taxes. Mississippi had instituted this system earlier, in 1890, probably as a reaction to the Lodge bill. Other States began to follow suit, such as South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1902, in the celebrated Virginia constitutional convention; Georgia in 1908, and Oklahoma in 1910.

Other States which adopted the poll tax were Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. In a relatively short time the whole South was covered with poll tax provisions, as well as with a web of other provisions.

Professor Woodward's comments on this device are penetrating:

> With its cumulative features and procedures artfully devised to discourage payment, the poll tax was esteemed, at first by some of its proponents as the most reliable means of curtailing the franchise not only among the Negroes but among objectionable whites as well (Woodward, "The Strange Case of Jim Crow," p. 67).

The second major device was to split the poor whites apart from the Negroes so that a political alliance between them would be impossible. This led to the passage of segregation laws and ordinances—with which we are dealing today—which, as Woodward shows, are of a far more recent date than is commonly believed. Racism was therefore substituted for populism, as an emotional driving force for the poor whites. It was a tragedy that many of the popular leaders in the South accepted this substitute and pursued it vigorously. Ben Tillman, of South Carolina, may have been the most conspicuous; but Heflin, of Alabama; Vardaman, of Mississippi; and Jeff Davis, of Arkansas, were not far behind. Tom Watson, of Georgia—who early had been a most eloquent advocate of economic and other cooperation between the races—held out against racism longer than most; but he finally succumbed, and finally rode to political power upon the doctrine of white supremacy in its most virulent form, embracing both anti-Negroism and anti-semitism.

The basic purpose of the poll tax was, therefore, not to raise revenue, as has been alleged, and as the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] has suggested. It was designed, instead, to limit the franchise. It was intended to reduce the number of low-income citizens who could vote. It disenfranchised poor whites as well as poor Negroes. But since the Negroes were on the average much poorer than the whites, it disenfranchised more Negroes than whites.

It was one of the devices used by the economic and political aristocracy of the South to keep the rest of the South in subjugation.

A web of other restrictions, such as property, literacy, ability to pass so-called citizenship tests, the "white primary" and so forth, was also woven and still further restricted Negro suffrage; but it was made somewhat easier for the whites to penetrate these measures.

The poll tax and its allied restrictions had the planned-for effect. Woodward states:

> In the seventies, eighties, and nineties, the Negroes voted in large numbers. White leaders of opposing parties encouraged them to vote and earnestly solicited their votes. Qualified and acknowledged leaders of southern white opinion were on record as saying that it was proper, inevitable and desirable that they should vote. Yet after the disenfranchisement measures were passed around 1900, the Negroes ceased to vote. And at that time, qualified and acknowledged leaders of white opinion said, "It was unthinkable that they should ever be permitted to vote" (Woodward, "The Strange Case of Jim Crow," p. 91).

Thus in Louisiana there were 130,300 Negroes registered in 1897, but only 5,300 in 1900, and 1,340 in 1904, or a decrease of approximately 129,000. The number of whites who were registered was also reduced by 72,000—from 164,000 to 92,000—Woodward, "Origins of the New South," pages 342–343.

Following these measures of disenfranchisement, the percentage of voters who went to the polls decreased sharply. In Virginia, between 1892 and 1902, the vote for Congressmen fell off by 56 percent; in Alabama, the decrease was 60 percent; in Mississippi, 69 percent; in Louisiana, 80 percent, and in North Carolina, 34 percent. Florida showed a decrease of 69 percent; Arkansas, of 75 percent; Tennessee, of 50 percent; and Georgia, of 80 percent—Woodward, in the work cited page 345.

The net effect of all these restrictive provisions, of which the poll tax was only one, was therefore to disenfranchise a large percentage of the voters, both black and white, but of course primarily black, for—as I have said—there were always escape hatches, under the literacy and property tests, through which the whites could be allowed to pass.

But these restrictions, combined with the white primary and the one-party system, operated to reduce the percentage of those voting in the Southern States to the lowest levels in the country. Senators and Representatives from the South came to be elected by relatively small constituencies.

IV. POLL TAX STILL A VEHICLE OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT

In the 1930's and 1940's strong movements developed throughout the country to abolish the poll tax. National action was proposed and defeated, but some State action followed. A good deal of the State action was in response to this and was an attempt to head off further Northern efforts to outlaw the poll tax, by national legislation. North Carolina had already led the way in 1920. Huey Long was instrumental in getting the poll tax repealed in Louisiana in 1934; and I have often felt that the memory of Huey Long has perhaps been somewhat unjustly attacked, for a large part of his program was an attempt to restore power to people who had been stripped of that power by the restrictive legislation of some 35 years before.

Florida followed, in 1937, in repealing the poll tax, as the Senator from Florida has said. Georgia, under Ellis Arnall, abolished the tax in 1945; and then the movement halted for a few years. But in the early 1950's, after further national efforts had failed, South Carolina and Tennessee joined their sister States. But Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas stood fast. In three of these States—Virginia, Arkansas and Texas—proposals to abolish the poll tax have been defeated; and those who now enjoy the presently limited franchise seem to be reluctant to broaden it so to admit others. I think it is recognized that the chances for repeal in the other two States—Alabama and Mississippi—are slight.

But, Madam President, this is not a small matter, because in 1960 these 5 States had a total population of 21 million, or approximately 12 percent of the population of the United States.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a table which I have prepared, which shows the present poll tax provisions of these States.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 6

| State | Amount of poll tax per year | Is tax cumulative and if so for how long (yes or no) | Maximum State charge | How long before election must poll tax be paid | Is receipt required to prove eligibility at election |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *Months* | |
| Arkansas | $1 | No | $1.00 | ? | Yes. |
| Alabama | $1.50 | Yes (2 years preceding election year). | 3.00 | 9 | No. |
| Mississippi | $2 plus $1 | Yes (2 years preceding election year). | 4.00 | 9 | Yes. |
| Texas | $1.50 | No | 1.50 | 9 | Yes. |
| Virginia | $1.50 | Yes (3 years preceding election year). | 4.50 | 6 | No.[1] |

[1] In Virginia, receipt is only required to prove that voter moving from another county has paid poll tax there during the 3 preceding years.

Source: Mollie Z. Margolin. "Qualification of Voting," summary of State laws, etc., Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, June 1961, 229 pages. Ogden, "Poll Tax in the South."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, defenders of the poll tax commonly lay great stress upon the relative smallness of the tax, as an argument that its payment is not a deterrent to voting. It is pointed out that the poll tax in Arkansas is $1; that in Alabama, Texas, and Virginia, it is $1.50; and that in Mississippi it is $2, plus another dollar. There is no one so poor, it is contended, that he cannot afford to pay from $1 to $2 for the privilege of voting. And if one does not pay it, the failure to do so is said to be proof that the citizen is indifferent to this privilege, and hence does not deserve to be accorded it.

It is no doubt true that the rise in the real incomes of southern people during the last 25 years has made the mere size of the poll tax less onerous than it was; we of the North are very happy that there has been that increase. The Democratic Members of Congress from the North and from the West have consistently voted for measures which would develop the economy of the South. We should realize, however, that between 20 and 25 percent of the population of the country is still on a poverty level of existence, and can be accurately described as "ill fed, ill housed, and ill clothed." The percentage in this class is, of course, appreciably greater in the South than for the Nation as a whole.

When some 25 years ago, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his inaugural address referred to "one-third of the Nation" as "ill clothed, ill housed, and ill fed," apparently that was a somewhat inaccurate statement, because the actual figures show that at that time approximately three-eighths of the people of the Nation were in that condition. Of course since that time improvements have been made; but the percentage in the South is still appreciably greater than that in the North.

In this connection let me point out that the title of Mr. Galbraith's book, "The Affluent Society," is in many respects perhaps an unfortunate one, for our society is not wholly an affluent one, and there are deep and wide pockets of great poverty and misery. Even the payment of a dollar or two is a heavy burden for an adult to bear in such a family, particularly when the benefits are at best intangible, and doubtless seem to many to be illusory.

The poll tax deterrent is moreover compounded in the three States where the requirement is cumulative. In Alabama and Mississippi the tax must be paid for the 2 years prior to the year of election, and hence comes to a total of $3 and $4, respectively.

I may say that until recently Alabama had a cumulative provision of 24 years, which meant that before one went on the rolls, he had to pay $36 before he could qualify. To the credit of Alabama, the 24-year cumulative provision has been abolished, but, even so, one must pay the tax for 2 years prior to the election.

In Virginia, the cumulative requirement is 3 years and the total is $4.50. Since a very large proportion of the citizens have not paid their poll tax, and are at present disqualified, they must therefore make a very sizable initial payment to acquire eligibility. The cumulative requirement is therefore a further substantial deterrent.

Added to this is the fact that in three of the States—Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas—the poll tax must be paid 9 months, and in Virginia 6 months, before the election. It is difficult for the average citizen to remember that the payment is required that far in advance, and since there is very little publicity on this point, a citizen must be very alert indeed to be able to qualify. The right to vote should not be made as difficult as that. It, of course, operates most severely against the poor, the less educated, and those most severely buffeted by the immediate problems of life. But the more absentminded also miss out.

A final hurdle is set up in the three States which require the prospective voter to bring his poll tax receipt with him before he can vote. This is not only true in Texas and Arkansas, where no other registration is required, but also in Mississippi, where it is. It is very easy, therefore, for people who have paid the poll tax to forget that they must keep on their person the physical proof of this payment when they go to vote. This is particularly true because of the fact that this requirement tends to be obscured and not emphasized, so that it is very natural for the prospective voter to lose or mislay his receipt.

All these plus other restrictions, together with the absence of an effective two-party system, cause the 11 Southern States to be at the bottom of the list in the proportion of those of voting age who vote in general elections.

I ask unanimous consent that a table covering the percentage of civilian population of voting age who voted in the presidential election of 1960 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*1960 election score board—How the States ranked in percentage of civilians of voting age who voted in the 1960 presidential election*

| Rank | State | Civilian population of voting age | Total vote | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Idaho | 372,000 | 300,451 | 80.766 |
| 2 | New Hampshire | 367,000 | 295,761 | 80.588 |
| 3 | Utah | 469,000 | 374,981 | 79.953 |
| 4 | North Dakota | 350,000 | 278,431 | 79.551 |
| 5 | South Dakota | 388,000 | 306,087 | 78.831 |
| 6 | West Virginia | 1,085,000 | 837,781 | 77.214 |
| 7 | Minnesota | 2,003,000 | 1,541,887 | 76.978 |
| 8 | Connecticut | 1,590,000 | 1,222,883 | 76.910 |
| 9 | Indiana | 2,784,000 | 2,135,360 | 76.701 |
| 10 | Massachusetts | 3,230,000 | 2,469,480 | 76.454 |
| 11 | Iowa | 1,669,000 | 1,273,820 | 76.321 |
| 12 | Illinois | 6,244,000 | 4,757,394 | 76.191 |
| 13 | Rhode Island | 533,000 | 405,534 | 76.085 |
| 14 | Wyoming | 186,000 | 140,892 | 75.748 |
| 15 | Delaware | 264,000 | 196,683 | 74.501 |
| 16 | Maine | 574,000 | 421,767 | 73.478 |
| 17 | Michigan | 4,519,000 | 3,318,097 | 73.425 |
| 18 | Alaska | 83,000 | 60,762 | 73.207 |
| 19 | Colorado | 1,007,000 | 736,246 | 73.112 |
| 20 | Missouri | 2,651,000 | 1,934,422 | 72.969 |
| 21 | Washington | 1,703,000 | 1,241,572 | 72.905 |
| 22 | Wisconsin | 2,373,000 | 1,729,082 | 72.864 |
| 23 | Vermont | 230,000 | 167,324 | 72.749 |
| 24 | New Jersey | 3,827,000 | 2,773,111 | 72.461 |
| 25 | Montana | 387,000 | 277,579 | 71.725 |
| 26 | Nebraska | 857,000 | 613,095 | 71.539 |
| 27 | Ohio | 5,833,000 | 4,161,859 | 71.349 |
| 28 | Oregon | 1,089,000 | 775,462 | 71.208 |
| 29 | Kansas | 1,315,000 | 928,825 | 70.633 |
| 30 | California | 9,219,000 | 6,507,082 | 70.583 |
| 31 | Pennsylvania | 7,102,000 | 5,006,541 | 70.494 |
| 32 | New York | 10,788,000 | 7,291,079 | 67.584 |
| 33 | Oklahoma | 1,399,000 | 903,150 | 64.556 |
| 34 | New Mexico | 491,000 | 311,118 | 63.364 |
| 35 | Nevada | 174,000 | 107,267 | 61.647 |
| 36 | Kentucky | 1,876,000 | 1,124,462 | 59.939 |
| 37 | Arizona | 680,000 | 398,491 | 58.601 |
| 38 | Maryland | 1,819,000 | 1,055,349 | 58.017 |
| 39 | Hawaii | 321,000 | 184,745 | 57.552 |
| 40 | North Carolina | 2,521,000 | 1,368,966 | 54.302 |
| 41 | Tennessee | 2,079,000 | 1,051,792 | 50.591 |
| 42 | Florida | 3,099,000 | 1,544,180 | 49.828 |
| 43 | Louisiana | 1,770,000 | 807,891 | 45.604 |
| 44 | Texas | 5,329,000 | 2,311,670 | 43.379 |
| 45 | Arkansas | 1,029,000 | 428,509 | 41.643 |
| 46 | Virginia | 2,244,000 | 771,449 | 34.378 |
| 47 | South Carolina | 1,227,000 | 386,687 | 31.514 |
| 48 | Georgia | 2,342,000 | 733,349 | 31.312 |
| 49 | Alabama | 1,825,000 | 564,242 | 30.917 |
| 50 | Mississippi | 1,163,000 | 298,171 | 25.638 |

Sources: The American Heritage Foundation; State Election Officials; United States Census Bureau. Hearings before Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendment of Committee on the Judiciary, June 27, 28, and 29, 1961, pt. 2, p. 475.

Mr. DOUGLAS. As the Senator from Florida mentioned earlier, these figures show that the average for the country is a little over 70 percent. Idaho had the best record, with almost 81 percent voting. New Hampshire was next with over 80 percent. I am very happy that my own State was in the upper quarter. Illinois had 76 percent who voted and occupied 12th place despite the large proportion of our foreign-born population who are not yet citizens. But the 11 States at the bottom are all Southern States.

Thus, as the Senator from Florida mentioned, Alabama and Mississippi are at the very bottom, a little less than 26 percent for Mississippi, and 31 percent for Alabama.

While the percentages of participating voters is still low in all of the six non-

poll-tax Southern States, they are higher than in the poll-tax States. But they are still very much below those of the Northern, Middle Western, and Western States.

It is certain that the mere removal of the tax will not work wonders overnight, or perhaps even in the immediate future. It will merely remove one of the strands in the web of the poll-tax States which now hold down the voting. But the evidence seems to indicate that it would appreciably increase the number of men and women who would go to the polls.

This can be shown by what happened to the rate of participation in a number of States after the repeal of the poll tax.

In Louisiana, the average rate of participation in the gubernatorial primaries increased from 40.2 percent to 61.1 percent after repeal. In the senatorial primaries, the increase in the average rate was from 31.2 to 46.5 percent.

In Florida the increase in the gubernatorial primaries was from 27 to 34.8 percent, and in the senatorial primaries from 20.1 to 32 percent.

In Georgia the repeal in 1945 of its cumulative poll tax resulted in a doubling of the number of voters, but this must be attributed in part to the collapse of the white primary and the introduction of the 18-year voting age. The average rate of turnout in Georgia gubernatorial primaries went from 16.9 to 30.3 percent.

In Tennessee, there was an average 12-percent increase after repeal.

Alabama's reduction of its cumulative poll-tax requirement, which, as I have said previously, amounted to 24 years, resulted in a spectacular increase of one-third in the number of registered voters and a long-term 10-percent increase in voting in senatorial and gubernatorial primaries.

Frederick D. Ogden, a southern political scientist, concludes that the repeal of the poll tax in general aided the movement for greater voting participation which was already underway. The increase which the abolishment of the poll tax would effect would be, according to him, somewhere between 5 and 10 percent. In my judgment, it might be higher. Certainly it would create several hundreds of thousands of additional voters. It might indeed cause many hundreds of thousands of additional voters to be added to the list.

V. POLL TAX SHOULD BE ABOLISHED BY STATUTE RATHER THAN BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The question is, then, What is the most effective way of removing this impediment?

I submit that the method of statutory enactment, once it were passed, would be far more effective than that of the proposed constitutional amendment submitted by the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND]. In the first place, it would go into effect immediately across the Nation. The method of constitutional amendment is, on the other hand, at best slow and clumsy, while there is always the strong possibility or probability that it would never be ratified at all.

Let us consider the delay which a constitutional amendment would bring about. Thus, the 16th amendment took 3½ years to be ratified by the States after it was submitted to them by Congress.

The 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th amendments each required only approximately a year, while final ratification of the 21st amendment took less than a year, but ratification of the 22d amendment required 4 years.

Moreover, since the Holland amendment merely gives Congress the enabling power to pass a statute later, a further delay would necessarily occur after ratification. Indeed, unless the rules and procedures of the Senate are changed, a further filibuster might prevent such legislation from ever being passed.

It is, however, highly questionable whether the amendment would ever be ratified by the States, for, as we all know, three-quarters of the States must approve an amendment before it can become a part of the Constitution. Therefore, if only 13 of the 50 States were to refuse or neglect to ratify such an amendment, it would not go into effect, no matter how small might be the population of those States or how restricted the numbers who actually took part in the electoral process.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I note that the Senator has not referred to the District of Columbia voting amendment, which, as I recall, was ratified in about 9 months.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

Mr. HOLLAND. That involved somewhat the same issue as would be involved in this proposed amendment. I do not know why the Senator omitted reference to that particular amendment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That was an omission. I am very glad to correct it.

It is, of course, a certainty that the five States which now impose a poll tax, and whose presently eligible voters have refused to repeal it, would not vote to give to the Government in Washington the power to do that which they will not do for themselves. What, then, about the other six States of the Old South which do not have the poll-tax requirement? We can be quite certain that powerful and moving appeals will be directed at them in the name of their common past and their present sectional groupings. They will be asked if they are willing to allow the northerners and westerners in Washington, D.C., to dictate to their sister States what they should do. "You may not believe in the poll tax," they will be told, "but please do not put us under the alien hand of the Yankees in Washington. Let us determine for ourselves what standards are to be followed inside our own States."

This will be reinforced by invocations to the mystical pathos of the lost cause. The voters of the six sister States will be reminded that their grandfathers fought together at Gettysburg and Lookout Mountain and shed their blood together for the Stars and Bars.

The memory of Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, and their lieutenants will be invoked once more. Once again traveler will make the sad journey back from Appomattox, and the tired and footsore soldier in the faded gray uniform will again return to find his home burned, his cattle killed, and his silver stolen.

It will be almost impossible to resist such powerful emotional appeals as these, and it is doubtful whether a single one of the six remaining States of the Old South will have the temerity to ratify the Holland amendment. Almost certainly not more than one or two would do so. This would mean that the refusal to act of only two or a few more States would be sufficient to kill the amendment. In view of the sentiments of some of the border States and the close alliance of some of the smaller States with the South, this would be likely to happen. Therefore I strongly doubt whether the amendment would ever get the necessary ratifications. States which cast only about one-sixth of the vote in the presidential election of 1960 would be able to defeat the will of States with five-sixths of the voters.

Madam President, I now come to a delicate matter, but I think I am in conformity with the established usages of the Senate:

Since private conversations on this matter have been repeated on the floor of the Senate by those most anxious to observe the procedures of the Senate, I assume that it will not be amiss if I relate a conversation which I had on this subject with the senior Senator from Florida shortly after I came to the Senate many years ago. When the Senator from Florida solicited my support for his amendment, I expressed my belief that it would be defeated because the Southern States would not ratify. I said I might look favorably upon the proposal if a hundred southern political leaders would sign a roundrobin letter stating that they would not only urge their respective State legislatures to ratify the amendment but also personally would pledge that they would work actively to that end. That challenge ended our conversation.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does not the Senator recall that the Senator from Florida told the Senator from Illinois that the Senator from Florida would appear before his own State legislature and ask for ratification by his State of the amendment?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I do not quite remember that, but if the Senator from Florida so states, I am sure it is so.

Mr. HOLLAND. It is in the RECORD in several places, during the course of the debates.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator from Florida is a very truthful man. Of course we accept his statement. No one else has however come forward that I know of.

It is certainly clear, from the way in which the current filibuster has been joined in by the overwhelming proportion of the southern Senators, that such a pledge will never be given, instead the congressional leaders from this section who are so generally esteemed at home can be confidently predicted to use their

great influence against ratification just as they have used it to prevent even consideration of the amendment.

To adopt the method of trying to abolish the poll tax by the route of a constitutional amendment is, therefore, in all probability, to lead us down a blind alley, to consume a great deal of precious time, and to lead only to ultimate frustration and defeat.

If, however, we pass the statutory amendment advocated by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and others of us, it would in the normal course of events go into effect immediately. If it were defied by some States, then court tests could be arranged fairly quickly and appeals decided. If the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the act, this would finish the matter, because I cannot believe that Southern States would defy the solemn judgment of the Court upon such a matter.

There is another point which has been touched upon in the debate. That is, if we adopt the route of a constitutional amendment in the matter of the poll tax, it will be very difficult for us to use the method of statutory amendment as the administration intends in the case of helping to define the conditions under which the literacy test can be applied. The abandonment of the statutory amendment in the present case will be treated as indicating a disbelief in the constitutionality of the literacy test provisions on the part of those who are its advocates. While lawyers may argue that literacy tests can be distinguished from poll taxes by reason of their being more subject to the 15th amendment, the precedent will operate in the minds of many against a literacy test statute.

Some of the proponents of the Holland amendment may justify it in the cloakrooms on the alleged ground that it will be easier to pass it through Congress than it would be to enact a statute. It is hoped it will not be filibustered as hard as a statutory enactment might be. It is hoped that our southern friends will not really resist the amendment method, which the Senator from Florida has proposed.

While it is still not clear as to what are the final intentions of our friends from the South, the filibuster which has been carried on by them for nearly 2 weeks would seem to indicate that this hope is illusory and that the amendment method would be fought as bitterly as would be that of statutory enactment.

It should also be remembered that there is a considerable body of opinion in Congress which, for reasons I have mentioned, is conscientiously opposed to the use of the constitutional amendment. This sentiment was strong enough 2 years ago to prevent the Holland amendment from even being considered in the House.

As the Senator from New York pointed out, the statutory method has been approved on numerous occasions in the House. This opposition might likely be much stronger in the Senate than it was 2 years ago. It should be remembered that a two-thirds vote of both Houses is necessary for Congress to submit a constitutional amendment for ratification to the States. Therefore, even if the opposition to the amendment in Congress were not able to muster a majority of the Members of either House, its Members might very well be able to obtain more than a third of the votes and hence to defeat the amendment.

In contrast to all this, the method of legal enactment would only require a majority for it to be passed. In addition, the Javits substitute has been precisely tailored to meet the structural defects of the Holland amendment.

I ask the sincere opponents of the poll tax to consider these tactical considerations very carefully before they conclude that the Holland tunnel is the best route to the desired destination.

VI. DEFECTS IN THE ORIGINAL HOLLAND AMENDMENT

This brings us to the crucial defects within the original Holland amendment itself which were not detected when this proposal was before us 2 years ago.

I ask Senators to read the original section 2:

> Nothing in this article shall be construed to invalidate any provision of law denying the right to vote to paupers or persons supported at public expense or by charitable institutions.

When this section was first included in the Holland amendment a few years ago, I thought it referred to the largely inoperative pauper laws of nine States, primarily in New England, and which are no real barrier to voting.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield. I thought at that time that there were nine. Apparently there are 12.

Mr. HOLLAND. There are 12 States, 3 in the South and 9 in other parts of the country.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I find that the Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. The uniform statement of all lawyers who have gone into that question is that each of the laws was passed in an effort to protect the purity of the ballot, because of the fact that people had voted against their will when they were inhabitants of a poorhouse or of a similar institution.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

We have been trying to trace the history of section 2.

I think it is accurate to say that this provision was not included in earlier versions of the Holland amendment, and was first included in the measure proposed in the 83d Congress. It was included then without an explanation of the reason for its inclusion.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator certainly has not had an opportunity to read the record of the hearings. The Senator from Florida has very carefully explained, at the various hearings before subcommittees of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, the origin and the reason for the inclusion of that section.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I was referring to the time when the measure was originally introduced. I was not aware of the fact that the Senator had given the reasons for its original adoption. When I studied this question last week in some detail there seemed to me to be some evidence that it was what was popularly known as a sleeper or joker. Let me say that I do not wish to question the intent of the Senator from Florida. I merely submit that the sweeping terms of the amendment would have encouraged several States to disfranchise a much greater number of citizens than those who are now barred by the poll tax, because there was an explicit statement that the prohibitions against the poll tax as a requirement for voting were not to apply to property qualifications, to paupers, to those receiving public assistance, or to those supported by charitable institutions.

For example, those who receive public relief, or what is known as general assistance, are certainly being "supported at public expense" and hence could be made ineligible to vote. Last November these numbered 394,000 cases in the country as a whole. Of those, 39,669 were in the 11 Southern States, and 13,429 were in the five poll tax States. Also, in November 1961 there were 2,273,000 recipients of old-age assistance. These were also supported at public expense, both State and National, and hence could be disfranchised. No less than 891,045 of those were in the 11 States of the Old South and 170,274 were in the five poll tax States.

Similarly during November of 1961 there were 908,000 families in the country receiving aid to dependent children. Of those 201,791 were in the Old South and 77,961 in the poll tax States. The mothers in those States could clearly have been made ineligible to vote. While it is probable that those in receipt of old-age security payments toward which the aged persons had themselves contributed could not be held to be "supported at public expense," this section could have been used to exclude the 64,000 who are now receiving benefits under the Kerr-Mills Act.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator is not presuming that merely because a State would have power to do what the Senator has suggested, the State would do it?

Mr. DOUGLAS. It does not necessarily follow, but a very explicit hint is given that if it wished to take that action, it could do so. I am speaking of the original Holland amendment. It specifically stated that it did not apply to paupers, to those receiving public assistance, or to those supported by charitable institutions. So I should say the handkerchief was dropped, so to speak, and the legislature could take the hint very readily.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I believe I have heard of some people who were silly enough to suggest that such action ought to be taken, but I do not think

those people have much chance of being effective.

Mr. DOUGLAS. They do not need to do it now, because they have a poll tax. But if the poll tax were abolished, they could obtain the same end by the other methods suggested.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I think the Senator would be interested to know that in States where such provisions have existed and exist now, either statutes clearly state or the courts have clearly held that the payment of Federal assistance cannot be held to create paupership such as is covered by the provisions of the laws of those States.

Mr. DOUGLAS. What I am trying to say is that the restrictions could be very readily tightened by further legislative enactment.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Aside from the generosity of the Senator in having said that he would not accuse the Senator from Florida of putting a sleeper in the amendment which I have presented, the Senator might also have commented that it would be practically impossible to put a sleeper in a bill of the import of the amendment before us that would fool 100 Senators and, in 1960, would have fooled them so badly that 72 Senators, including, I believe, the Senator from Illinois, voted for the measure.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I was more naive in 1960 than I am today. I talked with several of the 68 sponsors of the Holland amendment. I pointed out section 2 to them and they said, "Good heavens. Did I sponsor section 2? I must have sponsored it in an unwary moment."

We all remember how the Bricker amendment came before the Senate with more than two-thirds of the Senators sponsoring the amendment. We all remember how the discussion of the Bricker amendment developed. We could not muster a two-thirds vote because a great many of the so-called sponsors had put their names on the amendment without knowing the full import of what had happened.

The Senator from Florida has such a disarming manner and such a gentle and genteel approach with which he confronts his fellow Senators in the cloakroom that it is very hard to resist the seductive arguments which he advances.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I appreciate the kind words of the Senator from Illinois, even though he is slaying me with kindness. I invite his attention to the fact that the Senator from Florida has not lobbied in behalf of his amendment. He has argued it in full and in the open at every hearing that was held. He has debated it in full on the floor of the Senate. He would have had to be very keen indeed to have fooled the former majority leader, the then Senator JOHNSON, and the minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. He would have to be equally clever to have fooled the present majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] and the same minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

The Senator from Florida had a good amendment. He has retained more than 95 percent of it. He has omitted the part that he did omit against the specific request of the Department of Justice, because the Department preferred my original amendment. There are those who thought that that factor might have been used to help defeat the measure, even as the Senator from Illinois, now when the provision about which he speaks does not even exist, is seeking to prevent Senators from fairly considering the present amendment.

So apparently there was merit in the opinion of the majority leader and others that those provisions, though fair, and without great flaw of their own, might be used by Senators who favored something else to put the original amendment in a false light.

But the Senator comforts himself with the thought that even the Senator from Illinois voted for the measure in 1960. He appreciates that vote. He thinks it was based on sound conscience, and he regrets that the Senator from Illinois will not have an opportunity to vote for the precise amendment again, as he believes he would.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, I was trying to lay a historical basis for discussion on this point. Having detected the weaknesses I have indicated, and having consulted with some of my colleagues, I had drafted a series of amendments to the Holland proposal which would have eliminated the explicit encouragement which the original text of the Holland amendment gave to those devices. I was on my feet last night and on the point of offering such amendments when the Senator from Florida himself came forward with a revised draft, which was identical with the amendments which I had prepared, with certain exceptions. I thought it was a case of either conscious or unconscious parallelism in action.

It may be that in this whispering Chamber word gets around very rapidly as to what is intended. It is possible that the knowledge that these amendments would be offered by a bipartisan group of Senators may have caused the Senator from Florida to back up and withdraw section 2. I do not know whether that is the case. However, I will say I am interested that there should be this parallelism of action.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to say to my distinguished friend, the Senator from Illinois, that he should disabuse his mind thoroughly and completely of any such idea, because, as one who was very vitally interested in this legislation, and who held a series of meetings over the past 4 or 5 days, I assure the Senator that to the best of our knowledge we had no idea that any Member of the Senate was in the process of considering amendments to the proposal which finally emerged. That ought to be clear for the RECORD. If we had known about the Senator from Illinois considering such a proposal I am quite certain we would have gotten in touch with him in one way or another.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I did not say "conscious parallelism." I said it might well have been "unconscious parallelism."

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Just as the Senator has confessed that he did not know that the Senator from Florida had amended his amendment until it was presented to the Senate, so the Senator from Florida did not know that the Senator from Illinois had any intention of submitting his amendment. Not being gifted with the power of reading minds and not having been in close contact with the distinguished Senator from Illinois, I had no idea that our minds were running in the same direction, although I was very glad to learn, in the colloquy last night, that this was the fact. I thought that the fact that our minds were running in the same direction would lead the Senator from Illinois to see the justice of the amendment. I still have hope for my friend from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I must say that the present draft is a distinct improvement over the first one. If the first draft had been continued in the form in which it was originally submitted, I should have been conscientiously advised to oppose the amendment and to urge other Senators to oppose it similarly. I would have made the frank statement that I am wiser now than I was in 1960, which in itself is an indication that we can improve with time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. We all should admit that we can improve. However, I wish to call attention to the fact that the original amendment to which the Senator refers was submitted in 1953, and has been in that identical form from then until now. Therefore, it would not have taken any great prescience to learn what was in it in the intervening 9 years.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I believe 1960 was the first time that it came before the Senate.

The statements of the Senator from Florida and the Senator from Illinois appear in the colloquy in the final pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for yesterday.

I am not quite certain what the provision with respect to the property qualification meant. There is the explicit provision in the original form of the amendment to prevent a State from denying the right to vote to paupers and to persons supported in charitable institutions, for example.

The present draft is a distinct improvement.

There is a point which I wish to emphasize very strongly. While the new language does not encourage disqualification on all of these grounds, it most certainly does not forbid them. It is silent on these matters. It leaves,

therefore, a constitutional vacuum into which States which want to restrict the franchise could move. Could they not impose rather severe property qualifications, since this is not forbidden in the amendment? Could they not disqualify those on relief, since this is not forbidden in the amendment?

Could they not disqualify those receiving old-age assistance, because this is not forbidden in the amendment? The same would apply with respect to those receiving payments for dependent children or those living in old people's homes. Disqualification on these grounds is not forbidden in the amendment.

I believe such disqualification would be against the spirit of the amendment, but would it be technically forbidden?

Mr. HOLLAND. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that exactly the same situation would exist if the Javits amendment were adopted.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Not quite.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad the Senator has brought up this very important point, and I am very glad that we can clarify the situation. In the first place, my amendment contains the words "or other tax or to impose a property qualification." The language is found at page 2, lines 15 and 16. That is forbidden as a prerequisite for registering to vote or voting.

That is the first point, and it is a very important point.

In the second place, let us remember that what we do is to give us the flexibility of a statute, so that if there is abuse we can move into it and act on it; whereas what the Senator from Florida would have us do is take the constitutional amendment route. Then we are lashed to two propositions; first, that we then can implement whatever it says, and whatever it does not say we cannot implement. If we want to change it, we can only move by way of a constitutional amendment, because we have moved, in the first instance, by the constitutional amendment route.

I respectfully submit that here is a very powerful reason why we should proceed by the statutory route and not by the constitutional amendment route. I am very grateful to the Senator for bringing up this point.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Madam President, I believe the Senator has made a very powerful argument.

With the limited amount of time at our disposal, I certainly am not ready at this moment to propose a further amendment to the Holland amendment, which would specifically outlaw such attempts. A provision in the Constitution must be drafted with great care. We have largely met this difficulty in the statute which the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is proposing, by outlawing all property qualifications for voting.

VII. ABOLISHMENT OF RESTRICTIONS ON VOTING FUNDAMENTALLY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

Now, Madam President, if I may finish, I would say that those of us who want to give all literate Americans the right to vote, whether they be black or white, and who desire that everyone may be treated as a child of the Devine Spirit, and consequently given an adequate opportunity to develop educationally, economically, culturally, and politically, are always subject to two sets of criticism.

On the one hand, we are accused of violating the rules, customs, and procedures of the Senate, which, as an eminent southern writer has correctly said, are the South's revenge for Appomattox. Then close behind this criticism follows the charge that we are antisouthern and are trying to heap indignity and disgrace upon that section of the country. We are presented to the world and to the South as being brutally unchivalrous and as offending the unappeasable honor of the South.

All this despite the fact that at no time has any member of the civil rights group attacked the South. We have, on the contrary, been careful to say that we in the North and the West have our weaknesses and sins on these matters as well, and that we should eliminate them in the North as rapidly as possible. We have not felt any self-righteousness, and I hope we have not expressed any. We have been careful indeed to point out that we of the North were delivered from the terrible curse of slavery not by any superiority in moral character but, instead, by the fortunate accident of a colder climate and a less fertile soil.

I hope I will not offend my southern friends if I say that they are in a sense prisoners of history and geography.

Madam President, we are trying, in fact, to free all of our friends, both South and North, from the forces which imprison so many. We know that many of what are upheld as basic institutions of the South are not really supported by the majority of the southern people but are, instead, imposed by a relatively small uppercrust who are dominant and who control overwhelmingly the agencies of information and propaganda. We want to set free the economically disfranchised majority of the South, both white and black alike. We want to open up the doors of more adequate education for the disinherited, both white and black alike. We want to open up the gates of opportunity so that the abilities of white and black alike may function more effectively. To do all these things, we of the civil rights group in the North are willing to pay more taxes. For we know that in this Nation, we are brothers, one of another, and should help to bear the burden of the States which have a low income per capita.

Yes, and we believe that if we can but put these programs into effect and arrange a reconciliation between presently conflicting groups, we can free even those who now despise us from the obsessions which now possess them and so enable their natural and generous emotions and abilities to be devoted to constructive ends. We seek to do this in the true spirit of friendship and without any sanctimonious self-righteousness.

Perhaps we cannot convince our friends that this is so. These are vested interests in misunderstanding which are hard to supersede and it is difficult to keep on a friendly course when one's motives and conduct are systematically misunderstood and misinterpreted. But we shall nevertheless keep on trying and if we should slip now and then, we ask to be forgiven. For that does not represent the deepest desires of our hearts. I am not at all certain that the world as we know it will survive the possible Armageddon of a nuclear holocaust. If it does not, it is better for us to go out on a note of brotherhood rather than as querulous and hateridden creatures. And certainly our chances of survival are greater if we can be both free and united in brotherhood. For it is true now as it was in olden times that where there is no vision the people perish.

If the poll tax is a restriction on voting rather than a qualification for voting, Congress could abolish it for Federal elections without violating the constitutional prohibition against the qualification for voters and electors for national office and State legislatures.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I think the whole Nation must be proud of the Senator from Illinois, whether one agrees with him or not, and grateful to him for the tone of what he has said. I, as also a person who feels very strongly about these problems, as he does, represent a community which, on the whole, feels the same way. It is an enormous community, containing 10 percent of the population of the United States.

I wish to associate myself especially with the words "sanctimonious righteousness." I feel no such thing. We understand very deeply the reasons and the bases of the currents which are at work here; but I also feel, with the Senator from Illinois, that in a time of such peril, there is all the more reason for doing our utmost to sound the clarion call for morality and fidelity to the guarantees of our Constitution.

The Senator from Illinois has made a trenchant speech. One could comment on it at great length. But if I did so, it would depreciate from the lofty tone which the Senator from Illinois has used. So I leave it at that and express gratitude at being associated with a man of such luminous intelligence in a cause so worthy as this one.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I thank the Senator from New York.

Madam President, we in Illinois know that we have many faults concerning this matter. We in the city of Chicago, which I love, know that in many respects we have fallen short of our ideals. However, it is the intention of all our citizens to push forward and to remove these difficulties as rapidly as possible. They are difficulties which, in the main, are not legal, but social. All I seek to do is

to attempt to remove some of the legal difficulties which are impediments. I hope very much that in the months and years ahead we may move forward.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, the amendment offered by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] raises two fundamental questions: Whether the statutory approach to this proposal is constitutional; and whether, if the Senate should adopt such an approach, Congress would be likely to complete action on it.

I shall not add to the already considerable flow of words on this subject by discussing the constitutionality of the Senator's amendment. I shall only state my conviction that the adoption of the statutory approach would be certain to delay the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. In my opinion, those who seek to end the poll tax will support the Holland amendment, and will oppose the statutory approach.

Madam President, I move that the amendment offered by the Senator from New York be laid on the table.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, will the Senator from Montana withhold his motion for a moment?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I withhold my motion.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, I wish the RECORD to reflect that the voting package in respect to the implementation of the recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission was introduced by my colleague from New York [Mr. KEATING]. The only reason I have moved as I have with respect to the proposal now before the Senate is that I had done so once before, in 1960. So I carry the matter on at this time. I simply desired that the RECORD be explicit about that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator from New York.

Madam President, I renew my motion that the amendment offered by the Senator from New York be laid on the table.

Before the vote is taken, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, on the motion to lay on the table, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from New York.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] are absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay," and the Senator from Tennessee would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CASE] is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 59, nays 34, as follows:

[No. 32 Leg.]

YEAS—59

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aiken | Hayden | Moss |
| Anderson | Hickenlooper | Mundt |
| Bible | Hickey | Murphy |
| Boggs | Hill | Muskie |
| Burdick | Holland | Pearson |
| Byrd, Va. | Hruska | Prouty |
| Byrd, W. Va. | Johnston | Randolph |
| Cannon | Jordan | Robertson |
| Carlson | Kefauver | Russell |
| Chavez | Kerr | Saltonstall |
| Cotton | Long, Hawaii | Smathers |
| Curtis | Long, La. | Smith, Maine |
| Dirksen | Mansfield | Sparkman |
| Dworshak | McClellan | Stennis |
| Eastland | McGee | Talmadge |
| Ellender | McNamara | Thurmond |
| Engle | Metcalf | Tower |
| Ervin | Miller | Williams, Del. |
| Fulbright | Monroney | Yarborough |
| Goldwater | Morton | |

NAYS—34

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Allott | Hart | Neuberger |
| Beall | Hartke | Pastore |
| Bush | Humphrey | Pell |
| Carroll | Jackson | Proxmire |
| Case, N.J. | Javits | Scott |
| Church | Keating | Smith, Mass. |
| Clark | Kuchel | Symington |
| Cooper | Lausche | Wiley |
| Dodd | Long, Mo. | Williams, N.J. |
| Douglas | Magnuson | Young, Ohio |
| Fong | McCarthy | |
| Gruening | Morse | |

NOT VOTING—7

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bartlett | Capehart | Young, N. Dak. |
| Bennett | Case, S. Dak. | |
| Butler | Gore | |

So Mr. MANSFIELD's motion to lay the Javits amendment on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Madam President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

## LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Madam President, I should like to query the majority leader at this time as to whether he has canvassed the situation so far as other amendments are concerned, and what the Senate may expect by way of business for the rest of the day.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, in response to the question raised by the distinguished minority leader, to the best of my knowledge I believe there will be only one other amendment, that to be offered by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BUSH], and I am under the impression that will not take too much time.

It is hoped, with the cooperation of the Senate, that it might be possible to finish consideration of the pending business tonight, and I ask Senators to help the distinguished minority leader and me in trying to bring about that sort of conclusion.

## THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON NATIONAL MONUMENT — AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION DEALING WITH POLL TAXES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 29) providing for the establishing of the former dwelling house of Alexander Hamilton as a national monument.

Mr. BUSH. Madam President, I call up my amendment in the nature of a substitute for the Holland amendment, which I sent to the desk this afternoon, and ask to have it stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Connecticut in the nature of a substitute for the so-called Holland amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That the following articles are hereby proposed as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, both or either of which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of their submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"ARTICLE —

"The people of the District constituting the seat of the Government of the United States shall be entitled to elect two Members to the Senate and a number of Members to the House of Representatives equal to the number of Members of the House of Representatives to which a State having the same population as such District would be entitled. The Members authorized by this article shall be elected at such time and in such manner, and the electors of such Members shall have such qualifications, as the Congress shall provide by law."

Mr. BUSH. Madam President, the purpose of the amendment is merely to give to the people of the District of Columbia, which is the seat of government for the United States, an entitlement to elect two Members of the U.S. Senate and a number of Members of the House of Representatives equal to the number of Members of the House to which a State having the same population as the District of Columbia would be entitled.

(At this point Mr. METCALF assumed the chair.)

Buff Smith

# Practical Dixie Politicians Helped Dig Poll Tax Grave

*By Robert E. Baker*
Staff Reporter

The poll tax in Virginia and four other Southern states has managed to withstand repeated assaults, both internal and Federal, for more than two generations.

**Now it faces another attack, this one formidable indeed. The Senate has approved a proposed constitutional amendment to bar the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections.**

The measure is supported by the Kennedy Administration and seems to have a good chance of House approval. Once sprung loose from the parliamentary grip of Southerners in Congress, the amendment's ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the states would seem assured.

THIS PROSPECT has again focused attention on the poll tax and its history, and raised the question of whether it is a significant deterrent to voting.

**The first poll tax era in the United States came after the Revolutionary War and was aimed at broadening suffrage. In those days, many states permitted only property owners to vote. The poll tax was imposed as a substitute for property qualifications.**

The second era came after the Civil War and had the opposite aim. From Florida in 1889 to Georgia in 1908, the former Confederate states enacted the poll tax as part of a program of disfranchisement.

Negro voters were the primary target, as evidenced by Carter Glass who told the 1901 Virginia Constitutional Convention that "Negro enfranchisement was a crime to begin with."

BUT POOR and illiterate whites were a target in many states, too, because the Populist Party was getting enough of their votes to threaten the Democratic Party's predominance in the South.

**Six of the poll tax states abolished it later—beginning with North Carolina in 1920, followed by Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and, in 1953, Tennessee.**

It was usually the practical politicians, like "Kingfish" Huey Long in Louisiana and Eugene Talmadge in Georgia, who were primarily responsible for repeal after deciding abolition of the tax would help them politically.

**In the accompanying table, the six states are marked with an asterisk. Together with the five states still retaining the poll tax—Texas, Arkansas, Virginia, Alabama and Mississippi—they rank at the bottom in the percentage of persons of voting age who cast ballots in the 1960 presidential election.**

This shows that the poll tax should not be considered the sole cause for low voter participation in the South.

OTHER FACTORS include restrictive registration procedures applied discriminately, the one-party system and, before it was invalidated by the courts, the white primary — all of which have tended to develop an apathy and instill over a long time a tradition of nonvoting.

**The anti-poll tax amendment is a part of the drive to break this tradition. The Justice Department is striking at overt efforts to thwart Negroes from registering. Congress has a bill to bar unfair literacy tests. Voter campaigns by civil rights groups and other organizations have been stepped up and are being better coordinated than ever before.**

In Virginia, as in other poll tax states, the amount of the tax certainly was a deterrent in the early 1900s. But in these days, the $1.50 annual tax in Virginia, which is cumulative for three years, is not that important. More important as a deterrent is the time of payment.

Virginians must have their poll taxes paid six months before the general election. Colin C. MacPherson, Arlington County treasurer, said that many residents there, who could easily afford the tax, are kept from voting because they neglect to meet the deadline.

BUT VOTER campaigns in Arlington have helped. In 1951, MacPherson said, 43 per cent of the persons assessed for poll taxes didn't pay them. By last year, the figure had dropped to 28 per cent.

**Defenders of the poll tax in Virginia often say that it helps keep uninformed, unintelligent and corrupt persons from voting.**

However, the Old Dominion has had enough election irregularities to shake this classic argument for the poll tax.

And paying the tax of others to buy votes has not been an unusual practice in Virginia.

WHEN A GENERAL ASSEMBLY committee was considering anti-poll tax legislation last month, State Sen. Harry Stuart of Elk Garden appealed for repeal.

**"This is not a political matter, gentle-**

## South at the Bottom of Voter Percentage

THE FOLLOWING table shows the percentage by states of persons of voting age who cast ballots in the 1960 presidential election. The five former Confederate states retaining the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting are printed in capital letters. The six former Confederate states which have abolished the poll tax are marked with an asterisk (*). In the Nation as a whole, 63.66 per cent of the persons of voting age went to the polls in the 1960 presidential election.

| State | Per Cent Voting | Rank 1960 | Rank 1956 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Idaho | 80.64 | 1 | 1 |
| Utah | 80.12 | 2 | 3 |
| New Hampshire | 79.35 | 3 | 9 |
| North Dakota | 78.30 | 4 | 22 |
| South Dakota | 78.06 | 5 | 11 |
| West Virginia | 77.37 | 6 | 12 |
| Minnesota | 77.06 | 7 | 20 |
| Connecticut | 76.86 | 8 | 2 |
| Indiana | 76.85 | 9 | 7 |
| Massachusetts | 76.08 | 10 | 4 |
| Illinois | 75.73 | 11 | 8 |
| Rhode Island | 75.18 | 12 | 5 |
| Iowa | 74.93 | 13 | 6 |
| Wyoming | 73.68 | 14 | 17 |
| Wisconsin | 73.44 | 15 | 24 |
| Delaware | 73.40 | 16 | 14 |
| Maine | 72.63 | 17 | 30 |
| Michigan | 72.44 | 18 | 25 |
| Washington | 72.29 | 19 | 23 |
| Vermont | 72.29 | 20 | 18 |
| Oregon | 72.22 | 21 | 19 |
| New Jersey | 71.82 | 22 | 15 |
| Missouri | 71.73 | 23 | 21 |
| Montana | 71.46 | 24 | 10 |
| Nebraska | 71.44 | 25 | 32 |
| Colorado | 71.38 | 26 | 16 |
| Ohio | 71.27 | 27 | 27 |
| Pennsylvania | 70.52 | 28 | 29 |
| Kansas | 70.27 | 29 | 13 |
| California | 67.36 | 30 | 34 |
| New York | 67.00 | 31 | 26 |
| Oklahoma | 63.77 | 32 | 31 |
| Kentucky | 63.71 | 33 | 35 |
| New Mexico | 62.07 | 34 | 33 |
| Nevada | 61.14 | 35 | 28 |
| Maryland | 57.18 | 36 | 36 |
| Arizona | 54.37 | 37 | 37 |
| *North Carolina | 53.53 | 38 | 39 |
| Hawaii | 53.16 | 39 | — |
| *Tennessee | 50.26 | 40 | 40 |
| *Florida | 50.00 | 41 | 38 |
| Alaska | 49.19 | 42 | — |
| *Louisiana | 44.78 | 43 | 42 |
| TEXAS | 41.77 | 44 | 43 |
| ARKANSAS | 41.13 | 45 | 41 |
| VIRGINIA | 33.33 | 46 | 44 |
| *Georgia | 32.85 | 47 | 45 |
| ALABAMA | 31.07 | 48 | 46 |
| *South Carolina | 30.56 | 49 | 47 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 25.44 | 50 | 48 |

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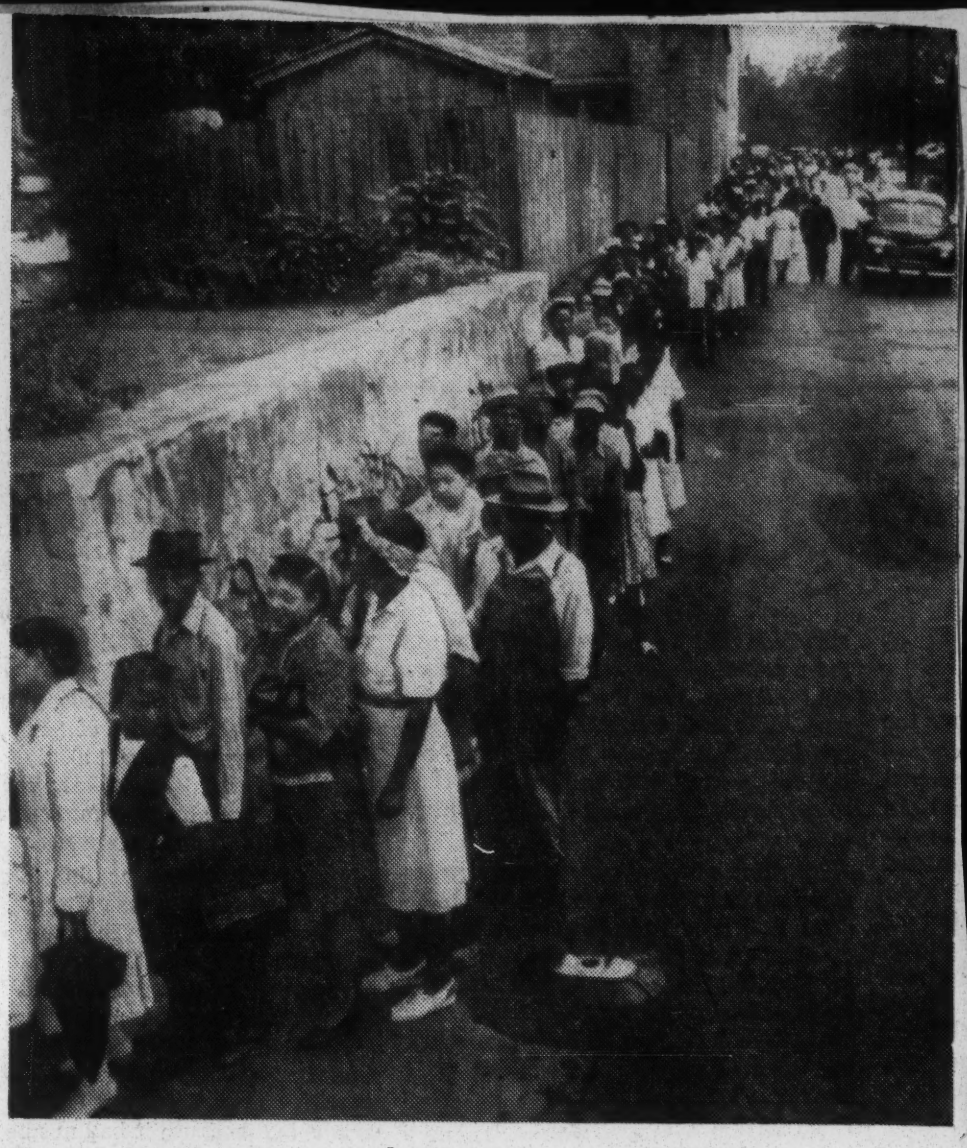

*Negroes queued up to vote in the 1946 primary at Marietta, Ga., after the state repealed its poll tax. This line was more than two blocks long.*

**men," he said. "This is an economic matter. It costs me $5000 every time my election comes up."**

The movement for repeal of the poll tax in Virginia came in 1940 when a group of liberal Democrats decided its abolition was the key to the defeat of the Byrd machine. The movement coincided with the national drive for social reform that came in with the New Deal.

IN THE 1940s, the Virginia Electoral Reform League campaigned vigorously for repeal. At its first convention in 1947, the Virginia League of Women Voters took aim at the poll tax and the women have been fighting it ever since.

**In 1949, Virginians got a chance to vote on constitutional amendments that would abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. The voters gave a loud "no."**

It was a confusing situation, this campaign and vote on the "Campbell Amendments," as they were called.

It was a package deal which either had to be entirely rejected or entirely approved. Besides abolishing the poll tax, the proposal also would have substituted annual for permanent registration, authorized literacy tests and any "further requirements" the General Assembly might think of, and instituted a $3 nonsuffrage poll tax.

IN OTHER WORDS, the package would have made voting harder, not easier. Many Byrd machine stalwarts supported the amendments, including Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) himself. Many anti-Byrd leaders, including poll tax repealers, opposed them.

**Since then, the Byrd machine has backed no repeal proposal. Assembly committees it controls have thwarted continued efforts to get another and simpler constitutional amendment through the Assembly. In recent years, this has been easy because the days of "massive resistance" made the climate non conducive to helping Negroes vote.**

The other day, before the U. S. Senate passed the proposed constitutional amendment to bar the poll tax in Federal elections, Byrd joined the amiable Dixie filibuster and said he saw no evidence of significant interest in the poll tax among Virginians.

YET HIS FOLLOWERS in Virginia's General Assembly earlier this year had killed proposals to have an advisory referendum on the subject which would have shown if there is much interest or not.

**The role of the poll tax in Virginia is, together with other restrictions, to keep a limited electorate, which is more easily controlled by the Byrd organization.**

Those who oppose it now have hope that it will be abolished and look to the Federal Government for help.

4-28-62

land must first take control of this party and then take control of the country via an election before it can hope for any real progress. In the meantime, the Conservatives can ignore them. In Canada, the most militant peace forces created the New Democratic Party; the effect was to split the peace vote, making it possible for the Conservative Party to remain in uneasy control.

Women's Strike for Peace wants to avoid being identified as a splinter of one party or another. The civil-rights movement wisely avoided the temptation to establish a third party; instead, it succeeded in getting the two major parties bidding for their vote. Thus, to succeed they need only muster a vote big enough to swing the balance of power.

THE women realize that their power is in the "swing" vote. They have organized an ambitious petition campaign to muster one million voters who will vote, not the party, but the issue. They point out that Mr. Kennedy won in 1962 by only 168,000 votes. Some election districts are won regularly by less than 100 votes. In a close contest, the women and their petition-signers could hold the balance of power.

The petition, addressed to candidates and party chairmen, states:

> Because the drift toward nuclear war threatens the very survival of life on earth, the time has come when personal and national interests must be secondary to the interests of all mankind. We who go to the polls in 1962—and those whom we elect there—will bear the gravest responsibility in the world's history.
>
> Therefore, we, the undersigned, promise our vote to the candidates, regardless of political party, who will actively support the following principles in their election campaigns and during their terms in office:
>
> 1. No more testing of nuclear weapons;
> 2. No further dispersion of nuclear arms;
> 3. Conversion of economy to peace basis;
> 4. Continuation of disarmament negotiations until agreement is reached;
> 5. Expansion of peace agencies, i.e., Disarmament Agency, etc.;
> 6. Action in areas where agreement has been reached, such as exploration of outer space;
> 7. Strengthening the peace-keeping machinery of the U.N.

The women plan to use the petition to force rival candidates for office into real debate. This approach, they point out, is far less expensive than backing candidates or starting a new party—and it is faster.

In New York State, the stage is now being set for such a debate. Senator Jacob Javits (R.), up for re-election, told the Rochester *Times-Union* that the "three major issues this fall will be peace, the rate of economic growth and equal opportunities for all people." He told the Independent Political Forum that "of course" he concurred with many points of the petition, but that he had "little patience with people who just want us to stop testing regardless of what the Russians do."

As the peace movement becomes increasingly political, it will be increasingly respected. The candidates who continue to do homage to the corpse of McCarthyism, and the peace workers who continue to fear it, will be left behind. Whereas SANE continues to feel it is political suicide to attend peace conferences attended or organized by Communists, the Women's Strike for Peace, in a no-nonsense, feminine approach, points out that we will never reach an understanding with the Russians about the survival of mankind if we are afraid to talk to them. One woman, asked if she wasn't afraid that the Communists might take over the Women's Strike for Peace, responded in eager fashion: "Do you know a Communist? Would you go get her? I'm working twenty hours a day for peace. I'd just *love* for someone to come take over a little typing and answer the phone." She reports, in mock disappointment, that no one seems to be able to find her a Communist willing to work that hard.

THIS is typical of the saucy, good-humored and optimistic approach of the women's groups and the independent, local peace groups which have sprung up around the country. They have brushed aside all the old stereotypes and are busily trying to save the world in the best American tradition. They are democratic and creative and not afraid to use their Constitutional rights. In contrast with the cynicism of many old-time liberals, they have a deep faith in their fellow man and in their own abilities to affect the course of events.

By 1964, this energetic group is determined to make peace the dominant issue in the Presidential campaign.

Duff. Jm.

# 2. Freedom Riders to the Polls . . *by Staughton Lynd*

*Atlanta, Ga.*

AT THE WEEK-LONG convention here of the NAACP, delegates repeatedly heard their leaders tell them to "go political." "The ballot is one of the most vital instruments of power," said Bishop Spottswood, chairman of the board of directors. Clarence Mitchell, director of the organization's Washington bureau, spoke of a "Civil Rights Party" to open the way for more than token appointment of Negroes to high political positions. "If you think you will ever get these things without the ballot," echoed James Nabrit, president of Howard University, "you don't belong in the twentieth century"; the white man, Nabrit continued, is "motivated by respect for the black vote." And Martin Luther King added, "With the ballot, we will be able to elect Negro Congressmen right here in the South."

A year ago, student activists in the Southern civil-rights movement would have dismissed this appeal with a smilingly contemptuous reference

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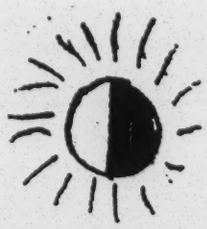
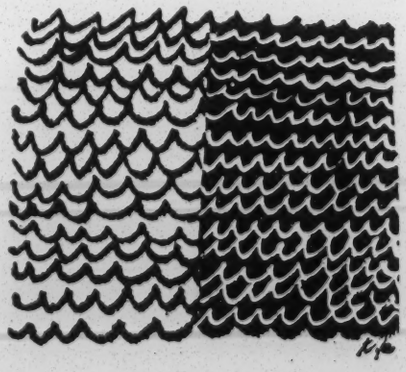
to NAACP conservatism. At that time, voter registration, like reliance on the courts, seemed to the students a siren song designed to lure them away from the new frontier of direct action. Freedom Rides and the concept of "jail without bail" then held the center of the stage. As recently as last December, the Albany (Ga.) Movement provided the most dramatic example of mass direct action since Montgomery. Events in that city embodied all three elements of a new direct-action strategy which then seemed in the making: (1) The resolve, by accepting jail without bail, to "wear them down with our suffering" rather than to coerce through legal or economic pressure; (2) the combination of local initiative with the supporting participation of outsiders (notably, in the case of Albany, several workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who had been active there throughout the fall); (3) the involvement of all groups in the Negro community in civil disobedience—all prepared to accept imprisonment rather than to endure injustice. A strategy developing along these lines would have brought the American movement much more closely into line with the Gandhian precedents which it has always professed to follow.

AS IT TURNED out, however, the Albany Movement, and with it the entire civil-rights movement, took a different course. Within hours of Dr. King's appeal for a national pilgrimage to Albany, local leaders of the protest entered into a compromise agreement. The imprisoned (Dr. King among them) came out of jail. The students expelled from Albany State College, and the Albany workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, turned to voter registration. (Today's recurrence of tension in Albany arises out of the initial direct-action policies. But as late as June 2, Dr. King told his followers: "The central front . . . is that of suffrage.")

Two months later, here in Atlanta, a similar transition occurred in the work of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. This is the committee of students at the Atlanta University Center which initiated and led the successful 1960-1961 campaign to integrate department store lunch-counters in Atlanta. After lunch-counter integration came off peacefully in the early fall, COAHR started negotiations on integration of Atlanta movie theatres. Such behind-the-scenes work lacked the drama of the mass actions of preceding years, and complaint was widely voiced that the "spirit" of earlier campaigns had evaporated. Perhaps in response to this criticism, the committee launched a dramatic action in February to celebrate the second anniversary of the beginning of the sit-in movement. The action, designed to desegregate the galleries of the Georgia Capitol, eventually misfired, and an unanticipated peripheral demonstration at segregated Grady Hospital resulted in several unplanned arrests. Shaken by adult criticism of these events, the student committee turned its attention to voter registration.

As spring passed into summer, almost every other Southern civil-rights organization — including the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Project of the National Student Association, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, and the Albany Movement —gave the impression of putting more and more time and energy into the hitherto neglected work of voter registration. Summer registration drives in selected communities; the coordination of various organizations' registration work under a paid full-time director; monthly workshops wherein Negro community leaders from all over the South are given "citizenship training" — all seemed signs of the new times.





WHY THE new emphasis on voter registration? One hears three sorts of explanation suggested.

*1. Direct action, even when coupled with resort to the courts, just hasn't done the job.* Albany itself was a striking example of the fact that direct action has been required not only to obtain court decisions, but to enforce them (the immediate cause of the Albany Movement was the arrest of students using the bus terminal on an integrated basis, *after* the ICC ruling had supposedly solved this problem). School integration, at the present rate, would take a century (this figure is actually over-optimistic because it includes the relatively rapid progress of the Upper South). Moreover, some kinds of segregation do not seem susceptible to direct-action techniques—particularly discrimination in employment and (to a lesser extent) in housing, the two forms of discrimination underlying the continuing segregation in the North.

*2. Voter registration has shown its effectiveness in assisting direct action.* A good example was Nashville, Tennessee, where in the intervals between direct-action projects, students turned their attention to registration. Participants believe that this two-pronged attack had much to do with the spectacular success at Nashville in opening up facilities in the central city. There may well be a correlation between the number of registered Negro voters in a locality and the degree to which direct-action campaigns succeed quickly and peacefully.

*3. The Kennedy Administration and private foundations have encouraged voter registration rather than civil disobedience.* This story is told in Capter 17 of Louis Lomax's book, *The Negro Revolt.* All civil-rights organizations carry an enormous financial burden because of the resourcefulness of Southern states in devising ever-new grounds for jailing civil-rights workers. Foundation money, with the quiet sup-

port of the Department of Justice in the background, is tempting indeed.

These inducements to voter-registration campaigning are the more persuasive because of a general sense of uneasiness about the official nonviolent ideology of the civil-rights movement. Viewing social change in the South as a whole, the South has desegregated only when it has been *forced* to do so. This is not to say that the avoidance of violence is a little matter: far from it. But nonviolence in the sense of avoiding bloodshed is not equivalent to nonviolence in the sense of transforming hostility into love. Direct action has been supplemented by the coercive machinery of the courts, and the direct action itself has succeeded primarily through the coercion of economic boycotts.

In summary, almost a decade after *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Montgomery boycott, the strategy of direct-*cum*-legal action has failed to prove itself a comprehensive instrument of social change. It is very slow and very expensive. It is better suited to some kinds of desegregation than to others. Its dramatic victories are too often unenforced. Hence the turning of the civil-rights movement toward voter registration and political action, a turning which foundation money and the present Administration have been only too glad to foster.

THE TURN toward political action is both an opportunity and a danger for the civil-rights movement.

The opportunity should be obvious. Exactly a century ago, the Abolitionist orator Wendell Phillips declared:

> The moment a man becomes valuable or terrible to the politician, his rights will be respected. Give the Negro a vote in his hand, and there is not a politician from Abraham Lincoln down to the laziest loafer in the lowest ward of this city, who would not do him honor. . . . Give a man his vote, you give him tools to work and arms to protect himself. The ballot is the true standing ground of Archimedes, planted on which a man can move his world.

Strong evidence to this effect is the fact that the era of Jim Crow legislation in the South — roughly, from 1895 to 1945 — coincides closely with the period in which the Southern Negro was almost totally deprived of the vote. In Louisiana, for example, there were 130,334 registered Negro voters in 1896, and 1,342 in 1904; in 1947, the figure was still no higher than 10,000 while by 1952 it had jumped back up to 120,000.[1] In 1958, the number of registered Negro voters in Louisiana was almost exactly what it had been sixty-two years earlier, 131,068.[2] In the same year, the total Negro registration in the South was about double what it had been ninety years before, at the height of Reconstruction. But whereas in 1868, something like 75 per cent of Southern Negroes of voting age were registered, in 1958 the figure was about 25 per cent (the figure for Southern whites in 1958 was about 60 per cent).[3]

THE importance of voter registration is particularly striking in the area of economics. Here the Black Muslims have scored their most telling hits against the strategy of Martin Luther King. I heard a professor of mathematics, citing government statistics, compare the American economy to a train in which the Negro is the caboose and the number of cars between the caboose and the engine is constantly increased. The continued and heavy unemployment among low-income Negroes, which runs at a rate roughly two and a half times the rate among whites[4], provides the Muslims both arguments and recruits. It is difficult to see how direct or judicial action can affect this situation. Sweeping governmental action is called for, and the Negro is right to provide himself all possible leverage at the polls.

But the danger of a turn from civil disobedience to conventional politics should also be obvious. One has only to think back to the rapid alteration in the spirit of the labor movement during World War II to appreciate how quickly the civil-rights movement might lose its drive and *élan*. The organization of the C.I.O., while hardly nonviolent, was otherwise quite similar to the present surge of student action. The civil-rights movement could be patronized and tamed by Kennedy just as the labor movement was by Roosevelt. A tendency toward bureaucracy and toward a loss of vital contact with the rank-and-file is already apparent in the Southern civil-rights organizations, including the student groups. Commitment to the indirections and artificialities of the political game would rapidly accelerate this trend.

IS IT possible to steer between the Scylla of political abstention and the Charybdis of becoming an appendage of the Democratic Party?

The experience of an older civil-rights movement may provide a few clues. Abolitionism, too, passed through a decade of largely extra-political action until, with the formation of the Liberty Party in 1840, it embarked on the course which ended twenty years later with the election of Lincoln. The key to the Abolitionists' success may have been that, even after entering politics, they never abandoned direct action. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made every citizen of the North liable to be deputized as a slave-catcher. By defying this law personally, even after the Supreme Court upheld it, Abolitionists kept alive the original spirit of their movement while their political involvement steadily increased.

One hopes, therefore, that as today's civil-rights movement turns toward political action, it will not wholly leave behind the spirit and practice of 1954-1961. Every legal and political gain in the struggle has required direct action to prod it into reality. Even the 1954 Supreme Court decision, which seemed to descend as manna from heaven, was partly, of course, a response to the

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[1] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), p. 68; Margaret Price, *The Negro Voter in the South* (Atlanta, 1957), p. 5.

[2] Margaret Price, *The Negro and the Ballot in the South* (Atlanta, 1959), p. 9.

[3] John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1961), p. 80.

[4] See "Negroes and Jobs," *New York Post*, Mar. 25, 1962; Ernest Dunbar, "The Negro in America Today," *Look*, Apr. 10, 1962.

civil disobedience of the Afro-Asian independence movements overseas. Throughout much of the South jail is, and will be for a long time, the place—as Thoreau said—where the man of principle will feel at home.

There is another way in which the spirit of nonviolence will have continuing relevance to the coming period of primarily political action. The curse of the American South has been the "rule-or-ruin" psychology which has repeatedly led its leaders to sacrifice the well-being of the South as a whole in order to retain the privileges of a class. By contrast, the political arm of the Southern civil-rights movement will presumably stand for the kinds of economic development, urban renewal and social welfare which benefit *all* Southerners. Just as during Reconstruction the freedmen were far readier to grant the vote to whites than were ex-Confederates to welcome Negro suffrage, so today the Southern freedom movement must be careful to concern itself with the blighting poverty of the poor white as well as with his Negro counterpart. Thus in politics, as well as in direct action, the movement can fulfill Dr. King's prophetic assertion that its mission is to lift the burden of segregation from black *and* white.

Abolitionists required the Mexican War and the Fugitive Slave Law to keep their spirits pure and their movement independent. Perhaps, so long as the party of Kennedy remains the party of Talmadge, Patterson and Eastland, we need not fear for the soul of the American civil-rights movement as it goes into politics. A good first step would be to run independent candidates at a local level, which the peace movement is already doing.

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# SUMMER CAMPS REVISITED . . *by Hermine G. Basnight*

THIS JUNE approximately 750,000 old footlockers were hauled out of basements all along the Eastern Seaboard, dusted off and stuffed with uniforms and equipment costing about $100 per locker; 9 million name tapes were somehow sewn or ironed on 9 million socks, and 750,000 children were tearfully (though not without a few signs of relief) kissed good-by at railroad stations and airline terminals—all in answer to the call of that perennial Pied Piper of contemporary America, the private summer camp.

Time was when the only reason to send a child to summer camp was a humane one: to get him off the hot New York City (or Boston or Philadelphia or New Haven) streets. Today camping, like everything else, is more complicated. The seemingly limitless ingenuity of camp directors has transformed camping into a sprawling, highly competitive, half-billion-dollar-a-year industry. Since World War II, camps, like other status symbols of an affluent economy, have mushroomed everywhere.

As near as anyone can figure out, 15,500 camps are accommodating 5.5 million kids throughout the United States this summer. Of these, 9,000 are agency and institutional camps serving 3.25 million children; 3,000 are day, school and church camps which cater to 1.5 million campers; and 3,500 private camps for the aforementioned 750,000. There are 500,000 counselors to keep an eye on the children. Add to this the medical, maintenance and kitchen personnel, and the figures climb even higher.

It all started about one hundred years ago when a New England schoolmaster took some boys out overnight for "an experience in outdoor living." But long gone are the days when a canvas tent or simple wooden cabin housed a hardy race of athletic, energetic campers from six to nineteen. Today's campers range from three to fourteen, with teen-agers given special consideration.

In the old days, camp was a potpourri of active sports (baseball, tennis, track, archery, volleyball, basketball, hiking, swimming, canoeing, life-saving) *and* fledgling cultural pursuits (dramatics, tap dancing, arts and crafts, nature study). The most exotic we got was "rifle-range practice," a euphemism for belly-flopping on old mattresses deep in the woods and shooting at Dr. Brown's Celery Tonic bottles. From dawn until dark we chorused songs, songs and more songs.

Yet with all the activities there was always plenty of time for staring at dragon flies, water beetles and June bugs, for listening to rain on the cabin roof. A daily rest hour was spent on blankets under the trees.

Other things I remember: listless girls applying calamine lotion to their poison ivy; the delicious round of three wholesome squares a day; miles of crepe paper; bathing caps; collapsible aluminum cups; flashlights; sweaters tied around the waist; tincture of green soap (for shampoos) dispensed by the camp Mother; nightly medical inspection (choice of mineral oil or milk of magnesia); cheery directors and counselors whom we called Uncle and Aunt and whom we adored.

The coeducational camp was unknown. In those days there was strict segregation of the sexes and the twain met en masse perhaps once a summer, for some discreet musicale. Siblings, of course, were brought together weekly if they attended nearby Brother and Sister camps. ("Did you bring my share of the Indian nuts?")

Camp was something else to me. It was there that I had my first intimations of Other Places, there that I first heard the lilting strains of a Brooklyn accent, the broad A of my New Haven bunkies, the charming drawl of an occasional counselor from the South. Slowly it

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*HERMINE G. BASNIGHT, daughter of a camp owner, spent her first twenty-one summers in camp as camper or counselor.*

Suffrage - Anti 5-62

Harper's MAGAZINE

# THE KENNEDYS MOVE IN ON DIXIE

LOUIS E. LOMAX

*How the two brothers are planning to change the whole political climate of the South, by opening the ballot boxes to hundreds of thousands of Negroes.*

ALTHOUGH the public is scarcely aware of it, the Kennedy Administration is now deeply involved in an unprecedented campaign to get hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes to vote for the first time in their lives.

If successful, this plan will also advance those very civil rights which some of the President's critics accuse him of neglecting—in such fields as schools, housing, and jobs. And, not least important, it will help rivet the Negroes' loyalty to the Democratic party for a long while to come.

The campaign in the South, which is now quietly moving into its second year, is actually a pincers movement: One jaw consists of the Justice Department's legal action in cases of infringement of voting rights. The other is a mass drive to teach Negroes to register—and vote—a drive to be led by the major Negro civil rights organizations and to be financed by substantial grants from private foundations in the North.

The depth of the Kennedys' involvement in the campaign for Negroes' voting rights may come as a surprise to some civil rights enthusiasts. Early in his Administration the President let it be known that he considered disfranchisement the crux of the Southern Negro's affliction. To start its attack, the Justice Department filed fourteen new cases charging racial discrimination by various county registrars in five states of the Deep South; and by December 1961 it was making investigations in sixty-one other counties. These cases were pacesetters—pleadings which, when they are settled, will admit thousands of Negroes to the polls. And to protect these potential Negro voters, the Justice Department has successfully prosecuted two suits which affirmed the government's right to act swiftly, and on its own initiative, in behalf of Negro voters facing economic or physical reprisals.

The private civil rights organizations began to get into the act during the spring of 1961. Negro leaders were approached individually by white liberals who assured them that money could be raised if the various civil rights organizations would work together. The chief spokesman was the prominent New York lawyer, Lloyd Garrison. Listening to the proposal, several Negro leaders became convinced that the sponsors were unofficial emissaries from the White House. After several rounds of individual talks, when a consensus seemed to be reached, the Negro leaders

were invited to a joint meeting where Mr. Garrison made the presentation; the core of his argument was that voter registration is the place where the most substantial Negro gains can be made with bold government support. This, of course, is the Kennedy Administration's position, and the reasoning supporting it is cold political fact:

(1) Voter registration is the area where the Justice Department has the most power; it can move swiftly, and, if need be, on its own motion. (This power was guaranteed by the civil rights bill passed in 1957.)

(2) Voter registration is the one civil rights item white supremacists cannot afford to oppose publicly, for the right to vote is basic to the American system of government.

(3) Negroes have the most difficulty in areas where their numerical strength poses a political threat. If these Negroes voted, they could help to elect better local officials. This, in the Administration view, would be the critical step toward general civil rights advancement.

(4) A major increase in the number of Southern Negro voters would not only change things at home but would change the complexion of Congress; Southern reactionaries would either mend their ways or run the risk of being voted out of office. Then, and only then, could the Administration get its liberal legislation, including civil rights, through Congress.

(5) Finally, the program is the Administration's most convincing answer to those critics who charge that the President is falling down on his 1960 pledges.

The civil rights leaders with whom this program was discussed were Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Whitney Young, the new executive director of the Urban League, Edward King of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of CORE, and Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council. Some suspected that the move was an attempt to siphon off support for the sit-ins and freedom rides, and this fear increased when Attorney General Robert Kennedy called for a "cooling off" period last May lest innocent persons be hurt during the Montgomery to Jackson bus ride.* But friends of the President pointed out that the voter registration program would, in fact, aid these efforts by making it possible for the money then being spent for voter registration to be diverted to other purposes such as mass demonstrations at restaurants and bus terminals.

The next hurdle—disagreement among the Negro leadership groups on just who would do what, who would get how much, and how they would arrange to stay out of each other's hair—was overcome by a proposal that the Southern Regional Council act as administrator for the money. This is an organization based in the South that relies upon moral suasion and accurate research to bring on racial harmony; consequently it is not involved in the fierce competition that has enveloped Negro leadership organizations since the sit-ins.

Much to the surprise of all concerned, the Urban League was the first to agree to the plan. (The Urban League, which considered itself a "social agency," has been in partial eclipse for the past several years because it refused to enter into any kind of controversial activity. Its "new image" is due to the appointment of Whitney Young, a militant liberal and former Dean of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University, as executive secretary.)

After the Urban League came the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the student organizations, and, after a long delay that almost wrecked the program, the NAACP. (The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund could not participate because it is restricted under tax regulations to legal activities.)

The Taconic Foundation, a Delaware corporation with offices in New York, has promised a grant of a quarter-million dollars for the educational purposes of the drive; the Field Foundation, $75,000; and others may come in soon. (The Taconic Foundation, started in 1958, is headed by Stephen R. Currier; Lloyd Garrison is its attorney.) The mechanics of the program are complex, but in essence they boil down to this: The Southern Regional Council will act as general supervisor, but the grant will go to the

* This is the Administration's explanation. However, many liberals, including the author, felt that the Attorney General sought a slack-off of the freedom rides lest mob demonstrations embarrass the President, who was then on an overseas mission.

*Louis E. Lomax's first book, "The Reluctant African," won the Anisfield-Wolf Award for 1961, and his recent television documentary, "Walk in My Shoes" (he was its co-producer for ABC), won the Thomas A. Edison Award. His new book will be "The Negro Revolt"—to be published by Harper & Brothers in June.*

Voter Education Program, a newly formed agency with offices a few feet down the hall from the Southern Regional Council on Forsyth Street in Atlanta. A Negro lawyer, Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff, Arkansas (the man who made headlines as attorney for the nine Negro students in Little Rock), has moved to Atlanta to head the project.

So the stage is set for President Kennedy to fight the civil rights battle of his preference on grounds of his own choosing. Although the Justice Department has appeared as a friend of the court in behalf of the freedom riders and sit-in demonstrators, the Administration does not feel these things are of basic importance. Five hundred Negroes going to jail for the right to sit in a Jackson, Mississippi, airport restaurant is more than a dramatic gesture, and the Administration is willing to help them. But this is not the script it likes best.

### A SCRIPT FOR JACKSON

A MORE significant civil rights drama—if I may take the liberty of a fantasy—would open with five thousand Negroes singing and praying as they march toward the voter registration office in Jackson, Mississippi. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, and Whitney Young would march, pray, and sing with them, as they round the bend from "colored town" and head down Jackson's main street toward City Hall. At the registration office, we see the white officials peeping horrified out of the windows, slamming shut the door, and hanging up a sign reading "Closed until further notice, which won't be no time soon."

As the curtain descends, the Negro marchers kneel; one prays while the multitude sing softly, "Like a tree planted by the waters, I shall not be moved."

My script of Act II calls for Attorney General Robert Kennedy to speed to City Hall by limousine from the Jackson airport, to persuade the white officials into their senses by argument and federal injunction, and to deputize his Assistant Attorney General for civil rights, Burke Marshall, to restrain the more extreme local segregationists (such as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council). As the curtain descends, the Negroes are parading to the polls.

Act II is rather hard to stage, but Act III is a simple dialogue between two Southern Senators on Capitol Hill:

First Senator: "By God, niggers are voting in my state."

Second Senator: "Hell, they are a-voting in mine too; and furthermore, they ain't niggers, they are colored citizens."

The fantasy is mine, but it by no means exaggerates the results which the Kennedy Administration hopes to attain. I believe the hope is a practical one, for this reason: If the present pincers movement were an entirely outside affair, I am sure it would fail. It happens, however, to coincide with spontaneous local political action by Negroes in the South. Brave and resourceful men and women are already planting essential grass-roots support.

For example, this is what is actually going on in Mississippi:

For the first time since Reconstruction, two Negroes are making a serious bid for Congressional seats. One of them is Reverend R. L. T. Smith of Jackson, who seeks to defeat the incumbent, arch-segregationist John Bell Williams; the other is Reverend Theodore Trammell, of Clarksdale.* Trammell's district is, by population, predominantly Negro, yet it includes such counties as Walthall and Tallahatchie where no Negroes have voted since the turn of the century. It also includes Coahoma County (Clarksdale) where race relations are excellent, by Mississippi standards. The Reverend Smith's district was almost 50 per cent Negro when he announced. It has since been enlarged to include the "white" suburbs of Jackson, thus reducing the Negro voter potential to about 35 per cent.

When the Reverends Smith and Trammell announced their candidacies—Trammell is Methodist, Smith is Baptist—their prospects were so slim as to make the attempt almost bizarre. This is why:

- To vote in Mississippi one must prove he has paid his poll tax—two dollars in Smith's district, three dollars in Trammell's—two years in a row unless he has just reached the voting eligibility age of twenty-one, in which case he must present one poll-tax receipt and an exemption certificate. (Four other Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia—have poll taxes.)
- After he pays his poll tax, he must pass a "literacy test" consisting of an examination of twenty-one questions, one of which requires that the potential voter interpret any section or all of the thirty-page Mississippi constitution.
- Although Mississippi has almost a million Negroes only 60,000 are registered voters.

* As this article went to press, news came that the Reverend Trammell died of a heart attack on March 17. No one was immediately named to take up his candidacy.

• The Mississippi Negro intellectuals who could organize a Negro voter registration program are sidelined because the bulk of them work for the state as schoolteachers and would risk their jobs by getting involved.

• The Negro masses in Mississippi, as they do everywhere, work for white people. And, according to the legend, they are afraid to register and vote.

• Even putting aside the social and psychological factors, Negro candidates are doomed until Congress passes legislation regulating poll taxes and literacy tests. Yet, like the bumblebee who flies in ignorance of the laws of aerodynamics which say his wingspread is too short, Smith and Trammell have taken to the stump in the bayous, with amazing results.

By early March, they had raised a $25,000 campaign kitty, some of it from "private" white audiences who invited them to speak. Reverend Smith has bought time on one of Jackson's TV stations and stated his campaign platform. The other station refused and he is now asking the Federal Communications Commission to force it to sell him time. Neither candidate has been pressured. Both told me they have received crank calls but neither took them seriously. Both said that federal legal actions to protect voting rights have shaken white Mississippians into some hesitancy about their usual capers at the voting booth, for fear, in Reverend Smith's words, "that the Justice Department will come down upon them as the plagues of God did upon the Egyptians."

Nevertheless, the odds are still against the Reverends Smith and Trammell. Their first goal is to get on the ballot for the "white" Democratic primary now scheduled for early June. But the Negro candidates' battle plan is chiefly to draw enough primary votes to force a runoff.

Another Mississippi Negro working effectively to educate Negroes for registration is Dr. Arline Young, a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania who is now a professor of zoology at Jackson State College. She has put her job on the chopping block by organizing voter registration schools in Jackson, but so far she has neither been threatened by state officials nor been rebuked by the Negro president of the state-supported college.

On the day Dr. Young talked to me she had to cut the conversation short. Four of her voter registration pupils—all Negro women over forty—had attempted to register but were turned back when the registrar politely explained, "We ran out of registration forms and had to order new ones. They have just come in but the ink on them is not dry yet." Dr. Young was on her way to the registration office with the four women and was confident that "the ink will be dry by the time I get there."

Alabama Negroes are also on the move. Two Birmingham Negroes are assured of seats on the 144-member Jefferson County Democratic party steering committee, as the result of a federal district court ruling on March 23 that they must be allowed to run in the "white" primary. Eight other Negroes are running against white candidates for steering committee seats—five of them from predominantly Negro districts.

### JUSTICE KEEPS TRACK

THESE courageous few, acting on their own, and with only silent and scattered support from local white sympathizers, have set modest goals. But their action, as seen from Washington, is much more important than electing one or two good Congressmen—refreshing as that outcome might be. The Department of Justice is not blind in this field; it is gathering information on the potential Negro vote throughout the South and it has practical plans to make that vote a reality. The following statistics suggest the political scope of the Negro registration drive. (The percentages refer to adults of voting age, Negro or white.)

Negroes comprise 40 per cent of the voting potential in seven of Alabama's nine Congressional Districts.

Among Mississippi's six Congressional Districts, Negroes are 50 per cent in four districts; 32 per cent in one; 23 per cent in one.

South Carolina has six Congressional Districts: Negroes are more than 40 per cent in two of them, 35 per cent in two others, and more than 20 per cent in the remaining two.

Negroes are 33 per cent of the potential voters in six of Georgia's ten Congressional Districts.

They are at least 25 per cent in all eight of Louisiana's Congressional Districts, and are more than 40 per cent in one.

When these Congressional District figures are broken down to city and county levels, the balance, in favor of Negroes, is even more impressive. Mississippi, for example, has eighty-two counties: among adults, Negroes predominate in eighteen of these counties; five counties are about evenly balanced. Marengo County, Alabama, is a striking—though not unique—case of Negro voter potential: it has 8,000 voting-age Negroes, 7,000 adult white people. But 5,000 white adults

are registered voters as against only 139 Negroes.

So, throughout the Deep South, the story runs. And it is the theory of the Kennedy Administration that once these Negroes gain the franchise they can change conditions at home and in Washington. But how will the scheme which looks so good on paper and in statistics work out in practice?

"It's already working," Assistant Attorney General Marshall told me. "We have been working closely with the Negroes in Macon County [Alabama] and Fayette and Haywood Counties [Tennessee] and changes are already in the making. We have gone to court to see to it that these Negroes are allowed to register without reprisals. We won and they are registering."

I reminded Burke Marshall that Negroes in the South hesitate to run the risk of voting when the choice is between two equally abusive white candidates. "We expect our voter registration efforts not only to produce better white candidates for Negroes to choose from," he replied, "but we fully expect to have Negro candidates emerge."

Only time can say how all this will work out, but the Administration is fully convinced that it is on the right track. What it fears most at this juncture—and, I think, correctly—is that the Negro leadership organizations, either because of bickering among themselves or lack of contact with the Negro masses, will fail to draw out large numbers of potential Negro voters. For this reason the voter registration grant by the foundations is not limited to the established Negro organizations. Any group interested in voter education may apply, and I predict that if the established organizations seem to be falling short, a number of local organizations—such as the Montgomery, Alabama, and Albany, Georgia, movements—will obtain grants from the Voter Education Program for its specific purposes. Two promising groups are the citizens in Clarksdale, Mississippi, who have put several thousand Negroes on the registration books in the last twelve months and the Co-ordinating Voters Committee in Jackson, Mississippi, which Dr. Young heads. These are grass-roots movements and they seem to be closer to the Kennedy view than the overstructured Negro leadership organizations are. For example, I interviewed Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Dr. Arline Young. Here is what each one said:

Dr. Young: "We have three problems down here: Many Negroes are lethargic about voting but the appearance of two Negroes as Congressional candidates has done a good deal to help eliminate that. The other two problems we face are the poll tax and the literacy tests. We can raise the money and help Negroes pay the poll tax but the literacy test is beyond us. Many of the students who come to my voter registration schools fail the registration test because they cannot interpret the Mississippi State Constitution to suit the white officials. If we could just get rid of that literacy test we could really do wonders down here."

Attorney General Robert Kennedy: "I can say to you that we are quite determined about getting Congressional action that will eliminate the poll tax and literacy test as prerequisites for voting. We have already moved through the courts to strike down the literacy test in Louisiana. Our position is known, and we plan to make a major effort on Capitol Hill for legislation in this area." (The Department is also preparing a case on the literacy test in Mississippi.)

This January Majority Leader Mike Mansfield introduced in the Senate a bill drafted in his office and in the Justice Department that would standardize voting literacy tests. Based upon the report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, the bill would admit any citizen who has completed sixth grade, in English or Spanish, to the polls. Minority Leader Everett Dirksen cut short a speaking tour in Illinois and returned to Washington to act as co-sponsor of the bill. The measure went before the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Mississippi Senator James Eastland—the unfortunate fate of most civil rights bills. However Mansfield has served notice that he will move to bring the bill out of committee if the group has not acted by May first. The Administration also wants action abolishing poll taxes in elections of federal officials, and Senator Spessard Holland is sponsoring a Constitutional amendment for that purpose. This is a slow method, requiring both Congressional passage and ratification by the states, but this spring it seemed to have a chance, for it passed in the Senate. (The Administration's literacy bill, however, appeared likely to founder on debate of the issue of constitutionality.)

### THE PRESIDENT'S SCORE

WHATEVER the merits and success of the President's voting scheme, the Administration will continue to be under attack from Negro leaders for failure to take certain Executive actions and support a variety of civil

rights bills. The criticism of the President will become a national issue when the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (a committee composed of the heads of all civil rights organizations, Negro and Jewish) stages a march on Washington late this spring to protest against what they call "a retreat from the civil rights plank in the 1960 Democratic platform."

The Negro leaders want the President to go all out for legislation that would establish a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee; they want an act of Congress making school desegregation the law of the land; they want the restoration of Part III of the 1957 Civil Rights bill. (This section of the bill was deleted because of Southern opposition; it would empower the Attorney General to move on all civil rights issues, and to move on his own motion. This would remove the onus from embattled Southern Negroes, many of whom are afraid to file complaints against white persons who abuse them.)

In terms of Executive action, the Negro leaders want mainly (1) an order striking down segregation in federally aided housing and (2) enforcement of an existing order calling for the end of discrimination by private companies handling government contracts.

These are the same demands the civil rights leaders made of the President early in the summer of 1961. The President gave them a cordial audience at that time; he told them he understood that the very nature of their jobs made it necessary that they keep him under continuing pressure. But his reply to their demands was "No, not now." Then the President went on to state his conviction that voter registration was the better civil rights course for him to follow.

Despite the mounting criticism from liberals, the President's civil rights position has not shifted. Mr. Kennedy is even more certain now than he was last year that by election time—1962 and 1964—he will have more sway with the liberal voters, including Negroes, than his critics will. There are several reasons for confidence:

First, Kennedy has appointed more Negroes to top federal jobs than any President in history. The Assistant White House Press Officer is a Negro; so is an Assistant Secretary of State and an Assistant Secretary of Labor. The nation's housing boss not only is a Negro but is a former chairman of the executive board of the NAACP. This Administration has appointed two Negroes as United States Attorneys, the first in history, and has broken precedent again by naming two Negroes to federal district judgeships. The number of Negro attorneys in the Department of Justice—chosen solely for quality, not for color—has increased fivefold, from ten to fifty, since Mr. Kennedy took office and his brother took over the Justice Department.

All this didn't "just grow." The Deans of fifty law schools are now on the scout for promising Negro students, at the request of the Administration. For the first time in history, the Department of Justice will have a number of Negro law applicants on file for jobs.

Second, Southern rural Negroes are now leaving the South and so are voting with their feet. Upwards of a million Negroes went North in the decade of the 'fifties. Less than 20 per cent of the nation's nineteen million Negroes now live in rural areas, and, as of 1960, over 50 per cent were living outside the Southeastern states.

This Negro migration—the greatest going on anywhere in the world—works for the Kennedy Administration. Once Negroes move to urban areas, even in the South, they have less difficulty at the polls and, on the whole, vote Democratic (68 per cent of the Negro voters voted for Mr. Kennedy in 1960 as against only 49 per cent of the white voters). Also, the Negro voter—job discrimination being what it is—embraces a political philosophy which meshes precisely with the legislative program Kennedy is attempting to get through Congress over the opposition of Southern reactionaries and conservative Republicans. Needless to say, urban and non-Southern Negroes will be deeply impressed by the Kennedy voter registration drive once it gets under way. The plan will not make much of a dent upon the South for another year or two, but the publicity that is sure to arise from the registration of thousands of Southern Negroes will cause their Northern brothers to vote Democratic in larger numbers than ever.

Third, there is not a Republican on the horizon who can match the Administration's civil rights record. Governor Rockefeller has an emotional appeal to many middle-class Negroes who have graduated from Negro colleges supported by Rockefeller money, but his civil rights record in New York has been without luster. Hence his denunciation of Kennedy's "record of broken promises" is relatively ineffective. Richard Nixon has yet to explain why he didn't try to get Martin Luther King out of jail on the eve of the 1960 elections (Kennedy did intervene, and, according to his biographers, the phone call in Dr. King's behalf swayed the nation's Negro voters and, thus, the election). Senator Barry Goldwater has openly advised his party to forget

about the Negro vote. That means that Negroes will forget about him should he get the GOP nomination. And if the Republicans hitch their wagon to George Romney's rising political star they are indeed in for a shock. For Romney, now a candidate for the Michigan GOP gubernatorial nomination, is an elder in the Mormon Church and must somehow explain to Negro voters how he can embrace a faith that bars Negroes from its priesthood.

### "A STROKE OF THE PEN"

NO doubt, John F. Kennedy stands well with the Negro voters. Even so the President must answer to the people and to his own sense of commitment, as his biographer James MacGregor Burns calls it, for his failure to issue the much discussed Executive order ending discrimination in federally aided housing. Mr. Kennedy himself helped heat the coals that are now being heaped upon his head when in 1960 he said the Republicans were insincere about civil rights because they refused to issue such an order. "This," said the then Senator Kennedy, "the President [Mr. Eisenhower] could do with a stroke of his pen." The order has been on Mr. Kennedy's desk for over a year now, and he has yet to make that critical stroke with his pen.

"The argument is not over *if* we are going to issue the order," Louis E. Martin of the Democratic National Committee, and a Negro, told me, "the question is *when* we are going to do it."

Behind this delay lies a typical Kennedy operation. The Administration had hoped to have the confirmation of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, a Negro, as head of the proposed new Urban Affairs Department signed and delivered before the order was issued. (This would allow the South time to swallow one pill before another was offered.) When the agency was defeated in Congress this February, the question of a Negro in the Cabinet was no longer a factor affecting the housing order. (However, the Weaver affair did win the President additional favor with Negro voters; every major Negro newspaper praised the President for the attempt.) The Administration's stated reason for the delay, as of now, is to give the Administration time to do some house cleaning in the housing bureau itself.

"We would rather face the voters in 1962 and have the liberals say we didn't issue the order," one of the President's advisers told me, "than to say we issued it and couldn't make our own people carry it out." To protect themselves against just this, the Administration has organized a number of pressure moves, mostly political and in both the South and the North, to propel reluctant local housing officials in the right direction once the order is given. Undoubtedly, also, the Administration is giving prior consideration to passage of its tariff legislation.

As for the order itself, it will be issued—possibly by summer, almost certainly by the November elections. It will probably contain a Kennedy twist: a provision to strike down discrimination in the unions supplying workers on such housing. (The construction crafts unions are still lily-white even in the North.) Thus the order, as now envisioned, will not only open all federally aided housing to Negroes but will provide some of them with jobs so that they can pay their rent.

Clearly, then, much of the liberal criticism of the President can be reduced to a matter of timing. As the full implications of the Kennedy drive to register Negro voters in the South and other civil rights moves become clear, the question to be argued will be why he took so long. And once again it will be Mr. Kennedy's own words by which he will be weighed. He was a candidate on September 9, 1960, in Los Angeles, when he said: The President "cannot wait for others to act. He himself must draft the programs, transmit them to Congress and fight for their enactment, taking his case to the people if the Congress is slow."

This the President has not done. His delay, I am convinced, is a necessary concomitant of political mechanics: the awesome task of moving Congress (a Congress where he has no real majority backing), of rallying private support, of changing, legally, the political and economic situation of the Negroes in the South and wherever they are discriminated against. He got into the Presidency by political maneuvering—the only way he could have got there—and he cannot afford an absolutely moralistic attitude on any single issue, particularly one so explosive as civil rights. It is true: he has not kept all of his promises by time clock. But he has a strong defense—part of which is the massive and necessarily slow voter registration drive.

There are, of course, some men who would have elected a different course than that decided upon by President Kennedy. Like Isaiah, they would thunder for all to hear and, they hope, tremble. But in practical terms—the things men eat, vote, and pay rent by—would these moralists accomplish as much as the complex and burdened man from Boston is now achieving?

Frankly, I doubt it.

Suffrage, So. 1962



and the Interstate Commerce Commission almost invariably goes along.

The President's proposals to spend $500 million, in 3 years, to help solve the problem of urban mass transportation found eager assistance on Capitol Hill. Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, Democrat, of New Jersey, long has been plugging for such a program and there's a good chance that hearings will be held on his legislation, providing essentials for what the President asked in this limited field.

All in all, the message did little to presage massive changes in the status quo. If it is implemented by Congress, it will be a plus for the railroads, but will not be considered the open sesame to solve the many pressing problems of the industry.

J.F.K. also gave what was considered to be unqualified endorsement to the recent report of his Presidential Railroad Commission, which urged abolishment of featherbedding jobs through the Nation's rail system, although protecting the income of most of the existing work force.

The President renewed his earlier request for repeal of the 10-percent excise on passenger tickets. There's a good chance that Congress will act on this subject, this session.

Among secondary recommendations, the President proposed:

1. Prohibiting railroads from barring or charging discriminatory rates to carry truck trailers, or piggybacking; 2, permitting railroads to carry coal, oil or other commodities from their own holdings for sale to outsiders; 3, directing the regulatory agencies to allow the setting of experimental rates and modification or combination of existing rate classes.

Daniel Loomis, president of the Association of American Railroads, headquartered here, declared that the President's proposals "will go a long way in helping to develop a sound, overall transportation system."

KEFAUVER MOVES TO PREVENT HASTY MERGERS

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, who has become the Nation's No. 1 trustbuster as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, has turned on the steam in his drive to halt major rail mergers.

In early February, the Tennessee solon delivered a long, well-researched speech suggesting that such mergers be held up. In early April, he delivered a slightly heavier blow by introducing S. 3097, which, if enacted, would bar the Interstate Commerce Commission from approving any of the gigantic merger proposals now pending until December 31, 1963. His powerful cosigners of the new bill included Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, Senate majority leader; Senator LEE METCALF, Democraft, of Montana, and some seven other well-known solons.

In a speech introducing the bill—which well may take precedence in Capitol Hill discussions over the President's own transportation message—Senator KEFAUVER called for a broad Senate merger probe. J.F.K. has said he was setting up an interagency committee in order to furnish broader criteria to regulatory agencies (notably the ICC and the Civil Aeronautics Board), in ruling on mergers.

"Time is running out," Senator KEFAUVER told his colleagues. "Some very large and very important rail merger proposals before the Interstate Commerce Commission have finished with their hearings or are nearing completion.

"The Seaboard-Atlantic Coast Line merger application is awaiting momentarily the examiner's decision. Since the Southern recently received the examiner's approval for its control over the Central of Georgia, any further opposition by it to the Seaboard-Atlantic Coast Line union may well blow away, especially as the Southern now seeks to acquire the Georgia & Florida. The Southern Pacific's fight with the Santa Fe over control of the Western Pacific also has been concluded. Hearings have started on the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, and Burlington merger proposal. It is expected that they will be completed by June.

"The hearings on the Chesapeake & Ohio's petition for control of the B. & O. are over. The major opponent, the New York Central, withdrew from that case the day it announced its proposed merger with the Pennsylvania. The Norfolk & Western, Nickel Plate, Wabash proceedings started last December and have been moving rapidly since the New York Central withdrew its opposition, again on the day it announced the merger with the Pennsylvania. Meantime, hearings are developing in a game of musical chairs involving the Louisville & Nashville—which is controlled by the Atlantic Coast Line—the Illinois Central, the Missouri Pacific, the Chicago & Eastern Illinois and other roads in the Midwest and in the South.

"Thus, time is very much the essence. The records, such as they are, are being made and the cases are becoming closed. Action to halt this movement, pending a full investigation, must be taken in this session of Congress * * *."

The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce, but no word of hasty action has been heard from Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, chairman, who usually does not rush into action without lots of prodding.

Labor unions—if that's any news—are fighting mergers tooth and nail. They have lined up solidly behind the Kefauver bill and just might be able to swing enough weight in this election year to get some action on it in the Senate.

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## Civil Rights Legislation and the Filibuster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, June 6, 1962*

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on the day following the collapse in the Senate of the attempt to secure a vote on the administration's literacy test bill, the noted ABC Commentator Edward P. Morgan broadcast a cogent analysis of this latest defeat for the Nation at the hands of the filibuster.

Mr. Morgan's comments deserve wide attention, for they put the challenge squarely to the Senate, along the lines of the fine Senate speech by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

Is the Senate of the United States at least an equal and coodinate part of a 20th century Congress, or is the Senate "letting the world pass it by" under obsolete procedures of a previous century?

I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of Mr. Morgan's broadcast of May 16, 1962, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND THE FILIBUSTER

The Senate buried civil rights legislation yesterday for this session of Congress and the ceremony demonstrated how time has passed the august body by. More civil rights legislation is needed but Southern obstructionists, seemingly unmindful of what is going on around them, blocked a bill which would have made it harder to deny Negroes their constitutional right to vote. That, however, is only part of the story. Another illuminating part is that nobody pushed the measure very vigorously and nobody has even substantially mourned its demise. What, then, happened and why?

One of the surest ways that Negroes can be freed from the bondage of second-class citizenship is to make it possible for them to vote, which particularly the Southern Negro population has been unable to do despite constitutional guarantees of that basic right. Official reports of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission have demonstrated irrefutably how Negroes are systematically disenfranchised in 100 counties in 8 Southern States by the blatant abuse of literacy tests. College graduates, for example, have not been allowed to register because they slipped up in a sentence or a punctuation mark in reciting from the Federal Constitution or some other official document. The thrust of the administration bill was to check this abuse by entitling anybody with a sixth-grade education to vote, if otherwise qualified.

Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD thought this was vital legislation which would open the polls to countless thousands of Negroes. But nobody got aroused about it, much. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made no burning statement in support of it. ADA, Americans for Democratic Action, with a long and admirable history of fighting for civil rights, even indicated the measure was of piffling importance.

Pressures did not build up on Congress. Senator JOSEPH CLARK, a liberal Democrat from Pennsylvania, estimated he received at least 26,000 pieces of mail, much of it motivated by the savings and loan lobby, on the move to collect revenue on dividends and interest via the withholding tax. But he got less than 26 letters on the literacy test bill. Other Senators' experiences were similar.

Then came the first vote, a week ago today, to apply cloture and shut off the Southern filibuster, unrobust as it was, delaying a vote on the civil rights bill. The more needed a two-thirds majority and it didn't even get a simple majority. It failed, 53 to 43. But then the Senate turned right around and voted 64 to 33 not to table the legislation. This showed that if it hadn't been for the refusal to invoke cloture, a majority would have passed the bill. Then Monday a second cloture move failed, 52 to 42, and the bill was dead.

Who was kidding whom? One fact is that the southerners can count on nonsouthern support for the filibuster. This is partly due to past political deals; for example Alaska statehood was finally realized reportedly in return for a pledge not to vote for cloture. Some other Western States, despite the fact that each has exactly the same number of votes in the Senate as the most populous eastern State, seem to have developed a psychological block about the filibuster, as if they didn't dare to oppose it on civil rights for fear they might not be able to use it themselves for other purposes.

In a kind of funeral oration on the Senate's action, Senator CLARK observed yesterday that it was "an old captivity of ours" to be unwilling to violate tradition by imposing a limitation on debate although the Senate "knew it was ready for action and the majority wanted to act."

He urged his colleagues to "look into our hearts to see whether we in this body are not operating under a great delusion * * * that we are not a part of the world today * * * that in this air-conditioned chamber, filled with genial friends, we can, in a sense, let the rest of the world go by

while we continue to operate under procedures which were obsolete before the end of the 19th century."

The fact that the Senate is letting the world pass it by explains, in part, why liberals and liberal groups did not push the bill—especially since the executive branch is continuing to take direct action. Sixty-four suits have already been filed on behalf of Negroes denied their voting rights in 64 counties of 8 Southern States.

Other figures speak even more impressively. Democratic Party registration drives have just been completed among Negro voters in major Southern cities. Here are some of the unofficial results: In Houston, with 119,000 Negroes of voting age, more than half—70,000—are now registered; Fort Worth 14,000; Dallas 34,000; Memphis 82,000; New Orleans 35,000; Atlanta 42,000; Miami 31,000. In a close election in any of these cities, these Negro voters could swing it.

Some Senators would argue this is proof more legislation is not needed. What it proves is how aloof from reality the Senate has made itself and how chagrined it should be that it is hindering instead of helping the exciting process in which the American Negro is claiming first-class citizenship.

## King-Anderson Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, June 6, 1962*

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, typical of the comments from letter writers and editors in the Second District of Minnesota is the analysis of the King-Anderson bill by Russell Bowers of the Westbrook Sentinel of Westbrook, Minn. Under unanimous consent, I place the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

KING-ANDERSON NOT THE ANSWER

Countless thousands of words are being exchanged in our Nation regarding possible merits of the controversial Kennedy-backed King-Anderson health insurance bill for the aged. It may resolve into one of the most bitterly contested measures ever debated by Congress.

Certainly more opinions are being expressed on this proposed bit of legislation than any other for some time.

The bill, which would supposedly provide payment for medical and hospital care for persons over 65 has already caused a split in the ranks of the Democratic supporters of the measure. Many confirmed Demos find themselves opposed to the proposal.

The writer must join the ranks of those persons who do not feel this type of legislation is the answer to whatever problem may exist.

First, in our opinion, this is a compulsory type bill, similar to social security. Whenever it becomes compulsory to subscribe to Government programs you, without question, have Government control. Experience has proven that Government control is definitely second best.

Second, who will benefit? The administration admits that persons over 65 total only 10 percent of this country's population, yet everyone presently paying social security would pay for compulsory health insurance.

Of the 10 percent of our population of persons 65 and over, almost one-third presently have private health insurance, thus cutting down still further the number of needy persons.

Third, it is our opinion the bill would tend to create an inflationary trend in the cost of medical care and possibly an inflationary trend in prices of all commodities in general.

Provisions of the bill call for the employer to also pay part of the cost of the program for each employee, similar to the deductions now made for social security.

If the employer must also pay part of the cost he will, most likely, have to pass along to his customer the extra expense in the form of increased charges for products and services. This, in turn, will cause labor to increase wage demands, all adding to the spiral upward in prices.

It would seem foolhardy to subject this country's entire population to a program, whose cost can only be guessed at, only to benefit a small portion of our people.

## Progress Report on Great Lakes Port Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, June 6, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, in the next few weeks the Committee on Public Works will receive from the U.S. Corps of Engineers the last of some 40 interim reports recommending improvements on the harbors of the Great Lakes from Duluth, Minn., to Ogdensburg, N.Y. This is part of a program which I had the privilege of initiating in the Committee on Public Works—Public Law 434, 84th Congress, approved March 21, 1956, and committee resolution adopted June 27, 1956—to provide deep-draft harbor improvements and deep-draft connecting channels on the Great Lakes as part of the overall Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway.

The Engineering News-Record of May 31, 1962, carries a comprehensive report of this huge port development program on the Great Lakes and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT LAKES PORT DEVELOPMENT WILL TAKE CONSTRUCTION MILLIONS

This summer the Army Corps of Engineers North Central Division will submit the last of about 40 interim reports recommending improvements on harbors on the Great Lakes from Duluth, Minn., to Ogdensburg, N.Y. This will complete the nearly 6-year-old Great Lakes harbors study. Meanwhile, 18 harbor improvements recommended earlier under the program and approved by Congress are scheduled to hit full stride.

The Great Lakes harbors study, authorized in 1956, constitutes a port-by-port blueprint for a 10-year program of dredging, shoal removal, and breakwater construction. It is expected to cost the Government more than $160 million in initial expenditures.

BIG SHIPS FORCE BROAD VIEW

Although improvements on individual Great Lakes harbors have generally been in progress for more than a century, this is the first time harbor improvements have been planned in the context of an overall view of lake traffic and the relationship of each harbor to its neighbors.

The reason for the present program: The increasing size of vessels going into service on interlake traffic and the entry of deep-draft oversea traffic through the St. Lawrence Seaway cause profound changes in Great Lakes traffic patterns.

IT'S NOT ALL FEDERAL

Under terms of the current program, industry and local governments will invest additional millions to take advantage of the basic harbor work. Normally, the Government will sponsor only general navigational improvements, such as channel deepening, breakwaters, and turning basins. Local interests must back up this work with concurrent improvements in docks and cargo facilities.

Although the Federal Government will bear the lion's share of the improvement program, local interests will match or exceed the Government's investment in some instances. Before recommending a project, the Corps of Engineers demands concrete evidence of local willingness to participate.

Local action can vary widely from port to port, but usually includes actual construction of shore facilities, a straight cash contribution, or an industrial expansion. The Corps of Engineers always requires guaranteed rights-of-way and liability protection. For example, at Burns Waterway, Ind., the corps requires construction of a fully integrated steelmill to use the proposed harbor.

SOME CONTRACTS UNDERWAY

Specific recommendations by the Corps of Engineers under the Great Lake harbors study range from a now nearly completed $80,000 deepening project at Two Harbors, Minn., to a still unauthorized $25.5-million plan to create the harbor at Burns Waterway.

Congress so far has appropriated $6.5 million for engineering and actual work on 18 harbor improvements originally authorized in the 1960 Rivers and Harbors Act. The Corps of Engineers has requested $23.2 million more for fiscal 1963 to continue projects underway.

Total cost of this first phase, involving the 18 harbors, is estimated at $79.7 million between now and 1966. Approximately 27.6 million cubic yards of earth and 1.2 million cubic yard of rock will be removed to deepen and extend channels; also involved is one-third of a million square yards of shoal removal.

So far 6 major contracts worth a total of $10.3 million have been let, and nearly a score more, involving work on 11 additional harbors, are scheduled to be advertised and let by year's end. One small harbor project is now nearing completion, with a Government vessel and labor hired by the Corps of Engineers. All bids on that job by contractors were rejected as excessive.

YEAR-TO-YEAR FINANCING

So-called continuing-type contratcs are used on these jobs, as a legal protection for the Government against possible refusal of Congress to appropriate funds for continuation of a project from 1 fiscal year to the next. Since Congress does not normally appropriate money for more than a year at a time.

Thus all contracts have a self-nullification clause that can be invoked in this event. This explains how the Corps of Engineers has been able to let contracts totaling more than $10 million even though Congress has appropriated only $6.5 million to date.

PHASE 2 UP TO THIS CONGRESS

With the first phase of the harbor improvement program set to go into high gear pending action by Congress, a program slating 16 more harbors for improvement is almost ready for presentation to Congress for authorization this session.

Initial construction costs on the second series of harbors are estimated at more than $76 million, with completion scheduled

Suffrage South



6-11-62

# NEGRO GOAL: BALANCE OF POWER IN THE SOUTH

**In Southern States, an important political force is rising rapidly.**

**By the thousands, Negroes are enrolling as voters in the South's cities as a result of a quiet but massive campaign.**

**Supported by outside money, coached by labor's political experts, Southern Negroes are breaking the old barriers, edging toward real power at the polls.**

ATLANTA

A political tide that is rising in the South can greatly change the shape of things in the years ahead.

The tide shows in the mounting numbers of Negroes who are registering and qualifying to vote. An organized, well-financed effort, steadily and with little fanfare, is bringing tens of thousands of Negroes into voter-registration and poll-tax offices all across the South.

In the 11 States of the old Confederacy, more than 100,000 names of Negro voters have been added to lists in the last year. The goal is to add at least 500,000 more by 1964. This would bring the total to 2 million for the next presidential election—about 15 per cent of all qualified voters in the 11 States and enough to hold the balance of power in many areas.

Many Southern Negroes long have contended that the first step toward changing laws and attitudes in their region was to get the vote. They reasoned that, if the Negro vote was a decisive factor in winning elections, Southern politicians would bid for that vote. This view is reflected in the present drive.

***Money and help.*** The drive is massive, forceful and well financed. It has the support of the Justice Department, the Kennedy Administration and the labor unions. Almost $500,000 has been provided to finance the work. More money is available when needed. Organization has been perfected. Labor-union tactics are being used.

Under the impact, old barriers that kept Negroes from qualifying are weakening. Negroes are taught to meet literacy tests. Only five poll-tax States remain. In spite of delaying tactics and intimidation by many county registrars and sheriffs, federal officials say there are fewer than 80 "hard core" counties—of 1,107 in the 11 states—where it is almost impossible for a Negro to register.

The campaign was inspired by federal officials who were unhappy about the violence that greeted "Freedom Riders" in bus stations in Alabama and Mississippi in 1961. Three private foundations provided money. Five active Negro organizations came together to help in the work. The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, headed by prominent white Southerners, directed the activities. It set up as a subsidiary a "voter education" project, headed by a Negro.

As wheels began to turn in May, 1962, planners found problems on two fronts: White Southerners did not relish the idea of a big vote by Negroes. And Negroes themselves seemed not interested in voting. They said it made little difference to them which white man was elected; things went on just the same. This lethargy among Negroes had caused many previous registration drives to fail.

Southern Negroes said they had been threatened with harm if they registered, that they had lost jobs and businesses, that credit had been cut off. Others said their votes would not be counted, that they had tried to register and had failed. Why try again?

***Stirring up interest.*** All sorts of devices were used to stir interest.

"If we have a Negro in the local jail in a civil-rights case, this fires up the Negroes," said one registration worker. "'Freedom Riders' helped us. We shamed Negroes into registering by saying they refused to vote while other Negroes were getting their heads knocked in."

Said another worker: "If we can get a local Negro to run for political office, Negroes will register in droves."

Negro ministers began asking members of their congregations to stand and hold their registration cards above their heads. "This shames those who have no cards," said a registration worker.

From the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education came many ideas. Roy Reuther, who heads up voter-registration work for COPE, lent a hand. Literature, charts, posters from COPE's headquarters in Washington streamed out to registration workers in the South.

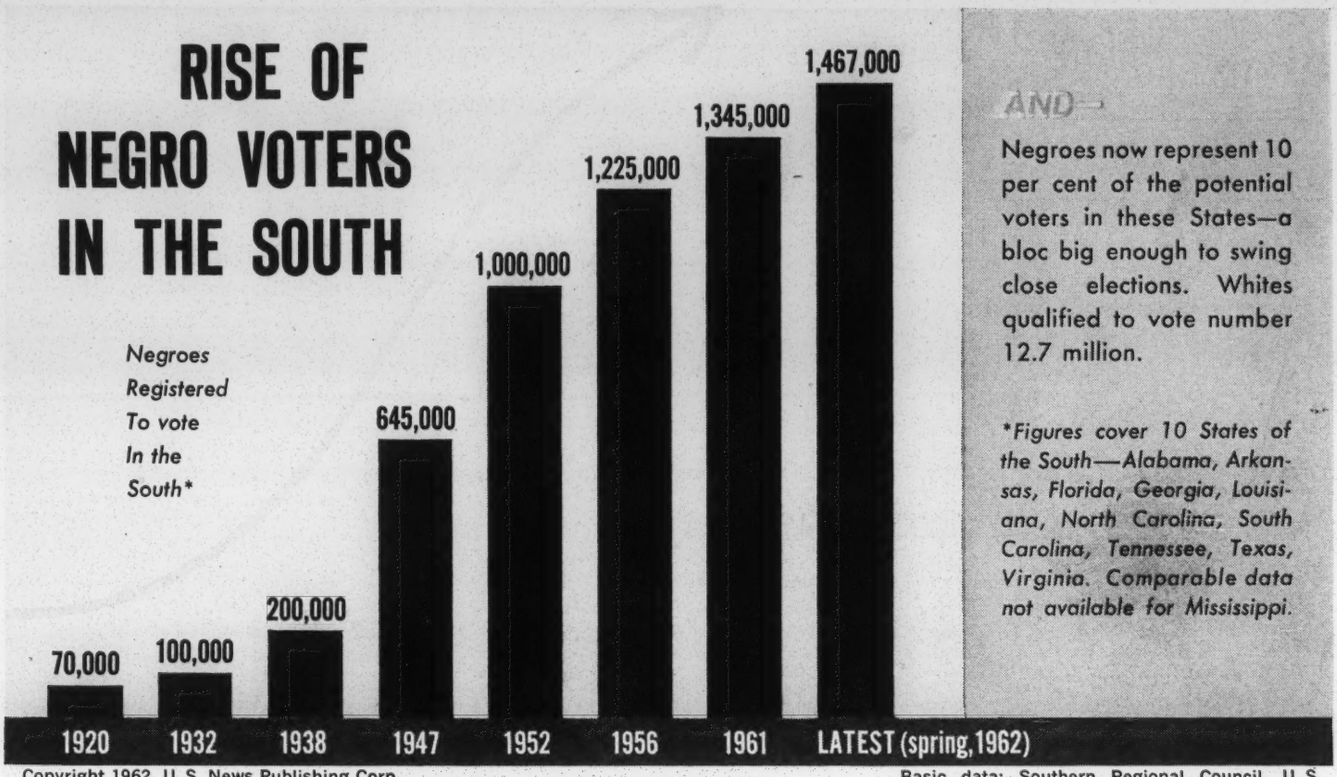
Much registration work is done in Southern cities where there is less opposition to Negro voting than in rural areas. Lists of nonregistered Negroes are compiled. Paid workers go after them.

Examples:

- In a Louisiana city, a Negro woman is paid $30 a week, plus a $2 bounty for each Negro name she gets on the registration lists.
- In a Georgia city, a 50-passenger bus was chartered to go through Negro residential areas and take unregistered Negroes to the registrar's office.
- Negro cab drivers are urged to haul passengers to registration offices free.
- Repeated, regular telephone calls are made to urge Negroes to register.
- Negroes ring doorbells in residential areas, learn of people not registered, teach

*(continued on page 58)*

REGISTRATION TO VOTE by thousands of Negroes across the South is beginning to change the political picture.

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Basic data: Southern Regional Council, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and State registrars

DRIVE TO ADD at least 500,000 Negro voters by 1964 is well organized, uses labor-union tactics. To overcome apathy that caused earlier drives to fail, leaders of Negro groups such as the NAACP and CORE travel widely to get the attention of prospective voters.

REGISTRATION WORKERS in some Southern cities make house-to-house calls to explain the voter drive. Most are unpaid. But, in one city, a $2 bounty was paid for each new name signed up; in another, a bus was chartered to take Negroes to register.

—USN&WR Photos

—USN&WR Photo

VOTING-DRIVE WORKERS are assigned to specific areas to stir up interest in registration. Some Negroes must be taught to read and write well enough to pass literacy tests.

## NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH, STATE BY STATE

| As of spring, 1962 | Whites Qualified To Vote | Negroes Qualified To Vote | Per Cent of Voters Who Are Negroes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 884,000 | 68,000 | 7% |
| ARKANSAS | 518,000 | 73,000 | 12% |
| FLORIDA | 1,788,000 | 183,000 | 9% |
| GEORGIA | 1,153,000 | 176,000 | 13% |
| LOUISIANA | 934,000 | 151,000 | 14% |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 1,862,000 | 211,000 | 10% |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 700,000 | 80,000 | 10% |
| TENNESSEE | 1,465,000 | 185,000 | 11% |
| TEXAS | 2,420,000 | 230,000 | 9% |
| VIRGINIA | 933,000 | 110,000 | 11% |
| TOTAL* | 12,657,000 | 1,467,000 | 10% |

■ **WHITES** are 80% of the total population of voting age in these Southern States, and account for 90% of the qualified voters.

■ **NEGROES** are 20% of the total population of voting age, and account for 10% of the qualified voters.

* Comparable data not available for Mississippi. *Basic data:* Southern Regional Council, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and State registrars.

RED, WHITE AND BLUE BUTTON is given to a proud new voter after he has registered. Button reads: "I am registered. Are you?"

[continued from page 56]

them how to fill out forms and register, or how to pay poll taxes. Sometimes poll-tax money is provided.

***Study and patience.*** Older Negroes who do not read or write well are carefully taught. Some try to pass literacy tests, fail and try again. Some never pass the tests, but most of them do. Instruction is patient, thorough both in private and in groups.

"Literacy tests and trick registration forms are just added steps in the process," says one worker. "We overcome them."

In a South Carolina city, a State official counted six whites in a line, waiting to register. There were 150 Negroes in the line.

"The whites did not have the patience to wait," he said. "Most of them left the line. Negroes are used to waiting. They stayed. Most of them registered."

In Atlanta, where there are 45,000 Negroes and 98,000 whites on the voting lists, 6,000 Negroes have registered since the first of the year.

In a Louisiana city, 600 Negroes have registered this year. The registrar says: "We haven't had many people to register recently except Negroes. The whites certainly had better get busy. Ninety per cent of the registered Negroes vote. Only 65 per cent of the whites vote, even in hot election campaigns."

Leaders of Negro organizations are going quietly about their work. They hope the word will not spread through white communities.

"Any publicity gives local registrars in the South a warning," said one. "Many of them immediately set up new obstacles or slow down proceedings. We wish nothing would be said about the drive. Let the registrars go to sleep and then suddenly wake up after a million Negroes are registered."

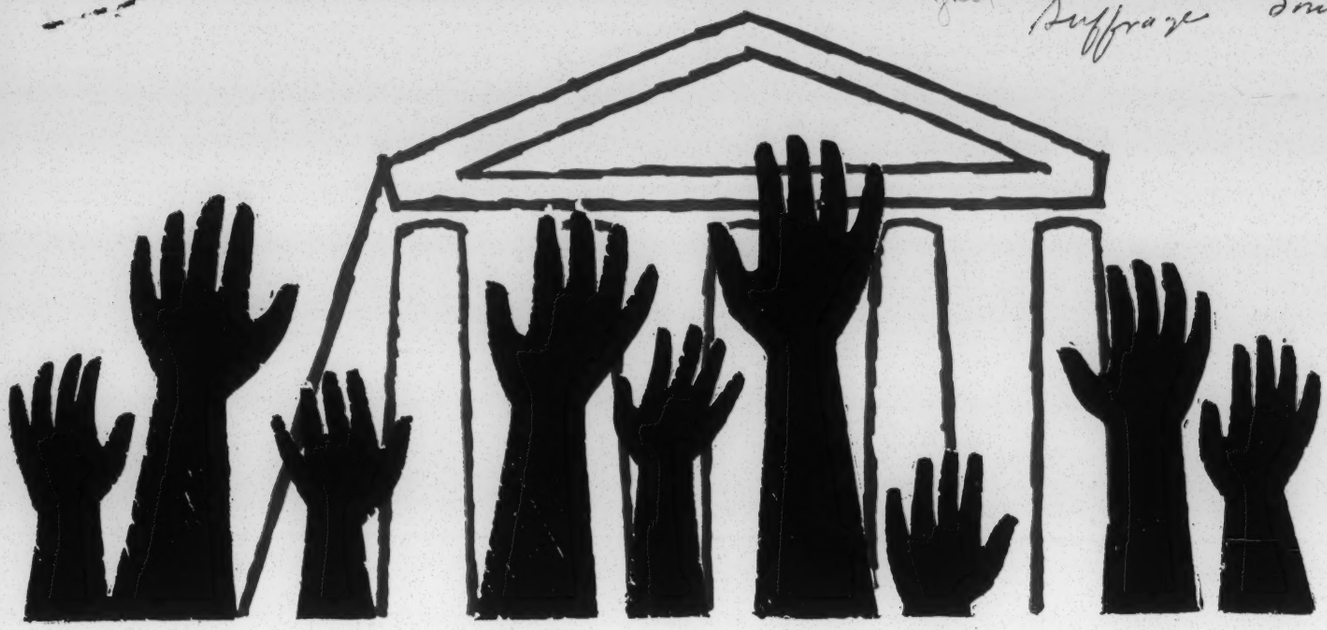
"The more people we get on the books, the more quiet opposition we run into," said another. "When publicity gets around that we are getting the vote for Negroes, opposition gets tougher."

Negroes complain that they encounter delays, tricky questions, many technicalities. If there is a minor error in an application, they say, the Negro is disqualified. He has to come back and try again.

But the number of qualified Negroes is growing steadily. And some Negro leaders say they can detect a change in the political atmosphere.

"It is common nowadays," said one Negro leader, "for a Southern politician to approach us quietly and very privately. 'Just what do you people want?' they ask. 'What can I do for you?' Some of these same people make the loudest segregation speeches." [END]

July 62 Suffrage Smith



# The Southern Negro's Right to Vote

*by Charles Steinberg*

**The right to vote** has been found by generations of immigrant Americans to be a key to achieving equality. It is a right which may have to be organized to get results, but it represents both latent and actual power.

The southern Negro represents the largest segment of Americans still without this basic right of a free man. The final step toward winning this right is now under way as the facts are established, as the obstacles are defined and brought under fire and as the Negro continues to fight for his rights.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1959 that there were 5 million Negroes of voting age in the South at the 1950 census, of whom 1.2 million were registered to vote in the 1956 elections. This, as the report observed, constituted about 25 percent Negro registration, while white registration was 60 percent of the white voting age population.

Outside the South, a Gallup poll survey in another context indicated that 53 percent of the Negro voting age population (including many recent emigrants from the South) was registered to vote.

In its 1961 report the Commission made further attempts to assess the Negro voting problem:

- In 129 counties in 10 southern states where Negroes compose at least 5 percent of the voting age population, less than 10 percent of this ostensibly eligible group is registered.
- In 23 counties in five of these states, no Negroes are registered though there are large Negro registrations in other counties with similar population structure in each of these states.
- In 100 counties in eight states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee), there is reason to believe Negro citizens are prevented by outright discrimination—or by fear of physical violence or economic reprisal—from exercising the right to vote.
- In a specific study of "Black Belt" counties the commission found in the 21 counties it examined there existed "substantial deprivations of civil rights."
- In 17 of these counties, where Negroes constitute a majority of the population, they either "do not vote at all or do so only in small numbers."

There is apparently no uniform practice among local power structures on Negro voting rights. The 1961 report tends to stress the variations which range as widely as 49 percent registration in Dade County (Miami), Florida, to the rural counties where no members of the majority Negro population register.

However, the Commission does notice some broad socio-economic tendencies: urban registration and voting among Negroes tends to be higher than rural; in the rural areas there tends to be an inverse relationship between Negro population and Negro registration.

**The degree of economic control** by whites plays an important role in determining the extent of civil rights granted the Negro. In cash-crop, share and tenant-farm areas experiencing contraction of their economies and having a high percentage of Negroes, the Negro is in an especially weak position and his human and civil rights are held to very low levels. With greater agricultural and industrial diversification, less centralized white economic control and smaller Negro populations, conditions in such areas tend to be somewhat better for the Negro.

*CHARLES STEINBERG is Research Director of the Department of Labor Education, Pennsylvania State University.*

But variations in patterns of discrimination in the South should not be overdrawn. The Commission's observations admittedly are of relative conditions. Its criteria for discrimination tend to be those which would lend themselves or would lead to successful legal action. Sworn complaints of deprivations and private-party litigation to secure voting rights are two of the four criteria used. Actions by the Attorney General, and the circumstantial evidence of no or very low registration in areas with high Negro populations, are the other two. The absence of such overt symptoms is scarcely proof of the absence of discrimination.

Regarding voting rights, however, there is a general disparity between Negro and white participation in southern political life. By comparing the percentages of white and non-white in voting age population with their percentages, where available, in total registration in 11 southern states, it becomes evident that non-whites usually account for a substantially smaller percentage of total registration than they do of voting age population in these states.

**Measurement of the deprivation** of voting rights is very difficult. Obviously, registrars practicing discrimination are reluctant to give information. Until recently, only five states gave official registration figures by race; in some of the five this practice has already been discontinued. The Bureau of the Census reports do not give separate registration figures. There is therefore an understandable gap in the 1961 Commission report.

At least 275 counties (about 25 percent of the 1,090 counties in 11 southern states) supplied no registration figures. By subtracting the total non-white voting age population in the counties actually given from the estimated overall non-white voting age population, it would appear the missing counties contain a non-white voting age population of almost 820,000 persons about whose voting status we have no knowledge. Even a very wide overestimation due to shifts in population in the intervening years would still leave a great many people uncounted and possibly disfranchised.

The figure of 25 percent non-white political participation in the 11 southern states cited in the 1959 report still held in 1961.

Another dimension of the general problem of disfranchisement is the way voting rights are diluted throughout the country by unequal districting and malapportionment of voting districts. These practices take on special meaning where discrimination is the rule. The inordinate political weight given rural areas everywhere is especially onerous in the South because it permits continued nourishment of the structure of disfranchisement in the rural South.

Yet in the words of the Commission report, "There are many counties in the South where a substantial Negro population not only has no voice in government but suffers extensive deprivation—legal, economic, educational and social."

How did this modern form of re-enslavement of the southern Negro come about?

**The end of the Civil War** found the southern economy in virtually total collapse. The end of the slave system appeared to prohibit rebuilding the plantation economy based on cash crops: tobacco, rice, indigo, cane and cotton, dependent on the export trade as much as on American markets and which, in the absence of labor-saving machinery, was unprofitable except under conditions of slave or slave-like labor.

A southern aristocracy, determined to salvage its old way of life, evolved the economic institutions of sharecropping and farm tenancy whose success depended upon retention of some form of human bondage. But how was the newly liberated Negro bent on freedom beaten down?

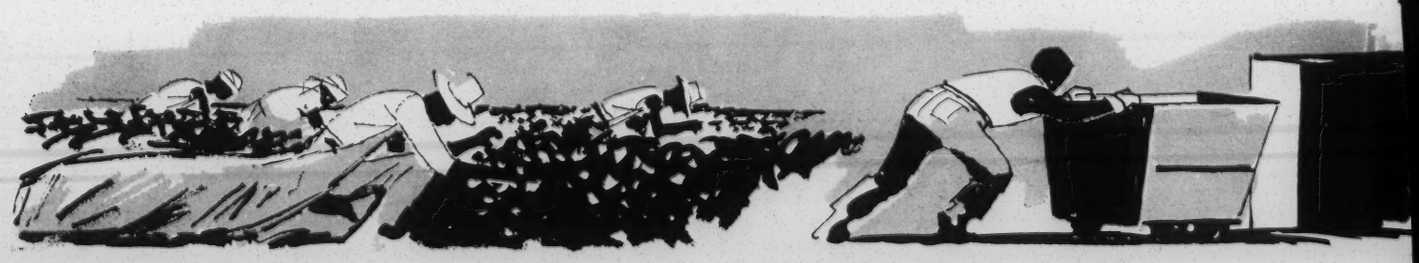
First, economic circumstances operated against him. In an agricultural setting there was no labor market into which he might be absorbed. As a farmer with "forty acres and a mule," it was almost impossible to make a living without capital in a land of often vast plantation holdings producing cash crops and requiring large acreages for profit. Processing, distributing and sophisticated marketing facilities and outlets as well as machinery, seed and staples were in the hands, first of the plantation owners, then of the rapidly developing storekeeper-banker class and later in the hands of absentee owners.

Credit was the economic beartrap into which the Negro had no choice but to step. Credit provided the economic basis for almost a hundred additional years of Negro peonage in the rural South.

Still the Negro struggled for freedom by political participation in the Reconstruction governments and by attempting to maintain economic independence as long as he could.

**The second circumstance** forcing the resubjugation of the Negro was the extension of white supremacy by the southern owning classes and their supporting structure of functionaries.

The postwar imposition of the so-called "Black Codes" in several of the southern state legislatures,



which again reduced the Negro to near-slave social and economic conditions caused the dispatch of federal troops at the insistence of an incensed "Radical Republican" Congress, a number of civil rights acts and eventually the three well-known amendments to the Constitution. The Thirteenth, adopted in 1865, eliminated slavery; the Fourteenth, adopted in 1868, gave citizenship to the Negro and insisted that no state could deny equal protection of the law to any person within its jurisdiction; and the Fifteenth, adopted in 1870, guaranteed the right to vote could not be denied anyone by the United States or by any state, "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Congress was empowered to create laws which would enforce the provisions of these three amendments.

**Recalling this post-Civil War** rash of "radicalism," many prominent historians of Reconstruction describe a chaotic era in which northern carpetbagger and southern scalawag made unholy gain out of the ravished body of a defeated South under the protection of federal troops.

In reality, during the 13 odd years of Reconstruction, the state governments, with their well-documented liabilities, existed in an atmosphere of veritable revolution. Determined to regain economic and political control over the Negro, the ex-slaveholders and their supporting apparatus worked to destroy the Reconstruction governments by sabotage, intimidation and violence, by any means at their disposal or that could be devised.

In discussing the illegal activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the dozen or so other vigilante organizations that sprang up during the Reconstruction, Guy B. Johnson pointed out: "The number of Negroes killed during reconstruction will never be known. Five thousand would probably be a conservative estimate . . ."

Less than 12 years after the Civil War, national political compromise between North and South was effected in the course of the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876-77. With the breakup of the Reconstruction governments and the eventual removal of the federal troops, southern white owners quickly regained control of state and local governments and moved to re-establish the old order by disfranchisement of the Negro.

K. H. Porter, in describing the post-Reconstruction period, said: "The activities of the Ku Klux Klan have been immortalized in book and play. Less dramatic were the practices of brute violence and intimidation, clever manipulation of ballots and ballot-boxes, false counting of votes, repeating, the use of 'tissue' ballots, illegal arrests the day before election and sudden removal of the polls."

However, C. Vann Woodward has pointed out in "The Strange Career of Jim Crow" that while segregation was a fact of life in the post-Civil War economic, social and political life of the South, segregation and disfranchisement by statute did not appear until the agrarian revolt of the 1870s and 1880s caused the emergence of a third party element.

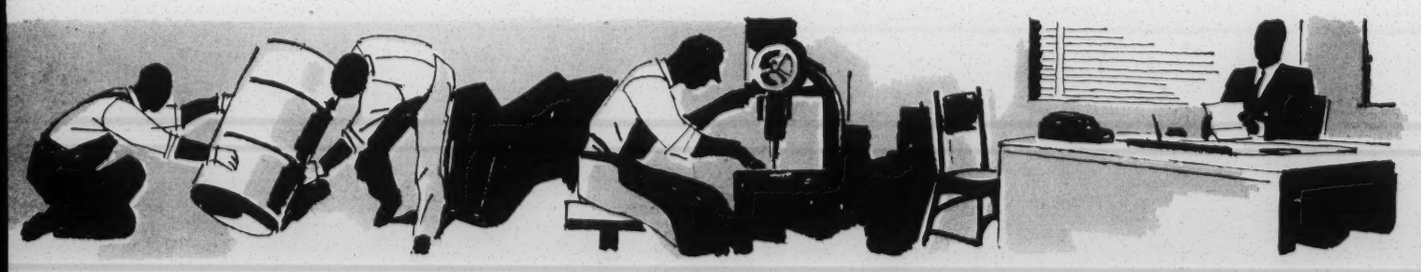
The Negro's vote was sought in protest coalitions of Republicans, Populists and Farmers' Alliance people against the power of the Democratic Party. Southern white political factions then united to disfranchise the Negro and neutralize the opposition. Between 1889 and 1908, Woodward says, the 11 southern states provided, by statute or change in state constitution, the now well-known barriers to Negro voting: the poll tax, the literacy test, the "grandfather clause" (providing a "legal" alternative to the literacy test available to those or the descendants of those in some cases who had voted in some year prior to the establishment of Negro voting rights, thus permitting illiterate white to sidestep the literacy test) and the white primary.

It is in this historical matrix of enforced southern Negro disfranchisement that its modern setting is embedded and against which its dimensions must be measured. For the violence, actual and threatened, has befouled the southern rural atmosphere since the Civil War. It is only in the last few years that there has been no record of a lynching somewhere in the South.

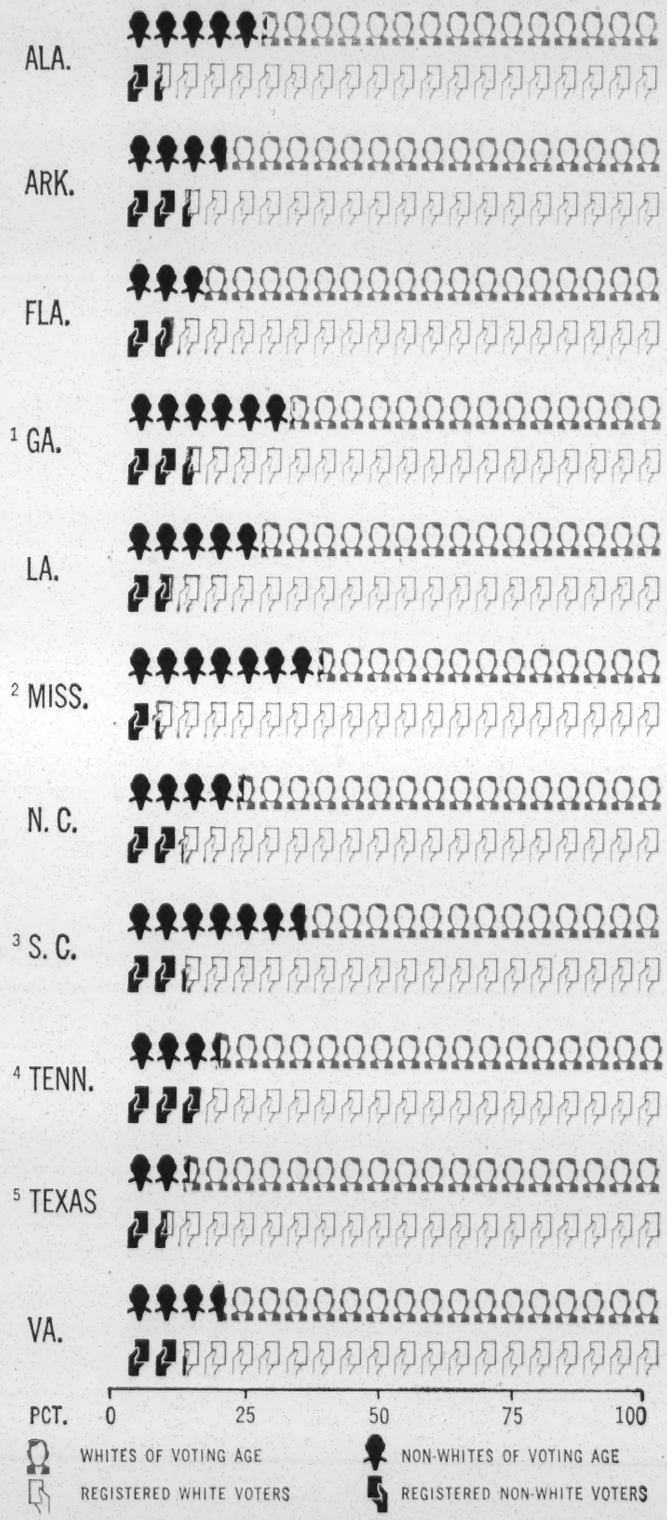
**Slow, painful progress** has been made in the South in returning to the Negro his right to vote. The "grandfather clause" was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1915. The poll tax as a discriminatory device in the South remains only in Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

In the Supreme Court the legal battle of the Negro people against the white primary ran from 1927 to 1953, when the court finally struck down the last dodge of the state of Texas to maintain a white, pre-primary election.

The existence of a one-party system does not by itself define a lack of political freedom. However, its existence reflects and reenforces a monolithic power structure. And yet the Democratic Party in the South is certainly not monolithic in the usual sense. V. O. Key's "Southern Politics" has described the amazing



## TOTAL POPULATION OF WHITES AND NON-WHITES OF VOTING AGE COMPARED TO REGISTERED VOTERS




1 Georgia reported only 13 of 159 counties. Figures for registered Negroes are for 1958.
2 Mississippi reported only 68 of 82 counties. Figures are for 1955.
3 South Carolina figures from 1959 report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.
4 Tennessee reported only 63 of 95 counties.
5 Texas reported only 213 of 254 counties.
SOURCE: 1961 Report, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

variety in southern political life. The region is marked by power struggles and countervailing forces tending to intra-party rather than the inter-party political contests of other regions having effective two-party systems.

The power and ability of the one-party system in the South to maintain itself and to control its constituency on the issue of civil rights is not measurable only by the number of federal elective offices it delivers on the national political scene. It is common coin to mention the number of years since a Republican has been sent to Congress or elected to the governorship of one of the 11 states.

There still could be an effective minority party able to elect a substantial membership to state legislatures and local offices and thus exert wholesome influence though unable to capture important positions. In the South this is simply not so.

In the lower houses of the 11 states there are 1,292 Democrats and 48 Republicans, with largest concentrations being 19 in Tennessee (against 80 Democrats) and 15 in North Carolina (against 105 Democrats); in the upper houses there are 438 Democrats and 12 Republicans. Thus in the state legislatures in the South there are 60 Republicans against 1,730 Democrats. In keeping with the facts of political life, without offering cooperation to the overwhelming Democratic majorities the 60 Republicans couldn't get the right time of day for their constituents.

**The passage of remedial** federal civil rights legislation flowing from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments is one solution. The other way out of the legal bind has been to attack repressive state laws in the courts in the hope they eventually would be reviewed by the Supreme Court.

Litigating a constitutional problem in the Supreme Court is long, complicated and expensive. But more difficult for the Negro people to sustain is the knowledge that even if the courts invalidate an offensive law the southern state may then devise another law or method to disfranchise the Negro in still another way and then this law too must go through the same ordeal of litigation in the courts. Meanwhile the years go by and the discriminatory practices go on relatively undisturbed because there is no special injunctive procedure that in actual practice stops the action until the case is decided.

The court remedy has been in process for over 68 years. Over all these years and against enormous odds the Negro has never given up the struggle to invalidate in the courts the discriminatory practices sanctioned by state laws. The 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the schools is a clear example of the marvelous tenacity and sense of rightness with which the Negro leadership struggled for nearly 60 years to eliminate the "separate but equal" doctrine and with it segregation in the schools.

The violence in response to the 1954 and subsequent school desegregation orders is only a surface manifestation of a far deeper sickness; school boards and district members, mayors, city councils and gov-

ernors of states have openly defied the Supreme Court in speech, in practice, in spite of the growing doubts of decent, moderate persons in the South who cherish their school systems.

Therefore, the real hope—the long hope of the Negro people—has been that they would one day have sufficient political influence to bring about passage of strong federal legislation containing a clear executive mandate to guarantee the spirit and letter of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

Through the years this hope appeared like an unrealizable dream. The civil rights act passed in 1875 was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1883. Seventy-four years elapsed before another civil rights act was passed.

**The major problem with** the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is that its machinery does not provide the most effective enforcement process. It is unlikely in the present atmosphere of the South that many Negroes would seek to recover damages in a federal district court. In general, the protection of Negro voting rights has been thrown back into the regional climate of white supremacy.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 appeared to choose a long way around accepted practices for enforcement of ordinary constitutional rights.

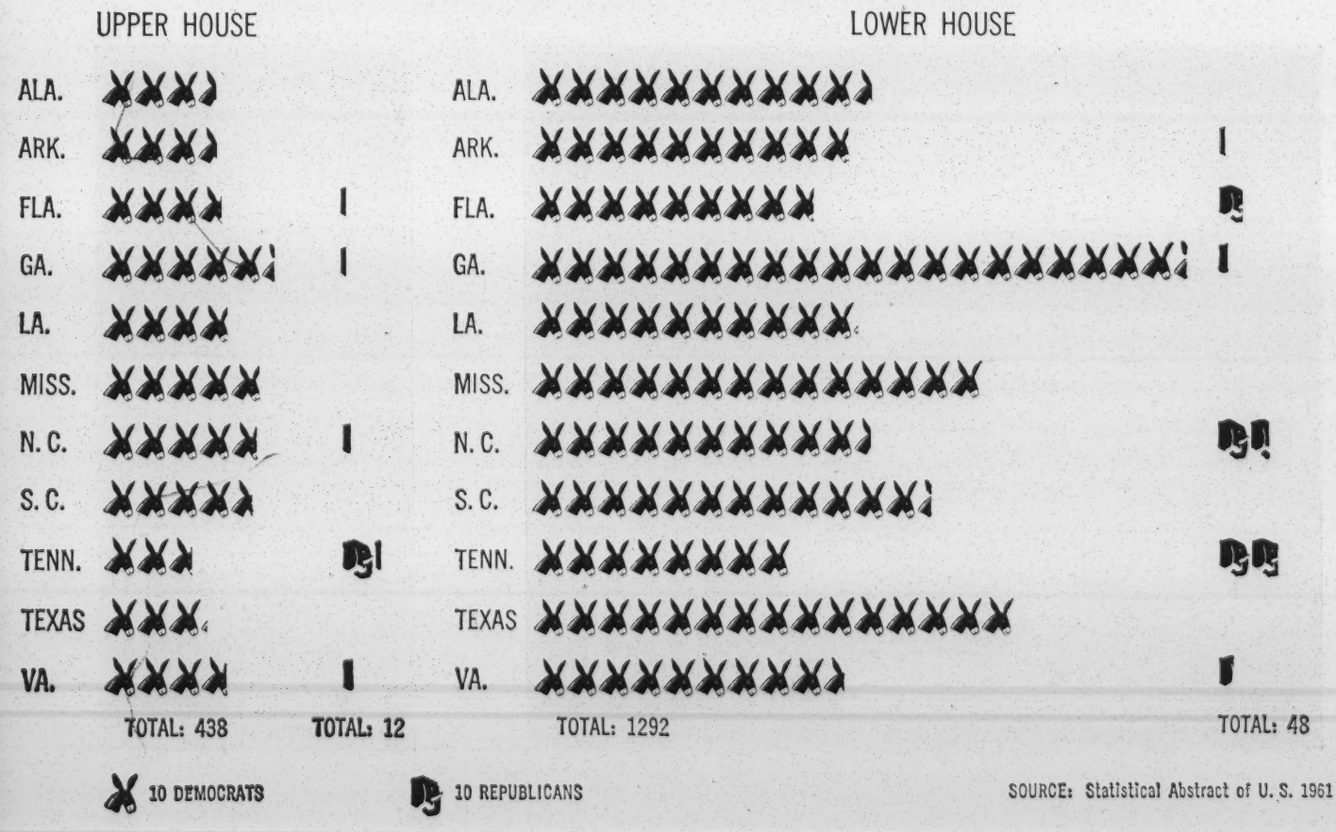
Even the Commission was intended as a temporary body, dependent upon renewal by the legislature every two years. Renewal has become a lever in the hands of southern legislators. The two hair-breadth renewals since 1957 have been by riders on other legislation. Unlike civil rights commissions created by some state statutes, its powers are limited to investigation and recommendation. From its inception, the commission did not meet the need for an agency with administrative and regulatory powers flowing directly from a federal statute designed to implement the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

The results of the 1957 Act were a disappointment. Instead of the flood of relief actions it was hoped would be filed by the Department of Justice on behalf of Negroes denied the right to vote, only three cases had been initiated by the close of the biennium following the passage of the act. By the passage of the 1960 act, the total became four.

In reply to criticism, Civil Rights Division spokesmen pointed out the difficulties inherent in such actions and explained it would be poor strategy to bring suit in any but the strongest cases since the new legislation was as yet untested and would surely be challenged.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that in the same interim period the Civil Rights Commission, created by the same law, had gathered a mass of astonishing, unshakable evidence of southern disfranchisement of the Negro: only one Negro in every four of voting age was registered to vote. In 65 counties where Negroes predominate in the voting age population, few, and in many counties none, were registered to vote. An unmistakable pattern of virtual elimination of Negro suffrage in many parts of

## PARTY AFFILIATIONS—STATE LEGISLATURES



the South was clearly demonstrated in the 1959 report of the Civil Rights Commission.

The Commission itself had this to say about the effectiveness of the 1957 Act in its first two-year report: "Against the prejudice of registrars and jurors, the U.S. government appears, under present law, to be helpless to make good the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution."

**Meanwhile, bitter resistance** to school integration orders and the inability of the Civil Rights Division to provide relief for potential Negro voters in the South were the focal points for legislators who sought to extend the provisions of the 1957 Act.

The main points of the 1960 Act are its provisions further aiding enfranchisement of the Negro in the South. It provides that federal election records shall be preserved by the responsible election officials for 22 months and made available, with reproduction permitted, to the Attorney General's representatives upon written request. Destruction or alteration of records is forbidden. Punishment of election officials for breach of this title and power to force compliance once again rests with the U. S. District court having jurisdiction and therefore the ultimate potency of this title depends on the attitude of the court.

The new Act gives the Attorney General a second weapon by permitting him to attack patterns of voting rights denials as well as individual complaints and provides in the successful determination of such patterns for the appointment of voting referees by the court to facilitate and expedite court proceedings seeking to restore voting rights to Negroes.

These provisions extend opportunities for the Civil Rights Division to act forcefully beyond the case-at-a-time actions prescribed by the 1957 Act. But for the Negro in the South the path to the ballot box is still strewn with difficulties that appear in perspective almost like a series of barriers.

The problem of raising the political participation of the southern Negro even to the 53 percent voting level of northern Negroes is massive. The percentage of Negro participation has not even budged from its 25 percent level in the five years since the passage of the first Act, although since 1960 the Attorney General has brought suits in 15 counties in five states as of August 1961, three cases of which have been successful. He has demanded to inspect registration records in 26 counties in six states and was further successful in one Louisiana parish in returning an entire Negro roll of 1,377 registrants that had been purged to the registration lists.

**Here is the U.S.** Commission on Civil Rights' appraisal of the effectiveness of the 1960 law:

"Although the provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts are useful, however, they are necessarily limited means for removing racial discrimination from the franchise. Suits must proceed a single county at a time and they are time consuming, expensive and difficult. Broader measures are required if denials of constitutional rights in this area are to be quickly eliminated."

The two Administration-backed civil rights proposals before the present Congress were the Holland anti-poll tax bill and the Mansfield-Dirksen bill on literacy tests. The Holland bill has passed the Senate and is awaiting action by the House. The literacy test bill is dead for this session.

In five southern states the poll tax still deprives Negroes of the vote. While the poll tax has a deterrent effect on all low-income groups, its impact is especially strong on the Negro who is unwelcome at the registration desk. There are records of registrars having refused poll tax payments from Negroes.

And the elimination of the literacy test for those having completed six grades of public school would be an especially powerful tool in enfranchising many more people. Designed at least in part with a view to eliminating the English qualification for literate Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican citizens, the bill could help eliminate one of the widely used southern disfranchisement techniques, that of literacy and other educational voting requirements under state laws.

Both these bills would be most helpful, but what is really needed has already been inferred in the critique of the 1957 and 1960 Acts. First, the Attorney General's budget and staff should be substantially increased and the increase earmarked for the Civil Rights Division and its activities. Second, the civil rights statutes need a basic revision that would raise the penalty sufficiently to constitute a real deterrent and also to empower the Attorney General to exercise police power in allegations of violations of a citizen's voting rights. Third, a massive educational program on the right to vote is needed, launched by appropriate federal agencies and perhaps working with Negro organizations and beamed directly at the individual.

**The life interests of the** millions of potential Negro voters in the South—working men and women, mainly—are clearly aligned with those of the labor and liberal elements. In conjunction with a growing moderate-white electorate and continued urban growth in the South, emancipation of the Negro voter could help to re-shape and liberalize our political structure and make possible a new and greater level of development for the entire nation.

At the very least, there might be a denting of southern seniority and committee control wielded in Congress by legislators elected time after time by a fragmentary electorate in their districts, in good part because of deprivation of Negro voting rights. Enfranchise the Negro voter and there is a real chance of breaking the conservative grip on the Congress.

Even supporters of civil rights programs are often lulled into the belief that social change cannot be legislated. You can't legislate a change of heart, they say. But what the Negro people have learned in the bitter years of waiting for change is that little change can take place unless a legal framework is created—unless a conflict between what is and what ought to be is underlined by law. Only then is change initiated, a yardstick created and progress measured.

Suffrage, South

# How Much Progress?

"The students down there are getting impatient," Burke Marshall told the press shortly after the Senate killed the literacy bill for the second time this May.

If Marshall's phrase was strikingly similar to "the natives are getting restless," the resemblance was probably not accidental. Marshall is an assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's enforcement of civil rights laws.

What disturbed the Justice Department official was that the Administration's literacy bill defeat ended all chance of obtaining new and meaningful civil rights legislation at a time when Southern Negroes are demanding full freedom of the ballot box.

The literacy bill fight was aimed at a key point in the Negro frustration. By law, in 26 states, a person seeking to register must qualify by passing a literacy test. As practiced in the South, the literacy qualification permits white election officials to disqualify Negro college graduates while passing whites with no more than a third grade education.

Under the Southern tests, a voter can be subjected to outright discrimination through the election official's selection of test questions. A Negro is asked to explain and interpret a provision in the state or federal constitution, with the election official ruling on the

"correctness" of the interpretation —an interpretation that could well be the subject of disagreement by Supreme Court justices.

The literacy bill was designed to attack this discrimination in two ways. It would have permitted a sixth grade education to determine literacy requirements in federal elections and it would have simplified the Justice Department's task in bringing vote registration cases before the federal courts.

Last fall, the Civil Rights Commission—as one of its recommendations—called for enactment of literacy tests legislation. In its report, the commission asserted that in 129 Southern counties where Negroes are a substantial part of the population, fewer than 10 per-



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cent are registered. In 23 counties in five states, the commission reported that no Negroes are registered. Literacy qualifications, as well as economic pressure and other forms of discrimination, were found to be the chief causes of this Negro disfranchisement.

### *Two Weapons*

Without federal literacy test legislation, the Justice Department has only two weapons it can use against voter discrimination. It can either institute a law suit seeking to block the intimidation of potential voters, or it can attempt to compel the registration of qualified Negroes. Both weapons involve time-consuming investigations and processes that hardly satisfy the impatient Southern Negroes who are still being denied their rights.

Where the Justice Department seeks court action to block intimidation, it must first prove that a pattern of such intimidation exists. This necessitates a study of all the records in a target county, the development of witnesses, and preparation for a lengthy trial.

In Montgomery County, Ala., for example, some 36,000 voter applications were studied by a lawyer and three assistants during a three-month period. Next, four or five government lawyers spent an additional two months getting ready for the trial, examining 160 witnesses, and handling after-trial details.

Montgomery County is only one of 67 counties in Alabama and the Justice Department has only 10 lawyers who can work full time on voting cases.

Even under these circumstances, cases can be further delayed by federal judges in the South who look with disfavor on the Justice Department's efforts. During the summer of 1960, the Justice Department asked Judge Claude Clayton to hand down an order directing Boliver County, Miss., to open its voting records for inspection.

Although the Department has obtained at least 100 similar orders, Judge Clayton spent almost two years considering the request. Almost half of the time was consumed by a dispute over whether the name of present Attorney General Robert Kennedy could be substituted for former Attorney General William Rogers. The judge demanded full briefs and oral arguments from both sides and studied the Department's request for months.

Sponsors of the federal literacy bill had hoped to overcome much of this delay. Under the measure's provisions, a sixth grade education would have been *prima facie* evidence of literacy in any state where literacy is a voting requirement.

According to the Justice Department, if the bill had become law, its task of proving discrimination would have been considerably eased. Instead of a detailed examination of all voting records,

the Department would have been able to show—from a sampling of a Southern county's voting cards—that an estimated 80 percent of rejected Negro voters have the necessary six years of school education.

Based on the recommendations of both the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department, the present Administration decided to make its first fight for civil rights legislation—there had been none last year—over the literacy bill and a measure outlawing the poll tax. With its Congressional majority extremely narrow, the Administration apparently sought to push only two civil rights measures that could be acted upon without jeopardizing its trade and tax programs.

*Poll Tax Fight*

The first civil rights move opened in the Senate on the poll tax issue. After a 10-day filibuster, the poll tax proposal was accepted as "current business."

Southern Senators indicated that while they would go through the motions of opposition, they were not seriously battling the poll tax bill. The proposal—to outlaw the poll tax as a condition of voting in federal elections in the states of Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia — eventually passed the Senate as a Constitutional amendment requiring ratification by 38 states and two-thirds approval by both bodies of Congress. Six Southern Senators voted for the bill before it was sent to the House, where it still awaits action. Senate action on the proposed literacy bill, however, was a different story. From the outset, the Southerners made it clear that they were out to kill the measure. As was to be expected, a majority of Republicans rallied to the call for coalition solidarity.

Late in April the Dixiecrat Senators opened up their battle to talk the literacy bill to death. For two weeks, they held the Senate floor, frustrating all legislative action.

Unlike filibusters of the past, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield did not attempt to keep the Senate in continuous session. Sessions opened at the usual noon hour and recessed at a reasonable hour in the evening. The Southerners, for their part, stuck strict-

ly to speeches. No attempt was made to invoke Senate rules that might have prolonged the sessions. As IUD Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey remarked: "The fight for civil rights legislation in the area of voting has been a mock battle fought on bankers' hours. . . ."

On May 9, the Democratic leadership moved to shut off debate. Under Senate rules, the filibuster could only be halted by a two-thirds majority of those Senators present and voting. As expected, the move failed. Only 43 Senators voted for cloture, while 53 registered their opposition.

By failing to win even a simple majority on a civil rights cloture vote, the Senate was simply following tradition. The defeat of the cloture move protected the Senate's near-perfect record in this area.

Voting to cut off debate were 30 Democrats and 13 Republicans; in favor of continuing the filibuster were another 30 Democrats and 23 Republicans.

Immediately after losing the cloture vote, Mansfield moved to test the sentiment of the Senate on the literacy bill. A roll call vote was called on the Majority Leader's motion to table the bill. It was at this point that Congressional politics became apparent.

Since the measure was still subject to filibuster, a Senator could vote against tabling without fear that the bill would be enacted, while casting a public vote against killing the literacy measure. It was a golden opportunity to vote both ways on a controversial issue. The opportunity was too good to miss.

The Senate dutifully went on record, by a 64-33 vote, against killing the literacy bill. Thirty-eight Democrats and 26 Republicans voted against tabling.

As reporters were quick to point out, seven Democrats voted against ending the filibuster and against killing the literacy bill, while 14 Republicans also voted on both sides of the fence. If these 21 Senators had voted consistently—and truly favored the literacy bill—debate could have been ended and the measure enacted.

Instead, with the Dixie-GOP coalition again controlling the civil rights issue, the Democrats are already claiming that the literacy bill was killed through the lack of Republican support, while the GOP is pointing to the Democratic majority in the Senate and charging that the Administration should have been able to pass the measure.

### *A Free Ride*

The *Washington Post and Times-Herald* editorialized: "Some of the Republicans who were against both cloture and tabling were probably eager to keep alive an issue that has caused so much controversy between Northern and Southern Democrats. No doubt some other Republicans and some Democrats who voted no in both instances assumed that a vote

against tabling would be counted as a vote for 'civil rights' even though in fact it would be meaningless. In the language of politics this is known as a free ride."

A week after the first cloture defeat, Majority Leader Mansfield tried again. This time, the vote was 42-52 against the curbing of debate, with no Senator changing his mind, but with two members being absent. Just why the second vote was taken was never made clear.

*Cloture Fight?*

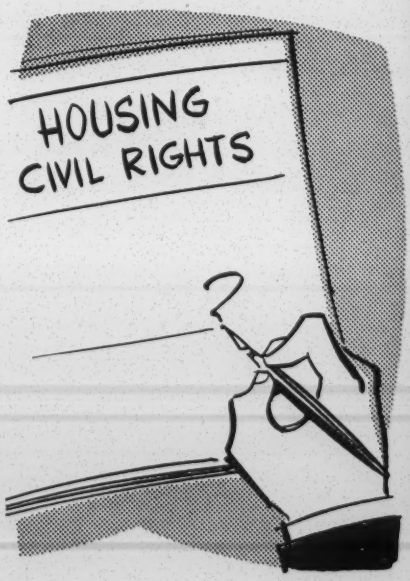
One point made clear, however, was that the Senate leadership intends to fight—during the opening days of the next session—for an amendment to the ill-famed Rule XXII, governing cloture. Sen. Mansfield told the press that the pattern of voting on the literacy bill indicates that existing rules "can deny to the Senate its full participation in the national resolution of this critical issue."

The majority leader said that "what the rules can do in the case of a civil rights question, they can do on any other great national issue . . . I think the duty of the leadership will be equally clear. It must propose to the Senate, once again, early in the next session, that the rule for closing debate be altered to reduce the present requirement of a two-thirds majority for invoking cloture." Whether these words will be affected by the cloture vote on the communication satellite remains to be seen.

While Democratic leadership in the Senate was announcing plans for next year, the Administration also was preparing to improve its civil rights "image." Sensitive to the charge that its two-year legislative record had resulted in nothing more than Senate passage of a poll tax Constitutional amendment, the White House began talking of a series of other moves.

At the top of the agenda is the President's long-awaited signing of an executive order banning racial discrimination in federally-backed public and private housing.

During the 1960 campaign, the then Senator Kennedy referred to such civil rights gains as taking "only a stroke of the pen." Most



political experts claim that the President has delayed such action in the hopes of winning Southern support for important legislative measures, but that the executive order will be signed prior to this fall's Congressional elections and after the present session adjourns. According to the *Wall Street Journal,* "it has been all but decided to issue the housing order in September or October."

Another rumored move involves a new Justice Department attack on discriminatory voter registration practices in the South. While most of the present Southern law suits have involved rural areas, the Department is known to be working out a sampling technique that would permit it to challenge voting discrimination in the urban centers. Court approval of such a sampling system—as evidence of a pattern of discrimination—would undoubtedly speed-up civil rights progress in the Southern cities.

Still another move being considered is naming a special committee of "big businessmen" who could take an active role in the entire civil rights fight. Some Administration officials theorize that civil rights has always been given a "liberal" tag that has stopped businessmen and other community leaders from getting involved.

### *Present Record*

Administration spokesmen assert that the President has already accomplished a great deal on the civil rights front. They point out that in addition to giving more and better jobs to Negroes in the federal government, it has advised and assisted on school integration problems; has attacked segregation in bus, air, and railroad terminals; has moved to ban segregation in hospitals built with federal aid; has continued to press for nondiscriminatory voter registration; and has used its Equal Employment Opportunity Committee to challenge job discrimination in private industry.

Despite the Administration's record, some of the strongest civil rights advocates have made it clear that they are not satisfied. Speaking in the nation's capital early this summer, Martin Luther King attacked the President's inaction on the housing order and his "failure to stand up vigorously" for sweeping civil rights legislation.

Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington Urban League and Roy Wilkins, of the Nat'l Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also have been critical. Tucker charged that ". . . after the initial splurge of appointments of Negroes and Jews to high posts, activity on this front came to a nearly screeching halt."

The Urban League official declared that while the New Frontier's civil rights intent is "sincere," firm Presidential leadership is needed if lasting gains are to be made.

In direct contrast to these views, the Southern Regional Council has applauded the Administration's civil rights efforts as a "genuine turning point in American racial relations." According to the Council the Administration's civil rights actions have been of an importance "comparable to that of the Supreme Court's school decision in 1954."

The Negro may be angry at the Democratic Party's Congressional record and impatient with the Administration's degree of civil rights leadership, but it seems improbable that he will vote Republican at any time in the near future. Some GOP strategists have even suggested that it would be a "waste of time" for their party to woo the vote of minority groups. These strategists point out that Republican Congressmen have nothing to lose by joining forces with the Dixiecrats, since the large Negro vote in the Northern cities is solidly against them.

As for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, it looks for increased Southern Negro registration to "mellow" the ultra-conservatism of the Dixiecrats. Progress in this direction has been slow, but it has already brought about some important changes.

### *Southern Politics*

Thirty years ago, of an estimated five million voting-age Negroes in the South, less than 100,000 were registered. Today, approximately 1.5 million Southern Negroes are registered. In 1961 alone, more Negroes registered in the South than were eligible to vote when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected to his first term.

In this year's Congressional election, approximately 28 percent of the Negroes in 11 Southern states will be eligible to cast their ballots, compared to 56 percent of the white population in the same states.

These general statistics spell out potential political strength that has already caused a number of Southern politicians to drop the "white supremacy" banner and wrap themselves in "moderation." One example of this move was the vote of the six Southern Senators favoring a constitutional amendment banning the poll tax.

At the state, county and city level, the increased number of eligible Negro voters has brought similar change. During this year's South Carolina primary, Sen. Olin Johnston—facing his first rough political fight—let the state's 80,000 Negro voters know he was considerably more moderate than his extremist opponent. Johnston won.

In North Carolina, a Negro has been appointed to the State Welfare Board. Even in Mississippi, two Negroes ran for Congress for the first time since reconstruction days.

At the Southern city level, the Negro vote is no longer ignored. A majority of candidates in the Richmond, Va., city council race

are openly supporting an anti-discrimination clause in the local government charter.

There seems to be little question that support for the anti-discrimination clause comes not so much from a change of personal views as a realization that the 14,000 registered Negroes in the city represent 25 percent of Richmond's total vote.

In Memphis, Tenn., the registration of 35,000 Negroes coupled with an estimated labor vote of 15,000 members, has resulted in a Democratic Congressional candidate calling for stepped-up federal action if the local areas do not move fast enough in the civil rights field.

In Birmingham, Ala., six Negroes are now members of the city's Democratic Executive Committee, while in Atlanta, Ga., the Republicans have issued public statements urging Negroes to participate in the GOP's political workshops.

At the rural county level, an increase in registered Negroes is expected to bring similar results in the not too distant future. Federal suits are undoubtedly responsible for 2,000 Negroes registering in Haywood County, Tenn. —a county where not one member of its 61 percent Negro population had ever voted before 1960.

Bullock County, Ala., presents a similar situation. Prior to a federal injunction won by the Justice Department last fall, only five Negroes were registered. This number has now increased to over 800.

*No Dramatic Progress*

These examples, however, cannot be used to proclaim dramatic progress throughout the South. A

number of states have passed additional discriminatory legislation in an effort to slow down registration drives. Alabama has outlawed the NAACP as its main weapon against organized registration campaigns.

Mississippi legislation now makes it mandatory for a person intending to register to advertise this intention in a newspaper. Another state law would prohibit the registration of any person not of "good moral character."

Even where state law and the local interpretation of such statutes do not succeed in their purpose, there is always economic pressure and the threat of physical danger. Apathy and fear on the part of Southern Negroes, combined with a lack of faith in the democratic process, have undoubtedly sharply reduced the number of actual registrations.

Negro leaders say that these problems are hardest to overcome in areas where the educational level is low. They point out that where a large proportion of Negroes have completed high school and college, registration figures are highest.

Macon County, Ga., home of Tuskegee Institute, is a prime example. According to the 1960 Census Bureau figures, Macon had 2,800 whites and 11,900 Negroes of voting age. In March 1960, the registration lists showed 3,105 whites and 1,133 Negroes.

Judge Frank M. Johnson ordered an end to discrimination against Negroes attempting to register in Macon County some 18 months ago. He found that many Negroes with high school and college educations had been unable to qualify, while whites who had not completed grammar school were permitted to register.

Since Judge Johnston's ruling, some 1,600 additional Negroes have registered — although the Justice Department has returned to the courts on three different occasions to obtain enforcement of the Judge's order.

The experience of Macon County demonstrates that even under the most favorable conditions, the Southern Negro still faces a bitter struggle in his effort to win the full rights of citizenship.

Clearly, there has been progress in the battle to make full civil rights a reality instead of a goal. The question is, has the progress been sufficient?

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February, 1963

# A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

## I. BACKGROUND

A. Before undertaking the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council applied for and obtained a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, holding that the Project was consistent with SRC's tax-exemption. In letters to the Commissioner, dated December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the Project was described. The following statements, excerpted from those letters, define the research objectives:

> 1. The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evaluate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necessarily largely involve the Negro population.
>
> 2. The purpose of the Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register.
>
> 3. Upon the completion of the Project... a report, analysis and evaluation of the Project will be published. Such publication will describe the Project and recommend, on the basis of Project experience, the best methods of education designed to overcome low voter

registration in the various geographic and cultural areas of the South.

B. From the foregoing, it is clear that

1. VEP shall not only study registration efforts, but shall promote them for the purposes of study.

2. VEP is specifically to work and research in areas "known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting." Indeed, this is stated almost as an exclusive interest. This was not, however, intended to be the case and the fuller context of the application amply shows that.

3. Research includes voting, as well as registration, experience.

4. This is primarily experimental research, through which VEP seeks to develop effective programs.

5. Recommendations, therefore, are to constitute a large part of the research product.

II. OBJECTIVES

V.E.P. is substantially the largest research ever undertaken by the Council. The resulting publication will be, unlike the usual SRC release, of book length.

Nevertheless, we do not intend nor should we, to depart from the established objectives of SRC research and publishing. These are:

(a) to inform national opinion accurately and with sound interpretation;

(b) as a special end, to inform southern leaders, both directly and through the press;

(c) to contribute to the formulation of public policies.

Stated this way, there is nothing to preclude research done according to the exacting standards of the social sciences. We do, however, need to keep in mind that the three objectives set out above do preclude the statement of research findings in such ways as require interpretation or translation: our business is to speak directly to the public.

Moreover, our business is to address ourselves to the concerns of public policy, and not to those of social science. As do any disciplines, the social sciences have developed problems which are largely intra-mural in their interest. All the issues of public policy are of interest to the social sciences; the reverse is neither obviously nor probably so. The VEP will not, therefore, seek to serve social science in such ways as the refinement of methodologies or the verification of statistical probabilities.

## III. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem of the VEP might be re-stated as:

> A study of the effectiveness of organized effort - political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the cause of low registration in the various sections of the South.

Stated this way, the relationship between the VEP and the Matthews-Prothro work is made more obvious. For the, after close and exhaustive analysis of the social and economic variables of registration, raise the question of the relative importance of these variables, on the one side, against political and legal factors and organized Negro and white supremacist activity on the

other. The following is quoted from their paper at the Duke University Conference of July 12 - 14, 1962:*

> We have seen that both social and economic factors and political and legal factors are associated with Negro voter registration in the 11 southern states. Which type of factor is more important in shaping Negro registration rates?
>
> ...In so far as statistical analysis will answer such a broad and complex question, it would appear that political variables are of about equal importance to socio-economic ones.
>
> . . .
>
> Moreover, our analysis suggests that substantial changes in the level of Negro voter registration can be attained by political and legal means. It is not necessary to await the arrival of basic social and economic change before attempting, with reasonable expectations of moderate success, to enfranchise more southern Negroes. The abolition of the poll tax and modification of literacy requirements to assure fair treatment of Negroes might enhance the southwide vote of Negro registration by 10 or more percentage points. Encouraging the candidacy of politicians -- both Negro and white -- who are favorable to the Negro cause should bring out many more Negro votes, even when they have little chance of success. Finally, heightened organizational efforts by Negroes would increase Negro registration levels over what they would otherwise be. All of these reforms would have a positive effect on Negro registration rates without waiting for massive social and economic change.

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*"Negro Voter Registration in the South."

VEP can, of course, only take note of and seek to analyze and evaluate legal changes and political candidacies. This will be done. But the "heightened organizational efforts" spoken of by Matthews and Prothro is VEP's special problem. VEP is experimental research, where by organized methods VEP will seek to make the findings set down as objectives in the I.R.S. letters quoted above.

Moreover, the political process is a primary means by which the social and economic benefits of society are distributed. The social and economic variables and the political and legal variables do not, therefore, represent the two sides of a dichotomy. Rather, they represent the two phases of a process in which, at any given moment, existing social and economic conditions are conducive to or permissive of certain political and legal innovations; and they, in turn, will have their effect in altering the social and economic conditions.

The VEP will accept the Matthews-Prothro analysis as the latest authoritative study of the social and economic variables. The Matthews-Prothro analysis of racial attitudes will also be assumed,* except where explicitly questioned.

The various parts of the re-statement above may be separately considered:

(a) "a study of the effectiveness of organized effort"

VEP is dealing with a wide variety of organizations -- all devoted to civil rights -- including national organizations such as

*"Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, and Political Change," Annals of the American Academy. November 1962.

NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE;

a regional body, the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference;

and the unique

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee;

including also a large number of local organizations, ranging from such sophisticated groups as

All-Citizens Registration Committee (Atlanta)

Durham (N.C.) Committee on Negro Affairs

to inexperienced groups such as

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (FOCUS) - Baton Rouge;

the organizations include also ad hoc ones that VEP helped bring into existence, such as

Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.)

Jefferson County (Ala.) Voters Campaign;

and popular crusades such as the

Albany (Ga.) Movement.

The organizations differ greatly - in their structure, their attitudes, their methods of work, their uses of publicity, and their reputations. All of these differences are deserving of study, and of some critique as to effectiveness. The VEP should not shirk the opportunity of contributing some informed evaluations of the varieties of organized Negro political activity, at this still

formative period of a relatively new development that will undoubtedly persist and grow, long after the dramatic controversies of civil rights have been ended.

Some organizations tend to work in different local situations, and this is usually a matter of deliberate choice on their part. This, itself, raises an issue of research interest, because the choices represent, to some degrees, divergent views of strategy. One view favors a concentrated, almost sole, effort in the more liberal locales, where the barriers are essentially only the apathy or alienation of Negroes. The other inclines toward work in the heavily resistant, Black Belt locales. Evaluation of these two approaches merely in terms of new registrants would be pointless, because those will undoubtedly be comparatively few in the resistant areas. The work there, however, represents a strongly held belief that political leverage can be realized by token gains, by opening the bottle, by laying the basis for court suits, by stimulating national publicity, by exposing the crudity of the segregationists' methods, and most of all, by providing the initial opportunity for residents to organize themselves. VEP cannot hope to evaluate such work quantitatively, but the notion that social science is confined to quantitative findings is a recent one, and perhaps not an unrelenting tenet. In fact, nearly all interesting social study of a quantitative sort has had to be given stimulus and direction by preceding observation, analysis, and interpretation of disciplined minds.

Another matter of great interest will be the observation of the effectiveness of local groups. As mentioned above, these include both the experienced and the inexperienced. Some operate with the support -- of various sorts -- of national and regional organizations (other than VEP), and some without.

(b) "political activity in the broadest sense."

The VEP is wisely restricted to work with non-partisan groups and efforts. Registration itself is, however, a political act, and each registration contributes a mite of influence on political alignments and decisions. How much, however, is that influence, how does it work, and to whose benefit in the differing situations of the South, and at differing levels of total white and total Negro registration? Such questions as the following are interesting:

1. does the simple act of Negro registration, or knowledge of the existence of an organized effort to stimulate registration, provoke response, of any ascertainable kind, from officials or from official bodies or from private whites?

2. does increased Negro registration stimulate white registration <u>and</u> voting?

3. what ascertainable increase in Negro voting is produced by increased Negro registration?

4. what are the repercussions of increased Negro registration, or organized efforts to that end, on national politics and policies?

(c) "in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South."

A great deal of research has been done in the past, some by SRC, some by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and some by academic scholars, on the causes of low registration. These have been generally concluded to be:

1. outright governmental prohibition of Negro registration (since the outlawing of the white primary this has ended as an openly acknowledged practice and, for the most part, has ended in practice, though a few isolated instances persist where local authorities, without pretense otherwise, will not register Negroes).

2. governmental cheating, i.e., the administration of qualifications more strictly for Negroes than for whites, or the capricious or arbitrary rejection of Negroes, or the administration of registration in ways to slow or make personally uncomfortable Negro registration.

3. governmental restrictions against new registrations in such a way as to limit both whites and Negroes (e.g., poll taxes).

4. governmental harassment in reprisal against Negro registration, by such multiform devices as capricious arrest of registration workers, cancellation of governmental services for properties used in registration activities, investigations, etc., etc.

5. private harassment, intimidation, violence, and economic reprisal.

6. Negro indifference (apathy)

7. Negro alienation

8. Negro ignorance, i.e., inability to pass literacy requirements

9. Negro fear

10. in some areas (e.g., Virginia) an effective, if infrequently stated, bias against democratic control, to such an extent that voting, by either Negroes or underprivileged whites, is not part of the tissue of civic values.

These causes do, of course, have extreme variations of importance, according to time and place, and there exists a considerable body of analysis of each.

A basic research interest of the VEP will be, in each area, to appraise, against a defined pattern of local obstacles, the effectiveness of certain organizational structures and methods.

* * * * *

To sum up, the VEP, as a program of experimental research, has set itself the problem of devising, within its

limited field of concern, means by which the political participation of deprived groups within the United States can be stimulated. The VEP supposes that increased political participation is a feasible means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups. The implicit assumption is that the political process is a primary means by which the benefits of society are distributed. This assumption is, of course, basic to democratic theory.

IV. GENERAL OUTLINE

An attempt at this stage to outline the final publication would be foolhardy. The scheme set out below is, therefore, only an aid to visualizing content and a scheme for organizing work assignments.

1. Background material
   a. most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race
   b. Analysis of these, in terms of such subjects as:
      - geographic variation
      - rural/urban comparisons
      - educational levels
      - economic indices (e.g., housing costs)
   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP
2. VEP record
   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success
   b. a concise narrative history of the projects
3. Research findings
   a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

1. organizational

2. techniques

3. success

c. Anatomy of the factors

1. apathy: prevalence, characteristics, manifestations

2. alienation: ditto

3. apprehension of terror, and response

4. apprehension of white disapproval, and response

5. reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

V. MODES OF WORK

The statistical compilations and analysis noted above in 1a and 1b will be done by VEP staff, supplementing official and other published records with data gathered from the field programs.

The data required for sections 2a and b, 3a, and 3b will be obtained in several ways:

a. From field reports sent in by the cooperating agencies. VEP prescribes

the forms of these reports. Many of the agencies are not good reporters, and this is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, some of the reporting has been remarkably good and valuable. (Examples of this kind of quality are the report of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project: the National Urban League's report on its Winston-Salem campaign; the reporting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its Summer, 1962 Mississippi work; and, among several others, the reporting of the Albany Movement.)

b. From field observations carried on by VEP staff. Limitations of staff make impossible the close field study of each project. VEP plans to visit each, however, and will do intensive field study of some, selected for distinctive characteristics.

c. From news reports, government sources including legal proceedings, correspondence and conversations with informed local persons, and other sources.

The data required for section 3c and, in part, for sections 3d and 4a will be obtained in the same manner. This is a convenient place to note specifically that rigorously controlled survey research is not contemplated as a regular research tool. The findings for 3c (as well as 3a) will be drawn from the full range of field reports and observations. Some of the cooperating agencies are carrying out interviews, and these are useful. But systematic sampling and interviews are beyond the range of our resources and research interests. VEP is using conversations heavily, and will expand these even more, but

with selected informed and involved persons. These include officials, workers within the cooperating agencies, and other informed people. VEP recognizes that the selection of officials and "other informed people" will be determined not only by availability, but also by the referral of cooperating agencies and by VEP's own judgment as to the value of the interview.

The work on section 3d will be supplemented by staff review and evaluation; on 4a, by statistical compilation done by VEP staff.

Direct planning and supervision of all the above work will be the responsibility of the VEP Director.

The work of synthesis and interpretation, under 1c and 4b, will be a joint undertaking of VEP staff and the SRC Research staff.

The final ordering of data and writing will be under the direction of the SRC Executive Director.

4-10-63

He points out that in 1958 it was the belief of both Russian and American scientists that there would have to be an international inspection system with about 180 control posts, of which 19 would be in the Soviet Union. It would have taken between 4 to 6 years to install this system; scores of international technicians would have been included in the project; the system would have cost $2 billion to build and several hundred million dollars a year to maintain. Today no such system needs to be established at all.

The United States, like Russia, can now identify nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space. If Russia would agree to a treaty outlawing such tests, the risks of successful evasion or cheating would form no problem. The real concern is with tests conducted underground where they may be harder to detect or may be confused with earthquakes.

Senator HUMPHREY reports that in the past 5 years the United States has greatly improved its ability to identify earthquakes in Russia. It is a generous figure to suggest that these unidentified occurrences in any one year will be "only a few dozen at most." Under the British-American treaty each of these mysterious events would be subject to inspection. From a scientific or technical standpoint, the problem of security is wholly manageable. Russia would soon learn this fact if it were willing to give the proposed treaty a fair trial.

Senator HUMPHREY asked the Kennedy administration to make available the results of studies of underground events in Russia from 1958 through 1962. He has quoted "a competent administration official in whom I repose the highest confidence" as saying that the United States has the present ability to monitor a test ban agreement with full safeguards for American security.

Under these new arrangements it would be necessary to supplement these monitoring devices by inspections inside Russia carried out by inspectors who could be accompanied by Soviet observers. The inspected area would be small and would be located by using the records of at least four detection stations. There would be no more than seven inspections each year. The treaty would lapse and the United States would be free to resume its tests if Russia refused to agree to any suggested inspection or was caught in a secret test.

Since the 1960 campaign Mr. Kennedy has shown much more eagerness than the general public to reach a disarmament agreement with Russia, above all on a test ban treaty. The public has tended to view the Geneva talks with resigned apathy as a meaningless charade. Yet all the time hard-working and often misunderstood officials have been closing the gap between the Russian and American positions, while always striving for a treaty that would be endorsed by two-thirds of the Senate. It is high time that we realize that American public indifference is very helpful to Russia in resisting a treaty. For Russia can twist and equivocate at Geneva without being called to account by a bored American press.

Miss.

## The Crisis of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, April 10, 1963*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article on the voter registration drive in Leflore County, Miss., which appeared in the New York Times on April 6, 1963. This article describes the violence, threats and intimidation which have marked the fight for constitutional rights in Greenwood, Miss.

I have long been concerned over the stiuation in Leflore County. Last August the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee started its campaign in Leflore County to have Negroes register to vote. This campaign has met with extreme hostility which, as the New York Times article points out, has broken out in violence. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is dedicated to the fundamental principles of our democracy. These students deserve our highest admiration, for they are truly fighting in the frontline of liberty.

Afer the campaign to register Negroes began, the Leflore County officials announced that they would not distribute U.S. agricultural surpluses. Since over 90 percent of the surplus food which the county receives free from the Federal Government is distributed to Negroes, this was an obvious move to retaliate against the registration campaign. When this was brought to my attention, I urged the Secretary of Agriculture to take appropriate action. After the Department of Agriculture announced that it would distribute the food if necessary, the county officials finally gave in and began to distribute the food.

The New York Times article also relates the many instances of violence against those who have participated with great courage in the registration drive. As soon as it was clear that violence was being used to stop the registration drive, I urged the Department of Justice to intervene. I am happy that the Department of Justice has filed a suit in Greenwood, Miss.

Mississippi State Representative Karl Wiesenburg of Jackson County, Miss., in an article for the Pascagoula (Miss.) Chronicle stated the problem well when he said:

States rights must be coexistent with State responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, in order to further the understanding of the crisis of democracy in Mississippi I commend the following article to all my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 6, 1963]

MISSISSIPPI COUNTY IS TURNED INTO MAJOR BATTLEGROUND OF NEGROES' CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT—TENSION BUILDS UP AFTER GUN ATTACK; VOTER-REGISTRATION DRIVE IS INTENSIFIED AFTER LEADER IS WOUNDED BY VOLLEY

(By Claude Sitton)

GREENWOOD, MISS., April 5.—The night of February 28 was mild with a hint of early spring as the black sedan rolled westward along U.S. Route 82 across the Mississippi Delta.

One of its three Negro occupants recalled later that as a string of traffic faded to the rear near Itta Bena, a car that had trailed them from Greenwood pulled alongside. Two white men sat in front, one in back.

Bursts of gunfire rang out. Thirteen .45-caliber bullets stitched a ragged seam of fingersized holes along the sedan's left side and one copper-jacketed slug burned into the drivers shoulder to within an inch of his spine.

The wounded man, James Travis of Jackson, Miss., recovered. He has since returned here to his voter registration work as a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

THREE WHITES ARRESTED

Five days after the shooting Sheriff John Ed Cothron of Leflore County arrested three Greenwood whites, who were charged with felonious assault. Two are well-known citizens—William H. Greenlee, a petroleum products wholesaler, and Wesley Kersey, service manager for an industrial company. The third is a juvenile.

This shooting incident, the first of several, set off a string of events that has turned Leflore County into a major battleground in the Southern civil rights struggle.

Mr. Travis' companions in the car were Robert P. Moses, a field secretary of the student committee and director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of the voter education project.

The council, known as Cofo, is a coalition of Negro organizations that began a concerted voter registration drive in the Delta last summer. The voter education project, established last year by the southern regional council, has provided funds for Cofo's work.

The attack on the three men set off an angry flurry of activity in the project's headquarters at 5 Forsyth Street in Atlanta.

BIG CAMPAIGN PLANNED

Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, announced a saturation campaign to register Leflore's Negroes, who make up about 64 percent of the county's population of 47,142.

"The State of Mississippi," he asserted, "has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrar, but also by the economic pressures, threats, coercions, physical violence and death to Negroes seeking the right to vote," he said.

"The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. Leflore County has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there."

Leflore County lies on the eastern bulge of the Delta, a football-shaped expanse of fertile fields, pasture lands and swampy stands of hardwood. This alluvial plain, bounded roughly by the rolling loops of the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, stretches flat as a table for 200 miles between Memphis and Vicksburg.

The tree-screened beauty of its Greek-revival mansions contrasts with the weather-beaten squalor of the shacks of clapboard and tarpaper that stand amid the long brown furrows that lie waiting for the cotton and soybean seed.

In recent years, increasingly efficient machines and chemicals have revolutionized agriculture here.

NEED FOR LABOR CUT

But mechanization has slashed the need for labor by more than half. Many Negroes have moved away but many still remain.

Greenwood is the State headquarters for the Citizens' Council, a militantly segregationist organization founded in 1954 in adjoining Sunflower County.

The John Birch Society followed the council to Greenwood.

Many whites consider the voter registration campaign a Communist plot. Mayor Charles E. Sampson, a loyal member of the Citizens' Council, echoed their sentiments last week when he said that "the only purpose of these agitators is to follow the Communist line of fomenting racial violence."

There are a number of whites who disagree with this attitude and who contend that some compromise must be made with the demands of the Negroes. But they are afraid to speak out publicly.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee began a registration campaign last August in Leflore County. This committee, which grew out of the 1960 sit-in demonstrations against lunch counter segregation, has headquarters in Atlanta.

Two young Delta Negroes were designated as field secretaries for the project—Willie B. Peacock, of Charleston, Miss., and Samuel T. Block, of Cleveland, Miss.

A tall, gaunt youth of 25, Mr. Block became the chief target of white animosity in the campaign's early stages. He initially called attention to himself by asserting that he had been beaten by whites at a local automobile parts business. This drew the first in a long string of denials from whites, who said that they had seen no bruises on him.

The Leflore voter drive met little success last year, according to Mr. Moses. The 28-year-old Negro, who holds a masters degree in philosophy, left his job as a mathematics teacher at the Horace Mann School in New York in July 1961, to come to Mississippi as a field secretary for the student committee.

FEW ABLE TO QUALIFY

His explanation for the poor showing is the same one repeated privately by white officials; under present State voting regulations, few if any Negroes can pass the test.

Most whites of voting age were registered when the more stringent regulations went into effect.

Mrs. Martha T. Lamb, Leflore County circuit court clerk and registrar, said she did not know how many Negroes were registered because records were not kept by race. She and six other Mississippi registrars are defendants in a broad-scale legal attack on the voting laws that is now before a Federal court.

The Justice Department, which brought the suit, states in its complaint that there are 10,274 whites and 13,567 Negroes of voting age in Leflore County. Approximately 95.5 percent of the whites and 1.9 percent of the Negroes are registered.

The suit contends that white political supremacy is maintained by regulations that include the following:

Registrants must be able to read, write, and interpret any section of the Mississippi Constitution to the registrar's satisfaction;

Registrants must be of good moral character, as determined by the registrar; and

Names of applicants and their addresses must be published for 2 consecutive weeks in a newspaper of general circulation in the county.

SAYS IT APPLIES TO ALL

"It applies equally to all, white and black alike," said a member of the county board of supervisors with a grin in defending publication of the names.

Despite their dismal prospects, Negroes began applying for registration in increasing numbers in February.

The key factor in the increased applications for registration, according to Mr. Moses and a number of white observers, was the growing hunger among the field hands and the refusal of the county to relieve it by distributing surplus food provided by the Federal Government.

Until last fall, Leflore gave the food to public welfare recipients all year long. It expanded the program during the winter months to include all needy persons.

The county spent only $38,000 of its $2,095,874 budget for the 1961–62 fiscal year to store and distribute the food to 27,000 persons, about 90 percent of whom were Negroes.

MALNUTRITION REPORTED

But the board of supervisors voted to drop the program for nonwelfare recipients last fall. They explained recently that it had cost more than the county could afford and was not needed because of a bumper crop.

Four Justice Department lawyers who toured the county earlier this month reported that they had found widespread evidence of malnutrition.

Among the cases they describe was that of a mother who could offer her children only a breakfast of fried hoecake and sirup made from water and sugar. Another family had had no breakfast at 10 o'clock and said their dinner the night before had been pinto beans and blackeyed peas.

Other families said they had one big meal a week—chicken for Sunday morning breakfast.

A 34-year-old widow with nine children, ages 1 to 13, had only one bed and a bottomless chair in her shanty home. She said the plantation manager had given her $3 a week "furnish money" to be repaid from her earnings and those of her children. She was asked what she did after the cotton chopping and picking seasons.

"Ain't nothing to do but just wait on the calendar," she replied.

A night visit by two newsmen to a plantation cabin found a 57-year-old Negro hand, his wife and 11 of their 13 children crowded before an old television set in 1 of the 4 rooms.

The crisp stage setting of the Mikado, which they were watching, contrasted with the few pieces of sagging furniture, the split and peeling paper on the walls, the pine floor studded with patches of ancient linoleum and a two-eyed wood stove resting on an automobile wheel rim.

HAS $10 LEFT OVER

The man, a carpenter and mechanic's helper in the plantation's repair shop, said he made 40 cents an hour or about $20 a week. He receives $10 after payments on a Christmas loan and medical bills are deducted.

The family had just finished a supper of cornbread and fried potatoes. There was no milk for the children.

He was asked what he would choose if granted one wish.

"Rights," he replied. "Freedom, free to speak, free to have a voice, to speak, not be condemned or nothing like that. You know we don't have no voice out here."

As a result of the Justice Department's investigation, the Department of Agriculture told the county that the Federal Government would pay the cost of distributing the surplus food. If the county still refused, the department said, the Government would step in and do the job.

The board of supervisors agreed reluctantly to resume the program with the Government paying the cost. And this week hundreds of Negroes flocked to a warehouse here to receive the food.

HUNGER HELPS DRIVE

Hunger and the urging of the voter registration workers brought more and more Negroes to the county courthouse on the Yazoo's south bank to register. Committee officials obtained a three-room office in a ramshackle building on McLaurin Street and the harassment resumed.

The campaign workers reported another violent episode the night of March 6. Mr. Block said a station wagon had pulled alongside a car in which he and three others were sitting. A shotgun roared once.

The charge of buckshot was fired at such close range that it failed to disperse as it smashed one front window of the car and then the other before gouging into the wall of a home, the Negroes said.

City officials, in a statement, suggested that the incident was a hoax.

"Either by good luck or prearrangement, none of the occupants of the car was injured by the gunfire," he said.

No explanation was offered for the fact that three occupants had been cut by flying glass.

FIRE ON THEATER CROWD

The next night, Mr. Moses reported, a sedan carrying four whites drew up in front of a Negro theater. One pulled out a pistol and fired toward a group waiting on the sidewalk. No one was hit.

Last week brought more violence and the Federal intervention that the city had sought to avoid. Nightriders fired two blasts of buckshot into a voter worker's home Monday.

"Again, through good fortune or advanced planning, no one was hurt," Mayor Sampson and the city commissioners said in a statement.

The next morning, about 100 Negroes marched to the City Hall to protest the incident and to demand protection. At the mayor's orders, the police dispersed them with a German shepherd dog. The dog attacked two voter registration workers.

In all, nine of the workers, including the top leaders, were arrested. Eight of them were later given the maximum penalty for disorderly conduct—4 months in prison and a $200 fine.

MINISTER BITTEN BY DOG

Rev. D. L. Tucker, a minister active in the drive, was bitten Wednesday by the police dog as officers scattered a group of Negroes marching homeward after having applied for registration. He was scrambling to get away from the dog when bitten.

Dick Gregory, the comedian, arrived in Greenwood last Monday. Although he taunted the police as he led groups of Negroes in attempts to walk to the courthouse throughout the week, he was not arrested.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department had filed a request for a Federal court order against city and county officials before District Judge Claude F. Clayton, Jr. It sought to force them to take the following actions:

Release the eight registration workers from prison;

Refrain from further interference with the campaign; and

Permit Negroes to exercise their constitutional rights to assemble for peaceable protests and to protect them from whites who might molest them.

FIRST SUCH INTERVENTION

The action marked the first time in the civil rights struggle that the Department had interceded to preserve the right of peaceful protest.

However the Department and the city agreed yesterday that Justice Department attorneys would delay their attempt to obtain the injunctions and the city would stay execution of the sentences against the eight registration workers.

The Department reportedly was concerned over the threat of violence in Greenwood and the possibility that mass demonstrations might lead to a riot.

There is considerable evidence that an explosion has been averted here so far only because leaders of the citizens' council have restrained the more emotional whites. The council's members here include the city's business and professional leaders.

The Department's action disappointed sponsors of the voter registration drive.

WILL KEEP UP CAMPAIGN

Campaign leaders issued a statement yesterday pledging continued attempts by prospective voter applicants to walk in groups to the courthouse.

However, a temporary truce in the crisis was reached today between voter-campaign leaders and city officials. The latter agreed that while racial tensions made it necessary they would provide bus transportation between the drive's headquarters and the courthouse.

After tensions subside, according to Police Commissioner B. A. Hammond, the city will permit groups of no more than 20 or so to walk to the courthouse together so long as there is no threat of disorder.

Despite the violence, harassment, and intimidation, the campaign has picked up momentum. Hundreds of persons packed the mass meetings in the city's Negro churches to cheer top leaders in the civil rights movement.

If local whites could hear the statements being made they might question the accuracy of the Commonwealth's recent observation that "nothing will be changed after democracy has been tested here."

"The white folks are scared," asserted the Rev. James Bevel at one such session. "That's why they turned the dog loose."

BLAME MANY FACTORS

Leflore County's whites have blamed the voter registration workers, the Kennedy administration and the Communists, in about that order, for the racial crisis.

"It's outsiders that's causing it," said Mayor Sampson recently. "We give them everything. We're building them a new swimming pool. We work very close with the nigger civic league. They're very satisfied."

However, some whites conceded readily in private that it would take more than a new swimming pool to resolve the controversy. Sooner or later, they said, the county will be forced to administer reasonable voting tests and to place all qualified persons on the rolls.

## Whose Side Are We on in Cuban Crisis?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, April 10, 1963*

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, John Chamberlain has written an illuminating comparison of Fidel Castro and a true hero in Cuban history, Jose Marti, and from this relative estimate is prompted to ask of the present administration, "Who's side are we on?" when we denounce the efforts of some courageous Cuban patriots who are trying bravely to regain their homeland.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following complete text of Mr. Chamberlain's column as it appeared in the Charleston Daily Mail on March 27.

The article follows:

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Mail, Mar. 27, 1963]

WHOSE SIDE ARE WE ON IN THE CUBAN CONTROVERSY?

(By John Chamberlain)

It was an old, musty, dogeared volume, the sort of thing you pick up on the remainder shelves of secondhand book shops for a nickel. It's title, a longwinded one, was "The War in Cuba, Being a Full Account of Her Great Struggle For Freedom, Containing a Complete Record of Spanish Tyranny and Oppression; Scenes of Violence and Bloodshed; Frequent Uprisings of a Gallant and Long Suffering People." The date of publication was 1896, 2 years before the Spanish-American War.

I brought it home from Miami, and have been trying, at odd moments, to penetrate the dense jungle of its florid 19th century prose. What keeps you going through the worst of the purple passages is the odd sincerity that dwells just below the surface of the cliche-ridden text. Jose Marti, the Cuban patriot, is decked out in all sorts of angelic colors—but, discounting the tropical flowers of oratory (the work of Gonzalo de Quesada, the Cuban republicans' representative in Washington during the 1890's), he comes through as a warm, sentient human being, idealist and realist in one.

I had never known much about Marti before. Like the young Fidel Castro who staged an impossible attack on a Batista strongpoint for its symbolic value, knowing that it must fail, Marti took his chances at the age of 16 when he claimed the authorship of an anti-Spanish article which he had not himself written. But Marti's motivation was different from Castro's; he performed his Quixotic act to save a friend. He was jailed, then exiled to Spain, from which he escaped. For 25 years thereafter Marti worked for a free Cuba supporting guerrilla activity from New York City. It was Marti who created the Cuban Home Rule Party, who arranged for arms shipments to the insurgents, and who took the field eventually as a Cuban rebel general despite the fact that he had had no experience in soldiering.

Gonzalo de Quesada describes the death and martyrdom of Marti on the soil of Cuba in words that sound like an excerpt from an old melodrama: "Under the palms, on a white steed * * * he fell. There, where our only majestic river, the Cauto, opens its arms, where from the rising grounds, the valleys, like a motherly bosom, invite the eternal rest, canopied by a gray firmament, there, where the world seems to dilate, Jose Marti battled for the last time against Spanish tyranny * * * he charges; his spirited horse carries him ahead of his men; it is his first engagement, it is his last victory; he rolls from his horse, fallen, wounded; his breast is riddled with bullets; the murderous lead entering under his chin has disfigured the firm mouth; the heavy mustache is burnt; his golden tongue is forever silent."

Reading de Quesada's perfervid words, you squirm. But you can't quite laugh, for the veneration so flamboyantly expressed still carries a ring of truth after 67 years.

If Marti had lived to become the first President of a free Cuban Republic, he would have scorned to go back on his word. Castro promised the Cubans that the Constitution of 1940 would be restored after the defeat of Batista; he promised a free press; he promised free scope for any and all businessmen who had not collaborated with the Batista government. Every single promise has been betrayed. Marti would have scorned to put a single Cuban under the yoke of an alien Old World power. Castro has delivered all the Cubans in Cuba to Moscow.

Reading the old dogeared book of 1896, I kept thinking about an article I wrote back in the 1930's, about Venezuela, when that South American country was trying to pick up the pieces after the death of the tyrant Juan Vicente Gomez, who had ruled it from 1908 to 1935. Gomez was a caudillo, a petty general, who pretended to have the good of his country at heart. Called "el bagre," the catfish, and "el brujo," the witch doctor, Gomez was feared by everybody—and he ended by being loved by nobody.

Castro pretends to wear the mantle of Marti. But underneath the "buche y pluma," or wind and feathers, he is the contemporary version of Gomez. When Marti was carrying on his struggle against "Butcher" Weyler, the Spanish general sent from Madrid to hold Cuba in thrall, the United States accorded him the rights of a belligerent. But our State Department denounces the modern disciples of Marti, the Cubans who are banded together in Alpha 66, for hitting some Russians while raiding the Cuban coast. Is the State Department on the side of the shade of Jose Marti? Or does it prefer the shade of "Catfish" Gomez?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Look - May 21 '63
Suff South

# THE SOUTH'S WAR AGAINST NEGRO VOTES

**BY JOHN POPPY**
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

*We have walked through the shadows of death,*
*We've had to walk all by ourselves;*
*But we'll never turn back, no, we'll never turn back*
*Until we've all been freed and we have equality.*

*That is part of a song Bertha Gober, a tense, fragile-looking girl of 21, composed not long ago for an organization known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. On paper, the song struck me as awkward, even a little pretentious. But it is a favorite of the student civil-rights movement in the toughest areas of the Deep South. To find out why, I asked Bertha to sing it. She looked around at her friends in the busy* SNCC *office in Atlanta and said, softly, "No." She is shy, I thought, because I am an outsider, the only white person here.*

*"Please," I said.*

*"Close the door," she said.*

*We sealed ourselves off from the others. Bertha began to sing hesitantly, hunched over, staring at the floor. Then, as if she had found a way to tell a painful secret, she relaxed and forgot me as her own words set to her own melody took over. She stood very straight, tilting her head back so she could sing upwards in a strong, rich voice that warmed and overflowed the little room. When she finished, the office on the other side of the door was still. No talk, no footsteps, no typewriter sounds. There were tears in her eyes, and I understood the power of her song—part lament, part prayer, part battle cry.*

*A few hours later, I was talking with James Forman,* SNCC*'s executive secretary. Bertha Gober's song came up again. "You see why this is a singing movement? The songs help. Without them, it would be ugly," Forman said. "Ugly."*

The main job of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to persuade frightened, reluctant Negroes to register and vote. It is concentrating on two bedrock segregationist areas where Negroes account for over 50 percent of the population: southwestern Georgia and the Delta country of Mississippi.

Occasionally, there is well-publicized violence—for instance, the disorders that began in Greenwood, Miss., in March. Until then, there had been just two or three lonely voter-registration workers in Greenwood. When a young Negro passing through town was shot, however, more workers moved in. Fire damaged the office they were using, and a shotgun blasted the windows of an SNCC man's house. Aroused and united, Negroes marched to the courthouse in protest; local police dispersed them, arresting some; the Department of Justice arrived on the scene, and so did dozens of reporters. National attention was suddenly focused on Greenwood.

But in the fight for Negro votes, explosions like this one are the exception rather than the rule. Terrible as it seems, the excitement will eventually pass. For the real story of the voter-registration struggle in the South, we must look behind the headlines to the grim, everyday reality. Why does Bertha Gober sing, *We've had to walk all by ourselves?*

James Forman knows. Because of what he has seen in the past two years, he is a bitter man. He and some other Negro leaders feel that voter-registration workers pay a needlessly high price, in mental and physical anguish, for the gains they make. One of the ironies of the struggle in the South is that these leaders direct much of their bitterness, not at their enemies the local segregationists, but at their friends in the Federal Government.

Forman knows that diehard whites will use all their muscle to prevent Negro voting. "They have a lot to lose," he says. But he is tortured by the thought that his people suffer even more than they have to, and he accuses the Kennedy Administration—particularly the Department of Justice—of not using all *its* muscle to protect SNCC voter-registration workers in the South.

Justice Department spokesmen vehemently disagree. The Department's overworked civil-rights staff has filed more than 35 voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, at least a dozen of them in defiant, unyielding Mississippi. During the past month and a half, it has taken legal action on behalf of the Negro demonstrators in Greenwood. But, says Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division, "I'm not running a police force."

An important suit, requesting an order barring discrimination against qualified Negroes who want to register, is now under way in Sunflower County, Miss. Sunflower is the home county of U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy recently said that, although we still have a long way to go, "1962

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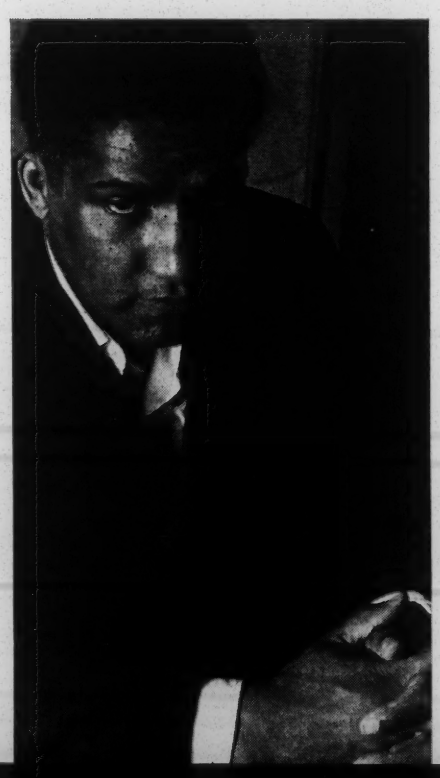

*Negroes in Mississippi are "still scared" to vote, says James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He is tortured by the thought that his people suffer more than they have to, and accuses the Kennedy Administration of not using all its muscle to protect* SNCC *voter-registration workers.*

# "All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when they beat my head?"

was a year of great progress in civil rights." It was. But for the Negro on the front lines, the price was high.

One of the costs of that year of progress was a bleeding ulcer that nearly killed Forman this January. He had to send field secretaries into towns where he knew they might be killed. He saw seven SNCC fieldmen in Mississippi goaded by police harassment, lynch threats and beatings until they filed suit against Attorney General Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a desperate effort to get physical protection. He had to watch voter-registration workers not only in Mississippi but in Louisiana and southwestern Georgia driven to the edge of nervous breakdowns. He is constantly fighting the ugly suspicion that he and his people are alone, deserted by friends they had counted on.

"It is hard to describe the irony of the situation," Forman told me. "Voting is a constitutional right. We take time out of school, take all sorts of risks and try to register folks. When you get no help, that's pretty demoralizing. Take Mississippi. The Government has filed suits. OK. But people are still scared. They tell us, 'All right, I'll go down to register, but what you going to do for me when I lose my job and they beat my head?' And we can't do anything. The local folks are beginning to doubt that it's worth the risk."

*Your name is Samuel Block. You are a Negro, 23 years old, born and raised in Mississippi. For the past year, you have been in the front lines of the voter-registration battle, as an* SNCC *field secretary.*

*Before all the help arrived in Greenwood last March, you and one or two others tried to cover all of Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta cotton country. Leflore's population is 65 percent Negro; almost all its voters are white. When you arrived last June in Greenwood, the county seat, you found a place to sleep, cheap as possible. Then you started knocking on doors, introducing yourself and your mission, trying to convince people who have never seen a ballot that it is their passport to freedom.*

*You found many of your own people afraid to talk to you because a police car followed you to each house, and the police parked in front, writing things down. They jailed you several times. Three white men beat you up, and you escaped being hit by a speeding pickup truck only because you jumped behind a telephone pole. One Thursday night last August, you barely got away from a group of whites armed with bricks, chains, ropes and pistols. You assume they meant to kill you, but you don't know for sure. You never know. You demanded protection from the Justice Department. You're not sure who it was you talked to in Washington, but you remember he said he couldn't move until a Federal statute was clearly violated. A reasonable answer, but it didn't make you feel any safer as night fell in Greenwood.*

*In the first six months, you managed to register five new voters.*

Americans have read so much about lynchings, torture and murders that many of us, I suspect, are no longer troubled by an occasional atrocity. "There goes Mississippi again," we sigh, and move on after a moment's regret. But the possibility of death is only a part of the ordeal for men like Samuel Block. His enemy is ingenious; Block never knows where the next blow will fall. Perhaps someone to whom he talked will lose a job, or go to jail, or be dropped from the welfare rolls.

In cotton country, where almost all Negroes suffer from underemployment every winter, welfare and Government surplus food are important, not just for comfort, but for survival. Last October, the Leflore County Board of Supervisors discontinued a major part of the commodities program for 1963. As a result, more than 22,000 people who lived on surplus food in the winter were cut off. The total included Negroes *and* whites, but Block's people suffered most. Suspecting that his activities had caused the reprisal, Block suffered too. This spring, the departments of Justice and Agriculture managed to persuade Leflore County to start the program again—but it had been a hard winter there. And if your people are too cold and hungry to worry about a concept like the vote, no matter how important you tell them it is, you can't help wondering. . . .

If you are lynched, says Samuel Block, "you're dead, that's all." Dying takes courage. Living day by day, week in and week out for a year, with no relief in sight, under endless harassment, tests not only your courage, but your sanity.

I have been in many towns in Mississippi. I was in Greenwood before the recent upheaval there, and have been back since it began. The first time, I went to see Block because his troubles were—and are—commonplace by Mississippi standards. It was not easy to locate him. He was, to all appearances, in hiding. He moved constantly; his mail went to a friend, who passed it on to him; he had no telephone. Luckily, I met three young Negroes in Greenville, not far from Greenwood, who knew where Block *might* be the next day. They offered to guide me to the place.

The four of us drove the 54 miles from Greenville to Greenwood the next morning, with the radio turned up loud to blanket the tension in the car. Three Negro passengers and a white man at the wheel do not feel comfortable driving through the Delta country. The stares and angry mutters of people along the road provoked nudges and nervous laughter among my companions.

Near Greenwood, a sign pointing to "Business District" directs the traveler off U. S. Highway 82. "Go past that," said one of my passengers. The highway separates Negro from white. We turned onto a dirt temporary road and found ourselves on narrow streets among wooden, two-story buildings. My passengers relaxed; they were in familiar territory. Now, I was the outsider.

We met Block on a street corner in the Negro section of Greenwood and headed off for a sandwich, but we didn't get it. The waiter in the café said, "Police told me I'd have big trouble if they ever caught me serving a white man." Block told him, "Well, don't bother serving me either," and we left.

BLOCK WALKS in long strides. His movements are abrupt, and even when he is sitting still long enough to talk, you can feel the tension in him. "We're working hard toward voter registration," Block said, "but it is beginning to seem impossible. We've carried 80 or 90 people up to the courthouse, but only five of them got registered. . . ."

That was not surprising. Mississippi law requires each applicant for registration to read and write and to interpret in writing any section of the state constitution and write an explanation of the duties of a citizen. The state constitution has 285 sections, some of which are, in the words of a Mississippi lawyer, "extremely difficult, long and tedious." The registrar is the sole judge of whether or not an applicant has passed the test. The name of each applicant is listed for two weeks in the local paper, "so they know who you are," says Block.

When I saw him, Block was still doggedly taking people to the courthouse. (Most would not go by themselves.) He refused to admit despair, but his talk was angry. "In the state of Mississippi," he said at one point, "every animal has a season but the Negro; you can shoot him anytime." To understand some of his bitterness, follow Block's early progress in Greenwood in these excerpts from his reports to James Forman:

*June 20, 1962:* "On my arrival in Greenwood, everything seemed the same as in Parchman, Miss. [site of the state prison farm]. Negroes working hard for nothing, each waiting for the other to do something. . . . In a conversation with Greenwood's big [Negro] businessmen, I was told to sponsor anything I want. Where? None other than the big [Negro] Elks Club. . . ."

*June 30:* "I have cut my office and room rent very much. Office now $14 a month, living quarters $2.50 a week. . . ."

*July 11:* "We lost our meeting place at the Elks Club. The members did not approve of our meeting there and singing Freedom songs. They could have turned us off in a better way than they did, waiting until we were fixing to have a meeting, then telling us to have it in our office. . . ."

*July 16 [from one of Block's temporary helpers]:* "Say, are we supposed to work both day and night like Sam? Man, he doesn't even take time to eat now; I don't know what has gotten into him lately."

*July 26:* "In all my hard days of [voter] workshop recruiting, I was only able and glad to get six to attend from Greenwood. . . . By the way, I cannot send a budget for this week because I did not have any money to spend anyway. . . ."

*August 11:* "With things going bad for me in Greenwood, some of the citizens have asked me to protect myself and leave now because the

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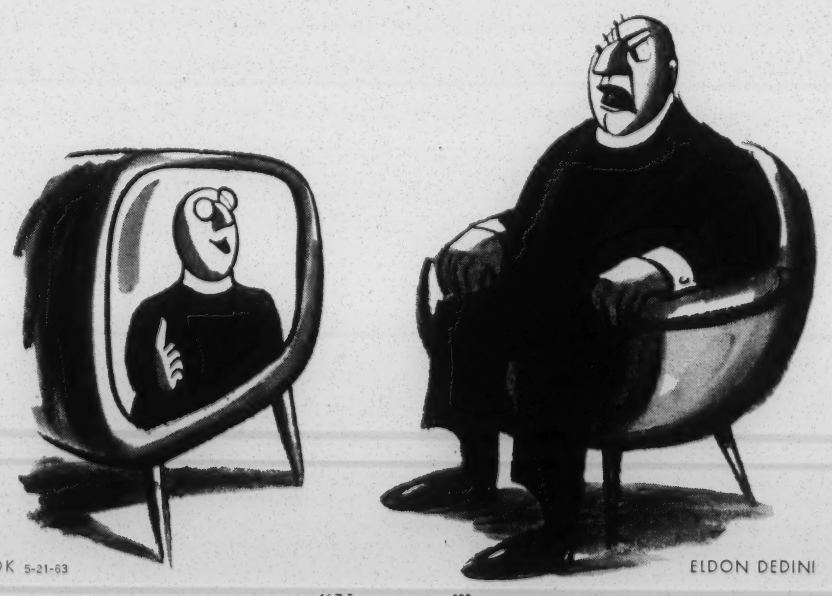


LOOK 5-21-63 ELDON DEDINI

*"Nonsense!"*

# Volunteers have received death threats

white people are planning to kill me. I replied, 'I am not leaving. . . .'

"Not more than a week ago, two Greenwood city policemen came to our office. I met them at the foot of the stairway and was told they were investigating an automobile theft. [One] voiced his opinion that I was a 'smart nigger from up North and if I didn't say Yes Sir and No Sir to him I would end up on the concrete without any teeth.' Last Friday, I took four Negroes to the county court in Greenwood. . . . I had given them instructions in how to register before we went. We arrived at about 2:30 p.m. and found a female deputy registrar, who acknowledged the presence of Negroes by asking me, 'What's for you, boy?' The four Negro applicants were frightened by the deputy registrar's attitude. . . .

"When I arrived home, I received a call from an individual who identified himself as speaking for the White Citizens Council. He told me, 'If you take anybody else up to register, you'll never leave Greenwood alive.' I get such calls with some frequency. About a week and a half ago, Miss ——, from who I rented a room for some time, told me that she received a similar call.

"Today, I took two Negroes to the registrar's office. The Negroes finished filling out the application form and the literacy and citizenship tests . . . and left the office. Two policemen were waiting just outside the courthouse. They said something to me, but I just ignored them, got into a taxi and took the applicants home. The police followed, stopping in front of the homes of the applicants and sat writing something. . . ."

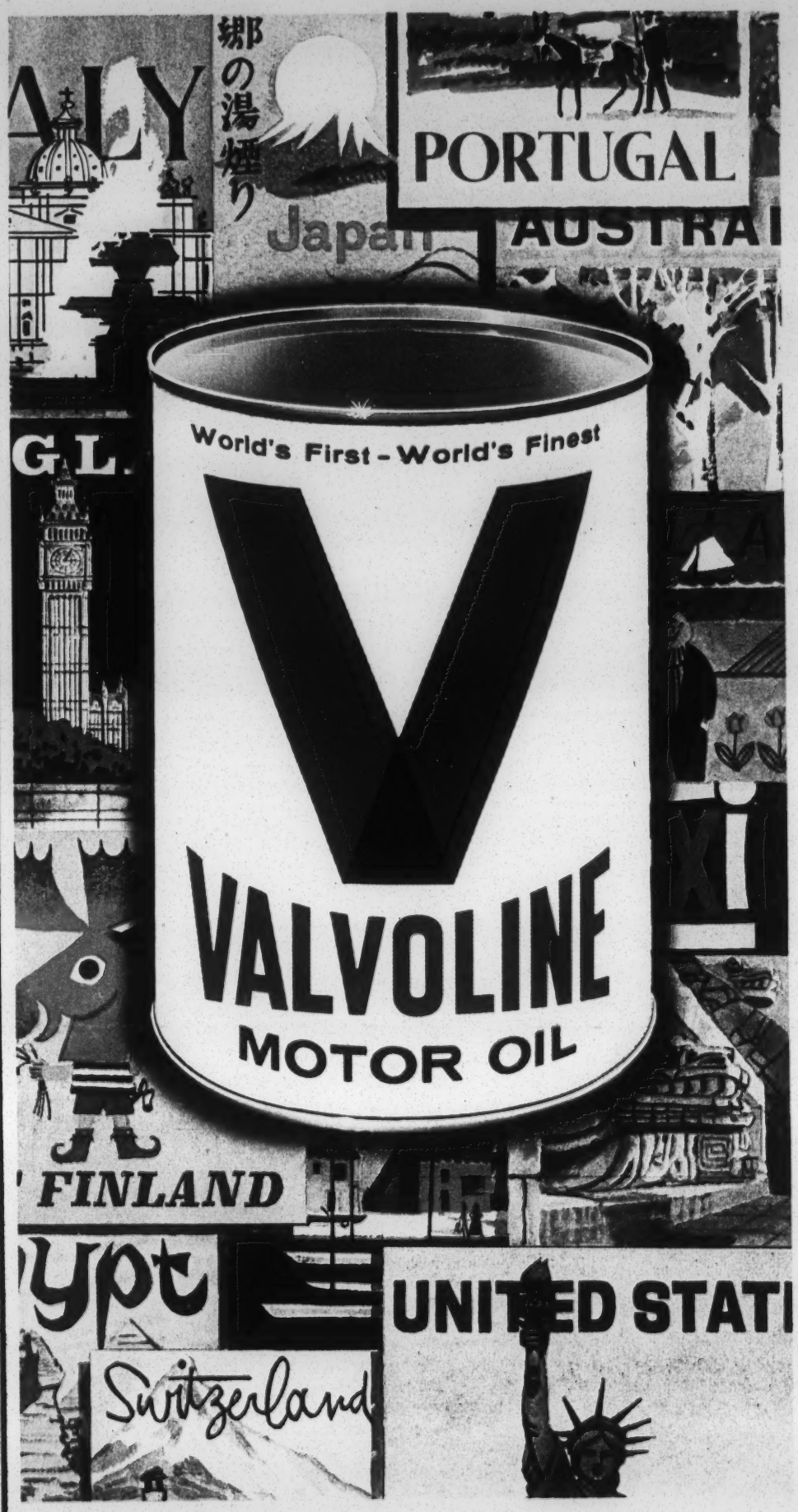
Ironically, the recent incidents in Greenwood have proved more effective than all Block's persuasion. Since the beginning of March, hundreds of aroused Negroes have tried to register there; few have passed the tests, of course, but at least they tried.

But Block and others like him do not want to depend on violence for results. He pretends to see hope in the Justice Department's suit to open the voter rolls in Senator Eastland's Sunflower County, which borders Leflore County on the west. "Maybe if the Justice Department wins the suit over there, things will ease off here in Leflore," he says. But he doesn't really believe that. The Department, he knows, has had to work county by county in its tedious, expensive effort to break down 150 years of tradition in a defiant state.

As lawyers fight their battles in court, lonely young people will continue to struggle for voter registration in less public places. Block and his companions are outnumbered. SNCC and other groups like it are small, and they do not seem to attract many new recruits. That means there is little prospect of relief for the field secretaries. They have been at their posts for over a year now, and will try to stay there indefinitely, despite the inevitable battle fatigue that makes some weep—and sing—in anguish. For them, the voter-registration movement is an endless, nerve-racking series of guerrilla battles in dark corners of the Black Belt. In many ways, it is like underground warfare in an occupied country. To have to think in such terms of American citizens on their own soil is, as James Forman says, ugly. END

**BUTCH**

*"I like that Captain O'Rourke. He never forgets the citations and promotions he gets apprehending Butch."*

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During a Negro voter registration drive in Greenwood, Miss., police attempt to disperse marchers.

# Inquiry Into the Mississippi Mind

**Racial conflict has made this Southern state the symbol of uncompromising resistance to change. Herewith, an examination of Mississippi's plight, the causes and the outlook.**

**By CLAUDE SITTON**

JACKSON, Miss.

WHEN Mississippi Negroes gather to discuss their struggle for equality, as they frequently do, one story they tell concerns a plantation field hand named John. Seized by civil rights fever, he pays a visit to the big house to proclaim the new order.

"Mister Charlie," he says to the white planter, "all these years you and Miss Ann has called me 'John.' That's all right. But things is changed. There ain't gonna be no more 'Mister Charlie' and 'Miss Ann.' It's just 'Ann' and 'Charlie' now. And, Charlie, one other thing: Ain't gonna be no more Mississippi, either. From now on, it's just 'Sippi.' "

Mississippi whites see little humor in the story. Mister Charlie and Miss Ann quickly lose the graciousness and warmth with which they are rightfully credited if one suggests that racial customs must be modified. They know that change is inevitable. But the mind boggles at the thought—and sometimes slips its moorings to reality.

This irrational reaction partially explains some of the shocking events of the past year: The bloody riots over a Negro's admission to the University of Mississippi, the continued denial of minority voting rights—dramatized by recent violence in the Delta—and the harassment, intimidation and force employed against the whites who dare dissent from segregationist orthodoxy. Perhaps the most damaging effects, however, of this state of mind are being felt in other areas of public life.

IN the current emotional atmosphere the unscrupulous have virtual immunity so long as they act in the name of segregation. Charlatans who would be laughed off the streets in normal times find a receptive audience. History is rewritten, substituting pleasing fiction for unpleasant fact. And the Mississippian, who bows to no man in loyalty to country, lends encouragement or stands by silently while his public officials flirt with sedition.

The extent to which these developments have tried the patience of persons outside the state is apparent in a recent recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission. The commissioners pointed out that Mississippi paid only $270,000,000 in taxes into the Federal Treasury during the 1962 fiscal year, while receiving $650,000,000 in return. They urged President Kennedy to determine if he had legal authority to withhold this aid until Mississippi ended its "subversion of the Constitution." (The President said he did not have such power.)

The day of the commission's proposal, a state official suggested that Mississippi might retaliate in kind. Fred Ross, State Commissioner of Public Welfare, said: "The question now arises as to how much longer the white population of Mississippi will continue to consent to be taxed and drained of its sustenance for the benefit of a race and nation which show no appreciation for their sacrifices, in order to destroy itself by integration."

Can Mississippi afford its uncompromising position on race? What social debits has it incurred by its intransigency? What factors underlie the refusal to face reality? Is there basis for hope that the state will heed the few courageous leaders who are urging a return to sanity? These questions can be examined but not firmly answered.

To understand Mississippi's interracial conflict, one must first consider the nature of the state and its people. Despite its monolithic image, Mississippi is a mosaic.

THE Gulf Coast gives it a touch of Florida. Salt marshes and piney woods alternate with groves of moss-draped live oaks and stretches of sandy beach. Mansions of fading elegance compete with plush motels for attention along U.S. Route 90. The coast already has shipbuilding, papermaking and fishing industries, and soon will have a $125 million oil refinery and a $400 million testing center for moon rocket engines.

To the north lie cut-over timberlands, small farms and a succession of dusty county-seat towns. Deserted fields and empty storefronts tell of the loss of population to the state's small but growing cit- (*Continued on Page* 104)

**CLAUDE SITTON** is Southern Correspondent for The New York Times, based in Atlanta.

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# The Mississippi Mind

*(Continued from Page 13)*

ies — Pascagoula, Gulfport, Hattiesburg, Meridian, Jackson, Vicksburg and Greenville.

The rolling hills that extend northward from the Gulf coastal plain are broken on the east by stretches of Black Belt prairie and on the west by the Delta. This football-shaped expanse of level fields of sandy loam and buckshot clay reaches 200 miles from Vicksburg to Memphis, one of the richest cotton-growing areas in America.

MISSISSIPPI was settled by planters and slaves from the worn-out farms of the southern Piedmont. Streaming into the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw at the beginning of the 19th century, they built an empire on cotton. The state became one of the nation's richest. But much of its wealth was wiped out by the Civil War, subsequent depressions and the boll weevil.

With the coming of agricultural mechanization, cotton production remained profitable only in the Delta. Even there, the tractor, the mechanical picker and chemicals have slashed the need for labor. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Mississippians have migrated to the North and Middle West.

Negroes, who once outnumbered whites, now make up only 43 per cent of the state's population of 2,178,141, according to the Bureau of the Census. They are in the majority in the Delta counties, but more and more are leaving because they have no work for eight or nine months a year.

Mississippians are still a largely rural people. Only 38 per cent live in urban areas. Most of the state's manufacturing jobs are in scattered, small textile and apparel plants. Jackson, the capital, is the state's largest city. It has a population of 150,000, a jet airport under construction, and one of the nation's few gold-plated bathrooms. This last was installed in the Governor's mansion at a cost of $10,000 by Gov. Ross R. Barnett.

MISSISSIPPI is the poorest state in the nation and some residents considered the Governor's expenditure excessive in view of a shortage of funds for education and other state services. The state had a per capita income in 1961 of only $1,229, compared with a national average of $2,263. The median annual family income of its whites was $4,209, and of its Negroes, $1,444.

The state has the third highest illiteracy rate—4.9 per cent —in the nation, trailing only South Carolina and Louisiana. A total of 32,196 of its Negroes and 8,444 of its whites have never attended school. A far larger number, 119,741 Negroes and 40,274 whites, are considered functional illiterates.

Mississippi offers a study in contrasts, especially in the Delta. Greek-revival mansions and rambling ranch houses in groves of shade trees look out on weather-beaten rows of clapboard cabins and tar-paper shacks, most of which have open privies and some of which lack even running water. A planter dressed in expensive Western boots and hat gets up from a leisurely meal in a restaurant and displays a rare dime valued at $90 from his coin collection. Less than a mile away, a Negro mother arises and prepares a breakfast of sugar syrup and hoecake for her children, some of whom cannot attend school because they have no shoes.

**OLD MISSISSIPPI** — Negroes pick

The state's campaign for economic expansion has reached a promising stage. The International Paper Company plant whose towering smokestack dominates the tidewater town of Moss Point, the cargo ships and nuclear submarines on the ways in the Ingalls Shipyard in Pascagoula and the Standard Oil refinery under construction at Bayou Casotte offer impressive evidence of progress.

BUSINESS experts see no evidence that segregation has hampered such industrial growth. Continuing racial unrest is another thing indeed. A leading financial economist in the Southeast predicts that Mississippi's number of new plant acquisitions will begin to decline at midyear. "It will continue shrinking for a long time to come, until and unless the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union," he says.

High as is the economic cost of intransigency, the social

cost is higher. A thumbnail sketch of what white supremacy means in Mississippi is provided in a current report of the state advisory committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission. It should be noted that its members are Mississippians.

"The committee's investigations have indicated that in all important areas of citizenship, a Negro in Mississippi receives substantially less than his due consideration as an American and as a Mississippian. This denial extends from the time he is denied the right to be born in a nonsegregated hospital, through his segregated and inferior school years and his productive years when jobs for which he can qualify are refused, to the day he dies and is laid to rest in a cemetery for Negroes only."

Further, Negroes frequently are denied the most effective

cotton by hand in the Delta.

recourse from these wrongs—the ballot. The extreme to which disfranchisement goes and the irrational behavior of some whites when confronted by a mere attempt to remedy the situation have just been underscored in Leflore County in the Delta.

MORE than 95 per cent of the county's whites 21 years of age and older are registered, but less than 2 per cent of its Negroes. State law gives voter registrars almost sole discretion in saying who may and who may not vote.

The Justice Department recently instituted a Federal Court action against registrars in Leflore and six other Mississippi counties. But even under reasonable regulations fairly applied, the ignorance and impoverishment of many Leflore County Negroes would preclude their registration. Thus, it would appear that, with the cards so patently stacked in favor of white political supremacy, the registration campaign started there last August would have caused no stir. Not so. Campaign workers have been threatened, harassed, beaten and shot.

Such terrorism has not been restricted to Leflore County or to the Delta. The Voter Education Project, an Atlanta-based organization financed by national foundations, has issued a list of 64 separate acts of violence and intimidation directed against Negroes since January, 1961, in more than a dozen counties. Virtually all of these incidents were related to registration activities.

THE corrosive effects of racism on whites as well as Negroes are shown even more clearly in the story of Mississippi's resistance to desegregation in education. The last chapter has yet to be written about this phase of the struggle. But it already has brought the entire state to the brink of rebellion against the Federal Government.

The action came last Sept. 13, when Governor Barnett invoked the legally discredited doctrine of interposition. He announced that he was placing the power of the state between the University of Mississippi and the Federal Courts to prevent the admission of James H. Meredith, a 29-year-old Negro. It is doubtful that Mr. Barnett, a shrewd damage-suit lawyer, thought interposition would work for him more than it had for Gov. Jimmy H. Davis of Louisiana in his efforts to block Negroes from the New Orleans public schools.

Nevertheless, like demagogues before him, Governor Barnett apparently felt compelled to stage a show of defiance while negotiating a surrender under the table. If such was his intention, he misjudged the mood of his people with fatal results.

GIVEN the Governor's refusal to preserve order and the Kennedy Administration's decision to enforce desegregation initially with Federal deputy marshals rather than with troops, the riots of Sept. 30 and Oct. 1 on the Ole Miss campus and in the adjoining town of Oxford were inevitable. One might have thought that the death of two men and the incalculable damage to the state and nation would have had a sobering effect on segregationists. Any such illusions were soon dispelled by declarations of the type made by a Jackson newspaper columnist:

"Watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brotherly love," he wrote. "For us . . . we'll just go on being a bigot, a reactionary, a rebel and lick our wounds till the next fight starts and plan to win somehow. We are licked but not beaten!"

Some Mississippians believe that the rest of the nation is on their side and that succor cannot be long in coming. "I

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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*(Continued from Preceding Page)*

found a lot of sympathy in the Midwest for our position, particularly in regard to our respect for states' rights and the Tenth Amendment," said one returning missionary.

What underlies this refusal of white Mississippians to face reality? Undoubtedly, the heritage of slavery, the stark poverty and profound isolation that Mississippi has known have played a part. Another important factor has been the fear of the Negro felt by what until recently was a white minority.

THERE is also bitter resentment against the North. This was first aroused by abolitionism and reinforced by the North's failure to follow a consistent racial policy, either in its demands made upon the South or in its handling of the problem in its own backyard. In a word, Mississippians consider Northerners hypocritical.

The genesis of the current agony, of course, lies in the school-desegregation decision of the Supreme Court. Dr. C. Vann Woodward, an authority on the history of the post-Civil War South, has written that Mississippi came forward in 1954 "in her historic role as leader of reaction in race policy, just as she had in 1875 to overthrow Reconstruction and in 1890 to disfranchise the Negro."

Significantly, many of the state's present leaders—Governor Barnett, House Speaker Walter Sillers and Senator James O. Eastland—grew up in the climate of reaction created by those earlier benchmarks of Southern democracy. And they served their political apprenticeships in the school of Senators James K. Vardaman, "The Great White Chief," who advocated repeal of the 15th Amendment as the first step toward saving Anglo-Saxon civilization, and Theodore G. Bilbo, known as "The Man," who plumbed the depths of demagoguery.

Raw material from this background combined with the catalyst of the court's desegregation ruling to touch off a racial conflagration. The first alarm was sounded in the Delta county of Sunflower, home of Senator Eastland, in the summer of 1954 when the first Citizens Council was founded. This was the initial step toward institutionalized bigotry in a more or less respectable setting.

There followed a campaign of indoctrination with few parallels in American history. The results have been described by Dr. James W. Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi, in The New Mexico Electric News: "Most organizations and individuals (press, pulpit, politicians, patriots, philosophers) capable of influencing public opinion are militantly arrayed in the indoctrination process. A never-ceasing propagation of the 'true faith' goes on day after day. The constant demand, particularly in emergencies, for a united front requires that potential nonconformists and dissenters from the accepted code be kept under wraps, squelched, or, in extreme cases, run out of the community."

WHAT happens to those who dissent is shown by the case of Ira Harkey, editor and publisher of The Chronicle at Pascagoula. Harkey who resembles a low-key Jimmy Cagney, holds that the rights of every man should be protected, "whether he be white, black, yellow, green or shades in between." One of his most biting editorial commentaries on the Mississippi scene followed publication of a letter from a relative of Governor Barnett who is a missionary in Africa. She criticized Mississippians for sending persons to minister to Negroes abroad and then undercutting the missionaries by mistreating Negroes at home. To this, The Chronicle said:

"In Mississippi, a person who attempts to carry Christianity out the church door, who dares to practice the Christian virtue of tolerance outside the church, is cursed as a liberal, a leftist, a Communist, a Niggerlover. Christ was the greatest champion of the underdog the world has ever known. If He were to visit us here, now, by whose side would He stand, beside the brick-throwing, foul-mouthed,

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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**NEW MISSISSIPPI** — Factories like this are springing up.

destroying, profaning, slavering members of the mob and their 'nice-folk' eggers-on, or beside the trembling victim of their hate?"

Harkey's rewards have included a bullet through The Chronicle's front door, a shotgun blast through his office window, an advertising boycott, "hate" mail and social ostracism.

Other dissenters who have broken the silence imposed by fear or expediency have received similar treatment. Among them are Methodist ministers who have lost their pulpits, students who have been hounded out of the University of Mississippi for befriending James Meredith, and faculty members such as G. Ray Kerciu, an assistant professor of art who was threatened with penalties totaling seven months' imprisonment and $600 in fines for a painting inspired by the Ole Miss riots.

There is no ready panacea for the social ills that afflict Mississippi. But there is hope. The pressure on Mr. Harkey has been eased since Claude Ramsay, the bluff president of the state A.F.L.-C.I.O., and a handful of others came to his support. The charges against Mr. Kerciu have been dropped.

AND there are other harbingers of a new day: voting applicants standing patiently at the courthouse door in Greenwood for hour on endless hour, a Justice Department attorney shaking hands with a Negro while a white woman shivers with rage, the songs of freedom rolling out of the little Negro churches into the blackness of the Delta night, and a white man, trapped by a system he inherited, smiling sadly and saying, "We would like to be more responsible than we can afford to be."

Sitting in his modernistic office overlooking Jackson, a prominent lawyer spoke of the state's responsible citizens and their weariness with racism and its fruits. "The human mind can accept just so much of this type of thing, then it seeks relief," he said.

Former Congressman Frank Smith of Greenwood gave voice to the sentiments of this group as he left office. "We cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the United States any more than the United States can isolate itself from the world. . . . Our racial problems are going to remain for years to come. But the most certain thing about them is that any remedies based on hate will merely aggravate the problems instead of simplifying them."

IT is questionable that Mississippians are yet prepared to heed the advice of Mr. Smith, now a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The state will elect a new Governor next fall, and it now appears that another member of the Vardaman-Bilbo school will succeed Barnett.

The most effective influence could be exerted by industrialists and financiers outside the state, although they are traditionally hesitant to become involved in such matters. Indeed, concern over the possible harmful effects of the controversy already has led some prominent Mississippi businessmen to exert pressure for moderation.

It seems evident that Mississippi cannot long delay some compromise with the legitimate demands of its Negro citizens. The hazards of the present situation are implicit in the mounting evidence of widespread bitterness. In the crowded sanctuary of a Negro church one warm spring night, a speaker at a voter registration rally referred with sarcasm to "the good white people." A voice from the audience shouted: "They ain't no good! None of them!"

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# Letter to a Northern Friend

*A white student who has gone South to work with Negroes on voter registration tells of fear and inertia and of the children who are disturbing the peace in rural Georgia.*

*Leesburg, Georgia*

Robert Kennedy is on the late news, speaking of the 15th Amendment ("I think I understand," says a lady, "'cepting, what is 'servitude'?"). Agnew James, day laborer and chairman of the Lee County voter registration movement (over 80 Negro registrants in 11 months in this predominantly black county, classified as "100 percent rural" in the census) rarely, if ever, has occasion to mention the 15th Amendment.

"Other words," says Agnew James, "so many folks is scared. Last week a boy got knocked in the head with a shovel and you can't get anybody to tell you that they know anything about it." Still, what is called simultaneously "the movement" and "that mess" by Negroes living a hundred feet apart on some eternally dusty road in south Georgia is progressing, in the words of one man, "like a picker in his tenth hour and his hundredth pound."

We were in Bronwood, in Terrell County, last week at the home of a man who showed us his hogs and whose wife fed us. The man leaned against the rail.

"What can I do about the United States?" he said. "Nothin', by myself. You know how many people have registered in this little town. Two: my daughter and my granddaughter."

Earlier, we had sat with a Dawson man on the steps of his two-room home. He was back for supper and was eating from a pan, watching the sun go down. His wife was somewhere in the darkness of her bedroom. She washes her clothes in an iron pot in the back yard and presses them with an iron heated by fire. Her daughter misses a day of school each week so that she can help. No one reprimands her for this; when there are electric irons and automatic washers, there will be better school attendance.

The man spent most of his time chewing; this was a sign of his utter disbelief in what we were trying to tell him. We were talking about the power of the ballot in a county where one party – the blacks – outnumbers the other party – the whites. He was chewing and looking away.

"If I go, fifty on that block won't go. If one over there goes, that'll still be fifty more that don't go. . ."

Still earlier, an ancient head spoke to us from the porch of his home: "I just come up from Florida. I said 'Yes' and 'No' down there."

It is a mark of caste here to know history well enough to lose hope and to believe that social change or the student movement, though it be seated at the doorstep, is as remote as Robert Kennedy or a street skirmish in the Congo. "Immediacy," in Southern rural dialect, is what makes you harrow well into the night to obliterate a day of rain and a faulty bottom-plow; "social change" is when you move to Tampa. This makes the creeping revolution in southwest Georgia the conjunction of the very few who have rebelled without reserve and the many who sit in spasmodic attendance upon the few.

"His bossman didn't worry him none," said one of the few at a weekly mass meeting last Saturday night. "Fact about it, he took his bossman's truck down there and registered."

Agnew James stood up, amid the residual laughter and applause.

"There are two things I ain't afraid of," he said. "And that's bossmen and jobs."

Agnew James is one of the symbols of unflinching insurrection and a measure of how close a man may come to becoming a total stranger to his history and the despairing dialectic of his kind. He rents a few acres and works nights sweeping alleys at a mill in Albany, 11 miles away. He has been fired once and now he is being boycotted and can get neither tractor oil nor heating gas. Last summer his was one of four Lee County homes shot into at night by men in a fast moving car.

"The chil'ren were in there," says Agnew James, who, by his own account, had no time to fire back.

Since the coming of the students to Lee County last June, his life – and the life of the few who are, yet, too many to enumerate – has been patterned in absolute allegiance to that ideology which must be the beginning of social revolution: the ideology that a crooked

rod can be made straight. Agnew James, who is the embodiment of the movement and the simplicity of its doctrine, believes it is foolish, even laughable, to fear greatly. He chairs the Lee County mass meetings each Saturday night with what are mostly colorful insertions and calls for remarks and reports from the floor. One night Agnew James called for the report from the Leesburg voting district and the Leesburg delegation, a woman, stood up.

"I asked one lady would she register and vote and she said 'No' and I didn't ask nobody else."

"Let's give her a hand," said Agnew James, who understands that a year ago, the elective franchise was as far from this lady's mind as $100 a week and a lawn sprinkler.

The strength of Agnew James, and of this woman, and of the rest, is the strength of consciousness; they are not deluded. They have the courage to carry hope into the desolation of the Southern rural Negro community; a grand act of calculated mockery levelled against any who believe it will never be changed.

### *An Army of Children*

But much of the movement's strength lies in its innocence; in short, its children.

At a Thursday night mass meeting in Americus (Sumter County), a preacher rose to tell the gathered 300 that some of his congregation were pressing him: they wanted the meeting held at their church. The minister had been speaking calmly; suddenly he grew exuberant and raised his arm.

"Several children," he said, "have asked me. Do you hear me? The children! The children are asking if we can have the meetings there."

Each county has its small army of children. It is the habit of five young girls from the Lee County high school – four of them ninth graders, one a senior – to devote two half days and one full day each week to voter registration. Last week in home economics class they extended their conspiracy to include the brazen declaration of it on their clothing. Three of them wrote "FREEDOM" on pinkish headbands; two wrote it on black sashes which they wear pinned to their blouses. And on Saturday morning, four of them walked into the county courthouse in Leesburg to inquire why the aging registrar had closed shop 45 minutes before the appointed time, which was 12 o'clock. The girls were wearing their headbands and sashes, and in what can only be termed an historic encounter, received a civil answer and left.

At the meeting that night they rose, self-consciously, and told of the events of the day. James Mays, a farmer who was fired last year from a teaching job at the Lee County Negro high school for a protracted breach of the peace, spoke from the rear of the Antioch Baptist Church: "Five years ago, maybe two years ago, they would've taken a switch and strapped them out of the office. Negro children wouldn't have done this in an office as important as this two years ago."

One of the girls began talking about the sashes and headbands.

"Some of the children saw us and came up and said, 'What you doing wearing that mess?' (Laughter and loud hand clapping.) One of the teachers told us that the principal better not see us or we'd be in trouble." (More laughter and hand clapping.)

And then, giggling, they returned to their seats. The Albany contingent, also children, began a song. Three girls from Albany, customarily present, were absent; they were in the city jail for picketing a white merchant. One, age 16, was in for her seventh time ("I ain't never going to jail with my mother again, all she did was nag and nag."). And another, age 11, was asked not long ago why she had not picketed and risked arrest with her 15-year-old sister that afternoon.

"I'm going tomorrow," she said. "I couldn't go today on account of I had to go to music."

The truce, then, has been shattered, and there is a great deal to tell. All of it cannot possibly be told here. There is, recalling the words of James Mays, an entire history to be written about the cities where the peace was broken in 1960, and about the countryside where it was once believed that the peace would not in a thousand years be violated, and where it is now being violated by children.

One of the children reported a week ago that the afternoon had been spent in Smithville, in Lee County, and that not many of the people there were prepared to rejoice that they had been deemed worthy to suffer persecution in anyone's name.

"Most of the people were sick," she said. "The majority didn't have names."

The uncertain Pontiac of the student workers broke down not long ago behind enemy lines and the band of two blacks and one white rode to the nearest town on the back of a pick-up truck and knocked on the door of a home, so that they could telephone for assistance. They were received and within a half hour two carloads of white men were passing the house, stopping, then moving on. One of the black boys reported "guns" and there was a scurry in the house for a box of 4-10 shells. Then there was waiting and walking up and down, and a phone call to the central office in Albany. It was growing dark. The 13-year-old daughter was watching television with what appeared to be an air of unconcern. One of the students paused in his pacing to ask whether she particularly minded being shot at.

"No," she said, smiling and never turning away from the screen. "Not if it's for our country."

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 August, 1963 Sift - South Number 1

# INTRODUCING OUR NEWSLETTER

This is the first issue of the Voter Education Project's monthly report on voter registration work in eleven southern states, and VEP viewpoints on Negro voting. The purpose of this publication is to gather and disseminate news of the various vote drives under our auspices, for your information, and for practical political education.

We will report methods and styles developed by different local projects in persuading and helping citizens to register. We will present difficulties, successes, and failures of these drives as pioneer experience from which other community projects may learn. The newsletter will attempt also to tabulate results of these voter efforts and pass them on in this report, to be issued the 15th of each month. The newsletter also will offer comment and interpretation on experience of groups in the field over the South.

Wiley Branton

This newsletter, as the official organ of VEP is, of course, non-political and non-partisan. It will, adhering to VEP's purpose, confine its interest to methods and results of voter registration drives, and in no way concerns itself with any political candidates, issues, or legislation. The aims of VEP are voter registration, and acquiring information about how voters are registered, and its program is limited to these aims. So the newsletter will report and occasionally comment on the project's findings, with no political interest or policy whatever, except registering voters.

VEP was begun in the spring of 1962 and is planned to continue at least through 1964. The agency operates on funds granted to the Southern Regional Council by foundations interested in a large, free southern electorate. Project work in the main is done by the five major civil rights organizations, NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NUL. Frequently, however, VEP makes special grants to local groups with a record of success in registering voters, where local conditions show the need for voting assistance and promotion. The project also functions to provide advice, materials, information and other experienced help to local groups even when it cannot give funds.

J. Minnis

The Project has assembled a large, and perhaps unique, store of information about ways and means of registering voters, and the obstacles and frustrations to be met. This information is available to any persons or groups who wish to benefit from this past and present experience in registration campaigns in their own communities.

Wiley A. Branton, civil rights lawyer from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who was chief counsel for the plaintiffs in the school desegregation cases of Little Rock in 1957 and has practiced law for a decade in the South, is VEP director. Randolph Blackwell, law school graduate of Howard University, former political science and business law teacher in North Carolina and Alabama colleges, is director of field activities for VEP, and travels over the region to supervise, report on, and assist the local projects. Jack Minnis, a doctoral candidate in political science at Tulane University and author of magazine articles on civil rights and political topics, is director of research and consultant to workers in the field.

R. Blackwell

Mrs. Jean Levine is office manager and administrative secretary, assisted by Mrs. Janet Shortt.

# NEW TECHNIQUES IN VOTER EDUCATION

A survey of voter registration projects scattered across the eleven southern states shows a tendency of successful workers to by-pass or greatly augment the traditional house-to-house canvass means of registration. VEP found after a year's study of local projects, a great variance in results, attributable to many factors. Some success and some failure, or slight and slow progress, can be explained by the political maturity, experience and know-how of the Negro community. Memphis, where colored voters have long wielded political influence, of course is more responsive to registration projects and shows greater increases in registered voters than, say, a registration campaign in Jackson, Mississippi, where registration is attended by intimidations, and where Negroes have had very little political hope or activity in recent years. Similarly, a vote drive in Macon, Georgia, with a free and experienced Negro political organization, brought several thousand new registered voters, while a campaign in Gadsden, Alabama, had what can be considered a notable success in registering a handful of Negroes against great obstacles and threats from the white community.

It also become apparent from VEP information from the field that registration groups which invent new, untried techniques and create appealing, rousing presentation of their programs to the people, come through with excellent results in interest and the number of new registrants. In Huntsville, Alabama, for instance, the registration committee hung two signs on a mule which they paraded through the streets with the message: "This friend is not registered because he is a mule — what is your excuse?" This conspicuous appeal within a few days excited talk, laughter, and interest which started a highly successful drive. New approaches like this appear up and down the line.

Some organizations do well with

*(Continued on Page 4)*

**VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER**

**5 Forsyth St., Rm. 206**

**Atlanta, Ga.**

**Ph. 525-0595**

***Staff***

**Wiley Branton**

**R. T. Blackwell** **J. Minnis**

**J. Levine** **J. Shortt**

*You Should Read*

## "If We Must Die"

*By Junius Edwards*

All too frequently, fiction which attempts to serve the purpose of social protest can be comfortably dismissed with the argument that it is, after all, fiction, and does not necessarily conform to the situation which actually exists. I think the American people need to know that such an argument is wholly invalid with respect to Mr. Edwards' work. Those who read it — and I think it extremely important that it receives the widest public attention — will doubtless be uncomfortable at the conflict between the conditions which the book presents on one hand, and the kind of society which we should all like to think America is on the other. If such discomfort cannot be alleviated by rationalizing that the book is merely fiction, then perhaps the American people will be more inclined to take the action which is necessary to remedy the conditions.

For more than a year, the Voter Education Project has been granting funds for the support of registration drives among Negroes in the South. Since our primary purpose is that of research, we have taken the trouble to assemble a large body of data concerning the conditions with respect to Negro registration throughout the South. The story which Mr. Edwards presents in "If We Must Die" could have been taken, almost in its entirety, from any one of dozens of files in our office. I say this to point out that while technically Mr. Edwards' book is a work of fiction, as a matter of fact, it is an accurate description of conditions which exist with respect to registration and voting for Negroes in many parts of the southern United States as of today.

Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

# Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

### Selma, Alabama

Bernard Lafayette, Bossie Reese, and their fellow workers continue to instruct and encourage Selma Negroes to register and vote in Dallas and Wilcox counties. In spite of the arrests, intimidations and beatings of their leaders, Dallas and Wilcox county Negroes courageously demand their rights as U. S. citizens at their county courthouses daily. Twenty or more appear at each courthouse on registration days, the first and third Mondays of each month.

### Birmingham, Alabama

The young people of Birmingham and Jefferson County are conducting a registration drive that grew out of the demonstrations which terminated on May 12. It was organized by Andy Young, James Bevel, and Dorothy Cotton, of SCLC. The Negro community has supported the students fully. More than 1,800 now have been registered. The cooperation of Orzell Billingsley, Jr., and Mrs. Bernice Johnson made possible the filing of the Justice Department suit in Birmingham, asking that more than 2,000 named Negroes be ordered registered because of discrimination at the registrar's office.

### Mobile, Alabama

C. M. Montgomery and Atty. Vernon Crawford, assisted by the strategy planning of Freeman Pollard, have begun a registration program in Mobile, called the Mobile County Voter Education Project. Enough enthusiasm was generated at a March meeting between Mobile leaders and VEP staff that 400 persons were registered even before the details of the VEP sponsorship had been worked out. A Mr. Bishop, who is blind, registered 28 persons, we are informed.

### Montgomery, Alabama

Sim E. Williams, project coordinator for the Montgomery County Voter Education Project, is completing an up-to-date list of the registered voters of the county. The registration drive will start shortly after August 15. The Barristers Club of Montgomery (all the Negro lawyers in town) initiated the project and helped form an executive committee of leadership from all the clubs in the county. The executive committee sets policy and makes available the resources of all the organizations. The project enjoys the support of Rufus Lewis of long registration distinction in the community.

### Atlanta, Georgia

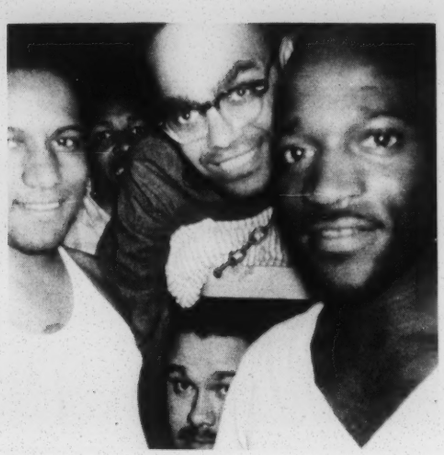
Jesse Hill, director of the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee reports more than 3,700 new registered voters in Fulton County since April. The Atlanta effort will continue for several months.

Negro citizens of Leflore County, Mississippi, registering at the county courthouse in Greenwood.

### Mississippi

Bob Moses, Council of Federated Organizations director, reports that between 500 and 700 persons voted by affidavit in the state-wide primary on August 7 in Greenwood. In Holmes, Sunflower, and Hinds counties, more than 600 persons tried to vote under the Mississippi affidavit law, but were turned away from the polls.

SNCC men Charles McLaurin, Charles Cobb, and Curtis Hayes were arrested by Ruleville city police when they led a group of 40 citizens to the Ruleville Community Center to vote (some by affidavit and others by registration). The three were taken to the Sunflower County jail and tried that same evening in Mayor's Court in Indianola. According to Sunflower



SNCC registration workers in Leflore County Mississippi jail.

County Chief Deputy Sheriff Bradley, the three were convicted of "tryin' to commit a crime".

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland lives in Sunflower County when he is not in Washington trying to prevent the passage of legislation guaranteeing the right to vote. Senator Eastland insists there is no need for such legislation, particularly in his native Sunflower County.

Several hundred new registered voters voted for the first time in the Democratic primary. Those voting by affidavit had attempted to register, but had been turned down by the county registrars. They were convinced, despite the registrar's refusal to enter their names in the books, that they were as qualified as any person under the Mississippi "laws". Local policemen guarding the polls disagreed with them. "The answer is blowin' in the wind".

John O'Neal and Carl Johnson, SNCC field men, have reactivated the Council of Federated Organizations Hattiesburg project. The Fifth Circuit Court ordered registrar Theron Lynd to purge himself of contempt by registering 43 named Negroes and by applying the Mississippi literacy test without discrimination. John and Carl will keep an eye on Theron, lest he slip back into his old bad habits. Meanwhile, they'll organize a concentrated registration drive in the Hattiesburg community. Mississippi is on the move.

## Greensboro, N. Carolina

American Friends Service Committee began a registration drive early in August. Mr. Carlton Mabee is directing the project with workers recruited from the ranks of Guilford College students. The emphasis of the program will be voter education, with registration a secondary benefit. The experience of this project should be of immense benefit to future registration efforts in Guilford County.

## Kingstree, S. Carolina

Williamsburg County leaders, Jonnie Dimery and Rev. S. A. Gadston, with the help of Congress of Racial Equality men Frank Robinson and E. Brown, seem to have moved the county registrars into a more reasonable posture. Registration is confined to one day a month, the first Monday. Last March, more than one hundred persons lined up at the registrar's office; only eleven were admitted and only nine accepted. In April, more than 200 persons lined up; again, only eleven were admitted, and again only nine were accepted. In May, more than 100 again lined up, and again only nine were registered. But in June, 96 were admitted, and, of these, 65 were accepted. It's difficult to say exactly what produced the change, but reports are that U. S. Justice Department representatives and the Attorney General of South Carolina found it advisable to consult with Williamsburg county officials.

## Plaquemine, Louisiana

Congress of Racial Equality man Ronnie Moore reports that the CORE task force summer project is conducting registration programs in Tangipahoa, St. Helena, East Baton Rouge, West Feliciana, East Feliciana and Pointe Coupe parishes. Though numerical results are expected to be small at first, the important fact is that Negroes are beginning to register in these hard-core segregation areas. This in itself is a radical departure from the past.

Mr. Moore and his co-workers were able to save more than 500 Negroes from a purge of the registration rolls in Iberville parish by informing the voters of what they must do to remain on the rolls.

## Charleston, S. Carolina

Esau Jenkins, President of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, announced the beginning of a registration drive July 15 which will run through November 15. It was reported by Mrs. Jean C. Townsend, Chairman of the Charleston County Registration board that 501 Negroes registered during the three registration days of August. She said, "I haven't seen anything like this". Mr. Jenkins and his co-workers have the kind of reputation in voter registration which inspires confidence that the program in Charleston will produce a decided change for the better in the registration picture there.

## Macon, Georgia

The Bibb County Coordinating Committee, under the leadership of William Randall, recently completed a registration drive during which more than 3,000 new voters were added to the registrar's books. Mr. Randall's organization plans another drive early in the fall.

## Alabama

Mrs. Bernice Johnson, of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, reports that 675 new voters were registered in nine Alabama counties during the registration days, July 1-5, 1963. This is only a partial total of the drive in more than twenty counties. Future issues will report the total results of this drive.

The NAACP reports the following increases in registration since April of this year: Tampa, Fla., 331; Jackson, Miss., 488; Memphis, Tenn., 4,226; Gainesville, Fla., 308; St. Petersburg, Fla., 902; Augusta, Ga., 195; Polk County, Fla., 626.

Students of Ballard-Hudson and Appling High Schools registering at City Hall, Macon, Georgia.

**PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:**
**THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT**
**5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206**
**Atlanta, Georgia 30303**

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

**Name**_____

**Address**_____

**City**_____ **State**_____

## Poll Tax Amendment Nears Ratification

The proposed amendment below was approved by the 87th Congress of the United States August 27, 1962. It was submitted to the fifty states, and will become a part of the Constitution when it is ratified by the legislators of three-fourths of the states, if these ratifications take place within seven years.

Already thirty-six states have ratified this amendment. The two additional states needed for adoption of the amendment will probably ratify it in the near future.

**Proposed Amendment**

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

# Milestone In Georgia

Less than a year has passed since Leroy Johnson, Atlanta lawyer, was elected to the Senate of the Georgia General Assembly, the first Negro to serve in the Legislature since 1907.

Mr. Johnson's election and quiet service to his constituency is more than a Georgia political milestone. It is proof to Negro voters all over the South of the power of their vote in free elections.

Last November, free from county unit shackles and the racist opinion of rural communities, urban Georgians, including influential numbers of Negro voters, went to the polls, and — each voter's ballot being equal — elected a moderate governor and the state's first Negro in the Legislature.

Senator Johnson's performance has been quiet, able, and effective. One of the bills he introduced has already been signed into law.

An interesting aspect of Negro exercise of the ballot last year in Georgia is the elevation of statesmanship not only in the Legislature, but political circles over the state. It is well known that one of Georgia's most extreme segregationists, a young politician, not only received Senator Johnson with unprecedented civility, but invited him to his home for dinner. The senator also has visited U. S. Senator Talmadge, long-time political and segregationist "king" of the Georgia political machine, at his home in Lovejoy, suggesting that the Negro politicians advent to the capitol has vastly improved the manners of white leadership.

# Voter Education

*(Continued from Page 1)*

competition, with registration encouraged by contests. Sometimes its a race between clubs and churches competing for a prize for the registration of the most voters. Sometimes its a contest to get each Negro organization in a community to register their members 100%, with prizes for the 100 per centers. One registration group listed all its community church and club names — more than 100 — on a large scoreboard on a downtown street, and periodically listed the percentages of memberships registering to vote, which excited great interest from the organizations and others in the town.

Several communities have increased voter registration by talking to prospective voters when they come to the courthouse on other business. Another city plans to begin its registration drive with a big parade of bands, floats, and marching citizens. Another group plans to promote registration with a radio marathon. A large, deep South community is considering a series of beer parties to interest citizens in voting, and still another town is looking around for a celebrated entertainer to give a benefit performance for new registrants.

A surprise night life gimmick gets good results in Mobile, Alabama, where night club owners poll their customers to find who is registered and who is not. And, voter registration activity frequently displaces more frivolous and less civil backroom activity on many evenings of the Mobile week.

Voter registration workers are often asked, "Are you doing anything for the people politically other than just getting their names on the books?" And they reply, "Well, we're persuading the people to take the first step.

**Voter Education Project**
**5 Forsyth Street, Room 206**
**Atlanta, Georgia 30303**

have been the breath of Korean political life, and it has long been the curse preventing the growth of a healthy parliamentary democracy. One reason the military coup of 1961 succeeded was that Yun Po-sun, then President, was a bitter political foe of Premier John M. Chang (though both belonged to the same political party). Yun did nothing to rally the country against what was actually a threat to the principle of civilian rule. Mr. Yun, a nobleman, was again the leading civilian candidate for the presidency, but the memory of his past behavior, as well as of more recent factional divisions, tarnished his image.

The military junta itself, however, has a record little better than that of the civilian politicians. Even today army ranks are split between the majority favoring General Park (a "Democratic-Republican") and a minority supporting the Liberal-Democratic Party, which was also founded under army auspices but which chose as its candidate one of Park's most outspoken opponents, former Lieutenant General Song Yo-chan.

General Song, who once served as Premier under General Park, was clapped into jail soon after he had issued a public statement telling Park not to think of himself as the "indispensable man." Freed once following American intercession, he was arrested again last month on charges dating back to the Korean War. His brief campaign and subsequent withdrawal were conducted from Seoul's Mapo prison.

General Park has maneuvered adroitly between the factions within the military establishment. He has exiled both Brigadier Kim Chong-pil, founder of the Democratic Republicans, and Major-General Kim Jae-choon, who established the Liberal-Democrats.

He and his military cohorts have consciously fanned factionalism within civilian ranks. Among the civilians, many who originally supported former Premier Huh Chung were reportedly bought up by adherents of the Democratic-Republican Party. The same goes for supporters of former President Yun.

So, the Korean voter was presented with a choice between two kinds of failure: General Park had promised but had not brought stability and a better life to the people. The civilian politicians, of whom former President Yun was the strongest contender, were unable until the last minute to sacrifice personal and factional rivalries and unite on a single candidate even to safeguard the principle of civilian supremacy and parliamentary government.

Takashi Oka

The New Republic 10/26/63

NEGROES ARE DRAGGED OFF FEDERAL PROPERTY AS THE FBI LOOKS ON

The New Republic 10/26/63

Suff. · Southern

# Registration in Alabama

*Selma*

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama. On the voting rolls, however, there are about 130 Negroes and 7,000 whites. On the first and third Mondays of every month, the Board of Registrars of Dallas County takes additional applications from would-be voters. The form, however, is a long one, and the applicant is also questioned orally. As a result, the Board has never been able to enroll more than 30 new voters in a day.

At this rate even making the incredible assumption that the Board accepted every Negro applicant, it would take the Board 10 years to enroll as many Negroes as whites. Nevertheless, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) began a voter-registration campaign in Dallas County last summer. It proclaimed October 7 as "Freedom Day." At 9:30 a.m. on Freedom Day there were 50 Negroes in line before the county courthouse, in the cotton town of Selma.

By 11:00 a.m. there were 250 Negroes in the line, which extended the full length of the block, around the corner, and halfway down the street. Two hundred of them would never get inside the courthouse door.

Standing over these men and women, were helmeted men with clubs and guns, members of Sheriff Clark's posse. By noon, the line of Negroes reached 300. The sun was hot, and the line did not seem to be moving.

Directly across the street from the county courthouse in Selma is the Federal Building. Here are the federal court, the draft board, the social security office – all the visible manifestations that the Civil War was won by the Union and that the national government is supreme all over the United States. In this building, on the first floor, its windows looking directly at the county courthouse, is the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the police force of the national government, created to enforce the laws of the United States.

Four FBI agents and two Justice Department lawyers spent Freedom Day in this building. The FBI agents

were taking pictures, and watching. The Justice Department men were just watching.

Through all that happened on that Monday, while federal law was broken again and again, these law enforcement officials of the federal government stood by and watched. By the time Freedom Day was over in Selma, the Constitution had been violated in a number of its provisions, several statutes of the US Congress had been ignored, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 had been turned face down on the sidewalk. For all the good the federal officials did, George Wallace might have been President of the United States.

What happened in Selma on Freedom Day?

A Negro registrant, before he got to the door of the county courthouse, had to run a gauntlet of armed troopers and a local cameraman whose pictures could cost the Negro his or her job.

The registrants waited from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., standing in the sun without food or water, without being able to go to the toilet. State troopers told them they could not leave the line and return. (When I asked a Justice Department lawyer standing by if he would go over to the state troopers and say that these Negroes had a right to get a drink of water, he said: "I think they do have that right. But I won't do it.")

There were two "incidents."

1. At 11:55 a.m. I looked away from the line of registrants, across the street to the Federal Building. On the steps of the building – so still that for a weird second I thought they were statues – stood two young members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, facing the county courthouse across the street and holding signs. One, in overalls and a fedora, carried a sign saying "Register Now for Freedom Now." The other, in a polo shirt and slacks, carried a sign which read, "Register to Vote."

I crossed the street to get a better look. At that moment – it was a few moments before noon – Sheriff Jim Clark and two members of his posse also crossed the street, walked up the steps of the Federal Building, snatched the signs, and pulled the two young fellows down the stairs and into a police car. I have seen a number of examples of the invisibility of federal power in the South, but I didn't quite believe this. I turned to the Justice Department man and asked, "Is that a *federal* building?" "Yes," he replied.

2. Lunchtime passed, but no lunch for the more than 300 Negroes on the registration line. The sun was hotter now. Jim Forman, in charge of the day's operations, sent some people for sandwiches and water. By now, Al Lingo's blue-helmeted state police – commanded by Major Joe Smelley – had taken over from the posse, but Sheriff Clark and his men were still around. Jim Forman and Mrs. Boynton (a local Negro leader) walked over to talk to Sheriff Clark (it was 1:55 p.m.). Forman said: "Sheriff, we'd like to give these people some food." Clark replied: "They will not be molested in any way." Forman said: "We don't want to molest them. We want to give them food and to talk to them about registration." Clark shouted: "If you do, you'll be arrested. They will not be molested in any way and that includes talking to them."

Forman and Mrs. Boynton went back across the street to the alley alongside the Federal Building, where a shopping cart with a keg of water and sandwiches were set up. Newsmen were called over. Mrs. Boynton said: "We want to see if to Mr. Clark 'molesting' means giving people food." Forman told the newsmen: "We wired the Justice Department last night for marshals; we figured Clark might be violating federal law today. But we've had no reply."

Two SNCC members, Chico Neblett, a tall, good-looking former student at Southern Illinois University, and Avery Williams, dark, quiet, stepped forward and filled their arms with sandwiches and registration material. It was an unreal scene: food was going to be delivered to people standing in line in front of a public building, and it was as if paratroopers were preparing to drop into enemy country in wartime.

"Let's go, man," Neblett said. He and Williams crossed the street. We – newsmen, photographers, a few others – followed. The state troopers converged on the two young men as they approached the line. Major Smelley yelled: "Get 'em!" Suddenly the two were on the ground. I saw Chico Neblett stretched out, troopers over him. I saw them jab at him with their clubs and saw him writhe under what looked like shock induced by the electric cattle prods the troopers carried. Four of them picked him up and dragged him away, and then I saw them throw him and young Williams into the green arrest truck at the corner. In the meantime state troopers and posse men were pushing and shoving all of us standing nearby, cursing, threatening, ripping one photographer's clothes. We retreated across the street. The Justice Department men hurried in and out of the Federal Building. The FBI watched.

I walked down to the corner a few minutes later, to see if the line that had extended all the way around it and halfway down the block was diminished by the tension. Some 30 more Negroes had joined the line. I went back to the steps of the Federal Building and waited for Freedom Day to be over. At 4:30 p.m. it was, and the several hundred men and women in line drifted away. A young Negro lawyer, visiting from Detroit, who had observed the day's events, said with emotion in his voice, pointing to the people walking quietly from the line: "Those people are heroes. They should be given medals."

Then what should be given the President and the Attorney General of the US? HOWARD ZINN

# Enforcing Civil Rights

This week *The New Republic* publishes on page 11 a report by Howard Zinn on the effort of Negroes to register to vote in Selma, Alabama. Theoretically, this effort is protected by the 1957 Civil Rights Act. Yet the Act was repeatedly violated while Justice Department lawyers and FBI agents looked on, impotent. These men did, of course, take notes and pictures, and perhaps at some distant date, if their reports look persuasive to the Justice Department in Washington, the Attorney General will bring a case against one or more of the officials who violated the law. But the chances of such a prosecution are not very great. The Justice Department knows from sad experience that only an outrageous case has even an outside chance of eliciting a conviction from the Southern jury, and Southern whites are not easily outraged by the conduct of other whites towards Negroes.

What then is to be done to protect the rights, guaranteed by both the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which were violated on October 7 in Selma – and on many other days all over the South. In a letter accompanying his report, Mr. Zinn suggests that "a permanent federal presence is needed in the Deep South, armed with the power of on-the-spot arrest. What I am suggesting is the creation, by Presidential order, of a special force of at least a thousand federal agents to stand guard throughout the Deep South in protection of the constitutional rights of the people of that region. The force could be recruited to a great extent from young college graduates, Negro and white, who would come to the job with a special commitment to its goals, and would be trained to deal with the problem. It would have the appeal and enthusiasm of the Peace Corps, and the full backing of the national government. And, as the years went on, it would have less and less to do."

"It may be objected," he concludes, "that this envisions a radical new departure in state-federal relations. That is probably just what is needed."

Zinn's proposal has obvious drawbacks. The mere existence of such a force might make many local communities more rebellious, and might make many local police officers even more reluctant than they now are to uphold law and order. In the long run such a force might mean shifting responsibility for law enforcement from the local to the federal level. This would require the creation of a full-fledged national police force. Nevertheless, it may well be that nothing short of this will secure the Negro his full rights as a citizen of the United States.

Opinion by the New Republic of Zinn article.

Current Suff. Ala
December, 1963

# RACISM IN THE U.S.

## IS THE LAW ENFORCEABLE IN THE SOUTH?

*Dr. Zinn is chairman of the Department of History and Social Science at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. The following is his report on events in Selma, Alabama, on Oct. 7, 1963.*

**Howard Zinn**

"There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama. On the voting rolls, however, there are about 130 Negroes and 7,000 whites. On the first and third Mondays of every month, the Board of Registrars of Dallas County takes additional applications from would-be voters. The form, however, is a long one, and the applicant is also questioned orally. As a result, the Board has never been able to enroll more than thirty new voters in a day.

"At this rate, even making the incredible assumption that the Board accepted every Negro applicant, it would take the Board ten years to enroll as many Negroes as whites. Nevertheless, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) began a voter-registration campaign in Dallas County last summer. It proclaimed October 7 as 'Freedom Day.' At 9:30 a.m. on Freedom Day there were fifty Negroes in line before the county courthouse, in the cotton town of Selma. By 11 a.m. there were 250 Negroes in the line. . . .

"Standing over these men and women were helmeted men with clubs and guns, members of Sheriff Clark's posse. By noon, the line of Negroes reached 300. The sun was hot, and the line did not seem to be moving.

"Directly across the street from the county courthouse in Selma is the federal building. Here are the federal court, the draft board, the social security office—all the visible manifestations that the Civil War was won by the Union and that the national government is supreme all over the United States. In this building, on the first floor, its windows looking directly at the county courthouse, is the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the police force of the national government, created to enforce the laws of the United States. Four F.B.I. agents and two Justice Department lawyers spent Freedom Day in this building. . . .

"Through all that happened on that Monday, while federal law was broken again and again, these law enforcement officials of the federal government stood by and watched. By the time Freedom Day was over in Selma, the Constitution had been violated in a number of its provisions, several statutes of the U.S. Congress had been ignored, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 had been turned face down. . . .

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"A Negro registrant, before he got to the door of the county courthouse, had to run a gauntlet of armed troopers and a local cameraman whose pictures could cost the Negro his or her job.

"The registrants waited from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., standing in the sun without food or water, without being able to go to the toilet. State troopers told them they could not leave the line and return. . . .

"There were two 'incidents.'

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"We retreated across the street. The Justice Department men hurried in and out of the federal building. The F.B.I. watched." ("Registration in Alabama," *The New Republic,* Oct. 26, 1963)

## WOULD A FEDERAL POLICE FORCE HELP?

*In an editorial dealing with the report by Howard Zinn (above),* The New Republic *assesses the wisdom of creating a special police force to deal with the crisis of law in the South.*

**The New Republic**

"What then is to be done to protect the rights, guaranteed by both the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which were violated on October 7 in Selma—and on many other days all over the South. In a letter accompanying his report, Mr. Zinn suggests that 'a permanent federal presence is needed in the Deep South, armed with the power of on-the-spot arrest. What I am suggesting is the creation, by Presidential order, of a special force of at least a thousand federal agents to stand guard throughout the Deep South in protection of the constitutional rights of the people of that region. The force could be recruited to a great extent from young college graduates, Negro and white. . . .

" 'It may be objected,' he concludes, 'that this envisions a radical new departure in state-federal relations. That is probably just what is needed.'

"Zinn's proposal has obvious drawbacks. The mere existence of such a force might make many local communities more rebellious, and might make many local police officers even more reluctant than they now are to uphold law and order. In the long run such a force might mean shifting responsibility for law enforcement from the local to the federal level. This would require the creation of a full-fledged national police force. Nevertheless, it may well be that nothing short of this will secure the Negro his full rights as a citizen of the United States.

"Certainly none of the legislative proposals recently made by liberal Congressmen would have helped in Selma. . . . At present, everyone wants to help the Negro by making more and more forms of appalling behavior by whites illegal. This is all very well in moderate communities where the mere fact of a deed's being illegal makes it less likely. But it does not take us very far in Selma. There, the problem is how to enforce laws and implement powers already on the books. . . .

"The Constitution requires that alleged violators of the law be given trial by jury, in the community where the crime is alleged to have been committed. Juries being human, this means that no law, whether on civil rights or any other subject, can be effectively enforced in the courts when it is violently opposed by a large proportion of the local community. . . .

"We have said before, and we must say again, that the long-term objective of the civil rights movement should not be to subdue the white supremacist in the South but to change him. For no minority so large and so determined as the white supremacists can be permanently subdued without radical (and lamentable) changes in American life. . . .

"Mr. Zinn argues that once the rights of the Negro are asserted, the need for federal intervention will diminish. This may be true. If we were convinced that it were true, we would support such intervention. But we are not entirely convinced. And while permanent federal intervention may ultimately be necessary simply to prevent anarchy, we do not think the situation in the South is quite that bad—yet. Still, unless the white Southerners show a little more flexibility, Mr. Zinn's approach may be the only alternative to anarchy. That this would be a catastrophe for the nation, and would probably eliminate hope for civilizing the South in the forseeable future, does not make it impossible." ("Enforcing Civil Rights," *The New Republic,* Oct. 26, 1963)

Suff. La.

# PAR ANALYSIS

No. 115 Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc. December, 1963

WB - file
JT - file Suffrage La.

TOPIC of the MONTH

# CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

## HIGHLIGHTS

- There are six and sometimes seven steps in selecting a President: (1) choosing delegates to national party conventions; (2) nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates at the convention; (3) selection of party presidential electors to be voted on at the November general election; (4) the November election in which electors receiving the most votes in a state are elected; (5) casting of electoral votes at state capitols; (6) counting of electoral votes by Congress; and (7) possible election by Congress should no presidential or vice presidential candidate gain a majority of electoral votes.

- Louisiana voters have been directly involved in selecting a President only in the November election. Voters in some other states participate at other stages.

- Louisiana law allows party state central committees to decide the method for nominating presidential electors. In the past, the committees picked the electors. However, the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee departed from this procedure and adopted a resolution authorizing a primary election to nominate Democratic electors.

- The primary is to be held in conjunction with the congressional primary on July 25, 1964, a month ahead of the Democratic National Convention, when the presidential and vice presidential candidates are to be nominated.

- The resolution provides for only two slates of electors on the July ballot. One would be pledged to the national Democratic nominees; it is not certain if the other slate would be pledged to another candidate or would be uppledged.

- It is recommended that the legislature designate a specific method for nominating presidential electors to avoid sudden changes by any party state central committee. The method prescribed by law should be that party state central committees pick party nominees for presidential elector.

- Louisiana voters should be assured the opportunity to vote on presidential candidates nominated by national conventions, whether or not the state committees endorse them.

# CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

The extent to which voters can and should participate in the selection of the President of the United States has been discussed considerably in Louisiana. Several questions are involved.

- Should voters help decide the national party candidates for President through a "preferential presidential primary" in which delegates to the national party conventions would be selected or instructed by popular vote?
- Should presidential electors representing a political party be selected through a primary election rather than by appointment of the state central committee?
- Should presidential electors be "unpledged" and therefore free to vote as they wish for a President?
- Should the electoral college system be changed to provide the people a more direct voice in the election of a President?

The selection of a President is a lengthy and complicated procedure. The manner of selecting delegates to national conventions and choosing presidential electors is left to the individual states. States differ considerably in their provisions, adding further to the complexity of selecting a President.

Louisiana voters have been directly involved in selecting a President only in the November presidential election; whereas in some states voters participate in other stages. The Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee, at its meeting on September 7, 1963, adopted a resolution to provide that Democratic presidential electors be chosen through a primary election. The provisions and effects of this resolution are discussed later in this report.

## BACKGROUND AND COMMENT

Much of the discussion involving the selection of a President of the United States centers around the question of whether or not the people should participate more directly in determining who is President. Louisiana voters could play a more direct role than they now do at several stages in the procedures for selecting a President.

### Preferential Presidential Primaries

In 1960, 15 states and the District of Columbia held primaries in which voters could express a choice for President before the parties nominated their candidates at their national conventions. There is no doubt that the 1960 primaries played a major role in pre-convention maneuvering and in determining the candidates who were nominated, particularly the Democratic nominees. The hopes of Hubert Humphrey were destroyed when he failed to win the West Virginia primary. On the other hand, primaries greatly enhanced the strength of John F. Kennedy.

The degree to which primaries actually allow voters to express a choice for President and measure a candidate's strength has been debated for a long time.

Those favoring primaries feel that they are the only means by which the voter can express his choice for President before the field is narrowed to two major presidential candidates. If convention delegates are bound by results of a primary, then the voter can have a direct influence on the selection of a presidential candidate, particularly in early balloting at the convention. Primaries are a

way for some potential presidential candidates to prove their voter appeal to their party and thus become serious contenders at the convention. It is further maintained that primaries offer the voter an opportunity to reduce the influence of party bosses who may otherwise control the convention.

Primaries are discounted by others who feel that they are mere exercises in public opinion but not true tests of the voters' choice. They are held in less than a third of the states. Since they are held at different times, campaign issues may be discussed differently; they may be held too early for the real issues to become evident. The primary ballot usually lists a small number of candidates and may not include the major contenders. A voter thus may not have an opportunity to vote for a candidate, but only against one. The voters' influence may amount to little if convention delegates are not bound by results of the primary. The first presidential primary is held in March in New Hampshire. Some maintain this makes the campaign for President too long, and gives an undue influence to voters in New Hampshire who may set the trend.

There have been many attempts to encourage the growth of preferential presidential primaries. It has even been suggested that primaries be held in all states on the same day. Should this happen, it is possible that the role of national conventions would be weakened.

Critics of conventions argue that they are undemocratic; advocates maintain they are no more so than Congress or other assemblies which act on behalf of the people. National conventions have been criticized because of their noise, seeming confusion, and lack of dignity. The chief comment of supporters is simply: "They work."

## Primaries to Nominate Electors

Some persons who have stated that they favor presidential primaries are actually talking about primaries to nominate party presidential electors.

If a presidential elector is regarded as a "messenger boy" or "rubber stamp," then the method of selecting electors is not too important so long as the electors can be counted upon to carry out the wishes expressed by the voters.

However, if a presidential elector is regarded as a "free agent," that is, he casts his electoral vote according to his own judgment, then the manner of selecting electors becomes extremely important. Voters will want to be sure that electors are persons whose judgment they trust, since it will be the electors and not the voters who will decide on the presidency.

## Free or Unpledged Electors

The merits of "free" or "unpledged" electors have been discussed in Louisiana and other states, particularly in the South. Under the United States Constitution, so long as a person is a duly elected elector, he is free to vote for whom he pleases for President and Vice President. In practice, however, electors do not act as free agents; rather, they act according to the wishes of the voters who elected them. There have been a few instances when an elector did not vote for the presidential candidate of his party, but there have been no decisions denying the right of an elector to do this.

Those favoring unpledged electors argue that the South's role in national affairs would be strengthened. If enough electors were unpledged, they could prevent presidential candidates of the two major parties from gaining a majority of electoral votes. Unpledged electors could either bargain with the two major

presidential candidates for concessions between the November election and the time they cast their electoral vote in December, or they could vote for a third candidate and thus possibly throw the election of a President into the U. S. House of Representatives. If the latter possibility materialized, each state would have one vote in the House on the choice of a President. Thus, Louisiana and other southern states would have as much voting strength as the more populous states, such as California and New York.

It is also argued that selection of electors at the same time Louisiana Congressmen are seeking their parties' nominations for office would focus attention on national issues. Candidates for Congress would have to take a more definite position on presidential candidates and national policies.

Opponents of the free-elector movement argue that the people should decide who is to be elected President, and the idea that electors are free agents is over 150 years out of date. It is further argued that persons who cannot accept the candidates nominated by the national conventions of the two major parties should form another party.

## Changes in the Electoral College

There is little doubt that the framers of the United States Constitution wished to avoid direct election of the President by the people and, hence, devised the electoral college which was intended to be an independent deliberative body. So long as George Washington was available for the presidency, the original system seemed to justify Alexander Hamilton's comment in The Federalist that "if the manner of it be not perfect, it is at least excellent."

The early rise of political parties and the establishment of extralegal bodies to nominate candidates for the presidency brought the electoral college system, as originally envisioned, to a sudden end. The Constitution originally provided that each elector vote for two candidates for President, and that the candidate receiving the largest number of electoral votes should be President, provided he had a majority. The person receiving the second highest electoral vote should be Vice President. A defect became apparent in the presidential election of 1800 because the electors could not discriminate in their preference for President and Vice President. There was a tie between two persons with the highest electoral vote, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. The Twelfth Amendment was ratified in 1804 to require that electors vote separately for President and Vice President.

One political scientist, in commenting on the downfall of the electoral college as originally envisioned, stated:

> "The people had been moving toward the last step to a truly popular system of electing the President--the conversion of the electors into 'mere agents' for registering the wishes of the voters--almost from the beginning, and the abandonment of the double vote in 1804 wiped out any lingering hope (or worry) that the electors would be anything more elevated than 'mere agents' or 'mouthpieces' or 'puppets on a string.' In 1796 an elector in Pennsylvania had ignored a pledge to vote for Adams and had voted instead for Jefferson. The complaint of a Federalist voter still rings through our political consciousness: 'Do I choose Samuel Miles to determine for me whether John Adams or Thomas Jefferson is the fittest man for President of the United States? No, I choose him to act, not to think.'" (Clinton Rossiter, The American Presidency.)

Many proposals have been introduced to change or abolish the electoral college, some dating back to the early 1800s. In 1950 the U. S. Senate approved a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college, but the proposal failed to gain House approval. There has been reluctance to change the electoral college, perhaps because of the long experience with the present system and because changes might result in more serious problems than exist under the present system.

All proposals to change the electoral college are aimed at assuring the voters a larger or more direct role in electing a President. A major criticism of the present system is that it puts a premium on accident and enables a minority President to be elected. In fact, 14 presidents received a majority of electoral votes but not a majority of the popular vote; three of these presidents received fewer popular votes than their nearest opponent. The system also favors the large urban states which have many electoral votes and forces candidates to concentrate on them.

An argument in favor of the present electoral college system is that it can translate a narrow popular vote into a sweeping majority of electoral votes; thus, the victory seems more decisive and the country may be more likely to support its new President. The system also gives states a major role, thereby enhancing the status of the federal system. Even though the more urbanized states have an advantage, it is argued that this is counteracted by their underrepresentation in Congress. The electoral college and the unit system of determining a state's electoral vote have helped preserve the two-party system because the party receiving the most votes wins all of a state's electoral votes. The present system makes it difficult for a third party to win electoral votes.

Proposals for changing the electoral college fall into four categories. Bills to effect each of these approaches are now pending in Congress.

1. Abolish Office of Elector. The office of elector would be abolished, but electoral votes and the unit system of deciding a state's electoral vote would be retained. A presidential candidate who received the largest number of popular votes in a state would be assured of receiving the state's electoral votes. There would be no possibility of "unpledged electors," nor of an elector voting for someone other than his party's presidential candidate. This approach would represent the least change in the present system.

2. Proportional Vote. The electoral college and the office of elector would be abolished, but electoral votes would be retained. The unit system of deciding a state's electoral vote would also be abolished. Instead, the electoral vote of a state would be divided among presidential candidates according to their proportion of the popular vote received. Thus, if a presidential candidate received 55 per cent of the popular vote in a state, he would receive 55 per cent of the state's electoral vote instead of all electoral votes as at present. The Lodge-Gossett Amendment, approved by the U. S. Senate in 1950, proposed this method.

3. District System. The electoral college would be retained, but electors would be elected on much the same basis as U. S. Congressmen and Senators. Two electors would be elected state-wide, and the others would be elected from districts similar to or the same as congressional districts. The presidential candidate receiving a plurality vote in a district would receive that electoral vote unless the elector were running in the state at large.

4. Direct Popular Vote. The electoral college system would be abolished, and state boundaries would be disregarded in voting. The presidential candidate receiving the largest popular vote on a nationwide basis would be elected. This

approach would probably make the most radical change in the present system of any of the four plans.

## PROCEDURES IN ELECTING A PRESIDENT

Present procedures for nominating and electing a man to the presidency have been described as "patched-up machinery." The procedures operate within a context of federal and state law, national custom, and party rules and regulations.

There are six and sometimes seven successive steps in selecting a president. The timetable can stretch from March of one year through the following January or even later.

### I. SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

From March to June of a presidential election year, delegates are chosen to the nominating conventions of the two major political parties--the Democrats and the Republicans.

The total number of convention delegates and their apportionment among the states are decided by national committees of the parties, according to party rules. The Democrats and Republicans do not use the same formula to decide on the number of delegates to which each state is entitled, but both use the number of United States Senators and Representatives as a base. In 1960 there were 1,521 delegate votes at the Democratic National Convention of which Louisiana had 26. At the Republican National Convention there were 1,331 delegate votes, and Louisiana had 26 votes also.

Each state decides how delegates to the national conventions are chosen. The procedure is sometimes spelled out in state law or, as in Louisiana, it is left to the parties to decide. There are two types of delegates--district delegates and delegates-at-large. In some states, district delegates are selected by one method and delegates-at-large by another. Each state also sends alternate delegates. The different methods for selecting convention delegates are discussed below and are shown in Table 1.

State Convention or Committee: Most states, including Louisiana, select their delegates to a national convention by state convention or committee, although in some states this method is used only to select delegates-at-large. Delegations selected by convention or committee are usually not committed to a particular presidential candidate. In 1960, 39 states selected all or some of their delegates by state convention or committee.

Convention or Committee Plus Primary: In three states (Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania), the primary is used to select district delegates, while delegates-at-large are selected by state convention or committee. In the New York primary voters do not express a preference for a presidential candidate, while in Illinois and Pennsylvania they do.

Primary Without Presidential Preference: Rhode Island is the only state that provides for election of all delegates by a primary without voters expressing a choice for President. The holding of a primary is optional, however, according to decision of the state central committee.

Preferential Presidential Primary: The preferential presidential primary, unlike the convention or committee method, offers the voter an opportunity to express directly his choice for his party's candidate for President. It originated in the early 1900s in Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. At one time or another,

## Table 2. METHOD OF SELECTING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS*

| State | Selected by Convention or Committee | Selected by Primary | Primary But No Presidential Candidates Involved | Preferential Presidential Primary: Voters Express Choice for President | Preferential Presidential Primary: Delegates Pledged to Presidential Candidate | Preferential Presidential Primary: Consent of Presidential Candidate Required | Delegates Selected by Convention But Separate Pref. Pres. Primary |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | Yes[1] | Yes[1] | | | | | |
| Alaska | Yes | [2] | | | | | |
| Arizona | Yes | | | | | | |
| Arkansas | Yes | | | [3] | | | |
| California | | Yes | | Yes | Yes | Yes | |
| Colorado | Yes | | | | | | |
| Connecticut | Yes | | | | | | |
| Delaware | Yes | | | | | | |
| Florida | | Yes | | Yes | No | No | |
| Georgia | Yes | [3] | | | | | |
| Hawaii | Yes | | | | | | |
| Idaho | Yes | | | | | | |
| Illinois | Yes[4] | Yes[4] | | Yes[4] | No | No | |
| Indiana | Yes | | | [5] | | | Yes[5] |
| Iowa | Yes | | | | | | |
| Kansas | Yes | | | | | | |
| Kentucky | Yes | | | | | | |
| LOUISIANA | Yes | | | | | | |
| Maine | Yes | | | | | | |
| Maryland | Yes | | | [5] | | | Yes[5] |
| Massachusetts | | Yes | | Yes | No | No[6] | |
| Michigan | Yes | | | | | | |
| Minnesota | Yes | [2] | | | | | |
| Mississippi | Yes | | | | | | |
| Missouri | Yes | | | | | | |
| Montana | Yes | [2] | | | | | |
| Nebraska | | Yes | | Yes | No | Yes | |
| Nevada | Yes | [7] | | | | | |
| New Hampshire | | Yes | | Yes | Yes[8] | No[9] | |
| New Jersey | | Yes | | Yes | No | No[9] | |
| New Mexico | Yes | | | | | | |
| New York | Yes[4] | Yes[4] | Yes[4] | | | | |
| North Carolina | Yes | | | | | | |
| North Dakota | Yes | | | | | | |
| Ohio | | Yes | | Yes | Yes[8] | Yes | |
| Oklahoma | Yes | | | | | | |
| Oregon | | Yes | | Yes | Yes | No[10] | |
| Pennsylvania | Yes[4] | Yes[4] | | Yes | Yes[8] | No | |
| Rhode Island | Yes | Yes[11] | Yes | | | | |
| South Carolina | Yes | | | | | | |
| South Dakota | | Yes | | Yes | Yes[12] | No | |
| Tennessee | Yes | | | | | | |
| Texas | Yes | | | | | | |
| Utah | Yes | | | | | | |
| Vermont | Yes | | | | | | |
| Virginia | Yes | | | | | | |
| Washington | Yes | | | | | | |
| West Virginia | | Yes | | Yes | No | Yes | |
| Wisconsin | | Yes | | Yes | Yes[13] | Yes | |
| Wyoming | Yes | | | | | | |

*Provisions are applicable to 1960 conventions.

[1] Use of the primary is optional if a party had more than 20 per cent of the vote at the general election for state officers; otherwise, delegates are selected by convention.

[2] Provisions for a preferential presidential primary repealed in 1959.

[3] Authorized but not customarily held.

[4] Delegates-at-large selected by state convention; district delegates elected at a primary.

[5] Delegates selected by convention but results of primary binding on delegates.

[6] Consent not required but must be filed if a delegate's statement of preference for the candidate is to appear on the ballot.

[7] Provisions for a preferential presidential primary repealed in 1955.

[8] Only if delegate signs pledge.

[9] A candidate's name is placed on the ballot by petition but can be withdrawn by the candidate.

[10] A candidate's name is printed on the ballot at the discretion of the secretary of state. A person can have his name removed if he states he is not and does not intend to be a candidate.

[11] Primary optional.

[12] Delegates are bound if the nominating petition states a preference for President.

[13] Delegates are bound unless they run as uninstructed.

26 states and the District of Columbia have provided for presidential primaries. Some state laws have been repealed or declared unconstitutional, and some other states have simply abandoned the primaries. Some of the latest states to repeal their provisions are Nevada (1955) and Alaska, Minnesota and Montana (1959).

Several variations of the presidential primary are used. In some states the voter may vote for delegates who are pledged to a candidate; in other states the voter may vote separately for delegates who may or may not be pledged to a candidate, and on another part of the ballot express his preference for a candidate for President. Whether or not the results of the primary are binding on delegates and the extent to which delegates are bound depend on the provisions of the individual states.

When delegates are bound, provision is usually made for release at some stage of the balloting. Some states require the consent of a presidential candidate before his name can be entered in the primary, while others do not. Write-in votes are allowed in some states but not in others.

In 1960, 13 states (California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, West Virginia, and Wisconsin) selected all or some of their delegates through a primary in which voters were also able to express a choice for a presidential candidate. However, in only seven of these states were delegates legally pledged to the results of the primary. In five states the consent of a presidential candidate was required to enter his name in the primary.

Convention Plus Presidential Primary: Two states, Indiana and Maryland, have still another version of the presidential primary. Delegates are selected by state convention, but are pledged to abide by the results of a preferential presidential primary in which voters express their choice of a President. Delegates from Indiana are bound for the first ballot; delegates from Maryland are bound so long as the candidate is a serious contender.

### 2. NOMINATION OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

National party conventions usually meet in July or August of a presidential election year to nominate their candidates for President and Vice President and adopt the party platform. In 1964 the Republican National Convention is scheduled to begin on July 13 in San Francisco, and the Democratic National Convention, on August 24 in Atlantic City.

The national party conventions have no legal basis and are not regulated by federal or state law. They evolved to meet a need for a method of selecting party presidential candidates. The first party nominations were made by congressional caucus, beginning in 1804 and continuing for about 20 years. The caucus was criticized because it enabled a small group of Congressmen to influence the selection of a President. By 1828 all but two states had switched to designating party presidential nominees by the state legislatures and to direct popular election of presidential electors. The first full-fledged national conventions were held by the major parties in 1831 and 1832. National conventions have changed relatively little in form for over 100 years. Their purposes are still the same--to select a presidential and vice presidential party ticket and adopt the party platform.

### 3. NOMINATION OF ELECTORS

In each state political parties nominate electors for the November general election. Table 2 shows that Louisiana has followed the overwhelming majority of

# Table I. METHOD OF SELECTING DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTIONS*

| State | Party Nomination | | | | General Election Ballot | | Electors Pledged by Law to Vote for Party Presidential Nominee |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Method Perscribed by Law | Committee or Convention | Primary | Other | Names of Electors Appear | Names of Pres. Candidates Appear | |
| Alabama | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | No | |
| Alaska | | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes |
| Arizona | Yes | | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| Arkansas | Yes | Yes | | | No[1] | Yes | |
| California | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes |
| Colorado | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Connecticut | Yes | Yes | | | [2] | [2] | Yes[1] |
| Delaware | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Florida | Yes | | | Yes[3] | No | Yes | Yes[4] |
| Georgia | | Yes | | | Yes | No | |
| Hawaii | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes |
| Idaho | | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Illinois | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Indiana | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Iowa | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Kansas | Yes | | Yes | | Yes | Yes | |
| Kentucky | [5] | Yes[5] | [5] | | No | Yes | |
| LOUISIANA | [6] | Yes[6] | [6] | [7] | Yes | Yes | |
| Maine | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Maryland | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Massachusetts | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes |
| Michigan | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Minnesota | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Mississippi | Yes[8] | [8] | Yes[8] | | Yes | Yes | [9] |
| Missouri | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Montana | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |
| Nebraska | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Nevada | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes[1] |
| New Hampshire | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| New Jersey | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| New Mexico | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes[10] |
| New York | Yes | Yes | | | [11] | Yes | |
| North Carolina | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| North Dakota | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |
| Ohio | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Oklahoma | Yes | Yes[12] | | | Yes | Yes | Yes[1] |
| Oregon | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | Yes |
| Pennsylvania | Yes | | | Yes[13] | No | Yes | |
| Rhode Island | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| South Carolina | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes[14] | |
| South Dakota | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |
| Tennessee | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |
| Texas | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Utah | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Vermont | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |
| Virginia | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | Yes[15] |
| Washington | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| West Virginia | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Wisconsin | Yes | Yes | | | No | Yes | |
| Wyoming | Yes | Yes | | | Yes | Yes | |

*Applicable to 1960 election unless otherwise specified.

[1] Enacted in 1961.

[2] Not specified.

[3] Appointed by the governor, upon recommendation of the state executive committees.

[4] Liable to punishment as a felony if an elector fails to vote for the candidates of the party under whose label he was elected.

[5] Can be chosen at convention or primary, according to party rules.

[6] Manner of nomination is at the discretion of the state central committees. A primary for Democratic electors is authorized for 1964.

[7] If national candidates for President and Vice President do not receive backing of their party state central committee, electors supporting such candidates can be nominated by petition of 1,000 voters.

[8] For 1960 election, electors were nominated by convention. A 1963 act provides that electors be nominated by primary, to be held the first Tuesday in September of a presidential election year. Ten per cent of the membership of a state party convention can propose a slate of electors backing the national presidential nominee, and 10 per cent can propose another slate of electors to appear on the primary ballot.

[9] A 1963 act provides that electors may be designated "unpledged" on the ballot.

[10] Enacted in 1963.

[11] Names of electors do not appear on the ballot where voting machines are authorized. Where voting machines are not authorized, the names of both electors and candidates for President and Vice President are printed on the ballot.

[12] Enacted in 1961. Previously, nomination was by primary.

[13] Nominated by presidential candidate of each party.

[14] Names of candidates for President and Vice President printed on the ballot when requested in the certification or petition nominating electors.

[15] State law provides that electors selected by party convention are expected to vote for nominees of their national party convention unless instructed by their state party convention to vote for other persons.

states (45) in its method of nominating electors, that is, by party committee or convention. However, in Louisiana the method of selection is at the discretion of the party state central committees. Practically all other states prescribe by law the specific method to be used to nominate electors.

In 1960 a primary was used to nominate electors in Arizona and Kansas, and was optional in Kentucky. Since then, Mississippi enacted a law in 1963 establishing a primary, the first to be held on September 1, 1964. A resolution of the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee calls for a Democratic primary election on July 25, 1964 to nominate electors.

Unique systems to nominate electors are used in Florida and Pennsylvania. In Florida, the governor appoints the party electors upon recommendation of the party state executive committees. Under Pennsylvania's method, electors are nominated by the presidential candidates of each party.

#### 4. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (ELECTION OF ELECTORS)

The "presidential election" is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November--a date set by Congress which next falls on November 3, 1964. Most people feel that the President and Vice President are elected on this day. However, the voters actually elect "electors" who later vote for the President and Vice President.

The U. S. Constitution leaves the selection of electors up to each state "in Such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct . . . ." The only federal qualification is that no member of Congress nor a person holding a federal office of "Trust or Profit" can be appointed an elector.

The Constitution provides that each state has as many electors as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. There are 435 Representatives and 100 Senators. Since Louisiana has eight Representatives and two Senators, it has 10 electoral votes. The Twenty-third Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, ratified in 1961, grants electoral votes to the District of Columbia. The three electoral votes for the District of Columbia increased the total to 538, and thus a candidate needs 270 to be elected.

A state could provide that electors be elected by district or some other pattern. In practice, however, electors are elected state-wide under the "general ticket" or "unit" system in which a plurality of popular votes wins all of a state's electoral votes. Once some states adopted the unit system, the pattern developed for all states. If any state were to abandon the unit system and split its electoral votes, it would weaken its position. All states have used the unit system since 1892.

It is significant that in about two-thirds of the states, the names of the electors do not even appear on the November presidential ballot. Rather, the ballot shows names of presidential and vice presidential candidates of each party, and a vote for a candidate constitutes a vote for the electors of that party. This is known as the presidential short ballot; Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, and Minnesota are some of the latest states to adopt it. On the other hand, Alabama and Georgia prohibit the names of presidential candidates from appearing on the ballot.

#### 5. ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTE

The electors chosen at the November election meet at a place designated by each state legislature, customarily their state capitols, on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December--a date fixed by federal law--to cast their electoral votes for President and Vice President. The next electoral votes will be cast

on December 14, 1964. Results of the balloting are sent by registered mail to the President of the United States Senate.

The U. S. Constitution makes no requirement as to how electors must vote, except that they must vote separately for President and Vice President, and one of the men for whom they vote cannot be an inhabitant of their home state.

Electors are bound by state law to vote for their party presidential nominee in 12 states (Alaska, California, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Virginia). (See Table 2.) The Florida law makes electors liable to punishment for a felony if they do not vote for their party's candidate. Electors may also be bound through party action, or parties may pick persons as electors whom they feel sure will vote for the party presidential candidate. Moreover, electors may, through their sense of moral obligation, feel compelled to vote for the candidate of the party they represent. There have been rare instances when an elector has refused to vote for the presidential candidate of his party. In recent years there were such occurrences in 1956 and 1960. In no case was the result of the election affected.

The right of a state to require that an elector pledge to vote for his party's presidential candidate was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1952 (Ray vs. Blair). The Supreme Court had previously held that electors are not officers or agents of the United States (In re Green). Nevertheless, it is maintained that: "Regardless of any pledge exacted by a State government, or punishment which a State might inflict for failure to observe such a pledge, the vote of a duly accredited elector cast by him as a member of the electoral college must be counted as valid under Federal law." (Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States, House Document No. 332, 86th Congress, 2d Session.)

### 6. COUNTING OF ELECTORAL VOTES

Two weeks before the inauguration of a President, on January 6 (or January 7 if the 6th falls on a Sunday), the U. S. Senate and House meet in joint session to count the electoral votes. When the count is completed, the President of the Senate announces the results. If a candidate has a majority of electoral votes (now 270), he is proclaimed President-Elect.

### 7. ELECTION BY CONGRESS

There is a seventh possible step in electing a President--used only twice in our history (1801 and 1825). If no candidate for President has a majority of electoral votes, then the election is transferred to the U. S. House of Representatives. The U. S. Constitution provides that the House choose the President from the three candidates having the largest number of electoral votes. In such an election, each state has one vote regardless of population. A presidential candidate would have to win the vote of 26 states to be elected. If the House fails to elect a President, then the Vice President acts as President until a President qualifies.

If no candidate for Vice President has a majority of electoral votes, then the Senate chooses from the two top candidates, with each Senator voting as an individual rather than by state.

# LOUISIANA PROVISIONS

In Louisiana the selection of delegates to national conventions and the nomination of party presidential electors are left almost entirely to the party state central committees. Members of the state central committees are elected by the people. The governor, however, can have considerable influence over actions of the Democratic State Central Committee.

## Delegates to National Conventions

Louisiana has no statutory provisions concerning the selection of delegates to national conventions. Presumably a state central committee could provide that delegates be selected through any method it wished--by the committee itself, by a convention, or by a primary. In practice, delegates to the Democratic National Convention are chosen by the state central committee, usually in May of a presidential election year. The Republicans select district delegates by district conventions and delegates-at-large are selected by a state convention.

## Presidential Electors

The Louisiana constitution provides that "Presidential electors . . . shall be chosen or elected in the manner and at the time prescribed by law." However, the law prescribes few details.

State central committees are given complete freedom to decide how party electors are nominated. The law provides that electors "shall be chosen and nominated in any manner determined by a resolution of the state central committee of the respective political party." In the event a state central committee orders presidential electors to be nominated by a convention, then certain procedures are set forth in the law.

If a party's state central committee does not endorse the presidential candidate nominated by the national convention, then Louisiana law provides that electors who do support the national candidate can be placed on the November presidential ballot through nomination papers signed by 1,000 qualified voters. The signers could be independent or affiliated with any party. Names of candidates for "independent" electors can also be placed on the November ballot through nomination papers signed by 1,000 qualified voters.

In choosing electors, two must be from the state at large and one from each of the congressional districts. However, all 10 of Louisiana's electors are voted on state-wide in the November general election. It is not necessary that a voter vote for all 10 electors, nor that he choose all from the same party. However, if he favors a presidential candidate, he weakens the chances of his candidate if he votes for less than 10 electors or splits his vote between parties.

State law provides that electors meet in Baton Rouge to cast their electoral vote, on the day set by Congress. They receive the same per diem pay and travel allowances as legislators, that is, $50 plus 10 cents a mile.

## Resolution of the Democratic State Central Committee

In the past, presidential electors whose names appeared on the November ballot usually have been chosen by the state central committees. A departure from this procedure was authorized by resolution of the Democratic State Central Committee at its meeting on September 7, 1963. The resolution provides for the

nomination of Democratic presidential electors through a primary to be held on July 25, 1964--the same date as the primary election for members of Congress.

The preface to the resolution declares that: "Whereas, the democratic voters of the State . . . should be given the opportunity to support and vote for presidential electors to support and vote for some outstanding democratic candidates for President and Vice President other than the nominees of the National Democratic Convention, or, if they so choose, for the nominees of the National Democratic Convention . . . ." (Emphasis added.)

However, the resolution simply resolves that "candidates for the Democratic nomination for election to the office of Presidential Elector shall be voted upon at the Democratic Party primary election to be held at the same time as the Democratic congressional primary election in 1964, in accordance with the primary election laws of the State of Louisiana." It further resolves that "the Secretary of State and all other election officials . . . are hereby directed to take such steps as are necessary to receive certifications of and to include on the ballot two separate and distinct slates of candidates for presidential elector as may be provided by this Committee . . . ." (Emphasis added.)

### COMPARISON OF COMMITTEE RESOLUTION WITH HB 222

The resolution adopted by the Democratic State Central Committee differs in several respects from House Bill 222 which was defeated in the 1963 session.

1. The resolution adopted by the Democratic State Central Committee applies only to the selection of presidential electors who will bear the state's Democratic label and only to the 1964 election. HB 222 would have provided that all political parties in all future presidential elections nominate their presidential electors by direct primary election.

2. The resolution provides that the date of the primary for nomination of party electors be at the 1964 primary congressional election--scheduled under law to be held on July 25, 1964. Originally, HB 222 also provided that the primary be at the July congressional election, but the bill was amended in the senate to change the election date to August 15, 1964.

3. The resolution requires that the primary ballot contain two separate and distinct slates of candidates for presidential elector, the candidates to be chosen by the committee. Under HB 222, there would have been no restriction on the number of candidates for elector in the primary, nor was there a provision that candidates be identified or grouped by slate.

HB 222 provided for a second primary for candidates failing to receive a majority in the first primary. Under provisions of the resolution, no second primary would be necessary since there would be only two candidates for each position.

4. The resolution does not affect present state law which provides a fairly easy method for a presidential candidate to have names of electors supporting him appear on the November ballot in the event he is not endorsed by the state central committee. He can do this by having "1,000 qualified voters" throughout the state sign nominating papers for electors; the same 1,000 could sign for each of the 10 electors. Under HB 222, only "independent" voters (those not affiliated with a party) could have signed such nomination papers. Since there are few independent voters in Louisiana, this could have been difficult.

5. The resolution does not affect present law which provides that the names of candidates for President and Vice President of a party appear on the November general election ballot. HB 222 would have repealed this provision.

6. The resolution does not affect present law which permits independent candidates to run for office. HB 222 would have repealed present provisions for placing the names of independent candidates on a general election ballot--not only for presidential elector but also for any other office--national, state, district, parish, municipal, or ward.

7. The resolution does not prevent the formation of new parties in Louisiana, a process which is permitted under present law. HB 222 was so written that no new parties could have been established.

### IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESOLUTION

The resolution adopted by the Democratic State Central Committee could be changed before July 25, 1964, when the primary election for presidential electors is scheduled.

1. A new state central committee could rescind or change action of the previous one. Terms of the present committeemen will expire January 26, 1964.

2. The state legislature will meet May 11, 1964--also in advance of the July 25 primary. Both the federal and state constitutions designate the state legislature as the appropriate body to determine the manner of selecting electors. The legislature could change present law which allows party central committees to decide how electors are nominated, and provide instead a method spelled out in the law.

If the present resolution does remain in effect, several issues are raised:

1. The primary would be held on July 25, a month before the Democratic National Convention which is scheduled to begin August 24. Thus, Louisiana voters would be called upon to decide on the Democratic presidential electors before the Democratic presidential and vice presidential candidates were nominated. The Republican nominees would be known, since the Republican National Convention meets on July 13.

2. It is not certain what will appear on the July primary ballot insofar as presidential electors are concerned. The resolution provides for "two separate and distinct slates of candidates for presidential elector," to be designated by the committee. It implies that one slate would be pledged to the presidential and vice presidential nominees of the Democratic National Convention, and the other slate would contain names of persons who would support some other candidates for President and Vice President. However, the resolution does not make it clear whether the names of the presidential candidate other than the national nominee would be shown on the ballot, or whether the slate of electors would be unpledged and therefore free to decide later whom they would support. If the slate of electors were pledged to a candidate other than the national nominee, then there would be no unpledged electors on the July ballot. The names of the presidential and vice presidential nominees of the Democratic National Convention could not be shown on the primary ballot, since they would not be known at the time of the July election.

3. The results of the July primary could influence Louisiana delegates in their voting on a presidential candidate at the Democratic convention in August. The primary, even though for the purpose of nominating Democratic presidential electors, could serve the same purpose as a preferential presidential primary in that it would indicate the voters' views.

4. There would be a possibility of having a split electoral vote. Voters in the primary might choose some electors from one slate and other electors from the second slate. The electors chosen at the primary would be under the Democratic label in the November general election.

5. The resolution does not state whether the candidates for elector selected by the state central committee would have to pledge to vote for the presidential candidate whom they represented on the ballot. A pledge would give more assurance that the wishes of the voters would be carried out by the electors who won the primary.

6. The majority of committeemen could select, for the slate they did not favor, persons who would be unpopular with the voters. This would give an unfair advantage to the slate that the majority of committeemen favored.

7. Still another question is raised regarding the type of primary to be held under the state central committee's resolution. Louisiana primaries, traditionally and under the primary election laws, are open to all persons wishing to be candidates if they are members of the party and meet other qualifications of the office they seek. The primary authorized by the Democratic State Central Committee would be limited to only those persons picked by the committee.

Since the primary would be unique, it is not certain under Louisiana's present primary law whether voters would have to vote for all 10 electors in order to have their vote count. The present law on plural candidates, which requires a vote be cast on all places to be filled for that position, applies to election from political districts or subdivisions; electors would be elected state-wide.

8. A question can be raised regarding the constitutionality of allowing party committees to decide how presidential electors are to be nominated. Both the United States and Louisiana constitutions stipulate that the legislature is to decide how electors are to be chosen. It has been argued by some that it is an improper delegation of legislative authority to allow the state central committees to decide the method of nominating electors.

Moreover, the 1963 Louisiana legislature did not approve proposed legislation (HB 222) to change the method of nominating electors. Yet only a few months after the defeat of HB 222, the Democratic State Central Committee departed from the traditional method of nomination by the committee. This raises the question: Is action of the committee calling for a primary to nominate electors contrary to the wishes of the legislature?

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Our democracy is built on the principle that ultimate power rests with the people. This is never more evident than when voters choose those who will govern them. No governmental position of leadership is more important than the office of President of the United States.

The following recommendations are made regarding the role of the voter in Louisiana in selecting a President:

1. The legislature should spell out in state law a specific method for nominating presidential electors. This would assure that the method of selection would be known and not subject to sudden change by any party state central committee.

2. The method prescribed by law should provide that the party state central committees choose nominees for party presidential electors. The members of state central committees are elected by the people and therefore should represent the views of the people.

3. Louisiana voters should be assured the opportunity to vote on candidates of the major national parties in the November general election, whether or not their

party state central committee endorses the national candidate. Present state law should be retained which provides a method for electors pledged to a national candidate, electors pledged to a candidate other than the national nominee, and "unpledged electors" to get on the November ballot.

The law could be made more explicit in several instances, however. For example, it is not clear from present wording regarding "independent" electors running from a district rather than at large whether the 1,000 voters who sign the nominating papers would have to reside in the district from which the elector was running. The law should be clarified to provide that 1,000 qualified voters throughout the state could sign nominating papers for any presidential elector. The law should also stipulate that the same 1,000 voters who sign the nominating papers for one presidential elector could also sign for the other nine electors comprising a slate.

4. The present state law which provides that names of candidates for President and Vice President appear on the November ballot should be retained. This provision makes it easier for some voters to identify the electors, and thus express their choice for President and Vice President.

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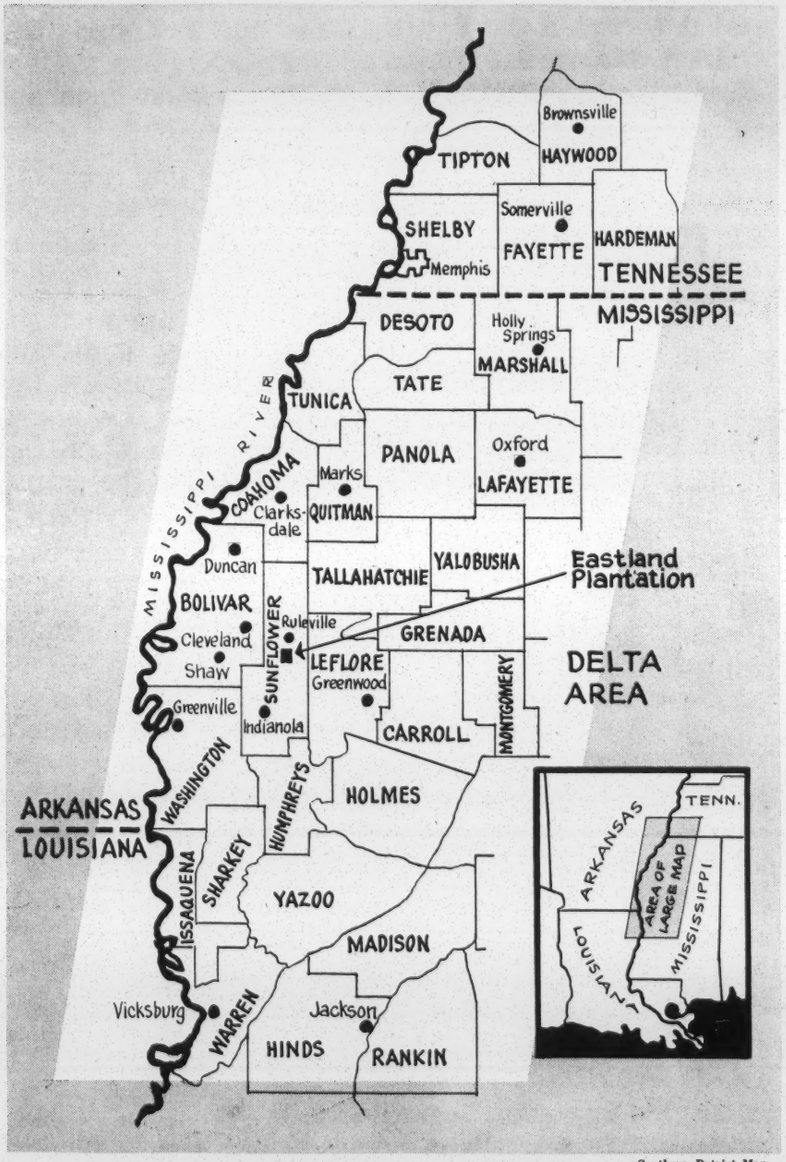
# Operation Freedom Expands Its Aid Program ....




—Southern Patriot Map

In expanding its aid program, Operation Freedom did not have far to go, for Haywood and Fayette Counties (where Operation Freedom had for two years been working) is next to the Tennessee-Mississippi line, and borders on the Mississippi Delta — an area which includes 18 counties lying between Memphis and Vicksburg. This alluvial plain, in the state of Mississippi, should not be confused with the delta of the river itself — which is in Louisiana (see insert map).

The Mississippi Delta is considered to be the core of the segregation problem in the United States. At its center is the large plantation of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland who leads the attacks on integrationists and others who believe in civil rights. Not far from his plantation, in Indianola, the White Citizens Council movement had its origin. Jackson, the state capital, is on the southeastern edge of the Delta. Oxford, home of Ole Miss, is on the northeastern edge.

**WHILE CONTINUING**

**IN WEST TENNESSEE,**

**OPERATION FREEDOM**

**MOVES INTO MISSISSIPPI**

**What does the future hold for this little boy?**

## WHEN OPERATION FREEDOM BEGAN

In the spring of 1961, when landlords in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tenn., were evicting Negroes who registered to vote and banks were cutting off their credit, a group of concerned citizens came together in Cincinnati, Ohio and formed an organization to help.

The organization was called Operation Freedom. It launched a nationwide drive to raise money to enable the Negroes of West Tennessee to survive economically as they organized to win their freedom at the ballot box.

During the past two years, Operation Freedom has loaned about $80,000 to Negroes (and a few white supporters also suffering reprisals) in Haywood and Fayette Counties. Ten times that much could have been put to good use, but with what was available Operation Freedom has made it possible for scores of families who would otherwise have had to leave to stay in West Tennessee.

## EXPANDS INTO MISSISSIPPI

Now the problem that Operation Freedom was set up to meet has expanded into the Mississippi Delta, and Operation Freedom is expanding with it. It has voted to extend its operations into the Delta area and attempt to do there what it has been doing and will continue to do in Tennessee; in the words of its charter, "promote brotherhood, especially by helping to secure the economic conditions conducive to the free exercise of civil rights."

This home of a sharecropper on a plantation between Ruleville and Cleveland, Mississippi, is typical of thousands.

The need in the Delta is crucial; its dimensions are tremendous. To meet it even partially, Operation Freedom will need more money than it has ever had before. But, in the words of one official of the organization, "the task is too important to the entire future of democracy for us to even think of saying 'we can't.'"

And the need in the two Tennessee counties also remains crucial. The people there have maintained a steady, patient struggle while continually undergoing pressure that has never let up.

## 18-COUNTY AREA

The Delta area of Mississippi covers 18 counties (see map) and includes some of the richest farming land in the world. Each year nearly one half billion dollars worth of cotton is farmed in this area. Here live approximately 300,000 Negroes — about two-thirds of the total population and in some counties as much as 80 per cent.

Until recently, virtually no Negroes in this area were registered to vote, and the number is still minute because officials use every possible device to prevent it. For example, in Sunflower County there are 30,000 Negroes, of whom 13,000 are of voting age. Of these 13,000 only 141 were registered at the end of 1962. But in the past year intensive registration drives have been launched in the area by several civil rights organizations.

## ECONOMIC REPRISALS AND VIOLENCE

When the registration efforts stepped up, the reprisals began. In some cases there has been violence; homes have been shot into; two student registration workers in LeFlore County narrowly escaped being lynched.

But when people make up their minds to be free, terror of this kind won't stop them. The most effective weapon the segregationists have — and they know it — is economic pressure. In the Delta, as in West Tennessee, people who try to register are being put off the land, fired from their jobs, and cut off from credit.

While working in West Tennessee during the past two years, Operation Freedom personnel have been subject to much harassment from local police and have even been jailed. Rev. Maurice McCrackin, treasurer, was arrested in late 1961 on a false charge and jailed for more than 40 days.

## OPERATION FREEDOM'S PROGRAM

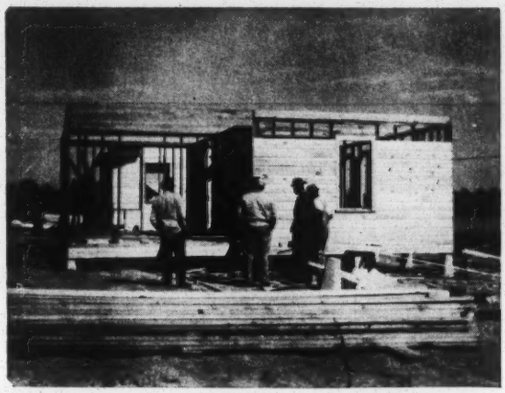
Operation Freedom proposes to defeat this weapon with a fund that will be used to (1) enable those who have land to make their crops when banks cut them off from credit, (2) stop foreclosures on homes and farm equipment, (3) help landless Negroes who lose their jobs survive until a permanent solution is found.

Three well-known leaders in the Delta, Aaron Henry, Bob Moses, and Amzie Moore, are among those working with Operation Freedom in setting up the necessary machinery. The money from Operation Freedom is generally made available to those who need it in the form of loans, although outright grants are sometimes made when it is necessary. Local committees will process loan applications. The loan fund is revolving, and as loans are repaid, the money can be loaned out again.

It should be noted that no funds for administrative costs of Operation Freedom are taken out of the money raised for the loan fund. Every cent given in response to appeals goes to the people in Tennessee and Mississippi. Administrative funds are raised occasionally through special appeals for that purpose.

## SOME PEOPLE OPERATION FREEDOM HAS HELPED

In Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee, Operation Freedom has provided loans for planting crops, loans for living expenses until crops could be harvested, loans to save farms, equipment, and homes from foreclosure, and funds for objects of community need, such as wells. Also provided were tents for both counties, wooden floors for the tents, wiring, etc. (The tent city in Haywood County no longer exists.)



Operation Freedom provided funds to build this house for David Mac Jones, oldest voter in Haywood County, Tenn., when he and wife were evicted in 1961 from land on which he had lived since childhood.

In the Mississippi Delta, Operation Freedom has begun helping Negro sharecroppers and workers. Some people Operation Freedom has helped:

A man in a small Delta town was employed in the city sanitation department. His wife went to register to vote. He was fired; she lost her job as a cleaning woman in a public building. They have a son; they own their house but have an $800 mortgage on it. Occasionally they get odd jobs; nationwide food drives have helped them to eat. Operation Freedom has loaned them $120 to take care of food and living expenses for a two month period. Asked how she feels about registering after all the trouble she has had, this woman said: "I feel wonderful about it. I'd do it over again."

Another man, his wife, and seven children worked on a plantation. His mother and sister tried to register; he was fired. He then got a job in a plant. People from the plantation found out about it and got him fired. Meanwhile his wife got a job as a cook in the cafeteria of a white school. Someone who had known her on the plantation saw her there and got her fired. She told Operation Freedom: "I don't know how we will live; we have no money and no food." Operation Freedom has loaned $65 as a monthly subsidy for a two month period. It is hoped that a permanent solution can be found.

Although the district where Negroes live in Cleveland, Miss., is near the heart of the city, it has unpaved roads, open ditches, unpainted frame houses, and unlit streets at night.

A man who owns a few acres of land and who has been extremely active in the voter registration campaign, found bank loans unavailable to him. In December of 1962 the balance owed on his tractor came due. Operation Freedom loaned him nearly $300 in order to pay this balance and save his tractor from foreclosure. Without a tractor, he would have been unable to farm his land.

Multiply these cases by the hundreds and you get a picture of the problems in the Delta. Economic strangulation is the only weapon strong enough to defeat these people; if the people who believe in democracy provide the money to help them defeat this weapon, they will win. It is as simple as that.

An emergency program like that of Operation Freedom cannot solve the problem forever. For Negroes without jobs or land there must eventually be other solutions — perhaps cooperatives, government redevelopment programs, and new industry. But these things take time, and meanwhile people must live this year and next if they are to stay. Operation Freedom can provide this stop-gap.

It can also let the Negroes of Mississippi know they are not alone, let them know that as they lift their eyes toward freedom there are people all over America, white and Negro, who are grateful for their courage, and who care enough to give of their own substance in support.

## OFFICERS AND BOARD MEMBERS

Officers of Operation Freedom are: Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, chairman; Miriam Nicholas, co-chairman; Rev. L. Richard Hudson, secretary; Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, treasurer; Ernest Bromley, corresponding secretary; Jack McKart, coordinator.

Board members are: Rev. J. W. Adams, Anne Braden, Rabbi Stanley Brav, Pauline Brokaw, Lloyd Danzeisen, U. S. Fowler, Lois Haswell, Virgie Hortenstine, Paul Laprad, Howard Lipton, Carlton Mabee, Rev. M. J. Mangham, Wallace Nelson, Rev. Wilbur Page, Marjorie Ruben, Mrs. Donald Spencer, Alfred C. Stone, Rev. John Wilson.

After 35 years on one plantation, this woman was driven off the land for registering to vote. She is typical of many.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

Operation Freedom appeals to people throughout the nation to help it meet the challenge in Mississippi and West Tennessee. This is what you can do:

1. Send money to Operation Freedom, c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio, to assist those harassed for trying to vote. Make your gift as generous as you can, but do not let the magnitude of the need make you feel that only large gifts are solicited. Whether yours is a dollar or several thousand dollars, it is needed.

2. Send to Operation Freedom suggested names of persons and organizations to whom they may appeal for funds.

3. Write to Operation Freedom at the above address, obtain additional literature and take this matter up with your church, with other organizations to which you belong, and with your individual friends.

4. Order descriptive literature from Operation Freedom and do your own mailing to a list of your friends or enclose in a regular mailing to your organization. Operation Freedom runs on a shoestring, so has little money for postage.

(All contributions to Operation Freedom are deductible for income tax purposes)

February 1963

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FACT SHEET:

VOTING AND POLITICS IN THE SOUTH WITH REFERENCE TO
THE NEGRO CITIZEN

Prepared by Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department of the American Missionary
Association, United Church of Christ, Fisk University

1963

Suff. Southern

# INTRODUCTION

The following thirteen tables contain a selection of important data which relate to the matter of voting and politics in the South in reference to the Negro citizen. They have been prepared for the Workshop of Negro College Educators for two primary reasons: (a) to serve as background information for a major presentation in one of the scheduled seminars of the total workshop group, and (b) to be used in the more detailed analysis and discussion of a small interest group in the field of voting and politics. In considering the problems and issues which have implication for adult Negro leadership and adult education, there is perhaps no set of interests of greater importance than those which lie in this field. We are dealing here not only with the basic process through which public policies are reached and critical decisions made, but also with the potential and actual forces influencing these decisions. If democratic government is the expression of the will of the people, as indeed we believe it should always attempt to be ideally, then politics is the essential vehicle for the articulation of that will. Our task as citizens, and certainly the task of education in confronting the demand for enlightened political performance, then becomes one of responsible choice and action toward a politically viable and free community in which the many and different interests find expression and enter into the marketplace of political debate and consensus.

Until the very recent years, the Negro citizen has had, at best, an indirect relationship to this process and minimal influence in determining its outcome. As recently as 1940, it is estimated that there were only about 200,000 to 250,000 Negro registered voters in

the South; and yet in this same year more than three-fourths (77 percent) of the nation's total Negro population. The 1948 Democratic National Convention gave rise to the civil rights issue as a major domestic question for the first time since the reconstruction era. Although it had long existed as a moral question and as a kind of subliminal political issue, this was its first modern expression which invited a public response upon which would hang, in the long-run, the destiny of national political development. It was, in essence, a recognition of the reality that the Negro had become an important entity and force in national politics -- all in major part due to the cumulative effects of Negro migration northward and westward and concentration of the Negro population in strategic states whose combined electoral votes play a determining role in the outcome of national elections.

In every national election since 1948 the Negro vote has played, in more or less degree, a balance of power role; and in at least two of these elections the heavy urban northern Negro vote has been a central feature of the outcome. A resource of tremendous potential has therefore emerged in the hands of Negro citizens and Negro leaders which can be directly used to advance long-delayed objectives for full and equal citizenship rights. This is, by almost any standard, the major departure and most important frontier now at hand. But the lines of advance and attack have shifted from the North to the South where the greatest lag exists in Negro voter and political strength and where, at the same time, there is the greatest unused potential and lack of political sophistication.

Estimates of 1958 place Negro voter registration in the eleven

most traditional southern states at 1,281,818. Although this represents a tremendous gain over 200,000 or more who had qualified in 1940, it remains only about a fourth of the potential Negro electorate in the 21 years old and over Negro population. White registered voters for these states are between seven and eight times the Negro figure, even though white registration rates are below those of other regions. A practical and immediate task is that of increasing the number of Negro qualified voters, not only insofar as Negro political strength and activity are concerned but also as regards the possibility of bringing about fundamental changes in the political system of the region, which has rested upon single-party domination, on the one hand, and rural domination on the other.

Several important concerns are raised out of these developments which have implication for Negro education in general and adult education efforts in particular. The exploration of these concerns will constitute a primary objective of the workshop and the special study and discussion group which will have assignment in this area. Some of these concerns are:

1. What role, if any, does Negro education, broadly conceived have in the area of politics, especially in matters of (a) political leadership, (b) political action, (c) political decision, and (d) citizenship education?

2. Would a two-party South correct the many political weaknesses which now exist in the region? What trends seem now apparent toward the development of a real Republican party in the region, and from what sources is this development presently coming? What broad guidelines of strategy may be suggested for Negro leadership in this regard?

3. What are the general implications of reapportionment and what will this development mean in the long-run objectives and plans of Negro political leadership?

4. What is meant by Negro bloc voting? If and when this does occur, is it sound strategy? What are the weaknesses and assets?

5. Should Negroes, from the standpoint of strategy, ally themselves with the present Democratic party, with the emerging Republican party, or become an effective group of Political Independents?

6. What can colleges do in the area of political education and in efforts to produce effective voter registration programs?

## I. SIZE OF THE SOUTHERN ELECTORATE

TABLE A -- Regional Voter Potential

| | Total Pop. | 21 Yrs. Old and over | % | Cong. Dist. | El. Votes | Party |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All States (14) | 50,020,456 | 28,810,148 | 57.6 | 122 | 150 | |
| Ala. | 3,266,740 | 1,834,378 | 56.1 | 9 | 11 | D* |
| Ark. | 1,786,272 | 1,043,269 | 58.4 | 6 | 8 | D |
| Del. | 446,292 | 267,249 | 59.9 | 1 | 3 | D |
| Fla. | 4,951,560 | 3,087,699 | 53.0 | 8 | 10 | R |
| Ga. | 3,943,116 | 2,231,325 | 56.6 | 10 | 12 | D |
| Ky. | 3,038,156 | 1,763,644 | 58.0 | 8 | 10 | R |
| La. | 3,257,022 | 1,803,805 | 55.4 | 8 | 10 | D |
| Md. | 3,100,689 | 1,845,067 | 59.5 | 7 | 9 | D |
| Miss. | 2,178,141 | 1,170,522 | 53.7 | 6 | 8 | * |
| N. C. | 4,556,155 | 2,556,884 | 56.1 | 12 | 14 | D |
| S.C. | 2,382,594 | 1,266,251 | 53.1 | 6 | 8 | D |
| Tenn. | 3,567,089 | 2,092,891 | 58.7 | 9 | 11 | R |
| Tex. | 9,579,677 | 5,534,277 | 57.8 | 22 | 24 | D |
| Va. | 3,966,949 | 2,312,887 | 58.3 | 10 | 12 | R |
| | | (Border) | | | | |
| Okla. | 2,328,284 | 1,416,050 | 60.8 | 6 | 8 | R* |
| Mo. | 4,319,813 | 2,695,614 | 62.4 | 11 | 13 | D |
| W. Va. | 1,860,421 | 1,083,347 | 58.2 | 6 | 8 | D |

Source: Congressional District Data Book, 1960

*These states had votes cast for favored "states rights" candidate Harry F. Byrd who received 6 of Alabama's 11 votes; all of Mississippi's, and 1 of Oklahoma's 8. Total electorate votes cast, 1960: 219 R; 303 D; and 15 S.R. (537).

TABLE B -- Negro Voter Potential in Region

| | Negro Pop. Total * | % | 21 Years and over | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All States (14) | 10,767,112 | 21.5 | 5,406,206 | 50.2 |
| Ala. | 983,131 | 30.1 | 481.320 | 48.9 |
| Ark. | 390,569 | 21.9 | 192,626 | 49.3 |
| Del. | 61,965 | 13.6 | 33,999 | 54.8 |
| Fla. | 887,679 | 17.9 | 470,261 | 53.0 |
| Ga. | 1,125,893 | 28.6 | 559,984 | 49.7 |
| Ky. | 218,073 | 7.2 | 125,627 | 37.6 |
| La. | 1,045,307 | 32.1 | 514,589 | 49.2 |
| Md. | 526,770 | 17.0 | 283,906 | 53.9 |
| Miss. | 920,595 | 42.3 | 422,256 | 45.9 |
| N. C. | 1,156,870 | 25.4 | 550,929 | 47.6 |
| S. C. | 831,572 | 34.9 | 371,104 | 44.6 |
| Tenn. | 589,336 | 16.5 | 313,873 | 53.3 |
| Tex. | 1,204,846 | 12.6 | 649,512 | 53.9 |
| Va. | 824,506 | 20.8 | 436,720 | 53.0 |
| | (Border) | | | |
| Okla. | 220,384 | 9.5 | 114,964 | 52.2 |
| Mo. | 396,846 | 9.0 | 222,333 | 56.0 |
| W. Va. | 90,288 | 4.8 | 49,655 | 55.0 |

* Figures are for non-white totals, including the percentages. In remaining states, including 3 border states in table, Negro population totals - 9,724,331.

Note: Including 2 border states in table, non-white population 21 years old and over in rest of U. S. is 5,559,529 or 57.1 percent.

TABLE C -- Negro Registrations: 11 States

| | 1958* | 1956 | 1952 | 1947 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All States | 1,281,818 | 1,238,038 | 1,008,614 | 595,000 |
| Alabama | 73,272 | 53,366 | 25,224 | 6,000 |
| Arkansas | 64,023 | 69,677 | 61,413 | 47,000 |
| Florida | 144,861 | 148,703 | 120,900 | 149,000 |
| Georgia | 161,082 | 163,389 | 144,835 | 125,000 |
| Louisiana | 132,506 | 161,410 | 120,000 | 10,000 |
| Mississippi | 19,347 | 20,000 | 20,000 | 5,000 |
| N. Carolina | 157,991 | 135,000 | 100,000 | 75,000 |
| S. Carolina | 57,893 | 99,890 | 80,000 | 50,000 |
| Tennessee | 150,869** | 90,000 | 85,000 | 80,000 |
| Texas | 226,495 | 214,000 | 181,916 | 100,000 |
| Virginia | 93,479 | 82,603 | 69,326 | 48,000 |

* 1958 figures from Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959. All others from study by Southern Regional Council: The Negro Voter in the South, 1959.

** From 1960 Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

Note: 1958 figure represents 3.5 percent gain over 1956 (43,780 voters)
27.0 percent gain over 1952 (273,204 voters)
115.4 percent gain over 1947 (686,818 voters)

1956 figure represents 18.5 percent gain over 1952 (229,424 voters)
51.9 percent gain over 1947 (643,038 voters)

1952 figure represents 41.0 percent gain over 1947 (413,614 voters).

TABLE D -- Number of Negro and White Registrants

10 States

| | White | Negro | Percent Negroes of Whites |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 828,946 | 73,272 | 8.8 |
| Arkansas | 499,955 | 64,023 | 14.2 |
| Florida | 1,448,543 | 144,861 | 10.0 |
| Georgia | 1,130,515 | 161,082 | 14.2 |
| Louisiana | 828,686 | 132,506 | 15.9 |
| Mississippi | | 19,347 | |
| N. Carolina | 1,389,831 | 157,991 | 11.3 |
| S. Carolina | 481,023 | 57,893 | 12.0 |
| Texas | 1,489,841 | 226,495 | 15.2 |
| Virginia | 864,863 | 93,479 | 10.8 |

Source: Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959.

TABLE E -- Comparison of Negro and White Registrants: Percentage of Population 21 Years Old and Over Registered in 10 States

| | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 14.2 | 67.3 |
| Arkansas | 28.1 | 56.8 |
| Florida | 39.5 | 99.4 |
| Georgia | 25.8 | 72.7 |
| Louisiana | 27.5 | 74.9 |
| Mississippi | 3.9 | |
| N. Carolina | 28.7 | 78.9 |
| S. Carolina | 14.8 | 63.2 |
| Texas | 38.8 | 49.0 |
| Virginia | 21.7 | 53.8 |

Source: Report of U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959.

## II. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT DATA

TABLE F -- Nonwhite Population Percentage by Congressional Districts -- 12 States

| Cong. Districts | Ala. | Ark. | Ga. | Fla. | Ky. | La. | Miss. | N.C. | S.C. | Tenn. | Tex. | Va. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 38.6 | 32.3 | 37.5 | 11.6 | 10.3 | 32.4 | 32.2 | 43.8 | 44.0 | 2.7 | 26.7 | 29.1 |
| 2 | 36.0 | 11.9 | 38.8 | 27.8 | 6.3 | 31.0 | 49.6 | 50.5 | 37.3 | 6.1 | 21.6 | 28.3 |
| 3 | 39.3 | 2.1 | 32.3 | 23.0 | 12.8 | 23.7 | 65.5 | 29.6 | 24.6 | 13.3 | 24.7 | 25.8 |
| 4 | 31.7 | 29.4 | 30.7 | 14.5 | 6.8 | 37.4 | 46.4 | 27.8 | 21.3 | 8.0 | 14.2 | 48.0 |
| 5 | 15.8 | 18.5 | 26.5 | 17.3 | 2.7 | 40.5 | 41.2 | 24.3 | 33.5 | 19.2 | 14.7 | 23.2 |
| 6 | 38.7 | 29.9 | 41.3 | 19.3 | 10.1 | 35.4 | 23.8 | 23.1 | 46.6 | 13.0 | 22.1 | 13.6 |
| 7 | 9.9 | | 3.7 | 16.0 | 1.1 | 26.0 | | 35.6 | | 25.2 | 27.7 | 8.2 |
| 8 | 16.0 | | 27.3 | 25.2 | 2.7 | 29.1 | | 22.4 | | 26.3 | 26.1 | 24.4 |
| 9 | 34.6 | | 7.2 | | | | | 12.5 | | 36.4 | 17.8 | 2.7 |
| 10 | | | 32.9 | | | | | 17.9 | | | 15.0 | 6.5 |
| 11 | | | | | | | | 13.0 | | | 15.0 | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | 7.6 | | | 11.1 | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | 5.6 | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | 4.7 | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | .5 | |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | 4.2 | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | 3.5 | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | 4.0 | |
| 19 | | | | | | | | | | | 6.2 | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | 6.9 | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | 2.9 | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | 15.0 | |
| Entire State | 30.1 | 21.9 | 28.6 | 17.9 | 7.2 | 32.1 | 42.3 | 25.4 | 34.9 | 16.5 | 12.6 | 20.8 |
| No. Dist. | 9 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 22 | 10 |
| No. where nonwhites exceed 10% | 8 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 13 | 7 |

III. VOTER PARTICIPATION

TABLE G -- Average of All Citizens 21 and Over Voting in Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections for years between 1920-46 -- 11 states with Comparisons for New York and Ohio

| | President | Governor | Senator |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 18 | 30 | 12 |
| Arkansas | 20 | 31 | 20 |
| Florida | 32 | 43 | 25 |
| Georgia | 16 | 29 | 16 |
| Louisiana | 22 | 54 | 20 |
| Mississippi | 14 | 56 | 13 |
| N. Carolina | 43 | 28 | 19 |
| S. Carolina | 10 | 48 | 27 |
| Tennessee | 29 | 20 | 17 |
| Texas | 27 | 34 | 26 |
| Virginia | 23 | 15 | |
| National Average | 58 | | |
| New York | 69 | 57 | 60 |
| Ohio | 68 | 58 | 57 |

Adapted from figures in Southern Politics, by V. O. Key, Jr.

TABLE H -- Vote Cast for U. S. Senators - 1958 and 1960 Elections with Percent for Majority Party -- 12 State with New York and Ohio Comparisons.

| State | Vote | Percent of 21 Years and Over | Percent Majority Party |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ala. | 554,000* | 30.2 | 70.2** |
| Ark. | 377,000* | 36.1 | 100.0 |
| Fla. | 542,000 | 17.6 | 71.2 |
| Ga. | 576,000* | 25.8 | 100.0 |
| Ky. | 1,089,000* | 61.7 | 59.2 R |
| La. | 542,000* | 30.0 | 79.8** |
| Miss. | 266,000* | 22.7 | 91.8** |
| N. C. | 1,291,000* | 50.0 | 61.4** |
| S. C. | 330,000* | 26.0 | 100.0 |
| Tenn. | 829,000* | 39.6 | 71.8** |
| Tex. | 2,254,000* | 40.7 | 58.0** |
| Va. | 622,000* | 26.9 | 81.4 |
| | | . . . . . | |
| N. Y. | 5,602,000 | 51.4 | 50.7 R |
| Ohio | 3,149,000 | 53.9 | 52.5 |

* 1960 Elections.

** Had Republican opposing candidates.

Source: Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1961.

## IV. VOTING AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

TABLE I -- Comparison of Voting in Metropolitan (Urban) and Rural Counties With Similar Percentage of Negro Population.

| Metropolitan County | Percent Voting | Rural County | Percent Voting | Ratio Rural-Urban |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fulton (Atlanta) | 14.1 | Evans | 32.4 | 2.30 |
| Hillsboro (Tampa) | 28.3 | Charlotte | 64.6 | 2.28 |
| Bexar (San Antonio) | 23.5 | Franklin | 53.0 | 2.25 |
| Dade (Miami) | 30.6 | Okeechobee | 67.8 | 2.21 |
| Dallas (Dallas) | 18.1 | Tyler | 38.1 | 2.10 |
| Jefferson (B'ham) | 14.7 | Elmore | 30.0 | 2.04 |
| Harris (Houston) | 21.3 | Chambers | 43.0 | 2.01 |
| Duval (Jacksonville) | 31.6 | Citrus | 62.8 | 1.99 |
| Tarrant (Ft. Worth) | 25.1 | Calhoun | 49.5 | 1.97 |
| Pulaski (Little Rock) | 17.9 | Lonoke | 34.2 | 1.91 |
| Orleans (New Orleans) | 42.7 | Caldwell | 53.5 | 1.77 |
| Charleston (Charleston) | 31.7 | Hampton | 55.0 | 1.73 |
| Caddo (Shreveport) | 24.5 | Plaquemine | 42.4 | 1.73 |
| Davidson (Nashville) | 14.1 | Trousdale | 21.8 | 1.55 |
| Hinds (Jackson) | 18.8 | Amite | 28.2 | 1.50 |
| Knox (Knoxville) | 28.2 | McNairy | 39.0 | 1.38 |
| Mecklenburg (Charlotte) | 18.8 | Lee | 40.3 | 1.09 |
| Hamilton (Chattanooga) | 28.2 | Crockett | 21.9 | 1.05 |
| Richmond | 10.8 | Culpepper | 9.3 | .86 |
| Shelby | 24.8 | Hardeman | 18.9 | .76 |
| Norfolk | 9.6 | King George | 6.5 | .67 |

Source: Southern Politics by V. O. Key, Jr.

TABLE J -- Patterns of Rural Activity in Relation to Negro Population Percentage - Alabama and South Carolina: Counties of Highest White Participation.*

State Av.- 30.3

| Alabama | | Percent Negro Population |
|---|---|---|
| (Counties in 1st quartile of participation) | | |
| Bullock | | 73.6 |
| Choctaw | | 52.5 |
| Clark | | 49.7 |
| Greene | | 83.0 |
| Hale | | 70.3 |
| Lowndes (66.7) | | 82.2 |
| Marengo | | 69.4 |
| Perry | | 67.5 |
| Sumpter | | 76.1 |
| South Carolina (Counties of Highest Participation) | | |
| | (Rates) | |
| Calhoun | 71.2 | 73.1 |
| Allendale | 89.0 | 72.2 |
| Clarendon | 76.2 | 71.7 |
| McCormick | 80.9 | 67.9 |
| Beaufort | 47.7 | 67.1 |
| Williamsburg | 72.5 | 66.5 |
| Lee | 91.5 | 65.5 |

*Adopted from Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr., - based upon data from 1930, 1938, 1942 elections.

TABLE K -- Rural Control: The Georgia County Unit System

| County Groups Established by 1917 Law | Unit Votes Each | Percent in Each Group of Counties of States: Total Population | Adult White | Total Unit Votes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 Most Populous Counties | 6 | 30.1 | 34.1 | 11.7 |
| 30 Next Most Populous | 4 | 26.4 | 26.0 | 29.3 |
| 121 Remaining | 2 | 43.5 | 39.9 | 59.0 |

Popular Votes Cast 1946, Per Unit Vote by Group Types

| | |
|---|---|
| Group I | |
| Fulton | 14,092 |
| Chatham | 6,751 |
| DeKalb | 4,462 |
| Group II | |
| Cobb | 2,933 |
| Hall | 2,184 |
| Laurens | 1,967 |
| Group III | |
| Quitman | 299 |
| Towns | 296 |
| Chattahoochee | 132 |

Adapted from Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr.

V. ELECTED OFFICIALS

TABLE L -- Negro Congressmen 1869 - 1961

| Congress | | No. Negro Elected Officials | States Represented |
|---|---|---|---|
| 41st | 1869 - 71 | 3 | S.C., Ga., Miss. |
| 42nd | 1871 - 73 | 5 | Fla. (1); Ala. (1); S.C. (2) |
| 43rd | 1873 - 75 | 7 | S.C. (4); Ala. (1); Fla. (1); Miss. (1) |
| 44th | 1875 - 77 | 8 | Miss. (2); S.C. (2); 1 each - Fla., Ala., N.C., La. |
| 45th | 1877 - 79 | 4 | S.C. (3); Miss. (1) |
| 46th | 1879 - 81 | 2 | Miss., and S.C. |
| 47th | 1881 - 83 | 1 | S.C. |
| 48th | 1883 - 85 | 2 | S.C., and N.C. |
| 49th | 1885 - 87 | 2 | S.C., and N.C. |
| 51st | 1889 - 91 | 3 | S.C., N.C., and Va. |
| 52nd | 1891 - 93 | 1 | N.C. |
| 53rd | 1893 - 95 | 1 | S.C. |
| 54th | 1895 - 97 | 1 | S.C. |
| 56th | 1899 - 1901 | 1 | N.C. |
| 71st through the | 1929 - 31 | | |
| 78th | 1943 - 45 | 1 | Ill. |
| 79th through the | 1945 - 47 | | |
| 83rd | 1953 - 55 | 2 | Ill., and N.Y. |
| 84th | 1955 - 57 | 3 | Ill., N.Y., Mich. |
| 85th | 1957 - 59 | 3 | Ill., N.Y., Mich. |
| 86th | 1959 - 61 | 4 | Ill., N.Y., Mich., Pa. |
| 87th | 1961 - 63 | 4 | Ill., N.Y., Mich., Pa. |

TABLE M -- Negro State Legislature and City Council Members

(Estimate of Average No. Since 1948)*

State Legislatures

| State | No. | State | No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Total States (16) | | | |
| Ariz. | 2 | Mo. | 3 |
| Cal. | 2 | N.J. | 1 |
| Col. | 2 | N.Y. | 4 |
| Ill. | 5 | Ohio | 2 |
| Ind. | 2 | Pa. | 6 |
| Kan. | 1 | W. Va. | 1 |
| Mass. | 1 | Wis. | 1 |
| Mich. | 5 | Vmt. | 1 |

City Councils

| City | No. | City | No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Cities (23) | | | |
| Boston, Mass. | 1 | Nashville, Tenn. | 3 |
| Buffalo, N. Y. | 1 | New Haven, Conn. | 1 |
| Canton, Ohio | 1 | New York, New York | 1 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | 3 | Oak Ridge, Tenn. | 1 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 6 | Philadelphia, Pa. | 1 |
| Charleston, W. Va. | 1 | Richmond, Va. | 1 |
| Cincinnati, Ohio | 2 | Springfield, Mass. | 1 |
| Detroit, Michigan | 1 | St. Louis, Mo. | 2 |
| Evanston, Ill. | 1 | Toledo, Ohio | 1 |
| Fayetteville, N. C. | 1 | Winston Salem, N. C. | 2 |
| Gary, Ind. | 1 | | |
| Greensboro, N. C. | 1 | | |
| Louisville, Kentucky | 1 | | |

*Incomplete rough estimate, taken from data in Negro Handbook, 1952 and Negro Yearbook, 1949.

LARRY GOODWYN

Aff. Audit Reid '63 worth some study

LWD WB + JM SOBK

Democratic Coalition
510 Littlefield Bldg.
AUSTIN, TEXAS

# New Shapes in Texas Politics

## I. The Two-Party Story

Charts 1 through 7, the increasing decline of conservative participation in Democratic primaries.

## II. Voting Trends in Negro Precincts

Chart 8, the relative impact of the Negro vote when it is split, and when it is not.

## III. Voting Trends, Geographic

Charts 9, 10, 11, the rise to dominance of the big cities; the decline of East Texas; moderate rises elsewhere.

## VI. Voting Trends Among Voters With Spanish Surnames

Chart 12, Bexar County.
Chart 13, South Texas.

These 13 charts represent an attempt to summarize the rapid transition from a one-party Texas in 1954 to the two-party structure that emerged full-grown in 1962. Note that the high-tide of conservative participation in Democratic primaries was reached in 1956 (charts 1, 2 and 3), showing Daniel getting more votes than Shivers in conservative areas, and that since then there has been a consistent decline in conservative participation in the Democratic party. This, of course, is traceable to the rise of the GOP precinct organization which began being formed on an effective basis in 1957 when Thad Hutcheson made the first serious GOP bid for state office. Almost immediately (1958), the conservative Democratic decline began (compare Blakley's vote with Shivers on the first four charts). With additional races by Tower in 1960 and 1961 and by Cox in 1962, this siphoning-off process continued at an accelerated pace (compare Connally's vote with Blakley's). For a quick, clear example: see chart one, showing how Daniel's 1956 margin of 15,515 has dwindled to a 5,621 margin for Connally in 1962.

From internal evidence, it is clear that something over 100,000 conservatives who voted for Shivers in 1954 and for Daniel in 1956 did NOT vote for Blakley in 1958. By the time Connally made his bid in 1962, this figure had expanded to over 275,000 (chart 7).

These developments have obviously changed the way the political game is to be played in Texas. With the losses on their right wing, conservative Democrats can prevail in statewide primaries against moderate and liberal candidates only by cutting into Negro, Latin-American or other Democratic precincts. In fact, so important is the vote of racial and ethnic minorities to the weakening conservative Democratic cause, that it is safe to predict a concerted effort will be made to effect a coalition of big business interests with minority voters, rallied behind a candidate who is economically conservative but not overtly a racist. (See charts 8 and 12 with particular emphasis on the 1962 Democratic runoff).

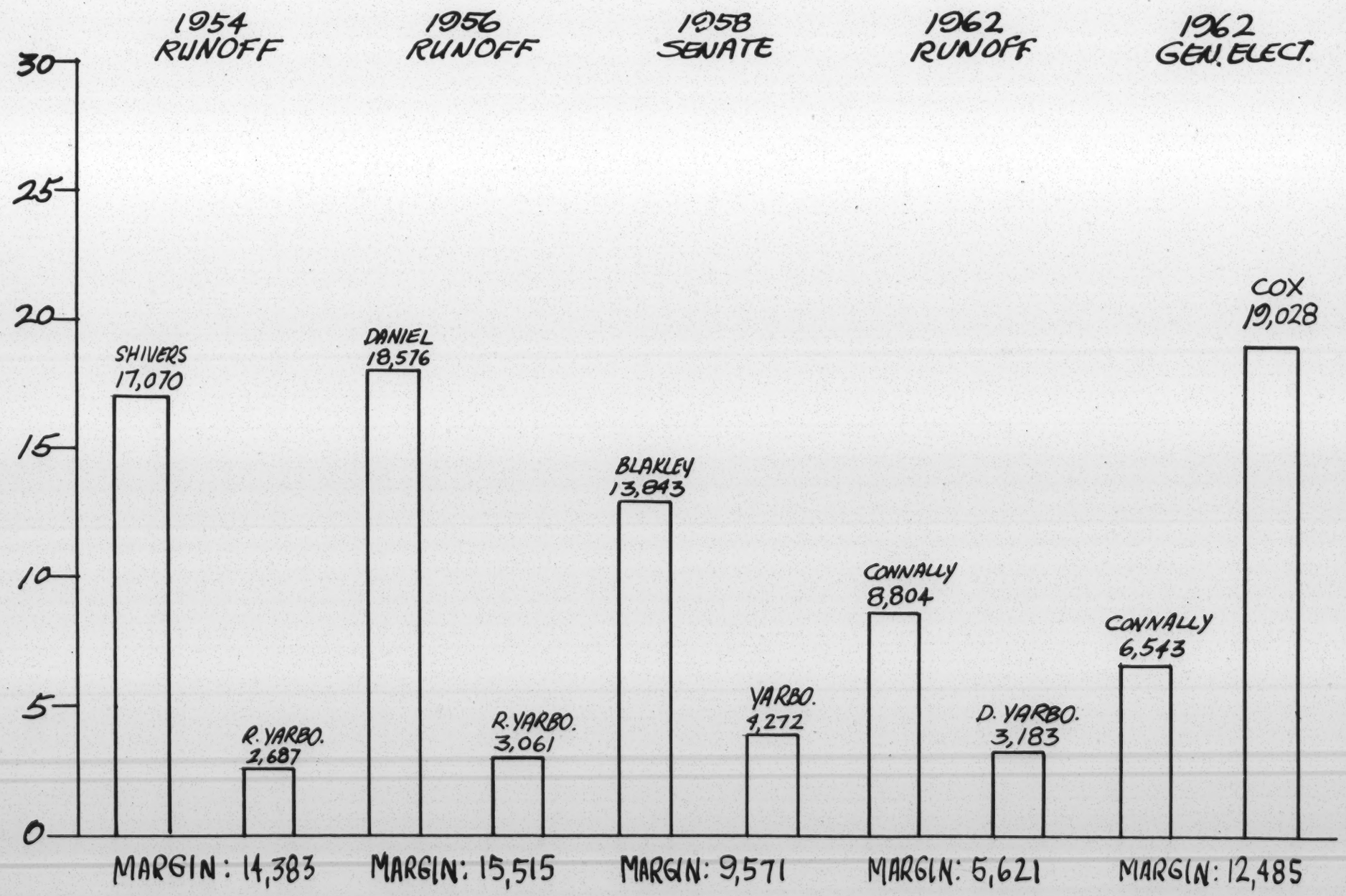
Chart number 5 deserves special mention. It capsules more of these trends than any other single chart. Note that on the basis of population growth, the line showing voting in the 4 biggest cities should be a steady upward curve. But after 1956, there is a decline in Democratic primary voting in 1958 and again in 1962. This reflects growing conservative abandonment of the Democratic party. Note that R. Yarborough got roughly the same number of votes in 1958 as in 1956. The decline came wholly out of the conservative vote. But note that in 1962 -- though suffering from the same decline (actually, because of population growth, the decline was proportionately even bigger than indicated), Connally was able to hold his own by making inroads into normally democratic precincts. What he lost to the GOP, he picked up from the traditional Democratic precincts. Chart 6 shows exactly the same pattern in the 11 next largest cities.

This pattern is only now filtering into rural areas; if the experience of the period covered by these charts holds firm, the two-party system can be expected in the small towns and rural counties in 1964 and be fully consolidated for state races by 1966. It seems merely a question of the GOP precinct organization having the necessary time to complete the job of expansion. It took four years, beginning in 1957 in the four big cities; and four years, effectively beginning in 1959, in the 11 middle-sized cities. By 1964, it seems indicated that 350,000-400,000 conservatives who supported Shivers and Daniel will not participate in the Democratic primary of 1964, with some 400,000-450,000 adandoning the party by 1966. Thus, the conservative Democratic bid for minority votes seems to have only a very short-run value -- for 1962 and 1964 -- after which time, the blood-transfusions to the Republicans will have become too large to enable conservative candidates to win statewide Democratic primaries.

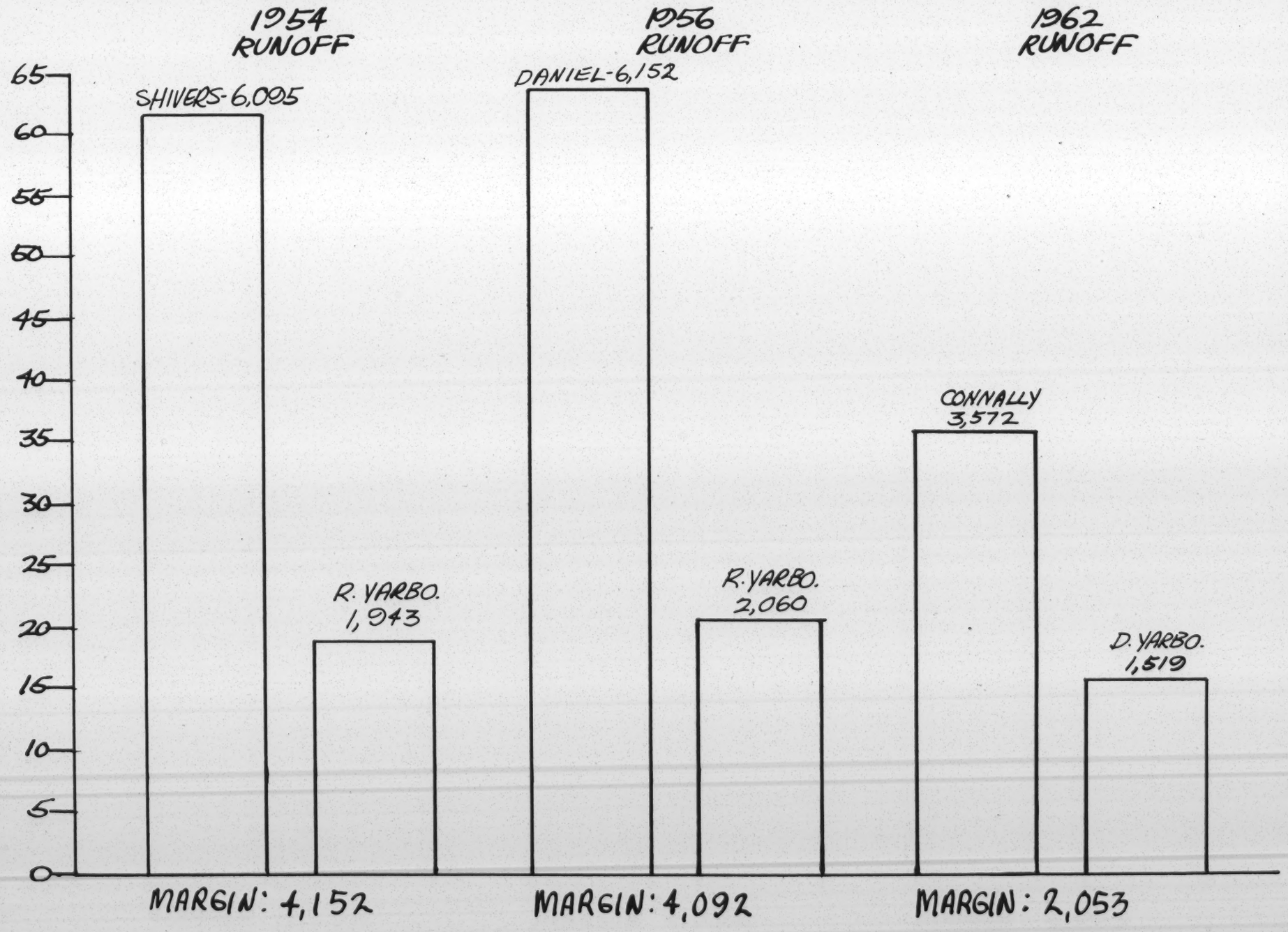
Charts 9, 10 and 11 trace the sharply-define geographic changes in Texas since 1954. Chart 9 shows that East Texas, which out-voted the cities substantially in 1954, is, in turn, now outvoted by the cities by well over 2 to 1. Chart 10 indicates that the population loss in East Texas has not helped conservative candidates. Connally actually got a smaller East Texas vote, percentagewise and on an absolute basis, than Shivers got. Don Yarborough's excellent East Texas showing seems to indicate he was not hurt by his liberal stand on civil rights. Chart 11 shows the slight voting growth in South Texas and West Texas and the huge growth in the 15 biggest counties. Note that the latter now have 55% of the state vote. Chart 12, like chart 8, shows how successful the conservative effort was to cut into normally Democratic precincts. There is an absence of a discernible trend for chart 13 because of the fluctuating character of the vote in 10 of the 28 counties listed. These "boss counties" normally try to pick the winner. Any revealing study of South Texas would have to focus on those counties that have already broken the old boss rule. Such an analysis will be initiated in the near future.

Incidentally, in charts 1 through 4, note that (except in his hometown of Houston) D. Yarborough ran behind R. Yarborough in conservative precincts. This refutes the legend, current in some circles, that D. Yarborough's close race with Connally was based on anti-LBJ conservative votes.

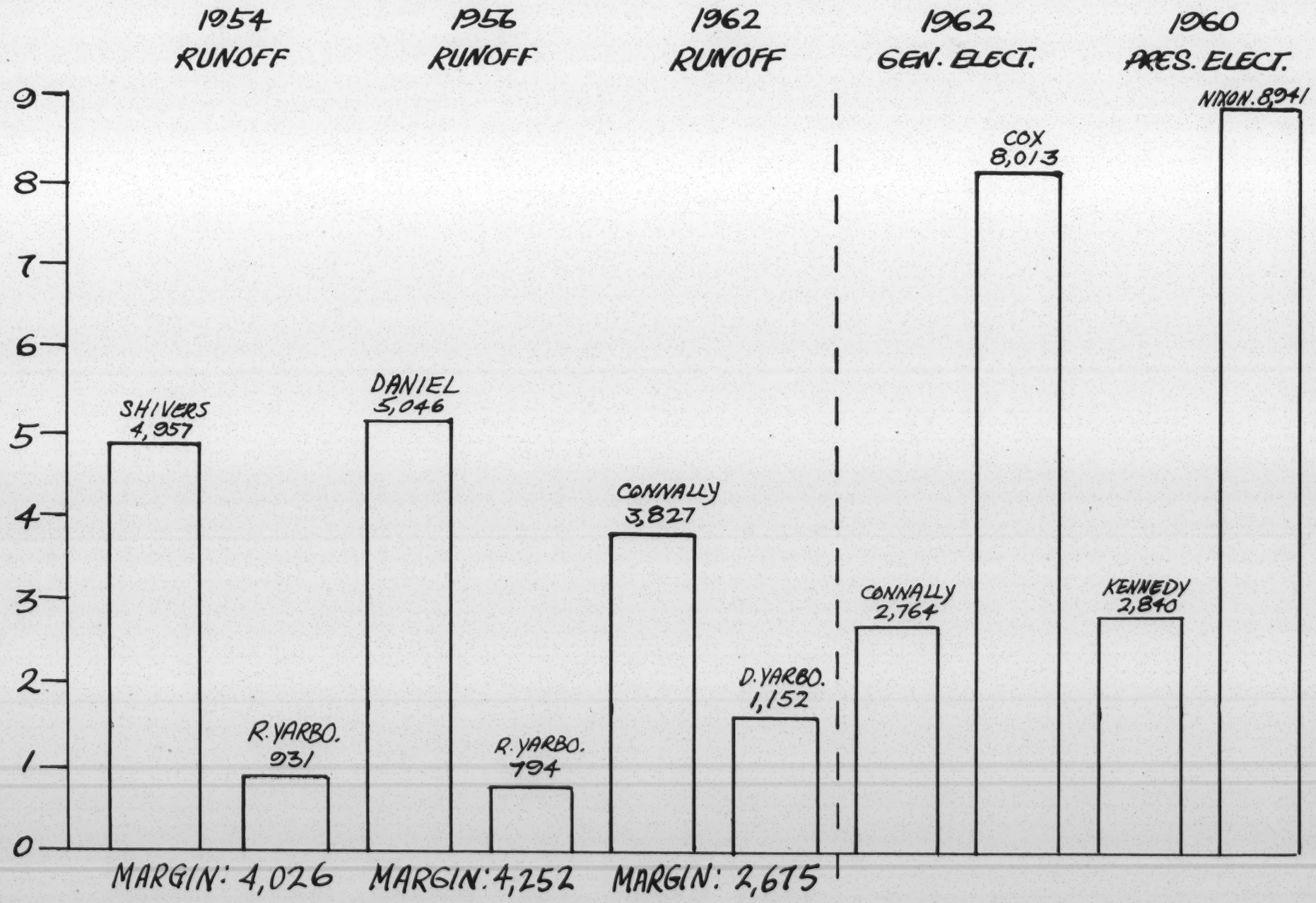
# HARRIS COUNTY - 25 CONSERVATIVE PRECINCTS



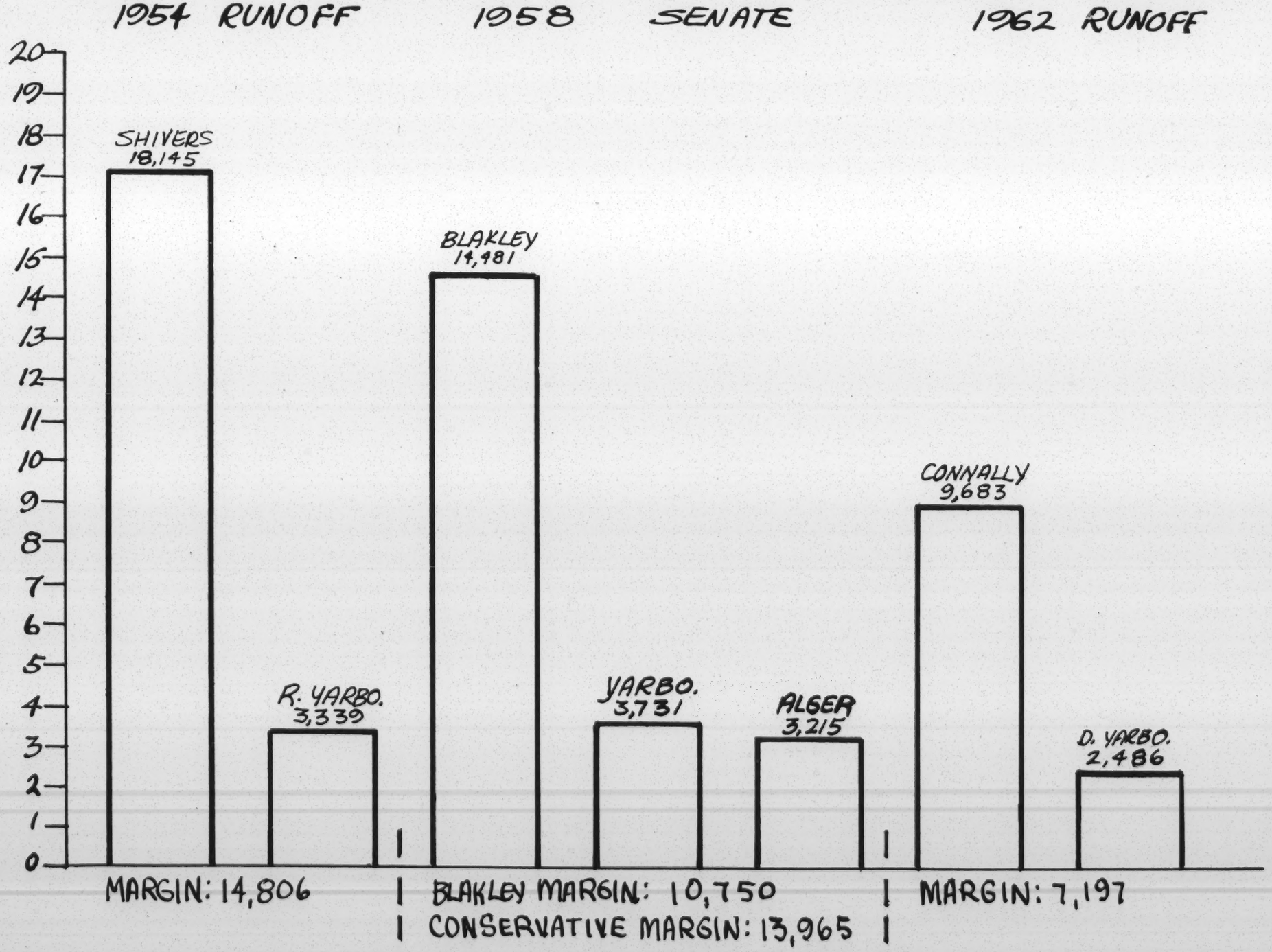
# 10 TARRANT COUNTY CONSERVATIVE PRECINCTS



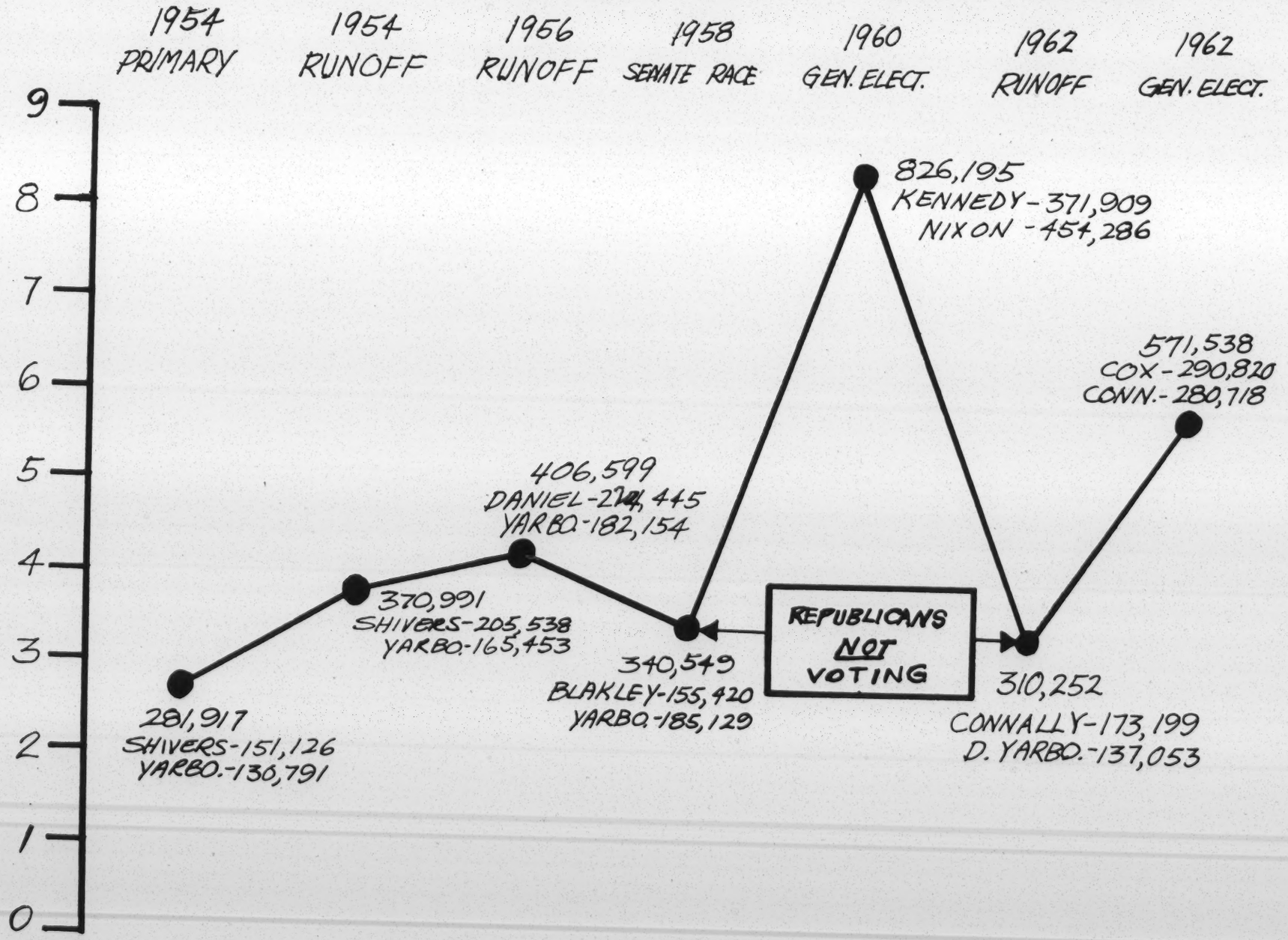
# 11 BEXAR COUNTY CONSERVATIVE PRECINCTS



# 26 Dallas County Conservative Precincts - Demo Primaries

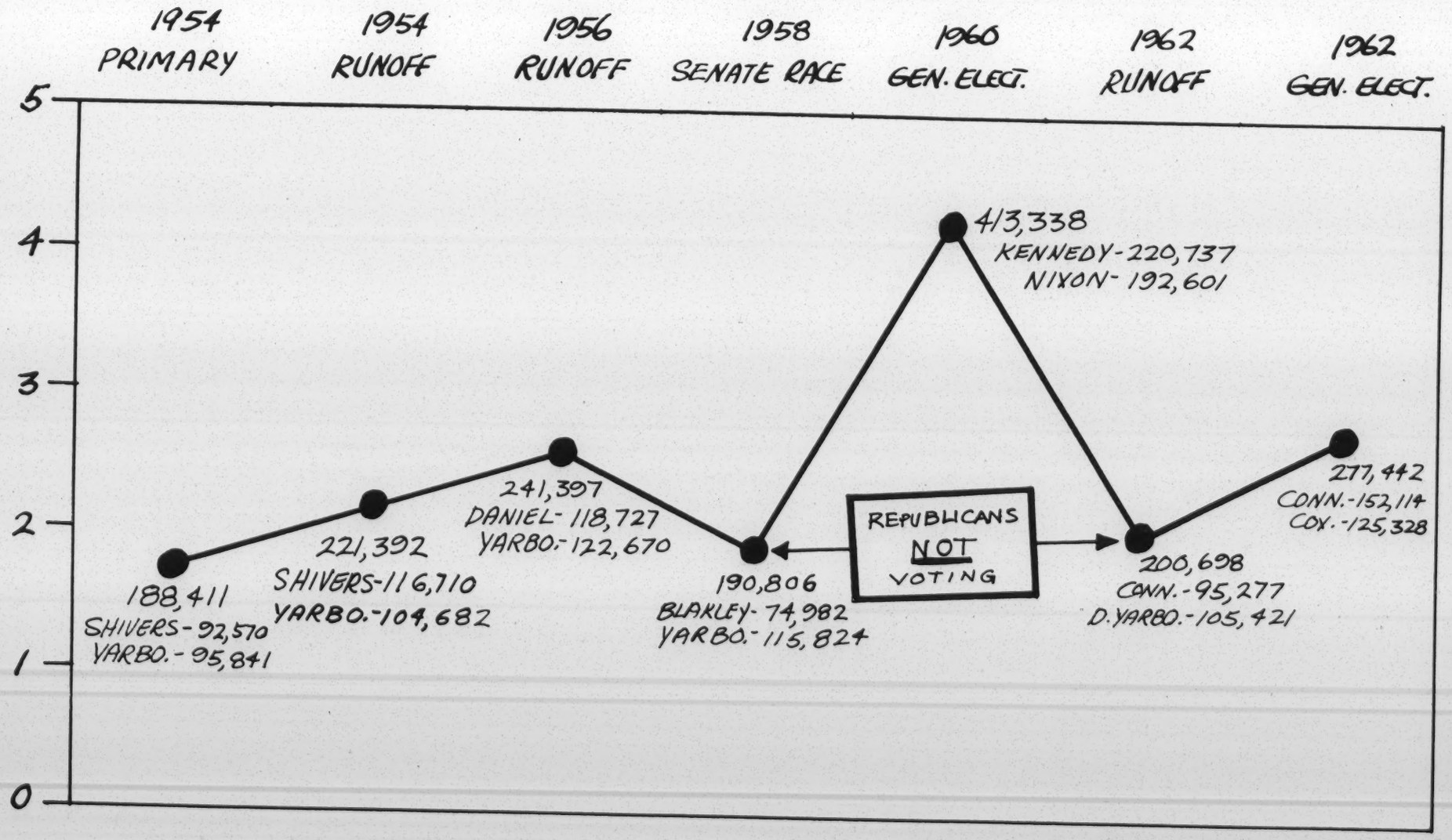


# 4 LARGEST CITIES



# 11 "MIDDLE-SIZE" CITIES

EL PASO, GALVESTON, JEFFERSON, LUBBOCK, WACO, CORPUS
AMARILLO, AUSTIN, WICHITA FALLS, ECTOR, MIDLAND



# HOW THE CONSERVATIVE SHIFT AFFECTS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

**1956 GOVERNOR'S RACE**
(When consentatives still voted Democratic in the Spring and Republican in November.)

R. YARBOROUGH 691,000 DANIEL 694,000

**1962 GOVERNOR'S RACE**

D. YARBOROUGH -539,000

152,000

Making his first bid for governor, Don Yarborough ran some 152,000 behind the total Ralph Yarborough received in his third campaign for governor. These losses were sustained primarily among brass-collar Democrats in Central and North Central Texas, and in some Negro and Latin-American precincts.

VOTED FOR CONNALLY +152,000

842,000

Thus, if the one-party system of 1956 still existed, Connally would have defeated Don Yarborough by 300,000 votes (842,000 to 539,000).

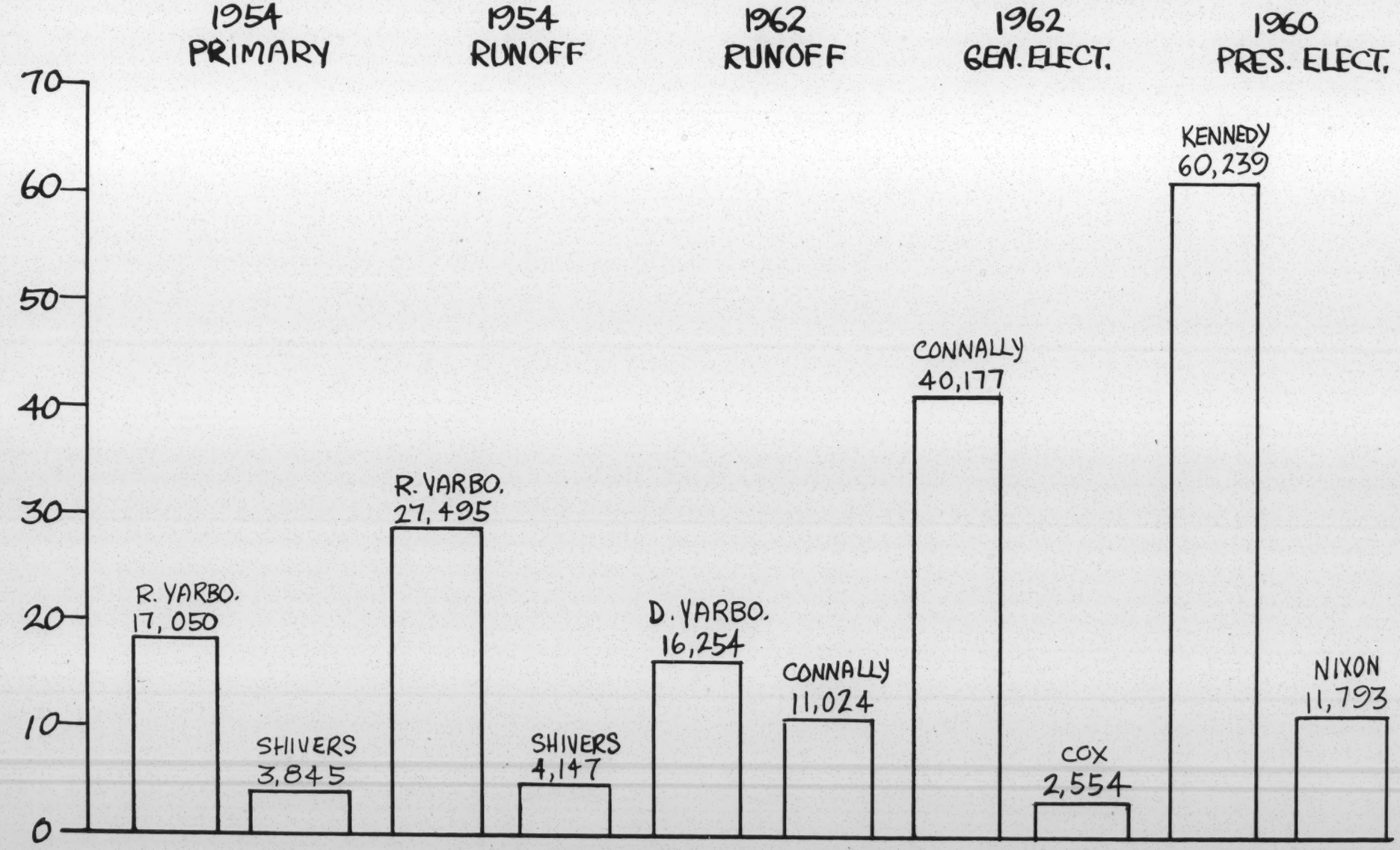
BUT

CONNALLY POLLED ONLY -565,000

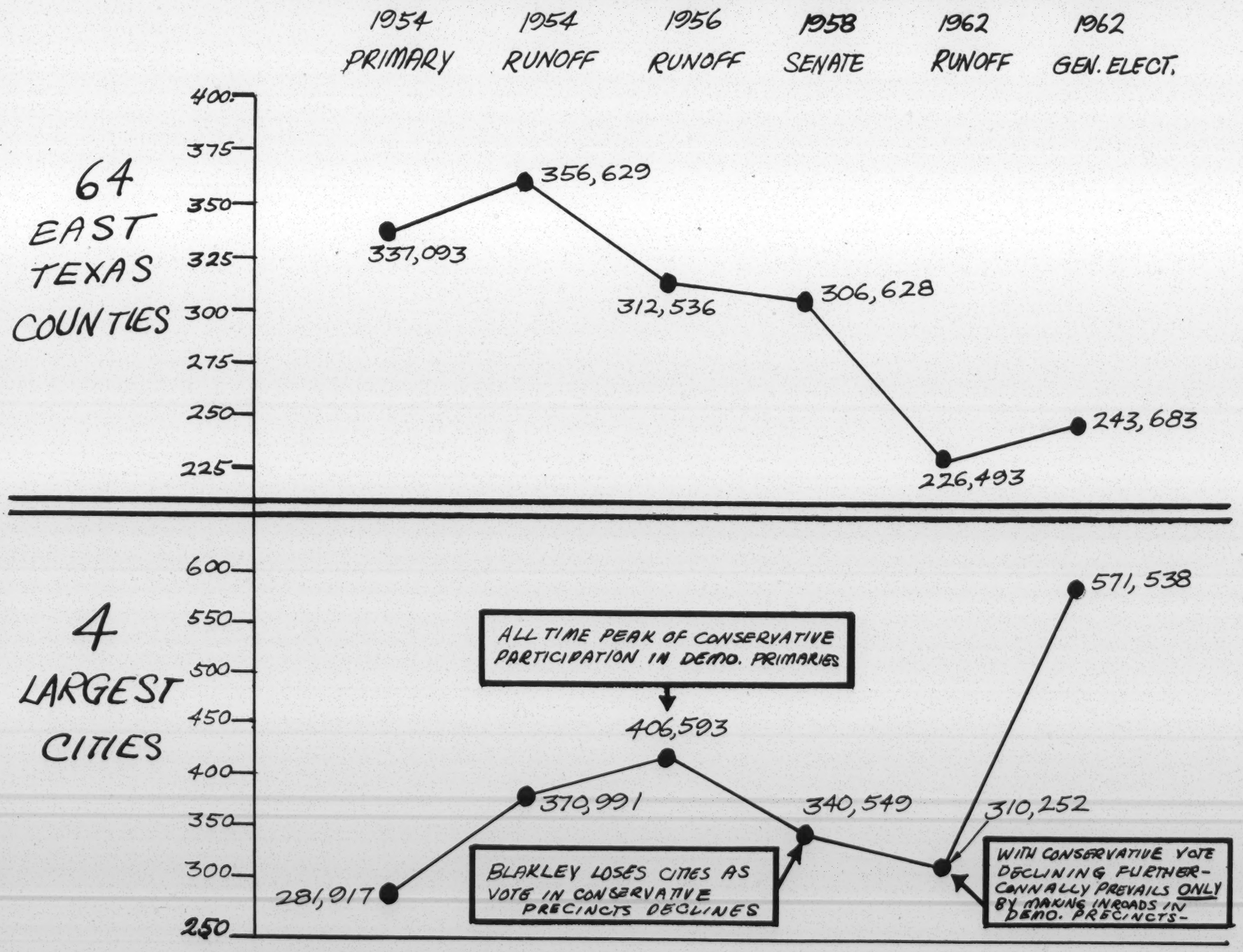
277,000

Conservative Democrats who voted for Daniel in 1956, but who have since turned Republican and did NOT vote in the Democratic Primary of June, 1962. (See charts 1 through 6)

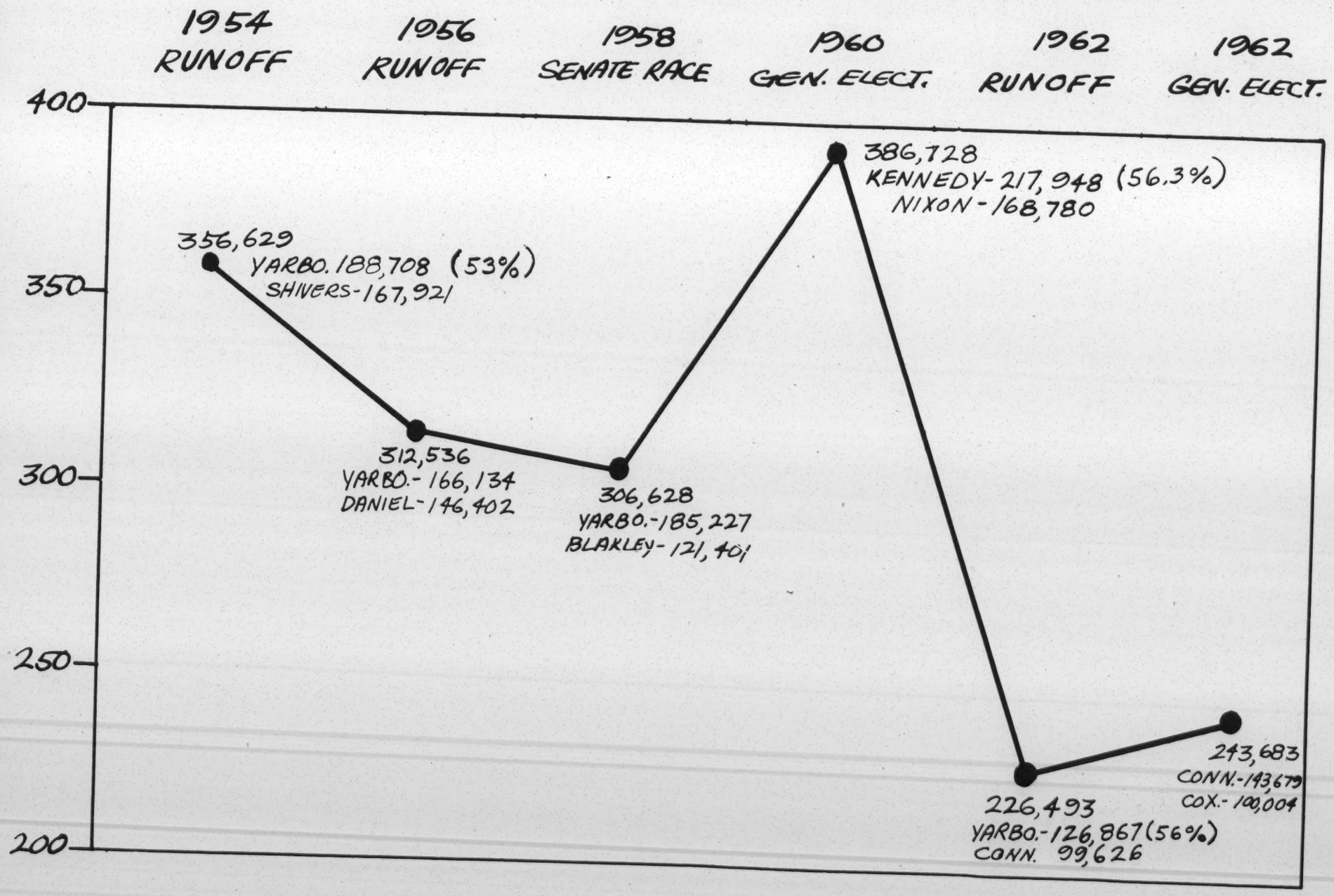
# VOTING TRENDS - NEGRO PRECINCTS - 4 LARGEST CITIES

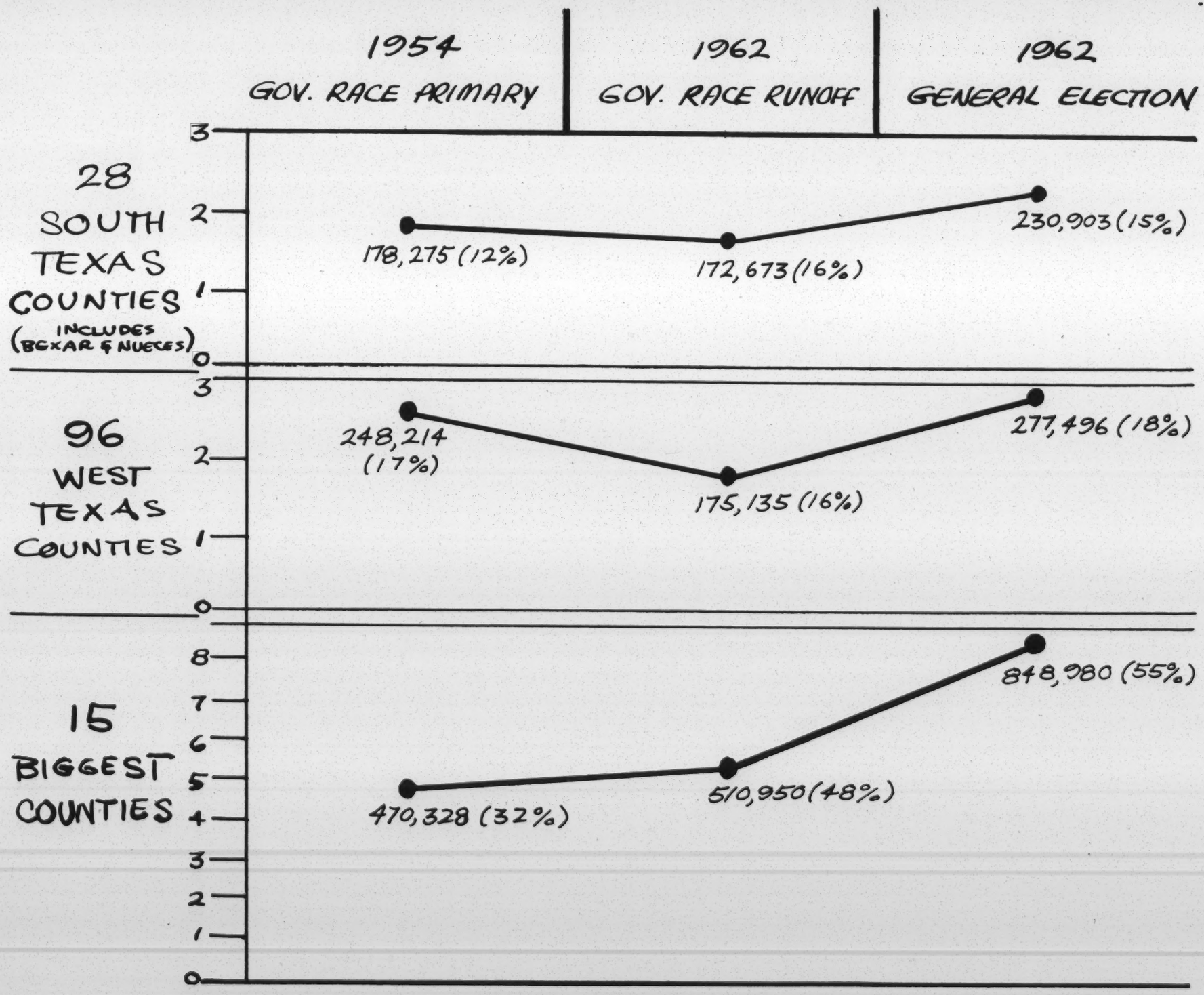


# VOTING TRENDS: GEOGRAPHIC

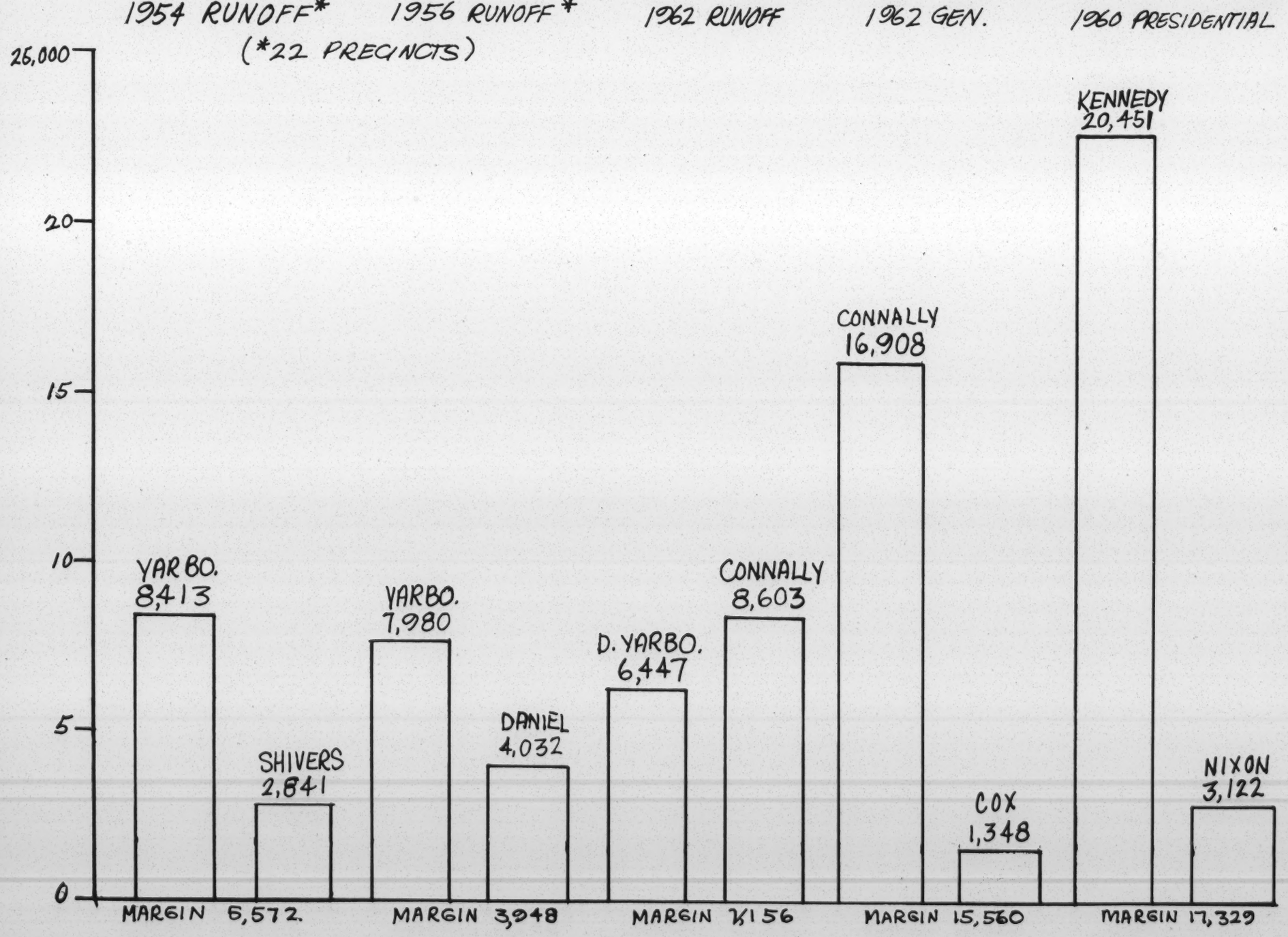


# 64 EAST TEXAS COUNTIES



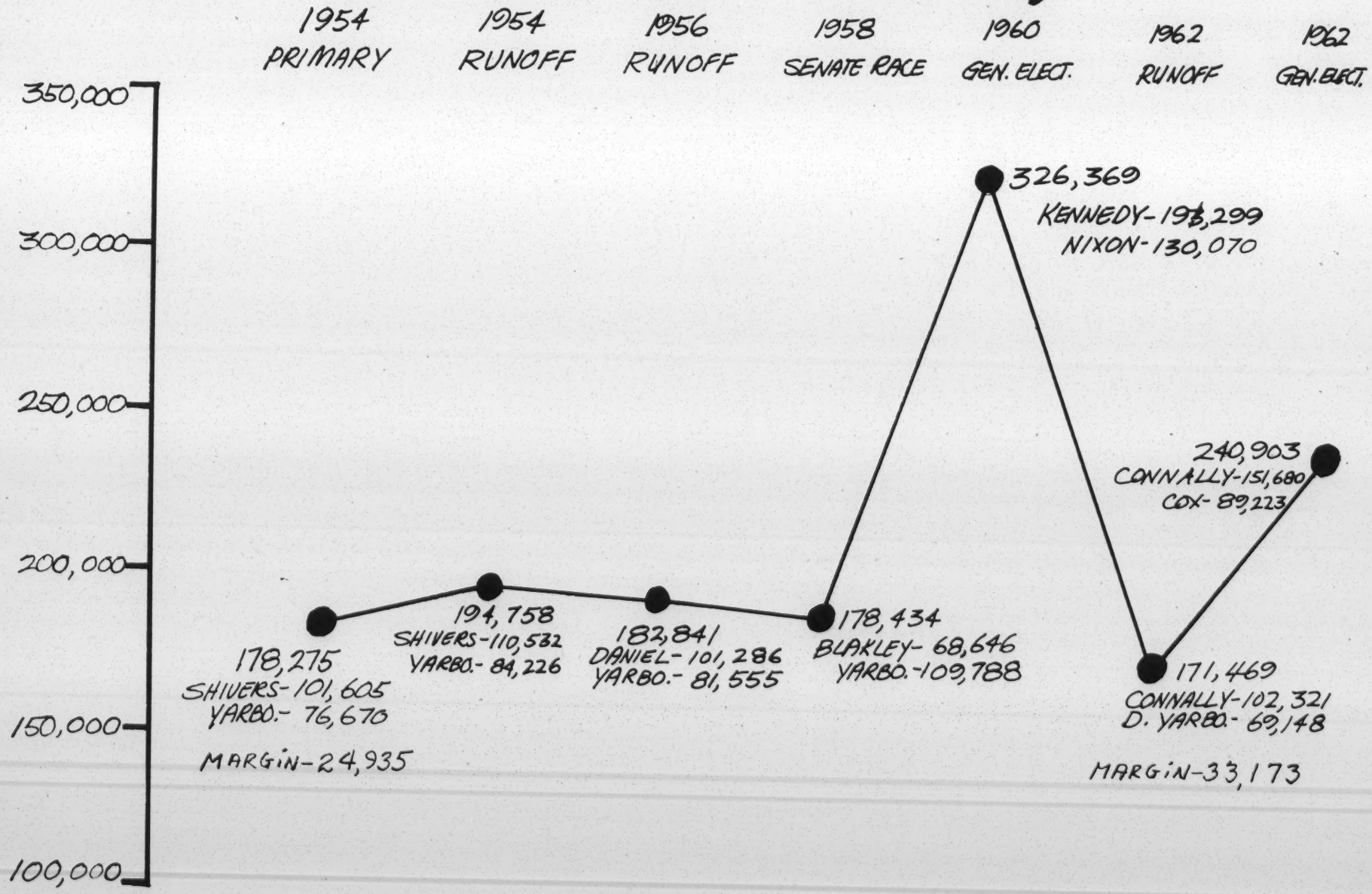

1954
GOV. RACE PRIMARY
1962
GOV. RACE RUNOFF
1962
GENERAL ELECTION
28
SOUTH
TEXAS
COUNTIES
(INCLUDES BEXAR & NUECES)
178,275 (12%)
172,673 (16%)
230,903 (15%)
96
WEST
TEXAS
COUNTIES
248,214 (17%)
175,135 (16%)
277,496 (18%)
15
BIGGEST
COUNTIES
470,328 (32%)
510,950 (48%)
848,980 (55%)

# 28 Bexar County Precincts-Predominately Spanish Speaking



# 28 SOUTH TEXAS COUNTIES

## (INCLUDES BEXAR & NUECES)



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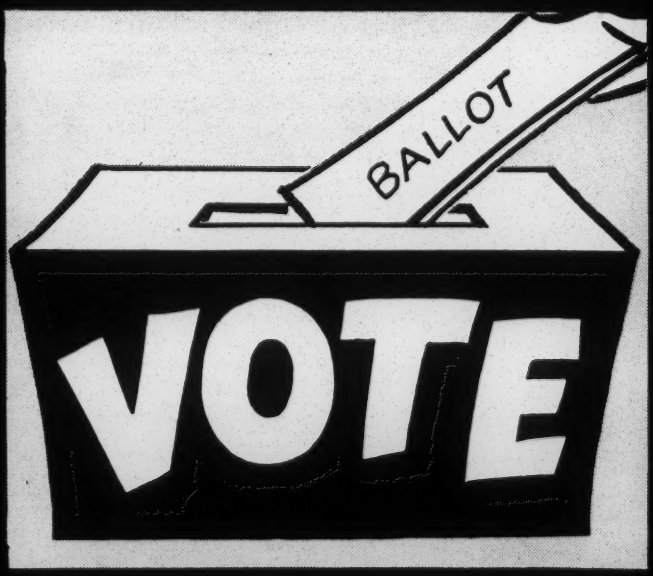
# CRUSADE

# FOR THE




TO DOUBLE THE
NEGRO VOTE
IN THE SOUTH

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

*"... to secure these rights to ourselves and our posterity ..."*

# THE *NEGRO VOTER* IN THE SOUTH

**THE FACTS**

(1) Over 5 million Negroes of voting age live in the South.

(2) **Only 25% of adult Negroes vote compared with 60% white adults.**

(3) Purges of voters **lists,** "slowdowns" by registrars, opening the registration office only one or two days a month and at hours that are not helpful for working people; and

(4) Open intimidation by some plantation bosses and many local officials, all play a part in discouraging the Negro Citizen from becoming a registered voter.

**As a result, "Government by consent of the governed," upon which our nation was founded in 1776, is a goal still to be made a reality in most of the South today.**

Most of the present crop of Southern Senators and Congressmen will oppose and fillibuster all legislation designed to protect the voting rights of citizens of this region.

**YOU CAN CHANGE THIS SITUATION**

Despite these obstacles Negro citizens are struggling daily to double the number of voters and to obtain representation in government.

**Even the most die-hard segregationist in public office can be made to respect voting power.** Furthermore, we know there are many liberal white citizens in the South who count on the Negro votes to increase enough for liberal voices to be heard in the government.

**The whole nation will benefit from an enlarged Negro vote in the South. This area of our country CAN elect men and women of good will and a sense of justice to Congress and to local state legislatures.**

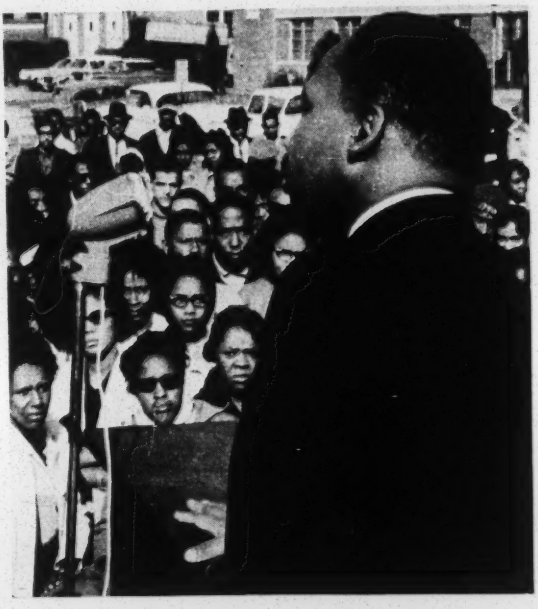
Let all who believe in Freedom and Human Dignity join in this great **Crusade For The Ballot Now!!**

Young people in Macon, Georgia in line at the County Courthouse to become new registered voters. With S. C. L. C. help, Negroes in Macon doubled their voting power in a ninety-day campaign during 1962.

All over the South, people at the grass-roots level are joining the CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT.

# CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT

## TO DOUBLE THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President, S. C. L. C.

**HOW**

✓ To educate and stimulate Negroes to exercise the vote.

✓ To help them obtain the right to vote where in practice it does not exist.

**ORGANIZE**

✓ SCLC will help your community to organize registration schools, workshops for local leaders, public meetings on voter registration and provide material when requested.

**IN UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH**

✓ **No narrow partisan interest must be allowed to divide us. In reaching a cross section of the Negro community, the Crusade will move across party lines.**

✓ It is for the good of the local community that all civic, church, fraternal and other organizations cooperate in this effort.

**NONVIOLENCE**

✓ The Freedom Movement in the Deep South is a non-violent revolution, giving birth to a new day of progress and human dignity for all Americans, for generations to come.

**REGISTER AND VOTE**

✓ Remember if you are already registered you must **vote** in elections in order to keep your name listed on the registration books.

All elections are important for gaining needed improvements in the community and speeding the day of full freedom.

"The goal of the Freedom Movement in the South can be summed up in 3 words:
All, Here, and Now

We want **all** of our rights as citizens
(not just some rights);
We want them **here**, in the Deep South, and
We want them **now**---"

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

When you have finished reading this, please pass it on to a member of the family, a neighbor or a friend.

Additional copies may be secured upon request from one of the addresses listed below:

For further information write the local organization:

OR

**SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**
**VOTER REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT**
**332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.**
**ATLANTA, GEORGIA**
**Telephone 524-1378**

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

WYATT TEE WALKER
Executive Director

ATTY. I. M. AUGUSTINE
General Counsel

## VOTER REGISTRATION FIELD STAFF

J. H. CALHOUN
Georgia State Director

HERBERT COULTON
Virginia & Carolinas

JAMES BEVEL
Mississippi

FRED BENNETT
Georgia Assistant Director

HARRY BLAKE
Louisiana & E. Texas

BERNARD S. LEE
Student Liaison Organizer

J. H. O'DELL
Regional Consultant

(Miss) ANNELL PONDER
Secretary

## CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL PROGRAM

(Mrs.) DOROTHY F. COTTON
Director of Education

ANDREW J. YOUNG
Administrator

(Mrs.) SEPTIMA P. CLARK
Supervisor, Teacher Training

**S**OUTHERN

**C**HRISTIAN

**L**EADERSHIP

**C**ONFERENCE

Suffrage, South

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Director*

*Teacher Training Class in Session*

# Citizenship Education Program

## *The Purpose Of The Citizenship School*

The Citizenship Schools are for adults. Their immediate program is teaching reading and writing. They help students to pass literacy tests for voting. But they also give an all-around education in community development which includes housing, recreation, health, and improved home life. Specific subjects include filing income tax forms, understanding of tax-supported resources such as water testing for wells, aid to handicapped children, public health facilities, how government is run, social security, etc.

The Citizenship Schools give people help that is not available through any other private or public program at the present time.

They are open to all people of a community who face problems related to first class citizenship and want to do something about them.

☆ ☆ ☆

## *Citizenship Schools & Voter Registration*

Persons not registered to vote fall into three classes (1) Those too lazy, (2) Those who need brief instruction in a registration clinic, and (3) Those who need general instruction and encouragement.

The Citizenship School is specifically designed to work with group 3. No voter registration plan is complete without a program for those who need help in the fundamentals of citizenship.

## *How Do We Prepare For First-Class Citizenship ? ?*

Each church and community organization should have a CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL to train its members to be good citizens.

Civic and social organizations may sponsor schools for those who have not had a chance to take this training.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will train persons from your church or civic organization to become teachers for your community. These teachers will help to prepare everyone in your community to be a first class citizen.

**SCLC will provide:**

—the cost of travel to Training Center
—tuition
—training
—supervision and materials

**You will provide:**

—a place for schools to meet (church, community bldg., etc.)
—a community coordinator for schools in your area
—qualified persons to be trained as teachers
—continued support of the local schools

Please submit applications to:

**Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton**
**SCLC Citizenship Education Program**
**41 Exchange Place, S.E.**
**Atlanta 3, Georgia**
**Phone 524-1370**

*"Our Training Center"*

## *Whom Do You Send For Training?*

Persons who are respected by members of their community and are acceptable to them as teachers.

Persons who are willing to give time in organizing classes, getting pupils, and making other practical arrangements.

Persons who are willing to give two nights a week for 12 weeks to teach a class in basic citizenship.

Persons who are at least 21 years old; though younger persons may be trained if they have the time and the interest.

Persons with practical skills who could be taught to teach (beauticians, tradesmen, farmers, seamstresses, etc.).

Retired school teachers, railroad and postal workers, self employed persons, etc.

Experienced Sunday School teachers.

Persons who read well aloud and who write legibly on a blackboard.

**APPLICATION FOR TEACHER TRAINING**

Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia

Name_____ Date_____

Address_____ Married_____ Single_____

_____ Telephone_____

Occupation_____ Registered Voter: Yes ☐ No ☐

Other Jobs Held_____

Volunteer Leadership Experience_____

Sponsoring Organization_____

By_____ Title_____

## *What Makes A First Class Citizen?*

Ability to read and write.

Understanding of the responsibilities of voting, taking part in community affairs.

Elementary knowledge of local, state, and federal government.

Knowledge of the rights and privileges of the individual before the law.

Understanding of politics and how it works.

Knowledge of the Constitution of the United States and how it works.

All over the country there are adults who are not registered to vote, and who generally do not participate in their civic affairs. These persons are not full citizens. Many of them have not had an opportunity to learn what is required of first class citizens. These people need Citizenship training.

M. L. King Jr.

WBV
SB
Suff. VA.

# 66% OF ADULT VIRGINIANS DID NOT VOTE IN 1960

. . . . . **WHY?**

Among the factors limiting the size of the electorate the Poll Tax ranks high.

The poll tax deadline, 6 months before an election, is confusing and restrictive.

An accumulated 3 years tax ($4.99 a person) is a financial burden for many families.

# DO YOU WANT A PRICE TAG ON YOUR VOTE?

Unless Virginia's Constitution is changed to eliminate the poll tax as a qualification for voting IN ANY ELECTION, voters may be required to register every two years for federal elections, and in addition pay the poll tax 6 months before state and local elections.

This would be even more costly, confusing and restrictive than the present system.

## WE URGE TOTAL REPEAL OF THE POLL TAX

### AS A QUALIFICATION FOR VOTING

and propose a simple, uniform registration system

as follows . . . (over)

We suggest

# A PERMANENT PERSONAL REGISTRATION SYSTEM

## SIMPLE — ECONOMICAL — SAFE

## HOW WOULD IT WORK?

1. A new voter would register in person, at a designated center.
2. Every registered voter would remain on the list as long as he lived at the same address and voted regularly (at least once every 4 years.)
3. Every voter would sign his name at the polls before getting his ballot. Comparison with his registration signature would identify him instantly. The signature would be his affidavit of continued eligibility and assure his being kept on the list.
4. Every person who failed to vote for 4 years would be notified by letter that he would be removed from the list unless he replied within 30 days claiming continued eligibility.
5. Health officers would be required to report to the registration officer the death of anyone over 21.
6. Registration would be conducted throughout the year, except for 30 days before an election.

SUCH A SYSTEM, USED IN MANY OTHER STATES, MEETS ACCEPTED STANDARDS FOR SOUND REGISTRATION PRACTICE.

IT WOULD
- Be convenient for the voter.
- Keep the lists correct and up to date.
- Provide for positive voter identification.
- Be simple and economical to administer.

**DOUBLE REGISTRATION SYSTEMS** for federal and for state and local elections would be costly to the taxpayer, cumbersome for registration officials, and confusing and uncertain for every citizen.

## WORK FOR TOTAL REPEAL OF THE POLL TAX

Make your views known to Governor Harrison and to your representatives in the General Assembly

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF VIRGINIA

Mrs. John W. McDonald, President
524 S. Payne St., Fairfax, Va.

Distributed by:

LWD, WB, JS
Supreme Court

Klimecke, who fatally shot a man who, after committing a felony, refused to obey the command to halt. The editorial comments on a telegram signed by Julius W. Hobson, president of the Committee on Racial Equality, and sent to the press.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CASE OF CORE AND OFFICER KLIMECKE

We have a few comments to make on the following telegram, signed "Julius W. Hobson, president" which the District of Columbia Commissioners received from CORE (Committee on Racial Equality), with copies sent to the newspapers by CORE.

"Murder of James Wall by untrained rookie policeman establishes need for immediate action to protect citizens of 10th precinct from police brutality. Officer Giles mentioned too frequently recently in connection with brutality and trigger-happy rookies should not be given guns before completing training. CORE demands new captain, lieutenants, and sergeants in 10th precinct, thorough investigation of brutality charges against policemen, and training program on relations with public. CORE suggests that both investigation and training program be conducted by persons not connected with police department. Also suggest thorough tests of emotional stability for recruits and periodically for all police."

Only one James Wall has been shot here. Only one policeman shot him. His name is Officer Frank Klimecke. (There was no "Officer Giles" involved.)

It seems to us that CORE and its officials are, quite likely, open for a suit of criminal libel. Officer Klimecke was doing his duty. CORE publicly calls it murder.

Policemen, it seems to us, should have the same protection from reckless and unproved charges as has the ordinary citizen, and have the same recourse to the courts when libeled.

The facts on record show Officer Klimecke fatally shot a man who, after committing a felony, refused to obey the command to halt. Colored witnesses support the policeman.

CORE goes on to refer to "trigger-happy rookies." Insofar as this might be supposed to refer to Officer Klimecke, we checked and learned that he served in France with the Army's military police for 3 years.

Nobody hates trigger-happy policemen more than we do. We hate them as much as we hate trigger-happy stickup men, or muggers who throttle peaceful citizens, or gangs (no matter how young they are) that beat people to death, or cowardly lifelong criminals—such as the one Officer Klimecke nailed—who ruthlessly attack defenseless women on the city's streets.

We hate them whether they are white or Negro, or whether their victims are white or Negro.

We'd like to think CORE shares our feelings, but we don't know.

We do know we don't share CORE's feelings about Officer Klimecke. Rather than denouncing him as a murderer, we think he deserves—if not a medal—at least a citation for doing his duty.

Neither do we share CORE's suggestion that the training of policemen should be done by persons not connected with the Police Department. That's about as silly a notion as we've heard in sometime.

CORE suggests there should be tests of emotional stability for recruits and, periodically, for all police. This is a good idea, but we thought we'd already heard of it somewhere. So we checked with the Police Department. CORE might be interested to know that this is already being done, and has been for years, by a trained psychiatrist.

Perhaps some of CORE's officials could profitably take similar tests for emotional stability, or lack of.

Racially oriented champions of less rigorous police safeguards for Washington overlook the fact that the respectable, law-abiding colored citizens are endangered as much or more than white citizens by a tiny tribe of almost hopelessly uncivilized brutes who can best be described as urban Mau Maus. This minuscule fraction of the city's population circulates in and out of our courts and jails, and causes nearly all the violent crime.

The great body of colored Washingtonians is, as is demonstrated every day, made up of upright, decent and law-abiding citizens. They suffer, along with the rest of us, from the depredations of this small group of habitually lawless primitives which can only be controlled by force.

The statistics to back these facts up are well known and easily proved. Rather than face them, CORE suggests another cat-hauling of the Police Department.

In the present instance, which has so exercised CORE, the criminal, shot down while fleeing after committing an outrageous robbery, turned out to have a record as long as your arm.

We suggest that rather than another investigation of the Police Department, the incident indicates there should be an investigation of the parole system which returns career predators, with jail terms still uncompleted, to the city's streets where they resume preying on defenseless citizens.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

## ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO TUESDAY NEXT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today it stand in adjournment until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## QUALIFICATIONS OF SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, twice before—in 1956 and 1957—I submitted resolutions which would have required that at least one of each two successive nominations confirmed by the Senate for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court should have had at least 10 years of prior judicial service for confirmation. I am resubmitting the same resolution at this time, being all the more persuaded that the adoption of and adherence to such a resolution would be in the interest of a better judiciary at the highest level, and consequently the best interests of the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that, out of order, I may submit the resolution for myself and for the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], and that it may be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 114) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

*Resolved*, That from and after the date of adoption of this resolution, at least one of each two successive nominees confirmed by the Senate for the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court shall, at the time of the confirmation, have had at least ten years of judicial service. For the purpose of this paragraph, "judicial service" means service as a justice of the United States (as defined in section 451 of title 28, United States Code), a judge of a court of appeals or district court, or a justice or judge of the highest court of a State or of any other State court having general jurisdiction.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, of the Justices now sitting on the Court, three Associate Justices have been regularly appointed since, on February 18, 1957, I last submitted the resolution, and at that time another, Mr. Justice Brennan, was sitting under a recess appointment. The three Justices in question are Mr. Justice Stewart, who received an interim appointment on October 14, 1958, and a permanent appointment on May 7, 1959; Mr. Justice White, who was appointed on April 12, 1962; and Mr. Justice Goldberg, who was appointed on September 28, 1962. Five years is the total of prior judicial experience for Mr. Justice Stewart, Mr. Justice Goldberg, and Mr. Justice White; and all of it is concentrated in Mr. Justice Stewart, who sat on the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit from June 1, 1954 to May 15, 1959. Apart from Mr. Justice Black's service on a minor rung of the judicial ladder—police court in Birmingham, Ala., 1910–11—the total prior judicial experience of the nine justices now sitting is only 14 years, consisting of 8 years for Mr. Justice Brennan, 5 years for Mr. Justice Stewart, and 1 year for Mr. Justice Harlan. As I have stated, Mr. Justice Brennan was sitting on the Court when I last submitted the resolution, and after that was permanently appointed on March 21, 1957.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SIMPSON. The junior Senator from Wyoming joined with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] on a bill, S. 222, which states that "no person shall be appointed to the office of Chief Justice of the United States or to the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court unless, at the time of his appointment, he has had at least 5 years of judicial service."

The resolution of the Senator from Virginia would require that at least one of each two successive nominees have judicial experience. Does not the Senator feel that the Supreme Court would be materially strengthened if all the Justices had at least 5 or 10 years of judicial experience?

Mr. STENNIS. I certainly agree with the Senator from Wyoming and think it would strengthen the Court and would serve the very purpose the Senator from Mississippi here has in mind. The resolution of the Senator from Mississippi takes a different approach to the matter of trying to bring more prior judicial experience to the personnel of the Court.

Mr. SIMPSON. Let me say that the Senator from Wyoming agrees whole-

heartedly with the approach of the Senator from Mississippi. I was just wondering about the reason for leaving out the requirement that one out of the two successive nominees have such experience.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator for his support and his inquiry. The question has been raised as to whether or not a statute requiring prior judicial practice would be valid under the Constitution. A serious constitutional question has been raised on that point. Also, if there were a requirement of judicial experience for all the nominees, a considerable part of the talent of the Nation in that profession would be excluded.

Now, as a start, as a beginning point, and also as a simple way of getting at the problem by a Senate resolution, the Senator from Mississippi has proposed that we just announce in advance, under the advise and consent clause of the Constitution, that in passing on these nominations at least one out of two will have to have had 10 years of judicial experience; otherwise, the nominations just will not be confirmed. It will not refer to any individual. The Senate, under its constitutional responsibility of advice and consent, will merely be announcing a rule in advance.

The Senator from Mississippi thinks that would be a salutary start toward a reform that is overdue and also be another assertion by the Senate, for the legislative branch of the Government, not only of its power but of its responsibility of looking into this matter in advance.

I thank the Senator very much for his fine support. I hope he pursues his bill further.

Resuming with my prepared remarks, I deem it necessary that some qualifications of judicial experience should be a requisite for at least one-half of the nominees for this post and because in recent years such experience has not been considered of prime importance by those persons who advise the President on his selection of nominees. In respect of what I consider to be the prime ingredient for service on the Supreme Court, namely, experience on the bench, I believe that this highest of tribunals has been sadly neglected in the past 30 years or so and that the Nation has greatly been the loser thereby. In our tripartite system of Government, with each branch complementing the other, distinctions perhaps should not be drawn as the comparative importance of its various branches. Yet the Supreme Court authority is so vast and far rearching with its power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional that it may be said in a sense that it is the most important segment of Government; in so many cases, it is the final arbiter, the last word. Yet, it is this branch of Government which has a total of only 14 years' prior judicial experience, all of it distributed among only three Justices although all nine sit on cases of vital consequence to the 188 million people of this country.

Mr. President, this expression of opinion on my part constitutes no attack on any particular Justice.

I am bringing to the attention of the Congress and to the attention of the country a serious defect in the functioning of our system of government.

It is interesting to compare the previous judicial experience of the present members of the Court, at the time of their appointment, with that of judges appointed through the years. Since John Jay was appointed as the first Chief Justice in 1790, there have been 98 judges appointed to the Court, including 14 Chief Justices.

From 1790 until 1900, 58 judges were appointed, and only 19 of them had no prior judicial experience. In the years from 1900 to 1932, 20 judges were appointed, with the majority—11 of them—with previous judicial experience. But in recent years, from 1932 until the present time, those appointed without prior judicial experience have outnumbered those with such experience 12 to 8. Unfortunately, we now have only 3 judges on the Court who possessed prior judicial experience at the time of their appointment. This is not a healthy trend.

At my request, the American Law Section of the Library of Congress has compiled a list of all the Chief Justices and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, including a reference to the prior judicial experience of those who possess such experience, and I think the Senate will be interested in this list. I request unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHIEF JUSTICES, SUPREME COURT SERVICE, AND PRIOR JUDICIAL SERVICE

John Jay, 1790–96, chief justice, New York, Supreme Court, 1776–79.

John Rutledge, 1795–95 (4 mos.), chief justice, Supreme Court, South Carolina, 1791–95.

Oliver Ellsworth, 1796–1800, judge, Governor's Council, Connecticut (Supreme Court of Errors), Colonial, 1780–85, judge, Supreme Court, Connecticut, 1785–89.

John Marshall, 1801–35, none found.

Roger Brooke Taney, 1836–64, none found.

Salmon Portland Chase, 1864–73, none found.

Morrison Remick Waite, 1874–88, none found.

Melville Weston Fuller, 1888–1910, none found.

Edward Douglas White, 1910–21, justice, Louisiana Supreme Court, 1879–80.

William Howard Taft, 1921–30, judge, Supreme Court, Ohio, 1887–93, judge, Federal Circuit Court, Sixth Circuit, 1892–1900.

Charles Evans Hughes, 1930–41, none found.

Harlan Fiske Stone, 1941–46, none found.

Frederick Moore Vinson, 1946–53, Associate Justice, U.S. Court of Appeals, 1938–43, D.C.

Earl Warren, 1953 to present, none found.

ASSOCIATE COURT SERVICE, AND PRIOR JUDICIAL SERVICE

John Rutledge, 1790–91, chief justice, Supreme Court, South Carolina, 1791–95.

William Cushing, 1790–1810, probation judge, Lincoln County, Maine (Colonial) 1760–72, judge, Superior Court, Massachusetts (Colonial) 1772–75, judge, Supreme Judicial Court, Massachusetts, 1775–77, chief justice, Supreme Judicial Court, Massachusetts, 1777–89.

James Wilson, 1789–98, none found.

John Blair, 1789–96, general court, Virginia (Colonial) 1778–86; judge, high court of chancery, Va. (Colonial) 1780; judge, Virginia First Court of Appeals, 1780–1789.

James Iredell, 1790–99, superior court judge, North Carolina (Colonial) 1777–78.

Thomas Johnson, 1792–93, chief judge, general court, Maryland. (Colonial) 1790–91.

William Paterson, 1793–1806, none found.

Samuel Chase, 1796–1811, chief judge, criminal court, Baltimore, Md. (Colonial) 1788; chief judge, general court, Maryland, 1791.

Bushrod Washington, 1799–1829, none found.

Alfred Moore, 1800–04, judge, superior court, North Carolina, 1798–99.

William Johnson, 1804–34, judge, court of common pleas, 1798–1804.

Henry Brockholst Livingston, 1807–23, judge, Supreme Court of New York, 1802–06.

Thomas Todd, 1807–26, judge, Court of Appeals, Kentucky, 1801–06; chief justice, Court of Appeals, Kentucky, 1806–07.

Gabriel Duvall, 1811–35, none found.

Joseph Story, 1811–45, none found.

Smith Thompson, 1823–43, associate justice, Supreme Court, New York, 1802–14; chief justice, Supreme Court, New York, 1814–19.

Robert Trimble, 1826–28, judge, Court of Appeals, Kentucky, 1807–09; Federal district judgeship, Kentucky, 1817–26.

John McLean, 1830–61, judge, Supreme Court, Ohio, 1861–22.

Henry Baldwin, 1830–44, none found.

James Moore Wayne, 1835–67, judge, Superior Court, Georgia, 1824–29.

Philip Pendleton Barbour, 1836–41, judge, general court, Virginia, 1825–27; judge, U.S. District Court, Eastern, Virginia, 1830–36.

John Catron, 1837–65, judge, Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals (then court of last resort), Tennessee, 1824–31.

John McKinely, 1837–52, none found.

Peter Vivian Daniel, 1842–60, judge, U.S. district court, Virginia, 1836–41.

Samuel Nelson, 1845–72, judge, 6th circuit, New York, 1823–31; associate justice, Supreme Court, New York, 1831–45.

Levi Woodbury, 1845–51, judge, New Hampshire Superior Court, 1817–23 (6 years).

Robert Cooper Grier, 1846–70, presiding judge, district court, Allegheny County, Pa., 1833–46.

Benjamin Robbins Curtis, 1851–57, none found.

John Archibald Campbell, 1853–61, none found.

Nathan Clifford, 1858–81, none found.

Noah Haynes Swayne, 1862–81, none found.

Samuel Freeman Miller, 1862–90, justice of the peace, Barbourville, Ky., (date?).

David Davis, 1862–77, judge, 8th judicial district, Illinois, 1848–62.

Stephen Johnson Field, 1863–97, justice, Supreme Court, California, 1857–63.

William Strong, 1870–80, judge, Supreme Court, Pennsylvania, 1857–68.

Joseph P. Bradley, 1870–92, none found.

Ward Hunt, 1873–82, New York Court of Appeals, 1865–73.

John Marshall Harlan, 1877–1911, judge, county court, Franklin County, Ky., 1858–59.

William Burnham Woods, 1880–87, judge, U.S. Circuit Court, Fifth Circuit, 1869–80.

Stanley Matthews, 1881–89, judge, court of common pleas, Hamilton County, Ohio, 1851, judge, superior court, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1863–65.

Horace Gray, 1881–1902, justice, Supreme Judicial Court, Massachusetts, 1864–81.

Samuel Blatchford, 1882–93, district judge, New York, second district, 1867–73; circuit judge, second judicial district, 1873–82.

Lucius Quintas C. Lamar, 1888–93, none found.

David Josiah Brewer, 1889–1910, commissioner, Federal circuit court, district of Kansas, 1861–62; judge, probation and criminal courts, Leavenworth County, Kans., 1862–65; judge, first judicial district of Kansas,

1865–69; Supreme Court of Kansas, 1870–84; Federal circuit court, eighth district, 1884–89.

Henry Billings Brown, 1891–1906, circuit judge, Wayne County, Mich., 1868–(?); U.S. judge, eastern district, Michigan, 1875–90.

George Shiras, Jr., 1892–1903, none found.

Howard Edmunds Jackson, 1893–95, circuit court, sixth circuit, 1886–91; presiding judge, circuit court, appeals, 6th circuit, 1891–93.

Edward Douglas White, 1894–1910, justice, Louisiana Supreme Court, 1879–80.

Rufus Wheeler Peckham, 1896–1909, justice, Supreme Court, New York, 1883–86; Court of Appeals, New York, 1886–96.

Joseph McKenna, 1898–1925, judge, Circuit Court, Ninth Circuit, 1892–97.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1902–32, associate judge, superior judicial court, Massachusetts, 1883–1889; chief justice, superior judicial court, Massachusetts, 1889–1902.

Rufus William Ray, 1903–22, judge, court of common pleas, 1886–89; U.S. Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit, 1899–1903.

William Henry Moody, 1906–10, none found.

Horace Harmon Lurton, 1910–14, justice, Supreme Court, Tennessee, 1886–93; U.S. Circuit Court appeals judge, Sixth Circuit, 1893–1909.

Charles Evans Hughes, 1910–16, none found.

Willis Van Devanter, 1910–37, chief justice, Supreme Court, Wyoming, 1889–90; U.S. Circuit judge, Eighth Circuit, 1903–10.

Joseph Rucker Lamar, 1911–16, associate justice, Supreme Court, Georgia, 1906–08.

Mahlon Pitney, 1912–22, associate justice, New Jersey Supreme Court, 1901–08.

James Clark McReynolds, 1914–41, none found.

Louis Dembitz Brandeis, 1916–39, none found.

John Hessin Clarke, 1916–22, U.S. District judge, North District of Ohio, 1914–16.

George Sutherland, 1922–38, none found.

Pierce Butler, 1923–39, none found.

Edward Terry Sanford, 1923–30, judge, U.S. District Court, Middle and Eastern District, Tennessee, 1908–23.

Harlan Fiske Stone, 1925–41, none found.

Owen Josephus Roberts, 1930–45, none found.

Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, 1932–38, judge, Supreme Court, New York, 1914; associate judge, Court of Appeals, New York, 1914–32.

Hugo Lafayette Black, 1937 to present, police judge, Birmingham, Ala., 1910–11.

Stanley Forman Reed, 1938–57, none found.

Felix Frankfurter, 1939–62, none found.

William Orville Douglas, 1939 to present, none found.

Frank Murphy, 1940–49, judge, recorders court, Detroit, Mich., 1923–30.

James Francis Byrnes, 1941–42, none found.

Robert Houghwout Jackson, 1941–54, none found.

Wiley Blount Rutledge, 1943–49, U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, 1939–43.

Harold Hitz Burton, 1945–58, none found.

Thomas Campbell Clark, 1949 to present, none found.

Sherman Minton, 1949–56, Circuit Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, 1941–49.

John Marshall Harlan, 1955 to present, U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, 1954–55.

William J. Brennan, Jr., 1956 to present, superior court judge, New Jersey, 1949–50; appellate division judge, 1950–52; justice, Supreme Court, New Jersey, 1952–56.

Charles E. Whittaker, 1957–62, U.S. District Court, Western District of Missouri, 1954–56; Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, 1956–57.

Potter Stewart, 1959 to present, Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit, 1954–58.

Byron R. White, 1962 to present, none found.

Arthur J. Goldberg, 1962 to present, none found.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I am fully cognizant, of course, that there are a number of examples of fine and outstanding Justices of the Supreme Court who enjoyed no prior judicial experience. Among these were Chief Justice Marshall, Chief Justice Hughes, and Mr. Justice Brandeis, and there are others.

This resolution, of course, gives a President latitude for the appointment of such men so there can be no dispute on that aspect of the case, but there are powerfully persuasive reasons, policy reasons and others, which commend the principle that there is no substitute for judicial experience in the other high callings.

John Locke said in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding:

> No man's knowledge here can go beyond his experience.

And Patrick Henry, speaking in the Virginia House of Delegates on March 23, 1775, said:

> I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience.

Mr. President, a seasoned Justice is not created overnight. Judicial maturity is attained only after long years of painstaking study, research and analysis. This experience should be gained under conditions where his aberrations and his deviations from the law will be brought forcefully home in reversals by higher courts. He will be ready for Olympus only after he has felt the bolts from the high places. He should not be placed in a position where his errors will be perpetuated on the books for years to come. A judicial approach is the result of years of development; it is the essence of self-restraint.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I warmly commend my distinguished colleague from Mississippi upon his able discussion of a most vital issue.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I heard him say, and I want to repeat it in order to emphasize it, that—

> This experience—

Referring to previous experience as a judge—

> should be gained under conditions where his aberrations and his deviations from the law will be brought forcefully home in reversals by higher courts.

Do we not often speak of a man having a judicial temperament?

Mr. STENNIS. Certainly.

Mr. ROBERTSON. A judicial temperament, as I construe it, is a temperament by which a judge, when he hears the evidence, will evaluate it calmly and dispassionately, and when he seeks to apply that evidence, he will apply it to the law as it is written, and not as it would be if he had written the law. Is not that judicial temperament?

Mr. STENNIS. That is a very excellent definition of it. It has been illustrated that such a temperament can be gained only by experience.

Mr. ROBERTSON. That is correct. The Senator from Mississippi graduated in law from Thomas Jefferson's university, and made Phi Beta Kappa there. I graduated in law from what is now Richmond University, and made Phi Beta Kappa. But I think he will agree that neither he nor I were lawyers until we had had experience. We knew the theory of the law and the holdings in a few cases like Marbury against Madison, and the rule in Shelley's case, and things like that, but we had to get out under the spreading chestnut tree and before a justice of the peace, and then before a jury, before we were lawyers.

Mr. STENNIS. That is where real legal knowledge starts.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Therefore, last year I was happy to join in the resolution of my colleague providing that one out of two successive nominees to the Supreme Court should have 10 years experience. There is only a total of 14 years prior judicial experience among the members of the Supreme Court at the present time.

Mr. STENNIS. That is correct.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I have seen some appropriate statistics, speaking of the self-restraint that occurs out of respect for the law as it was written, and not as that person would have written it if he had had his free way.

Ever since President Roosevelt had Senator Ashurst introduce in this body in 1937 a bill to pack the Supreme Court on the ground that it was composed of what one might call reactionary fossils who could not interpret the Constitution in terms of 20th century conditions, the Supreme Court has overruled previous decisions of the Court 36 times, whereas previous to that time the Court in all the history of our Nation, from 1789 down to 1935, had made such overrulings only 26 times.

Mr. STENNIS. Those are striking figures. I am glad the Senator brought them out, with that dividing line, because the Senator from Mississippi had a dividing line at 1932, which is another basis, but it was in 1937 when these overrulings and reversals really started picking up, for the reasons that the Senator has given.

Mr. ROBERTSON. The reason the Senator from Virginia has paid so much attention to the dividing line of 1937 is that he has always contended that the general welfare clause was a limitation upon the powers specifically delegated; that these powers must be exercised, as Jefferson and Madison had held, for the general welfare, and that they cannot hold out a sugar plum to some little town or some selected groups.

When President Roosevelt got on the neck of the Court about the NRA decisions, and about the decision that he could not put a processing tax on wheat and distribute it to the farmers because

they were in violation of the 10th amendment, along comes the Supreme Court in Helvering against Davis, in 1937, and nullified the 10th amendment so far as any limitation on spending is concerned. They said in substance, "The general welfare clause gives us the power to spend for anything we please."

We used to go through the formality of putting a preamble on a bill, providing, "Whereas, the general welfare will be promoted," and so forth, and then the resolving clause. We do not bother with that any more. We just spend for anything we please. That is the reason the Senator from Virginia has paid so much attention to the fact that the Supreme Court as now constituted has no regard whatever for what those who wrote the Constitution said it meant, and has no regard for all of the great justices, from John Marshall on down, and for the 10th amendment, as being a part of the Constitution.

I warmly commend the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator for his contribution. The Senator from Virginia is one of the great constitutional lawyers of his generation and is an able and experienced Senator.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. SIMPSON. Would not the Senator from Mississippi agree that the appointments to the Supreme Court over the past 30 years, at least, were based more on the principle of repayment of political obligations than upon any judicial experience of the appointees?

Mr. STENNIS. That has certainly been the case as to many of them, most unfortunately. It is partly the Senate's fault, I think, because it had not vigorously maintained its prerogatives and its clear responsibilities.

Mr. SIMPSON. I cannot agree with the Senator more.

Mr. STENNIS. Historically, until the last 30 years or so, the most effective check on the Supreme Court has been its own self-restraint. In the rumbles of dissenting justices since that time may be perceived, their understanding within the court that the bounds of self-restraint have been violated time after time.

Mr. President, in that connection and on that subject, I quote from the Conference of the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts, at the convention held on August 23, 1958, at which convention they passed by a vote of 36 to 8 the following report, paragraph 5 of which I shall read, with emphasis:

5. That this conference hereby respectfully urges that the Supreme Court of the United States, in exercising the great powers confided to it for the determination of questions as to the allocation and extent of National and State powers, respectively, and as to the validity under the Federal Constitution of the exercise of powers reserved to the States, exercise one of the greatest of all judicial powers—the power of judicial self-restraint—by recognizing and giving effect to the difference between that which, on the one hand, the Constitution may prescribe or permit, and that which, on the other, a majority of the Supreme Court, as from time to time constituted, may deem desirable or undesirable, to the end that our system of Federalism may continue to function with and through the preservation of local self-government.

That paragraph 5 is a notable landmark. It was adopted almost unanimously by the Conference of Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts, at a critical time in our history. I believe that this resolution has done a great deal of good. However, alone it is not enough, persuasive as it is. What we need here, in this form, to pass on a very practical part of these selections, is a new start, a new approach, and a new formula, whereby these men are chosen.

I emphasize that I am not attacking any one of these Justices. I am not attacking the judicial branch of the Government, which I believe is the most important branch, and which can and will finally be restored.

Mr. President, may we have order? Conditions are almost intolerable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order. Senators will take their seats.

Mr. STENNIS. A new start is necessary. What I propose is a constitutional way and a logical way to make that start. If we do not take some action in this direction, I believe it will come from some other source, and in the years to come could come in a violent form.

Located as it is at the very apex of Government with its vast power to strike down State and congressional laws and any and all parts of State constitutions requires that men selected to fill its numbers be the best qualified in the United States. Certainly the best qualification is experience in the same type of work, experience enabling the Justice to distill and refine the conflicting positions presented, experience that insulates against deep-set philosophy springing from representation of special groups, experience that provides the buffer between political affiliation and juridical determination.

What then are the constitutional provisions with respect to the Senate in respect to the process of appointment?

The Constitution provides in article II, section 2, that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur, and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law or in the heads of departments."

In the earliest days of our history, George Washington solicited advice on his appointments and considered recommendations at great length before making his nominations to fill positions. With the growth of the two-party system in our country, however, the Senate's advice to the Executive in regard to nominations has been a totally neglected constitutional obligation. The function is now performed apparently by the Department of Justice or the Attorney General of the United States, himself an appointee of the President. It is indeed curious that this constitutional duty of the Senate should have, through neglect, crossed the line of the separation of powers and devolved to the Department of Justice—or the Attorney General—the chief litigant in our Federal courts. Add to this the power in the Attorney General to recommend appointment of sitting judges to higher courts and the enormity of our withdrawal from our duty becomes all the more apparent.

The phrase "advice and consent" is not a new or novel concept, nor was it original at the time it was written into the Constitution. While its origin may be obscure, former Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania, in his oral argument before the Supreme Court in *Myers* v. *U.S.* (272 U.S. 52, 1926) traced this important phrase back to 758 A.D. when he said:

The story, in English constitutional history, of the phrase "advice and consent" is coincident with the whole story of the rise and development of English parliamentary government. I find the phrase first used back in the eighth century, 759, when a Northumbrian king does such and such things with the "advice and consent" of his wise men. It comes down through Magna Carta. It comes down through all the ages. And when in 1787 it became necessary, as between those who were championing a strong executive and those who were championing the legislature, to find a middle ground, it was provided, in the language of old English law, that such-and-such things should be done by the President "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

In America, I find that it was used in the second charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1691.

Records of the Constitutional Convention indicate that when the question of the appointive power was considered, an impressive group of delegates, including Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, urged that the Senate should have this sole responsibility. Alexander Hamilton, the great Federalist, although insisting upon executive nominative power, suggested that the Senate should have the power of rejecting or approving a nomination made by the President.

It was, however, Delegate Gorham, of Massachusetts, who, after pointing out that this method had been in use in his Commonwealth for 140 years, was successful in having "advice and consent" inserted in our Constitution, as it remains today.

"Consent" may well have been the power which Hamilton sought to have conferred on the Senate. It implies and means a concurrence of will or agreement. Hearings preceding confirmation usually determine whether consent to the appointment will be given or withheld.

However, no action is normally taken by the Senate to advise the Executive prior to the nomination of a particular person to fill a vacancy in a constitutional office.

After a nominee has been selected and his name is sent to the Senate with the

prestige and power of the President of the United States committed to him, and with the power of the party to which the President belongs usually committed to him, unless there is some flaw in the character of the nominee, his nomination, as a practical proposition, is not rejected. The question no longer is, does the nominee have the basic qualifications of a judicial mind? Or does he have the proper background of experience as a judge? Those questions have fallen by the wayside by the time the nomination has reached the floor of the Senate. The primary consideration then deals with other points.

We know that as a practical matter many times, unfortunately, promises seem to be made far in advance, based upon other contingencies; and the happening of intervening events then decides when the actual nomination shall be made.

A system has been developed which is far removed from the Constitution. A system has been adopted which is dangerous to follow. My resolution, simple as it is, would bring us back on the right track.

This I suggest can and should be done by action of the Senate, and I am today submitting a resolution to set forth and prescribe the minimum qualifications which the Senate would apply in confirming future appointments.

Mr. President, for emphasis, I point out that this device in no way interferes with the discretion of the President in making his selection but is, in essence, a restraint upon the future discretion of the Senate in its unique function of conformation.

Other qualifications may occur to Senators and, while more restrictive criteria than mere professional experience may be the subject of debate on their merits, I feel that by the use of the Senate resolution our constitutional duty to provide a lawful and helpful guide to the President, regardless of who he may be, is one method of returning to the spirit and letter of our Constitution. My resolution is as follows:

*Resolved,* That from and after the date of adoption of this resolution, at least one of each two successive nominees confirmed by the Senate for the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court shall, at the time of the confirmation, have had at least ten years of judicial service. For the purpose of this paragraph, "judicial service" means service as a justice of the United States (as defined in sec. 451 of title 28, U.S.C.), a judge of a court of appeals or district court, or a justice or judge of the highest court of a State or of any other State court having general jurisdiction.

Mr. President, had this standard of selection obtained for the last 25 years, I doubt that we would have heard of paramount rights which produced, instanter, a new Constitution law doctrine in the submerged and tidal land cases; I doubt that we would have seen the finger of scorn pointed judicially at judicial precedent and contemporaneous legislative construction in order to open a new area of Federal power in locally maintained public schools throughout the country. I doubt whether many other changes which have suddenly been made because the Court changed its mind would have occurred.

The results of the present selection of Judges are well known. A constitutional revolution has taken place in the last 30 years or so as is illustrated by the number of cases in which the Supreme Court had overruled prior decisions of the same Court. From 1789 until 1932, 27 such cases had been overruled. Since 1932, through 1962, 39 such cases have been overruled. These are all cases in which the Supreme Court expressly overruled its prior decision.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the list of those cases be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(1) *Hudson* v. *Guestier* (1810) 6 Cr. 281, 285; (2) *The Genessee Chief* (1815) 12 How. 433, 456; (3) *Gazzam* v. *Phillip's Lessee* (1858) 20 How. 372, 377–378; (4) *Mason* v. *Eldred* (1868) 6 Wall. 231, 238; (5) *Hornbuckle* v. *Toombs* (1874) 18 Wall. 648, 652–653; (6) *Railway Co.* v. *McShane* (1874) 22 Wall. 444; (7) *County of Cass* v. *Johnston* (1877) 95 U.S. 360; (8) *Fairfield* v. *County of Gallatin* (1879) 100 U.S. 47; (9) *Tilghman* v. *Proctor* (1880) 102 U.S. 707; (10) *U.S.* v. *Phelps* (1883) 107 U.S. 320, 323; (11) *Kountze* v. *Omaha Hotel Co.* (1883) 107 U.S. 378, 387; (12) *Morgan* v. *U.S.* (1885) 113 U.S. 476, 496; (13) *Leloup* v. *Port of Mobile* (1888) 127 U.S. 640, 647; (14) *Leisy* v. *Hardin* (1890) 135 U.S. 100, 118; (15) *Brenham* v. *German-American Bank* (1892) 144 U.S. 173, 187; (16) *Roberts* v. *Lewis* (1894) 153 U.S. 367, 377; (17) *Garland* v. *Washington* (1914) 232 U.S. 642, 646; (18) *U.S.* v. *Nice* (1916) 241 U.S. 591, 601; (19) *Rosen* v. *U.S.* (1918) 245 U.S. 467, 470; (20) *Boston Store* v. *American Graphophone Co.* (1918) 246 U.S. 8, 25; and *Motion Picture Co.* v. *Universal Plan Co.* (1917) 243 U.S. 502, 518; (21) *Terral* v. *Burke Construction Co.* (1922) 257 U.S. 529, 533; (22) *Lee* v. *Chesapeake and Ohio Ry. Co.* (1923) 260 U.S. 653, 659; (23) *Alpha Cement Co.* v. *Massachusetts* (1925) 268 U.S. 203, 218; (24) *Gleason* v. *Seaboard Air Line Ry. Co.* (1929) 278 U.S. 349, 357; (25) *Farmers Loan Co.* v. *Minnesota* (1930) 280 U.S. 204, 209; (26) *East Ohio Gas Co.* v. *Tax Commission* (1931) 283 U.S. 465, 472; (27) *Chicago and E.I.R. Co.* v. *Commission* (1932) 284 U.S. 296; (28) *New York ex rel. Northern Finance Corp.* v. *Lynch* (1933) 290 U.S. 601; (29) *Funk* v. *U.S.* (1933); (30) *West Coast Hotel Co.* v. *Parrish* (1937) 300 U. S. 379; (31) *Helvering* v. *Producers Corp.* (1938) 303 U.S. 376; (32) *Erie R. Co.* v. *Tompkins* (1938) 304 U.S. 64, 69, 79; (33) *Graves* v. *N.Y. ex rel. O'Keefe* (1939) 306 U.S. 466; (34) *O'Malley* v. *Woodrough* (1939) 307 U.S. 277; (35) *Madden* v. *Kentucky* (1940) 309 U.S. 83; (36) *Helvering* v. *Hallock* (1940) 309 U.S. 106; (37) *U.S.* v. *Darby* (1941) 312 U.S. 100; (38) *U.S.* v. *Chicago, M.St.P. and P.R. Co.* (1941) 312 U.S. 592; (39) *Nye* v. *U.S.* (1941) 313 U.S. 33; (40) *California* v. *Thompson* (1941) 313 U.S. 109; (41) *Olsen* v. *Nebraska* (1941) 313 U.S. 236; (42) *Alabama* v. *King and Boozer* (1941) 314 U.S. 1; (43) *State Tax Commission* v. *Aldrich* (1942) 316 U.S. 174; (44) *Williams* v. *North Carolina* (1942) 317 U.S. 287; (45) *Brady* v. *Roosevelt S.S. Co.* (1943) 317 U.S. 575; (46) *Jones* v. *Opelika* (1943) 319 U.S. 103 (reargument); (47) *Board of Education* v. *Barnette* (1943) 319 U.S. 624; (48) *Smith* v. *Allwright* (1944) 321 U.S. 649; (49) *Girouard* v. *U.S.* (1946) 328 U.S. 61; (50) *Angel* v. *Burlington* (1947) 330 U.S. 183; (51) *Lincoln Union* v. *Northwestern* (1949) 335 U.S. 525; (52) *Commissioner* v. *Church* (1949) 335 U.S. 632, 637; (53) *Oklahoma Tax Commission* v. *Texas Co.* (1949) 336 U.S. 342; (54) *Cosmopolitan Co.* v. *McAllister* (1949) 337 U.S. 783; (55) *U.S.* v. *Rabinowitz* (1950) 339 U.S. 56, 66, 85; (56) *Joseph Burstyn Inc.,* v. *Wilson* (1952) 343 U.S. 495, 502; (57) *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) 347 U.S. 483, 491, 494–495; (58) *Reid* v. *Covert* (1957) 354 U.S. 1; (59) *Vanderbilt* v. *Vanderbilt* (1957) 354 U.S. 416, 419; (60) *Ladner* v. *U.S.* (1958) 358 U.S. 169 (on rehearing); (61) *S.S. Monrosa* v. *Carbon Black, Inc.* (1959) 359 U.S. 180; (62) *U.S.* v. *Raines* (1960) 362 U.S. 17, 27; (63) *Elkins* v. *U.S.* (1960) 364 U.S. 206, 210, 212–213, 283; (64) *James* v. *U.S.* (1961) 366 U.S. 213, 215, 221, 223, 241; (65) *Mapp* v. *Ohio* (1961) 366 U.S.; (66) *Gladden Company* v. *Zdanok* (1962) 370 U.S. 530, 542, 585.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in addition, Congress has in the 30-year span between 1931 and 1961 enacted 27 specific pieces of legislation to nullify Supreme Court decisions to correct the mischief wrought by the decisions of the Court.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a list of the decisions in questions and their nullifying acts.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1. *Milliken* v. *United States,* 283 U.S. 15 (1931) (gifts in contemplation of death; estate tax). Nullifying acts: 46 Stat. 1516 (1931); 74 C.R. 7078–7079; 7198–7199 (1931).

2. *Kessler* v. *Strecker,* 307 U.S. 22 (1939) (deportation of alien Communists). Nullifying acts: 54 Stat. 670, 673, sec. 22 (1940).

3. *U.S.* v. *Underwriters Assn.,* 322 U.S. 533 (1944) (Federal regulation of insurance companies). Nullifying acts: 59 Stat. 33 (1945); 15 U.S.C. 1011–1015.

4. *Brooklyn Bank* v. *O'Neil,* 324 U.S. 697 (1945). Nullifying act: 61 Stat. 84 (1947).

*Schulte Co.* v. *Gangi,* 328 U.S. 108 (1946). Nullifying acts: 61 Stat. 84 (1947); 63 Stat. 910, 920 (1949).

*Anderson* v. *Mt. Clemens Pottery Co.,* 328 U.S. 680 (1946) (portal-to-portal pay under FLSA). Nullifying acts: 61 Stat. 84 (1947); 63 Stat. 910, 920 (1949).

5. *Packard Co.* v. *Labor Board,* 330 U.S. 485 (1947) (foreman and supervisory employees entitled as a class to bargain collectively under NLRA). Nullifying acts: 61 Stat. 186, 137, sec. 2 (1947); 29 U.S.C. 152(3).

6. *United States* v. *Silk,* 337 U.S. 704 (1947) ("employees" for purpose of social security employment tax). Nullifying acts: 62 Stat. 438 (1948); 26 U.S.C. 3121(d), 3306(i).

7. *Taucey* v. *N.Y. Life Ins. Co.,* 314 U.S. 118 (1941) (Federal courts forbidden to stay in personam proceeding in a State court embracing a cause already litigated in Federal tribunal). Nullifying acts: 62 Stat. 869, 968 (1948); 28 U.S.C. 2283. (See H. Rept. No. 308; 80th Cong., 1st sess., pp. A 181–182 (1947).)

8. *Dobson* v. *Commissioner,* 320 U.S. 489 (1943) (nonreviewability of certain Tax Court determinations). Nullifying acts: 62 Stat. 869, 991 sec. 36 (1948); 26 U.S.C. 7482(a).

9. *United States* v. *Wyoming,* 331 U.S. 440 (1947) (rejection of State's claim of title in certain school lands included in a Federal petroleum reserve). Nullifying act: 62 Stat. 1233 (1948).

10. *Bay Ridge Co.* v. *Aaron,* 334 U.S. 446 (1948) (payment of overtime on overtime under FLSA). Nullifying acts: 63 Stat. 446 (1949); 29 U.S.C. 207(d).

11. *Comm'r* v. *Estate of Church,* 335 U.S. 632 (1949); *Estate of Spiegel* v. *Comm'r,* 335 U.S. 701 (1949) (estate tax). Nullifying acts; 63 Stat. 891, 894, sec. 7 (1949); 26 U.S.C. 2035–2037.

12. *Martino* v. *Mich. Window Cleaning Co.,* 327 U.S. 172 (1946) (coverage under FLSA of

local window washing contractor whose customers manufactured goods shipped in interstate); *Roland Co.* v. *Walling*, 326 U.S. 657 (1946) (covering under FLSA of local electrical contractor who serviced nearby industrial establishments); *Farmers Irrigation Co.* v. *McComb*, 337 U.S. 755 (1949) (covering under FLSA a farmers' irrigation cooperative). Nullifying acts: 63 Stat. 910, 911, 917 (1949); 29 U.S.C. 203j, 213(a) (2, 6).

13. *Commissioner* v. *Smith*, 324 U.S. 177 (1945) (compensation through exercise of stock option-taxability). Nullifying acts: 64 Stat. 906, 942, sec. 218 (1950); 26 U.S.C. 421.

14. *Commissioner* v. *Korrell*, 339 U.S. 619 (1950) (amortization of bond premium-taxability). Nullifying acts: 64 Stat. 906, 941, sec. 217 (1950); 26 U.S.C. 171(b)(1).

15. *Wong Yang Sung* v. *McGrath*, 339 U.S. 33 (1950) (application of Administrative Procedure Act to deportation of aliens). Nullifying act: 64 Stat. 1044, 1048 (1950).

16. *Commissioner* v. *Tower*, 327 U.S. 280 (1946); *Lusthaus* v. *Commissioner*, 327 U.S. 293 (1946); *Commissioner* v. *Culbertson*, 337 U.S. 733 (1949), (taxation of family partnerships). Nullifying acts: 65 Stat. 452, 511, sec. 340 (1951); 26 U.S.C. 704.

17. *Wilmotte Park Dist.* v. *Campbell*, 338 U.S. 411 (1949) (amusement tax). Nullifying acts: 65 Stat. 453, 519, sec. 402 (1951); 26 U.S.C. 4233(a)(4).

18. *Bindczyck* v. *Finucane*, 342 U.S. 76 (1951) (Nationality Act precludes State courts from annulling their own naturalization). Nullifying act: 66 Stat. 163, 262, sec. 340(j).

19. *Cline* v. *Kaplan*, 323 U.S. 97 (1944) (party against whose property a trustee in bankruptcy had asserted a claim is competent to withdraw from summary jurisdiction of bankruptcy court at any time before judgment). Nullifying acts: 66 Stat. 420–421, sec. 2 (1952); 11 U.S.C. 11(a) (7) (see S. Rept. 1395; 83d Cong., 2d sess., p. 3 (1952)).

20. *Schwegmann Bros.* v. *Calvert Corp.*, 341 U.S. 384 (1951) (inapplicability of Federal fair trade law to nonsigners of resale price maintenance contracts). Nullifying acts: 66 Stat. 631 (1952); 15 U.S.C. 45(a).

21. *United States* v. *California*, 332 U.S. 19 (1947); *United States* v. *Louisiana*, 339 U.S. 699 (1950); *United States* v. *Texas*, 339 U.S. 707 (1950) Federal dominion over offshore oil (submerged lands)). Nullifying acts: 67 Stat. 29 (1953); 43 U.S.C. 1301–1314.

22. *United States* v. *Cardiff*, 344 U.S. 19 (1952) (inspections under Pure Food Drug and Cosmetic Act). Nullifying acts: 67 Stat. 476 (1953); 21 U.S.C. 374.

23. *Power Comm'n* v. *East Ohio Gas Co.*, 338 U.S. 464 (1950) (regulation of distributors of natural gas selling exclusively to local consumers in one State). Nullifying acts: 68 Stat. 36 (1954; 15 U.S.C. 717(c).

24. *United States* v. *Wunderlich*, 342 U.S. 98 (1951) (nonreviewability of Government contracts having finality clauses). Nullifying acts: 68 Stat. 81 (1954); 41 U.S.C. 321–322.

25. *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin*, 347 U.S. 672 (1954) (Federal regulations of rates of facilities used in production and gathering of natural gas). Nullifying acts: Natural gas bill of 1956 (vetoed) 102 C.R. 2897 (1956); H. Rept. No. 992 on H.R. 6645; 84th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1 (1955).

26. *Maritime Board* v. *Isbrandtsen Co.*, 356 U.S. 481 (1958) (dual shipping rate contracts unlawful). Nullifying acts: 72 Stat. 574 (1958), 75 Stat. 762 (1961), 46 U.S.C. 812, 813b.

27. *Guss* v. *Utah Labor Board*, 353 U.S. 1, 15 n. 7 (1957) etc. (no man's land; State courts and agencies precluded from asserting jurisdiction over labor disputes as to which NLRB had declined to cede or to assert jurisdiction). Nullifying acts: 73 Stat. 519, 541, sec. 701 (1959); 29 U.S.C. 164.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, for the foregoing compilations of cases I am indebted to the American Law Section of the Library of Congress.

Mr. President, what are we to conclude from the constitutional upheaval that has taken place? Are we to conclude that superior wisdom has inhered in the Justices of recent vintage, as compared with those sitting during the first 143 years or so of the Court? Granting that the Constitution is a living, breathing organ which allows for growth and has the vitality to be accommodated to the changing times is one thing; discarding the learning or pretty much of all the learning that has previously prevailed is another thing. I think it may fairly be stated that there is not contempt alone for all that has gone before but an excessive devotion to doctrines imported from extra-legal domain that is responsible for this legal revolution. Certainly a proper reverence for the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of the centuries does not comport with what has been taking place on the Court.

When the proper domain of the law is invaded by social theories and hypothesses that have no legitimate claim to recognition, sound legal doctrine suffers thereby and the foundations of a hallowed judicial system begin to totter.

But if we honor the admirable method of the common law and restore it, we could be on our way back to restoring the legal system that has served us so well. This was the Anglo-Saxon legal system described by the judge in John Galsworthy's play, "Justice," as a "majestic edifice, sheltering all of us, each stone of which rests on another."

Let us not substitute sand for stone in our highest legal edifice. Rather, by this single proposal, let us supply the stone of judicial experience.

I emphasize again that this is no attack on the Court as such, nor is it an attempt to discredit any member of the Court. This is a plea for recognition of time-honored and time-tested values of judicial experience and judicial maturity in at least one-half of the nominees to the highest Court of the land.

Further, it is a plea that the U.S. Senate shall forthwith return to its constitutional duty and power of giving advice in the choice of the nominees before they are nominated. This can be done in advance without reference to any individual and without embarrassment to any President. The Senate in the exercise of its constitutional power should announce that at least one of each two successive nominees confirmed by the Senate for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court shall have at least 10 years' prior judicial experience. This would be a salutary start, and other steps could follow.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

## DAIRY LEGISLATION HEARINGS

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, in the past 5 years the Congress has enacted laws modifying our programs on wheat, corn, and other feed grains, and also our cotton and rice programs. But somehow we have failed to modify the milk or dairy legislation which we now have on the statute books, notwithstanding the fact that the dairy program is one of the most costly programs we have.

Mr. President, beginning on next Monday morning, the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry will hold hearings on proposed dairy legislation. It is my hope that at the conclusion of the hearings, the committee will be able to recommend legislation for improvements in our current dairy programs. I have invited representatives of the various dairy and milk producer organizations to give testimony. I am hopeful they will be able to make some constructive suggestions toward developing a means of adequately supporting the income of milk producers, without the recurrent accumulation of excessive quantities of dairy products by the Government, at a high cost, as has been the case under the present law.

The dairy price-support program has been one of the most costly programs administered by the Department of Agriculture. The realized losses by the Goverment on this program over the past 10 years have exceeded $2.5 billion. Milk is an important commodity, and I realize that these expenditures have represented only about 5 percent of the income received by milk producers; but this is still a very costly program.

Two years ago, major dairy organizations were urging that the price-support level for milk be increased because producers incomes were too low. No one disputed the fact that dairy-farm income was low; and in the Congress there was strong bipartisan support for increasing the support level above the $3.22 per hundredweight level which prevailed at that time. The Secretary of Agriculture, in good faith, granted an increase to $3.40 per hundredweight for the 1961–62 marketing year.

Without any means of keeping milk supplies in check, the Commodity Credit Corporation purchases of surplus dairy products began to rise. They rose both as a result of increasing milk production and an inopportune decline in milk consumption. Commodity Credit Corporation purchases of dairy products doubled, and Government expenditure for dairy price support increased from less than $300 million to over $600 million in a year's time. As a result, it was necessary to lower the support level again to the minimum support level permitted by the law; and, even so, it appears that we shall continue to spend in the neighborhood of $500 million a year.

In the last few months, milk production has fallen off slightly from the levels of a year ago; but at this early date we cannot be assured that it is the beginning of any sustained downward trend in production.

With slightly lower beef prices in prospect for the coming year, it is unlikely that there will be any great reduction in cow numbers; and with just an average increase in productivity, milk production will set a new record in the coming year, leaving little possibility that the surplus problem will disappear.

INTRODUCTION BY SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT ON "WHATS WRONG WITH OUR LABOR UNIONS"

In his early twenties, Maurice R. Franks, author of this book, became associated with the American labor movement. His first official capacity was that of organizer and business agent for one of our railroad brotherhoods, the Switchmen's Union of North America. In the course of that service he first came to know at ground level the sentiments and aspirations of the hourly worker, the organized and unorganized alike.

His incumbency likewise brought him into close contact with union leadership at a time when its idealism ran high and when, apart from inevitable radical fringes, the main line of union action was wholly consistent with the public conscience and the dynamic functioning of the American economy.

The efforts of established unionism in those days were under the tutelage of such labor statesmen as Samuel Gompers and were directed toward seeking for labor a greater measure of individual freedom, as opposed to regimentation—a larger degree of social integration, as opposed to further fomentation of class consciousness. The economic program of Gompers and men of his stamp called for labor-management partnership in production and reward, even as it sturdily disowned the antics of some militant sectors in pursuit of radical social change.

The Gompers program of pure and simple unionism and the evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, techniques it proposed took root in the young and eager mind of Maurice Franks and there supplied both substance and energy for his own developing philosophy of labor.

Meanwhile, with both feet and his whole heart planted firmly in the labor movement, Maurice Franks also saw far beyond the routine tasks of service to his union. Like so many of our Nation's foreign born—he had come as a child to the United States from Ireland—the sense of public spirit that came into being with his citizenship went considerably beyond the average. He had a mind fiercely dedicated to American principle. He also had a fluent tongue and a voice prepared to carry far and wide the message of human dignity and all-round fairplay, which since the beginning had been the core of America's message to the world.

As a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and at other union conclaves, he fearlessly voiced his convictions, and over the years developed into a public speaker and lecturer in constantly increasing demand.

Maurice Franks also turned early to the written word, worked hard to develop a strong and communicative style and eventually became a labor editor of considerable renown. In 1940 he founded the Railroad Workers' Journal, as the official organ of a brave and independent brotherhood, the Railroad Yardmasters of North America, Inc. This well-rounded monthly magazine served as a mouthpiece for his constructive union philosophy until 1948, when, as founder and first president of the National Labor-Management Foundation, he also became the editor of that organization's official publication, Partners.

Like all good Irishmen, Maurice R. Franks is a fighter. And throughout his career he has been battling for the greater good of the American economy, as the greatest single servant of us all. He has challenged its enemies wherever he encountered them whether in politics, management, or at any level of organized labor. And with equal intensity he has fought in defense of its friends and constructive contributors, again on whichever side of the industrial fence they stood. In fact, his chief assault has been against the fence itself, believing with unwavering consistency that labor and management, the employer and his wage earner, are not natural-born enemies but are the closest of mutual friends—in Longfellow's words, "As unto the bow the cord is * * *. Useless each without the other."

His constructive viewpoint could not help but bring Franks into violent collision with those among the leaders of modern unionism who were becoming more concerned with partisan politics and social planning than with the functions of collective bargaining.

Throughout the New Deal decade, Franks was something of a one-man committee within the labor movement, a voice crying out from the wilderness of blueprints for "The More Abundant Life." He protested vigorously against the philosophy underlying the Wagner Act—that union organization should be achieved through compulsion rather than persuasion based on proven accomplishment. From the day the Wagner Act appeared on the statute books Maurice Franks began tirelessly campaigning for its reform. Many of the reforms advocated by Mr. Franks were incorporated in the Taft-Hartley amendments enacted in 1947.

However, he felt that Taft-Hartley still left much room for improvement. His vigilance in behalf of the legitimate rights of individual workers continued. His public condemnation of protected oligarchies within the union system; his expressed contempt for those, both businessman and labor leader, who sought personal profit at the expense of union member or employer through such devices as the "sweetheart contract"; and his oft-repeated concern over the continuing decline of democratic practices and procedures in many labor organizations all preceded by many years the public indignation sparked by the revelations of our Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field.

With mounting popular sentiment for reform of labor-management laws, Maurice Franks found doors, once closed, suddenly opening to his suggestions for statutorily guaranteed democratic procedures in union elections and strike decisions and for the mandatory bonding of union officials having fiscal responsibilities.

Maurice Franks could take much personal gratification in the adoption of the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 where some of his recommendations at long last became the law of the land.

His crusade carries on—for he recognizes that statutory mandates and guarantees are in a large sense meaningless, if those they are designed to protect aind those they are designed to control do not invoke them on the one hand and observe them on the other. He sees the future vitality of labor organizations inextricably tied to the capacity of leaders and members alike to comprehend the very useful and legitimate role which collective bargaining was historically created to provide within the total structure of a free society. This book represents a sincere effort to promote this essential understanding of basic purpose. Its criticism of both persons and practices is frank and unvarnished. This cards-on-the-table approach is typical of the author. His commentaries on the weaknesses which he sees in modern unionism are certain to make him the target of much hot-tongued abuse. Experience has taugh him to expect this, but, thankfully, has not dampened his willingness to enunciate his fundamental convictions. My own association with Maurice Franks has convinced me that he believes strongly in the need for organization within the Nation's labor force. As a matter of fact, he believes the necessity for organization is so self-evident that it will occur naturally without the pressures of governmental coercion and contractual compulsion.

I welcome the publication of this book by a man whose friendship I enjoy and whose counsel I esteem. I welcome it and wish it success as an unfettered purview of a growing economic problem and an uncluttered expression of commonsense in the down-to-earth solutions it proposes. "What's Wrong With Our Labor Unions" is not a death sentence. It is a guideline for correction.

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## ANTI-COURT ELEMENTS NOW WANT TO DESTROY THE AMERICAN FEDERAL SYSTEM

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, since the 1954 desegregation decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, certain elements in our society have been engaging in attacks on the Court itself and on its individual members in the hopes of undermining public confidence in the Court and curbing its desegregation decisions. By and large these attacks have been scattered, unorganized, and ineffective because their fundamentally wrong nature has been clearly evident to the vast majority of Americans. But occasionally, as in the final days of the 85th Congress, these attacks have mounted to serious proportions, and only alert and vigorous efforts have stopped the concerted campaigns of those who would undermine the Court and its desegregation decisions through congressional action which would overrule its decisions on these and other controversial matters. It is no secret that most of the impetus for the attack in the 85th Congress on several of the Court's then recent decisions was in large part an anti-desegregation effort by Members who, seeing realistically that a constitutional amendment to reverse the desegregation decisions would not be approved by the Congress or the country, strove instead to undermine public confidence in the Court by attacking some of its more controversial decisions. As my colleagues will recall, the House sent to the Senate bills to legislatively reverse Court decisions and practices including the Cole decision limiting the Federal security program to sensitive jobs; the Mallory decision preventing the use in evidence of confessions obtained while Federal officers unnecessarily delay arraignment; the Nelson decision keeping responsibility for antisubversive action Federal; and the long-standing practice, which the Court had recently reaffirmed, of Federal judicial review of State criminal trials by habeas corpus. These bills were stopped in the Senate by action which has been described elsewhere, and which there is no need to review again at this time.

Now, Mr. President, the anti-Court forces have been mounting another attack, this time through applications for a series of proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States which they have quietly been pushing in a number of States.

But this time, Mr. President, the attack is not simply on the Court, but on the intricate balances of the American Federal system. They would help to make this country a confederacy instead of a nation.

While the nature of these proposals will be apparent to those who study them carefully, and while official notice of

these applications for amendments may unnecessarily and undeservedly dignify them, I think the Congress and the country should know the facts. There are three main proposals to undermine the Court and the Constitution which have been acted upon in some States. They are being promoted by an interestate committee and are approved by the Council of State Governments.

First, an amendment to article V, to make obligatory the proposal of amendments endorsed by two-thirds of the State legislatures, without action by Congress or by a national convention, and further, providing for the ratification of proposed amendments by the State legislatures only. Thus, Congress' present option under article V to submit amendments to State conventions would be eliminated.

Second, an amendment to eliminate Federal judicial authority over the apportionment of State legislatures and to wipe out the substantive Federal guarantees with respect to this matter.

Third, an amendment to establish a "Court of the Union," composed of the chief justices of the States, with authority to review Supreme Court decisions relating to the rights reserved to the States under the Constitution.

It is difficult to know exactly how many State legislatures have considered or acted favorably on these amendments, and there seem to be conflicting reports. However, I asked the staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, of which the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] is chairman, for a report on this. It appears that no system of reporting action in the States on applications for constitutional amendments has ever been established, so State action only comes to the attention of the Judiciary Committee and this subcommittee rather informally. The subcommittee staff has checked the records of the full committee, and to date it has been brought to the official attention of the committee that there have been eight approvals of the article V amendment application, nine approvals of the amendment application concerning apportionment, and four approvals of the amendment application concerning a "Court of the States."

But the current issue of Newsweek—May 20, 1963—states that the article V amendment application has in fact been approved by 11 legislatures, namely, those of Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, New Hampshire, Missouri, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota and Wyoming.

The application for an amendment barring the Supreme Court from ruling on the apportionment of seats in the State legislatures, according to Newsweek, has been approved by 13 legislatures; namely, Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. These are in themselves formidable figures.

Mr. President, a notable service to the country has been given by Dr. Charles L. Black, Jr., who is Henry R. Luce Professor of Jurisprudence at the Yale Law School. In a letter to Arthur F. Fruend, dated January 7, 1963, which has been made public, and in an article which appeared in the Yale Law Journal for April 1963, Professor Black has carefully examined the meaning of these amendments, particularly the article V amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter and this article be printed in the RECORD in full, including the footnotes to the article.

The New York Times' Pulitzer Prize winning reporter, Mr. Anthony Lewis, also has very carefully written about these amendment applications. I ask unanimous consent that two articles by Mr. Lewis, from the Times of April 14 and May 2, 1963, also be printed in the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that two editorials, one from the Washington Post of April 20, 1963, and the other from the New York Times of May 3, 1963, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Also, I ask unanimous consent that a brief article from the New Republic of May 4, 1963, entitled "Disunited States" be printed in the RECORD.

And further, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two articles from the Chicago Daily News of May 6, 1963, one by Robert L. Riggs which appeared first in the Louisville Courier-Journal, and the other unsigned from the Springfield bureau of the Chicago Daily News, be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it should be noted that the Chicago Daily News is one of the strongest Republican newspapers in the Nation and yet it openly describes how it was an almost solid Republican majority which got the article V measure approved in the Illinois House aided by a very small group of Democratic defectors.

I personally believe that there is a greater danger that these amendments will finally be adopted than many of the commentators seem to believe. First, some State ratifications have perhaps not been counted. Thus, the Indiana Legislature seems to believe that it has ratified one or more of these amendment applications. Moreover, I am not certain that the veto by the Governor of Nebraska of one of these applications adopted by the unicameral legislature of that State will be held to be definitive.

Second, the movement has been conducted quietly and the sponsors have obviously been keeping in the background legislatures in several States which are strongly segregationist or dominated by the gross overrepresentation of rural areas. Both of these interests feel themselves threatened and aggrieved by the decisions of the Supreme Court. We are therefore likely to see next year a large number of States which will rush to approve and submit these applications. This may well create a bandwagon psychology which will sweep other States into the fold. These proposals are indeed time bombs under the American constitutional system.

It will be interesting to see what the American Bar Association will do. That body led the fight for the Bricker amendment which would have fatally crippled the President's power to conduct our foreign relations and it was a sponsor of the no-third-term amendment. I do not remember that it ever opposed the proposed amendment to limit the Federal income tax to 25 percent which would either have crippled our defense efforts or forced a national sales tax. As Solicitor-General Cox and Professor Black have commented, I have not seen any activity of the bar in opposing the current proposed amendments. Yet they are clearly designed to make the 14th, 15th and 1st amendments inoperative and to perpetuate the archaic and unfair overrepresentation of the thinly populated areas within so many of our States. It will be interesting to see if the bar associations stand aside as the Constitution is subverted by a minority and if the big States and urban populations are shackled and human rights are disregarded.

But whatever the attitude of the bar may be, the people of the United States should wake up and not, as in my State, allow these amendments to go through because of inertia.

EXHIBIT 1

JANUARY 7, 1963.

ARTHUR J. FREUND, ESQ.,
*St. Louis, Mo.*

DEAR MR. FREUND: I have received your letter of December 29, 1962, describing the three proposals recently approved by the Assembly of the States (meeting under the auspices of the Council of State Governments), and enclosing copies of these and of a report of that assembly's National Legislative Conference Committee on Federal-State Relations. I note that the assembly has recorded its support of—

(a) An amendment to article V, to make obligatory the proposal of amendments endorsed by two-thirds of the State legislatures (without action by Congress or by a national convention), and providing for the ratification of proposed amendments by the State legislatures only, eliminating Congress present option to submit them to State conventions.

(b) An amendment which would eliminate Federal judicial authority over the apportionment of State legislatures, and wipe out substantive Federal guarantees respecting this matter.

(c) An amendment to establish a Court of the Union, composed of the chief justices of the States, with authority to review Supreme Court decisions relating to the rights reserved to the States under the Constitution.

These proposed amendments are set out at large in the other enclosures in your letter. If you will allow me, I will comment on them as briefly as may be.

It must be a matter for astonishment that such proposals should find support among those to whom the honored word "conservative" is often applied. The proposals are radical in the extreme. They aim not at the preservation but at the subversion of that balance in Federal-State relations which has, in the words of a report advocating them, enabled us to escape the evils of despotism and totalitarianism. They negate one of the best-authenticated master prin-

ciples of our American political being, the principle that we are a unified nation, having a unitary interest in the maintenance of our Federal Constitution, and expressing that interest through national deliberations and decisions, and (since we are a people attached to law) through our national courts. They constitute, collectively, one more attempt, so late in the day, at converting the United States into a confederation, wherein the interests of the American people as a whole people, acting together politically and morally, would be shattered into disjecta membra. The wisdom of peace and the sacrifices of war alike warn against starting down that ruinous road.

Since the first and third of the proposals are more general than the second, they more generally illustrate the characteristics referred to, and may therefore be taken up first.

The first proposal is that article V be so changed as to make obligatory the proposal of amendments desired by two-thirds of the State legislatures, without any congressional deliberation and without the calling of a national convention. The most striking (and perhaps most shocking) characteristic of this proposal is that it provides for amendment of the National Constitution without there having been, from first to last, any national deliberation anywhere. Like all political structures, this one expresses a political idea—the idea that the American people are not a unified people, and that the adoption of amendments to their Constitution is of no concern to them in their character as citizens of a nation. National questions ought surely at some stage to be deliberated upon in a national forum. Only thus can the attention of the Nation be brought to a focus upon them; only thus can they receive the consideration of representatives whose responsibility in office is the welfare of the country as a whole.

As contrasted with the method of amendment always hitherto used, the proposal clearly has another shocking characteristic; it altogether eliminates the popular principle from the amendment process, by taking the House of Representatives out of that process. Under the method heretofore used, to put the manner summarily, an amendment, to be proposed, must not only pass through the Senate, where the States are represented equally, but also the House of Representatives, where the people are (at least roughly) represented pro rata. This long-sanctioned method transfers to the amendment process the basic compromise on which our Nation was formed. The present proposal destroys this balance; paradoxically, it makes it possible for an amendment to be proposed and passed without any assent from a body representing the national citizenry as such, though a simple act of Congress cannot be passed without such assent. Again, the theoretical underpinning is clear—the American people are seen not as a people, but as the distributed inhabitants of a confederacy.

This want of popular representation in the proposed amending process is made the more dangerous by the fact that many of our State legislatures are grossly unrepresentative of the people within their States. Whether or not we approve of *Baker* v. *Carr*, and whatever may be the appropriate Federal constitutional standards for representation in State legislatures considered strictly in their local character, how could we wish to commit the process of Federal constitutional amendment to the uncontrolled action of legislatures that (as published statistics irrefutably show) are very far from reflecting with accuracy the composition even of their own State citizenry? (This point is underscored by the fact that the proponents of this scheme, in their "Report," are concerned to eliminate the State Governors from the amendment process.)

It may be said that, under the alternative and never-used convention method of article V, Congress may now be compelled, by State initiative, to call conventions for the purpose of proposing constitutional amendments, and that the House of Representatives may thereby be circumvented. But article V does not provide that, in such a convention, the popular principle of representation is not to be expressed, and the House of Representatives (or, for that matter, the Senate), as a condition to its assent to the call, might insist on appropriate provision to this end. Such provision would be consonant with the whole spirit of our Government, which is based squarely on the notion that, in the making of national decisions, both the people and the States are to be represented.

The amendment proposal, then, would subvert the deepest principle of our political life—that we are a whole Nation, and that the resolution of national questions calls for debate and action in a national forum. It would remove from the amendment process the necessity for the assent of the American people, in that body where they are represented as such. It would make possible the changing of any feature of our national political structure wholly by the disjoined and divided actions, severally debated and taken, of the representatives, it might be, of a minority of the people. It sets at nothing all the wisdom we have gained at great price, and ought to be firmly rejected.

The third, or Court of the Union, proposal, is vulnerable to a number of criticisms which may be considered minor only in relation to its major fault in principle. This Court would lack two prime characteristics of courts in our legal tradition; it would be, beyond argument, too large for effective judicial deliberation, and, meeting sporadically, it could never form any institutional tradition. Its members would be judges chosen for their attainments and promise in other fields than Federal constitutional law. In the main, they would be elected by diverse electorates; whatever may be the suitability of this method for the choosing of State judges, its rejection, for the judges who were principally to interpret the Constitution, was a prime point with the framers, and has served us well for nearly two centuries. A majority of this "court" could easily represent a very small minority of the American people. Its members would be subject to State legislative pressure. The mind staggers at the notion that the wisdom of article III and of section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, repeatedly reenacted in material substance, should come down to this—that the masterwork of Marshall and Story, of Taney, of Taft and Hughes and Holmes, should be turned over to a "court" so constituted.

But the radical fault of the proposal lies deeper. The American people are committed, as firmly as they are to anything, to the powerful and life-giving idea that our Constitution is law, and that its character as national law can only be upheld by giving its final interpretation into the hands of a national judiciary. In the selection of that judiciary both the States and the people are now well represented, by the President and by the Senate. But the Federal judge himself is an officer of the Nation, expressing, as light is given him, the interest of the Nation in the even maintenance of its constitutional balances. The destruction of this idea, and the substitution of the idea that final judgment on constitutional questions is to be made by judicial representatives of the States, taken one by one, again can rest only on the theory, denied by the best thought and the best blood of our history, that we are not a Nation but a league.

The second proposal (the reversal by constitutional amendment of *Baker* v. *Carr*) goes to a more specific problem than does either of the proposals discussed above. What it amounts to is a withdrawal of Federal protection from a designated area of political life.

This proposal, if passed, would constitute the first diminution, since our history began, of any Federal constitutional guarantee of liberty, justice, or equality. More specifically, the equal protection clause has up to now been left, as it came into the Constitution, entirely general; "equal protection of the laws", not as to some matters but as to all, is one of the chief things our Nation promises us in return for what it asks of us. To begin cutting down our constitutional guarantees, to begin introducing exceptions here and there into the concept of equality under law, are solemn steps indeed. The possibility (and it remains no more than that) that some of the grosser present abuses in State apportionments may be weeded out by Federal judicial action is not an appealing ground for embarkation on these treacherous seas.

And this proposal goes very far. It would reach beyond 14th amendment equal protection, and sanction the States in using apportionment as a guise for rank racial discrimination, in contravention of at least the purpose and spirit of the 15th amendment. (The Tuskegee gerrymander case makes this possibility far from fanciful.) It would open a breach in the Federal guarantee, thought essential by the Framers, of a "republican form of government" in each State, for by its clear terms it would prevent not only the judiciary but Congress from acting to implement that guarantee, as long as malapportionment, however gross, was the vehicle of oppression. Whatever the constitutional provision concerned, the proposal would make invulnerable not merely such abuses in State representation as now exist, but also others far more gross; we would be overoptimistic, in view of the British experience and of our own shifting population trends, if we assumed that these could not occur. This proposal, moreover, would remove from any Federal control that abuse in State government which is the most likely to be self-perpetuating, since its correction, absent such control, must come from those who profit by it.

In association with the other two proposals, this one takes on an even darker tone. Together, these proposals would, at one and the same time, place the amending power in the uncontrolled hands of the State legislatures, place the final construction of the Constitution in the hands of judges whose offices are created and whose salaries are paid by the State legislatures, and then exempt the same State legislatures from any effective policing, by court or Congress, of their representative character. That such proposals should be thrust forward as a means of restoring a balance between Nation and State benumbs comment.

Against them may be put the basic postulates that have served us since 1787. First, questions of national import, including most preeminently questions having to do with the amending of the Constitution, are for national debate, in a national forum, by people whose offices give them national responsibility; such questions are to be dealt with, in part, by a body such as our House of Representatives, so constituted as to represent the American people in a true numerical proportion, and not only State by State. Secondly, the Constitution is law, to be interpreted, as all law must be interpreted, in court; since its interpretation concerns the entire and integral American Nation, final judgment, which must rest somewhere, is to rest with the judicial officers of the whole Nation, selected on a national basis, by a national process, wherein both States and

people have a part. Thirdly, the maintenance of basic guarantees of liberty, justice, and equality, cutting across all the concerns of public life, is in the national material and moral interest, and is to be implemented by the substance of constitutional law and by the Federal judicial process. These things are at the heart of our greatness as a Nation; let us hope that we will not, as these proposals would have us do, fritter them away.

With all best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES L. BLACK, Jr.

FACULTY NOTES—THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE V: A THREATENED DISASTER

(By Charles L. Black, Jr., Henry R. Luce, professor of jurisprudence, Yale Law School)

Three proposals for amending the Constitution have recently come from the Council of State Governments, and are being propelled down the never-before-used alternative route of article V—the route via State applications to Congress for the calling of a convention.[1] Of the three, one (which would establish a Court of the Union, composed of the State chief justices in all their multitude, to meet on extraordinary occasions to review judgments of the Supreme Court)[2] is so patently absurd that it will probably sink without trace. Another, eradicating[3] *Baker* v. *Carr*[4] concerns a special subject, and hence does not generally affect the Federal power or the whole shape of the Union. The third is of supreme interest to students of constitutional law. Its adoption would effect a constitutional change of a higher order of importance than any since 1787—if one excepts (and that only doubtfully) the de facto change implicit in the result of the Civil War.

It is wonderful that this proposal—which has already commended itself to a number of State legislatures[5]—has been so little noticed. This is doubtless because the proposed change is in procedure. But a change in the procedure of constitutional amendment—unless it is purely formal, and this one is not—is a change in the distribution of ultimate power. The proposed article V, if adopted, would make it easily possible for a proportion of the American people no greater than that which supported Landon in 1936 to impose on the rest of the country any alteration whatever in the Constitution. The people who could do this would be, by and large, those inhabitants of the less populous States who reside in the districts that are overrepresented in their own State legislatures. "Unto him that hath it shall be given." This component of the population—to which we are all accustomed to conceding a veto power on constitutional amendment, as on many other matters—would under the proposed plan have something very different from a veto power. It would have the affirmative power of forcing its will on the majority, as to anything which may be the subject of constitutional amendment—that is to say, as to everything. Such a proposal ought to be scrutinized with the very greatest care, and the same careful scrutiny should be given to the method by which its proponents hope to coerce its submission to the State legislatures for ratification as an amendment.

THE PROPOSED NEW ARTICLE V

If this proposal were to win its way through, article V would read as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. Whenever applications from the legislatures of two-thirds of the total number of States of the United States shall contain identical texts of an amendment to be proposed, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall so certify, and the amendment as contained in the application shall be deemed to have been proposed, without further action by Congress. No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."[6]

It may be convenient to the reader to have set out the text of the present article V:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, That no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."[7]

The proposed plan, it will be seen, abolishes the (never used) "convention" way of amendment, and puts in its place a method wholly under the control, as to substance and procedure, of the State legislatures. It does this by making it mandatory that Congress submit for ratification any amendment called for by the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, and by simultaneously taking away Congress' power to elect the State convention mode of ratification.

At present, an amendment may be passed (and all have actually passed in this way) if two-thirds of each National House wants it, and if it is ratified by three-fourth of the States in the manner chosen by Congress. One might also pass if (on proper application of two-thirds of the States) a convention, summoned by Congress and having such structure as Congress thought wise to give it, proposed the amendment, and if it were then ratified in the manner chosen by Congress.

Along the new route opened by the proposed article V. Congress would control neither substance nor procedure. Three-fourths of the State legislatures, without the consent of any other body, could change the Presidency to a committee of three, hobble the treaty power, make the Federal judiciary elective, repeal the fourth amendment, make Catholics ineligible for public office, and move the National Capital to Topeka. These are (in part at least) cartoon illustrations. But the cartoon accurately renders the de jure picture, and seems exaggerated only because we now conceive that at least some of these actions have no appeal to anybody. Some amendments—e.g., something like the Bricker amendment—would be very likely of early passage. At present the main dangers would be to civil and political rights, to national conduct of foreign relations, and to the Federal taxing power. But (particularly since the proposed change would be absolutely irreversible, 13 States being enough to block its reversal) the cartoon does not exaggerate the possibilities of the long future. A country in which the large majority would have to dread and sometimes submit to constitutional innovations appealing only to a minority could not call itself, even poetically, a democracy, and the possible tensions between consensus and Constitution would be dangerous in the extreme.

At present, when an amendment passes the House and the Senate by two-thirds, there is fair ground for the inference that there is national consensus upon it; at least the means of ascertaining that crucial fact, though rough, are fairly well adapted to the end. If the national convention method, under the present article V, were ever to be used, Congress, in setting up the convention, could insure that it be so representative as to be likely to express a national consensus. Congress even retains control over the ratification process; if the State legislatures were in its view to come to be dangerously unrepresentative, Congress could provide for ratification by State conventions so chosen as accurately to reflect the views of each State's people. Properly used, the present article V can insure that no constitutional change be effected which is disliked, deplored, or detested by a distinct majority of the American people.

What is the situation under the proposed new article V? Here one must talk numbers—even statistics of a rough kind. Let us note first that the 38 least populous States, whose legislatures could under the proposed article V repeal the full faith and credit clause, contain about 40 percent of the country's population.[8] That really ought to be enough. That these particular people should, in the name of federalism, have a veto power, is acceptable; at least it is accepted beyond change. What rational ground could there be for giving them, in addition, the power affirmatively to govern the rest of the people?

But of course one cannot stop there. The power given by the new article V is not in the States but in their legislatures. It cannot be too strongly stressed that one need not approve of *Baker* v. *Carr*[9] in order to accept the fact, as a fact, that the State legislatures do not accurately represent the people of their States—that a majority in each house of most State legislatures can be made up of votes representing a distinct minority of the State's people. This situation may have a certain romantic appeal,[10] even if one does not appreciate its beauty, one may not think the remedying of it a fit job for the Federal courts. But neither of these judgments supports the conclusion that the uncontrolled power of Federal con-

[1] All are set out in full, with an account of their espousal by the council, in "Amending the Constitution To Strengthen the States in the Federal System," 36 State Government 10 (1963).

[2] Id. at 13–14.

[3] By abolishing all substantive Federal guarantees against malapportionment, thus making action by Congress as well as by court impossible, and by withdrawing the subject entirely from Federal judicial power. 36 State Government at 12.

[4] 369 U.S. 186 (1962) (14th amendment claim against State legislative malapportionment held within Federal judicial jurisdiction).

[5] According to information informally received, the Legislatures of Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming have already passed the resolution set out in text accompanying note 13 infra. In about an equal number of States, one house has passed it.

[6] 36 State governments 11–12 (1963); see text accompanying note 13 infra.

[7] U.S. Constitution, art. V.

[8] Calculated from the 1960 census, 1963 World Almanac, 255. The author is ill at reckoning, but the figures given here are not far off.

[9] 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

[10] See Perrin, "In Defense of Country Votes," 52 Yale Rev. 16 (1962), especially at 24.

stitutional amendment should be turned over to bodies so constituted.

So back to numbers: In the best table accessible,[11] relevant data are given for 34 of the 38 least populous States of the Union. On the average, it takes 38 percent of the people in one of these States to form the constituencies of enough State senators or representatives to pass a measure through the more accurately representative house of the State legislature. Taking this figure as good enough for present purposes, if the proposed article V were in force, the income tax could be abolished, by repeal of the 16th amendment, if about 15 percent of the American people were represented by legislators who desired that result.[12]

Now of course it can be replied that such a coalition cannot be formed without the implication that a good many other people are like-minded with it. Granted; but the margin is enormous. If the right 30 percent of the people favored some amendment, its chance of passage would be very great indeed, whatever the other 70 percent might think. And it is very important that the distortion is not random but systematic—it is a distortion operating steadily in favor of rural districts and small towns. It is not too much to say that the proposed article V would enable the inhabitants of such districts to effect any change they persistently wanted in the Constitution of the United States. They may be better and wiser than the rest of us; perceptive fiction and the exacter sociology are not clear on this, but let us assume it is so. Does that justify turning the Constitution over to them, affirmatively and negatively, to keep or to change as they will?

Reference was made above to the result of the Civil War. The proposed article V rests on the theory, at least in part, that that result ought to be revised. The several States now have a crucial part in the process of constitutional amendment; the new proposal would (as far as one alternative method is concerned) give it entirely into their hands, setting at nothing the concept of national consensus among the American people considered as a whole people. It is a proposal for State rule only, on the basis of State-by-State count only, and through State institutions only, with the popular and national principles altogether submerged. If history has any lessons, our history teaches that such a location of ultimate power would put us in mortal danger.

It should only be added that this proposal, as a corollary to its discard of the concept of national consensus as a prerequisite to amendment, does away with national consideration and debate as a part of the amendment process. Under the present article V, any amendment must be examined and considered in a fully national forum—whether Congress or convention—before it goes out to the several States. Such debate focuses national attention on something which is above all of national concern. Under the proposal, the only public debate would be in 50 separate State legislatures; the rest of the process would be ministerial only. This short circuiting of national deliberation is actually one of the most offensive features of the plan.

THE MODE OF PROPOSAL

The plan of the proponents of this amendment is to see it introduced into each of the State legislatures, in the form of a resolution in the following terms:

*"A joint resolution*[13] *memorializing Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to article V thereof*

*"Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring)*, That this legislature respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

" 'ARTICLE—

" 'SECTION 1. Article V of the Constitution of the United States is hereby amended to read as follows:

" ' "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. Whenever applications from the legislatures of two-thirds of the total number of States of the United States shall contain identical texts of an amendment to be proposed, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall so certify, and the amendment as contained in the application shall be deemed to have been proposed, without action by Congress. No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

" 'SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission;' be it further

*"Resolved,* That, if Congress shall have proposed an amendment to the Constitution identical with that contained in this resolution prior to January 1, 1965, this application for a convention shall no longer be of any force or effect; be it further

*"Resolved,* That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of the Congress from this State."

The hope is that, if two-thirds of the legislatures submit such a petition, Congress will consider itself bound, under the present article V, to call the convention requested.

QUESTIONS PRESENTED

A number of questions arise. Some of these will be considered here, not as judicial questions, but as questions sure to come into the mind of any Congressman or Senator conscientiously seeking to do his duty.

*Is the document quoted above an "application" within the meaning of article V?*

Article V lays down that Congress shall "call a convention for proposing amendments," on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States. The application which can raise a conscientious obligation on Congress part must be one that asks it to "call a convention for proposing amendments." A good case can be made for the proposition that the quoted document is not such an application, but an application for something quite different—for a convention to consider whether an amendment already proposed shall be voted up or down.[14]

The process of proposal by Congress, contained in the first alternative of article V, obviously includes the process of plenary deliberation upon the whole problem to which the amendment is to address itself. It entails choice among the whole range of alternatives, as to substance and wording. It is "proposal" in the most fully substantial sense, where the proposer controls and works out the content and form of the proposition. It is very doubtful whether the same word two lines later, in the description of the second alternative, ought to be taken to denote a mechanical take-it-or-leave-it process. Under the procedure followed by the draftsmen and proponents of the present application, the convention would be in true function a part of the process of ratification.

This doubt is reinforced by the fact that the delegates who approved this language at Philadelphia were just completing the work of a "convention" of their own. Is it not likely that to them the phrase "convention for proposing amendments" meant a convention with a mandate somewhat like the one under which they had worked—a mandate to consider a set of problems and seek solutions?

The difference here is not merely formal, but sounds the deeps of political wisdom. The issue is whether it is contemplated that measures dominantly of national interest should be malleable under debate and deliberation at a national level, before going out to the several States. Such a conception of the "convention" contemplated by article V makes the second route to amendment symmetrical with the first, in the vital respect that, under both the national problem must be considered as a problem, with a wide range of possible solutions and an opportunity to raise and discuss them all in a body with national responsibility and adequately flexible power. The Congressman or Senator persuaded by this distinction would be justified in concluding that the present "applications" even if two-thirds of the States, joined, was not of the sort that obliged Congress to call a convention.[15]

Assuming these applications are not within article V, it may still be suggested that a sort of reformation might be applied—that Congress, even if not persuaded that the present applications asked for the thing contemplated by article V, ought to call such convention as it thinks it would have been

[11] Compiled by the National Municipal League, New York Times, Mar. 28, 1962, p. 22, col. 3.

[12] This figure is arrived at by taking 38 percent (the percentage of people in the relevant States necessary, on the average, to control the legislature) of 40 percent (the percentage of the American people residing in the 38 least populous States).

[13] This resolution should be in whatever technical form the State employs for a single resolution of both houses of the legislature which does not require the Governor to approve or veto (36 State Government 11–12 (1963)).

[14] Even this much is more than the resolution literally allows. It asks for a convention "for the purpose of proposing" the amendment set out. Is it possible that the sponsors think the convention's role can be made ministerial?

[15] It should be noted that another and quite independent defect might be thought to vitiate these "applications." They demand the calling of a convention "for the purpose of proposing" an amendment which is, by its own text to be ratified by the State legislatures; Congress can be under a duty to comply with these applications then, only if such applications in sufficient number can place it under a duty to abdicate its own discretionary function, as clear as anything in the Constitution, of choosing between the modes of ratification, whatever may have been the mode of proposal. It is certain, on the face of article V, that no applications from any number of State legislatures can put Congress under a moral or legal obligation to do that. This quite patent error ought to lead to some suspicion of the whole theory on which these applications are drawn—the theory that Congress and the desired "convention" can be very narrowly confined in function, and that their work can be done for them in advance by the State legislatures.

obliged to call if the applications had been of the right sort. This seems clearly wrong, for several reasons. Generally, a high degree of adherence to exact form, at least in matters of importance, is desirable in this ultimate legitimating process; a constitutional amendment ought to go through a process unequivocally binding in all. Congress is given no power to call a constitutional convention when it wants to, or thinks that on the general equities perhaps it should; if Congress desires an amendment, article V very clearly tells how that desire is to be made known. Congress power as to conventions is not discretionary but strictly conditional, and if the condition is not met Congress not only need not but may not call a valid convention.

It is, moreover, illegitimate to infer, from a State's having asked for a convention to vote a textually given amendment up or down, that it desires some other sort of convention. It is not for Congress to guess whether a State which asked for the one kind of convention wants the other as a second choice. Altogether different political considerations might govern.

On the whole, then, no Member of Congress could be held to have disregarded a conscientious obligation if he took the view that the application quoted above, even if sponsored by two-thirds of the State legislatures, did not make obligatory a convention call. Indeed, he might conclude that Congress would be exceeding its powers in calling such a convention, the condition to such a call, on a fair construction of article V, not having been met.

*If Congress is obligated to call a convention, what sort must it call?*

The short fact here is that neither text nor history give any real help. When and if the article V condition is met, the Congress "shall call a convention"; that is all we know. Fortunately, that is all we need to know, for the "necessary and proper" clause,[16] and the common sense of *McCulloch* v. *Maryand*,[17] give all the constitutional guidance required. Since Congress is to call the convention, and since no specifications are given, and since no convention can be called without specifications of constituency, mode of election, mandate, majority necessary to "propose," and so on, then Congress obviously may and must specify on these and other necessary matters as its wisdom guides it. (It may be noted that continuing control by Congress of the whole amendment process must have been contemplated, for Congress is given, under article V, the option between modes of ratification, no matter what the method of proposal.)

If this is accepted, then no Senator or Representative is bound to vote for a convention call which in its form fails to safeguard what he believes to be vital national interests. Specifically, insistence would be thoroughly justified on an allocation of voting power by population rather than by States, on the election at large of a State's delegation or its choice in fairly apportioned districts, and on Federal conduct of the election of delegates, to prevent racial and other discrimination. Provision for a "two-thirds" rule might well be thought wise, in order to insure the same kind of consensus on this branch of article V as on the other. Since the adoption of this proposed amendment would make easily possible the future amendment of the Constitution without anything like popular consent, it is thoroughly reasonable for Congress to insist that this surrender be fully voluntary for at least this generation, unless (as is not true) some positive constitutional command to the contrary prevents.

It will probably be argued that the voting in any convention must be by States, since the voting in the original Constitutional Convention was by States. On this point, the analogy is not persuasive. The States then were in a position of at least nominal sovereignty, and were considering whether to unite. The result of the Convention would have bound no dissenting State or its people; the same was true of the acceptance of the new Constitution by the requisite nine. All these conditions are now reversed. We are already in an indissoluble union; there is a whole America people. The question in an amending convention now would be whether innovations, binding on dissenters, were to be offered for ratification. The propriety of a vote by States in the one convention surely cannot settle its rightness in the other.

*Has the President a part in the convention call process?*

Article I, section 7, clause 3 is as plain as language can be—

"Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill."

Clearly, this language literally applies to actions of Congress taken under article V.

In *Hollingsworth* v. *Virginia*,[18] it was contended that the 11th amendment had not been validly proposed, since the resolution proposing it had not been sent to the President. Against this and other arguments, the court, in a brief opinion not touching substance, upheld the amendment. In the course of argument, Justice Chase remarked: "The negative of the President applies only to the ordinary cases of legislation; he has nothing to do with the proposition or adoption of amendments to the Constitution."[19]

Since that time, the practice has been not to send amendment proposals to the President. These precedents apply, of course, only to the first method prescribed by article V, since that is the only method that has been used. *Hollingsworth* v. *Virginia* is inherently weak, as the unreasoned decision must be. It introduces an exception by fiat into the entirely clear language of article I, section 7. But it need not be unfrocked in its own parish, since it is possible that the Court may have had in mind a ground for taking the first alternative of article V out of the veto process; since the congressional proposal must be by two-thirds in each house, it may have been thought that the requirement for overriding the veto was already met. This is not perhaps a very good ground, but the point about it here is that it would not exist at all if Congress, by simple majorities, called a convention under article V. Unless some other ground (better than Justice Chase's mere assertion) be stated for holding the contrary, it would seem that such a congressional action would fall as clearly as may be under the terms of article I, section 7, clause 3.

If this is right, then the grounds upon which the President might exercise his veto need be no less than those proper in the case of a Congressman voting on a convention call. If the President believed the structure and mandate of the convention significantly wrong, and dangerous to the national well-being, then he would surely be justified in vetoing the resolution.

SUMMARY

This proposal for amending article V is dangerous. It is to be hoped that it will be defeated in the State legislatures, but they are, after all, voting for or against increasing their own powers. If applications, in the form quoted above, reach Congress in sufficient number to force the issue, there is still authentic constitutional ground on which to stand. It may be that these applications call for something not contemplated by the second alternative in article V, and hence need be treated, at most, only as memorials to Congress to propose this amendment, a plea addressed entirely to discretion. It is as certain as any such matter can be that no Congressman or Senator is bound to vote for a convention call, even on impeccably proper application, wherein prudent conditions as to mandate, structure, constituency, voting, proper selection of delegates, and all the rest, are not met. There is no real reason why Presidential veto, on the same grounds, is not proper in this matter.

If all this terrain is fought over, then the American people will surrender this ultimate power into the hands of a minority only if they want to, and if they want to nobody can stop them.

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[From the New York Times, Apr. 14, 1963]

TEN STATES ASK AMENDMENT TO CONTROL APPORTIONMENT

(By Anthony Lewis)

WASHINGTON, April 13.—The legislatures of 10 States have quietly approved a constitutional amendment to give the States a completely free hand in apportioning their legislative districts. The proposal would wipe out the Supreme Court's landmark decision last year in the Tennessee apportionment case.

The court held that legislative districts were subject to judicial scrutiny and had to meet constitutional standards of fairness.

In the last year, lower Federal and State courts have struck down legislative apportionments in 19 States. Political analysts have begun forecasting an end to rural domination of State government in this country.

The proposed amendment is designed to stop the legal and political revolution set off by the Tennessee case. It amounts to a rural counterrevolution.

The amendment would provide that nothing in the Constitution "shall restrict or limit any State in the apportionment of representation in its legislature." To make doubly sure of reaching its objective, it also says that no Federal court shall have power to hear any apportionment case.

CONVENTION SOUGHT

The amendment is one of three approved last December by the Council of State Governments. The package is being pushed by a committee of State political leaders active in the council.

The second of the three proposals would allow the States to amend the Constitution without obtaining, as is now required, the approval of Congress or of a constitutional convention. Two-thirds of the State legislatures could propose any amendment and then three-fourths adopt it.

The third amendment would set up a new "Court of the Union" to review Supreme Court decisions on Federal-State relations. It would be made up of the chief justices of the 50 States.

The sponsors are using an amendment process provided in the Constitution but never successfully invoked. This is for the legislatures of two-thirds of the States to petition Congress to call a national constitutional convention.

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[16] U.S. Constitution, art. 1, sec. 8.

[17] 17 U.S. (4 Wheat.) 316 (1819).

[18] 3 U.S. (3 Dall.) 378 (1798).

[19] Id. at 380 n.a.

The two-thirds figure is 34 of the 50 States. Ten States nearly a third of the necessary total, have now approved the apportionment amendment, and several others may approve it shortly. The proposal to change the amending process has also passed 10 legislatures. Three legislatures have approved the "Court of the Union."

All this has been done in only about 3 months since the State legislatures began meeting this winter. And it has been done with no highly publicized campaign, indeed with almost no public notice.

Experts in constitutional law and others concerned about the position of the Supreme Court are beginning to take note of the amendment drive. Some are expressing great alarm.

ASSAILED AS RADICAL

Prof. Charles L. Black, Jr. of the Yale Law School, in an analysis of the three proposals has called them "radical in the extreme."

"They aim not at the preservation but at the subversion of that balance in Federal-State relations which has, in the words of the [Council of State Governments] report, enabled us to escape 'the evils of despotism and totalitarianism.'

"They constitute, collectively, one more attempt, so late in the day, at converting the United States into a confederation. * * * The wisdom of peace and the sacrifices of war alike warn against starting down that ruinous road."

As for the apportionment proposal specifically, Professor Black said that it "would constitute the first diminution, since our history began, of any Federal constitutional guarantee of liberty, justice or equality." He continued:

"To begin cutting down our constitutional guarantees, to begin introducing exception here and there into the concept of equality under law, are solemn steps indeed."

The group sponsoring the amendments is a committee of the National Legislative Conference, a subsidiary of the Council of State Governments. The committee chairman is the speaker of the Pennsylvania House, W. Stuart Helm, a Republican.

MEMBERS LISTED

Other members of the committee are the Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, Harold Chase, Republican, and these members of the lower houses of State legislatures: Warren Wood, Illinois Republican; J. D. McCarty, Oklahoma Democrat and speaker of his house; Robert Haase, Wisconsin Republican and speaker; Frederick H. Hauser, New Jersey Democrat, and William V. Chappel Jr., Florida.

Some of these committee members would have a personal interest in stopping the reapportionment movement set off by the Supreme Court, because they come from districts with small or relatively declining populations.

Mr. Helm, Mr. Haase, and Mr. Chappel are from rural areas that have been overrepresented in their legislatures. Mr. Hauser is from Hudson County, whose share of the New Jersey voters has been falling and which can therefore expect to lose seats in future reapportionment.

Mr. Wood, on the other hand, is from a growing Chicago suburb, and Mr. McCarty is from urban Oklahoma City.

The sponsors themselves say that their joint interest is only in the principle of States rights. Their committee report said there was now a "grave imbalance" of Federal power in this country, largely because of Supreme Court decisions.

A effort has been made to avoid the traditional association of the words "States rights" with a southern, racist viewpoint. Lieutenant Governor Chase of Kansas said:

"This is not a cotton picker's dream."

The same point was made by the committee's only paid employee, who is coordinating the drive. He is George Prentice, a 37-year-old former television newsman who now works for the Florida Legislature in Tallahassee.

"We have steered clear of the isms," Mr. Prentice said—"the citizens councils, that that kind of thing. We've done everything we can to get rid of the southern stigmatism. These guys sincerely believe in it as a matter of State independence."

Mr. Wood, in Plainfield, Ill., said he was for the movement because the 10th amendment, which reserves to the States and the people all power not granted to the Federal Government, had been "raped twice a day for 10 years."

IMPETUS FROM DECISION

All indications are that the real impetus for the amendment campaign has come from the Supreme Court's reapportionment decision. It has been hailed by many groups and on the whole has been regarded as popular with the people, but it has been criticized in some State legislatures and by rural and conservative forces.

Lieutenant Governor Chase said the decision had "stirred up a lot of mischief."

The committee's work has been so skillful that some opponents of the proposed amendments suspect the existence of a large professional organization behind it. They note, for example, that the resolutions have been drafted and presented in a form that in most States would not require approval by the Governor, who might well be more urban in outlook.

But Mr. Prentice says that in fact "it has been a very small thing, not a big-money proposition." He has simply sent letters to legislative leaders in the various States, he says, and made some telephone calls.

WHERE APPROVED

The States that have approved the apportionment amendment are Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The Utah resolution was in somewhat different language, and Mr. Prentice does not really count this as a success for the committee.

The proposal to give the States power to amend the Constitution has been passed in Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming. The "Court of the Union" has been approved in Arkansas, Florida, and Wyoming.

The proposals have gone through one house in a number of other State legislatures. The apportionment amendment has made that much progress in Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, and Texas.

Mr. Prentice expects final approval shortly, by both houses, in New Jersey and Texas and in Alabama and Louisiana.

SURPRISING DEVELOPMENT

Perhaps most surprising is the success of the apportionment amendment in States with large urban, industrial populations, such as Missouri and New Jersey.

In New Jersey all 21 State Senators, 11 Republicans and 10 Democrats, sponsored the resolution, and it passed the senate unanimously along with the one to change the amendment process.

Observers say fear of reapportionment was the reason. The New Jersey Senate has one member for each county, an apportionment now under legal attack.

Even in the New Jersey Assembly, which is apportioned roughly on the basis of population, there has been little opposition. The only member to speak critically has been George C. Richardson of Newark, the Legislature's one Negro, who sees possible harm to civil rights efforts in the South.

"Nobody seems to care about the proposals," one New Jersey political observer remarks. He includes in that comment the State's Democratic Governor, Richard J. Hughes.

PREDICTS MORE OPPOSITION

Mr. Prentice expects more opposition to arise from liberal forces as more legislatures approve the amendments and the campaign therefore gets more public attention.

"You're probably going to have strong opposition from the Kennedy Administration," he said, "but there's been no open warfare yet."

In only two States has there been outspoken opposition from a powerful source. This was in Nebraska and Wisconsin, whose Democratic Governors spoke out.

Gov. Frank B. Morrison, of Nebraska, said the proposed amendment would weaken the Constitution. Under the procedure of Nebraska's unicameral legislature he can veto resolutions of this kind, and he did so.

Gov. John W. Reynolds of Wisconsin concentrated on the "Court of the Union" proposal, terming it "a last-ditch attempt on the part of frustrated southern segregationists to avoid the consequences of Supreme Court decisions forcing them to guarantee equal rights to all citizens."

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[From the New York Times, May 2, 1963]

JUSTICE AID DECLARES "STATES RIGHTS" AMENDMENTS COULD COST NEGROES VOTE

(By Anthony Lewis)

WASHINGTON, May 1.—A Justice Department official warned today that a proposed constitutional amendment approved by 12 States could be used to disenfranchise Negroes.

Joseph F. Dolan, Assistant Deputy Attorney General, made the comment in a Law Day address. It was the first administration statement on three "States rights" amendments being pushed by the Council of State Governments.

One amendment would provide that nothing in the Constitution "shall restrict or limit any State in the apportionment of representation in its legislature." It would also take away the power of the Federal courts to hear cases on legislative districting.

"One State might choose to redistrict its legislature so that only real property owners might vote," Mr. Dolan said. "Another State might choose to take the right to vote away from the Negro."

Legal observers, considering this possibility, said the amendment might, for example, let the States gerrymander districts against Negroes. That is, districts could be drawn so that Negro voters could elect few or no representatives.

A few years ago the Alabama Legislature redrew the boundaries of the city of Tuskegee to exclude all Negro voters. The Supreme Court held this unconstitutional.

The proposed reapportionment amendment has been approved by the Legislatures of Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming. Utah has approved one in somewhat different language.

A second amendment would let the State legislatures amend the Constitution without any consideration by Congress, a convention, or any other national forum. Such national approval is now required.

Mr. Dolan called attention to a recent estimate that under this proposal, State legislators representing only 15 percent of the U.S. population could amend the Constitution. The estimate was made by Prof. Charles L. Black, Jr., in the current Yale Law Journal.

Approval by three-fourths of the States—38 of the present 50—is required to amend the Constitution. Professor Black notes that the 38 least populous States have 40 percent of the country's population.

Because of unequal districts, it is possible for 38 percent of each of these States' voters, on the average, to elect a majority in the more representative house of the legislature. Thus, the professor arrives at the figure of 15 percent—38 percent of 40 percent.

Mr. Dolan, whose remarks were addressed to a Law Day dinner of the Oneida County Bar Association in Utica, N.Y., said this amendment would allow change in the entire character of our system of government without any national consideration.

"The Presidency could be junked in favor of a troika," he said, "or the Congress abolished or radically altered, without any need for congressional approval."

This amendment has been approved by 10 States.

A third amendment would set up a Court of the Union, made up of the 50 State chief justices, to review Supreme Court decisions. Four legislatures have approved it.

Mr. Dolan noted that there has been little public discussion of any of these proposals. He said such fundamental changes should not be within the grasp of the States until the Nation has made a deliberate and considered decision.

Lawyers, Mr. Dolan said, have the primary obligation to inform the public in matters like this. He urged the bar to speak out.

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[From the Washington Post, Apr. 20, 1963]

SPUTTERING PROTEST

Well, it appears that the State Righters' assault upon the Supreme Court in particular and upon the concept of expanding federalism in general has fallen somewhat short of becoming a prairie fire. Last December the National Legislative Conference Committee on Federal-State Relations asked all of the State legislatures to meet in January and petition Congress to amend the Federal Constitution in three important particulars. On the most popular of the proposed amendments, 11 States have responded, but the most radical of these proposed bombshells has proved to be almost a dud.

The first of the proposed "reform" measures would allow the States to initiate changes in the Constitution without the approval of Congress. Such an innovation would dangerously dilute the national interest in effecting constitutional changes. In effect it would give the States complete control over future amendments if three-fourths of them should choose to act in concert. But this proposal has been approved in only nine States in the South and the West. During the same period the anti-poll-tax amendment to the Constitution, which will further restrict States rights, has won 31 ratifications.

The second States rights "reform," which would reverse the Supreme Court's decision in the Tennessee reapportionment case and forbid the courts to intervene, regardless of how badly State legislatures might be gerrymandered, has been accepted by 11 States. Considering the jealousy with which the legislatures have guarded control over their own seats, this is a relatively mild protest against the legislative revolution that has followed the Tennessee decision. To date the third "reform," an absurd proposition designed to create a "Court of the Union" to overrule the Supreme Court when it decides questions involving the rights of the States, has won approval in only Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Wyoming.

It is shocking that any State would commend to Congress such a devastating assault upon our Federal system. But the resolutions that have been passed are only in the "hot air" stage. They have no standing as proposed amendments to the Constitution. It is difficult to believe that any of the four legislatures has seriously weighed the consequences of this Union-busting device. They and the sponors of this petition are airing grievances, which apparently have no widespread appeal. If they were making any headway with their campaign, the country would be in a perilous state indeed.

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[From the New York Times, Friday, May 3, 1963]

THREE NONSENSICAL AMENDMENTS

Three proposed constitutional amendments advanced in the name of States rights had their best hope of success in silence. They have sailed through a number of legislatures with virtually no public notice. But now that more people are becoming informed on this campaign to revolutionize our form of government—revolutionize it back to a confederacy—its chances are, fortunately, growing dimmer.

One proposal provides that no provision of the Constitution shall restrict the power of the States to apportion their legislatures as they wish. This language would permit Southern legislatures to disfranchise Negroes by unrestrained gerrymandering and other devices. It would let other legislatures effectively limit the vote to farmers or to any special or favored group—without any constitutional restraint.

A second proposition is to let the State legislatures amend the Constitution in the future without the necessity of approval by Congress or any other national forum. It has been calculated that legislators representing a mere 15 percent of the population of the United States would then have the power to amend the Constitution for all of us. This would be possible because of the existing unfair districts in many State legislatures.

Finally, there is a proposal for a Court of the Union, composed of the 50 State chief justices, to review Supreme Court decisions. This is another preposterous idea—to set State judges, mostly elected and lacking the independence of life tenure, above the Justices of the highest Federal Court. It would be a long step backward to a confederacy.

These three nonsensical proposals have already passed too many legislatures for comfort. It is the duty of the organized bar to speak out against them. The leaders of both parties have a similar duty, for surely no responsible figure in government can think that the way to meet the problems of today is to retreat into the sectionalism of a bygone age.

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[From the New Republic, May 4, 1963]

DISUNITED STATES

In a daft moment late last December, a bare majority of the Assembly of States of the usually responsible Council of State Governments voted to launch a campaign to break up the Federal Union. The assembly endorsed three proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution, the first of which would would permit two-thirds of the State legislators, acting separately, to propose amendments to the Federal Constitution directly to the States for ratification, thus bypassing both Congress and the national constitutional convention stipulated in the Constitution.

The second would forbid Federal courts to intervene in the apportionment of seats in State legislatures.

The third, and most amazing, would create, by constitutional amendment, a "Court of the Union" composed of the chief justices of the 50 State supreme courts. A majority of the sitting members of this "Court of the Union" could on its own motion, intervene and overthrow any U.S. Supreme Court decision considered an invasion of State's rights.

The backers of these amendments mean business. Identical texts, apparently disseminated from one source, are being adopted by State legislatures. If 34 legislatures should endorse any one of them, Congress would be confronted with the demand to call a national constitutional convention to consider submitting the proposal for ratification by three-fourths of the State legislatures.

In other words legislators representing less than 11 percent of the population could propose amendments, and these amendments would become law if ratified by representatives of less than 15 percent of the population. This is so because of unequal apportionment. Minorities elect majorities in State legislatures. For example, 27 percent of the population of New Mexico elects a majority in one house and 14 percent of the population elects a majority in the other. The legislatures of two-thirds of the States are controlled by 11.7 percent of the Nation's population.

Today, only some 5 months after the amendments were originally put forward, 10 State legislatures, or nearly one-third of the needed 34, have endorsed the proposal to prevent the Federal courts from intervening in apportionment of legislatures. Eight legislatures, or nearly one-fourth of those necessary, have in this short time endorsed the proposal that 34 legislatures acting independently and over a period of time, could compel the calling of a Federal constitutional convention to act upon an amendment submitted by them. And four legislatures—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Wyoming—have endorsed the "Court of the Union."

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[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, May 6, 1963]

STATES TRYING TO CHANGE BASIC LAW OF THE UNITED STATES—DETAILS OF A THREE-POINT DRIVE TO CURB THE HIGHEST COURT

(By Robert L. Riggs)

WASHINGTON.—Those who are determined to force the Supreme Court to curtail what they call that body's law-writing activities have made such rapid and quiet progress in the last 4 months that defenders of the Tribunal are reacting in sudden and shocked amazement.

Almost unnoticed by bar associations and with virtually no national attention, a dozen legislatures have given final approval to a proposal which would enable States to amend the Constitution without having to get a vote in Congress.

An equal number of legislatures have given final approval to a proposed constitutional amendment which would blot out the Court's ruling a year ago which held that citizens dissatisfied with the apportionment of their legislative districts can sue for relief in Federal court.

A handful of legislatures have called for a change in the Constitution which would set up a "Court of the Union" with power to override decisions of the Supreme Court. The proposed new judicial body would have 50 members—the chief justices of the highest tribunals in each of the States.

The people who are sponsors of this three-part, curb-the-Court package hope that within the next few weeks a dozen more States will approve one or more of these efforts to amend the Constitution.

That would give them 24 and cause them to believe that when other legislatures assemble next January they could drive through to the 34 States needed to cause Congress to call a convention to consider changes in the Constitution.

REACTION SLOW, BUT IT'S SHARP

Although the reaction of the Court's defenders has been slow in coming, its sharpness indicates that proponents of the amendments will have to struggle harder for additional States than they did for the first dozen.

The strongest condemnation has come from Charles L. Black, Jr., professor at Yale Law School. In the April issue of the Yale Law Journal, Black concentrates his fire on the proposal to require Congress to submit to the States for ratification any amendment fostered by 34 legislatures.

Taking away from the Federal House and Senate their power to decide what to submit and what to withhold, Black argues, would be "one more attempt, so late in the day, to convert the United States into a confederation."

The Yale professor calls the proposed change in the method of amending the Constitution a threatened disaster, a dangerous proposal.

One of the few lawyer groups that has reacted against the assault on the Court is the Bar Association of St. Louis. In that city, where the fight for the Court has been taken up by Arthur J. Freund, the bar association denounced all three of the proposals.

But the Missouri Legislature gave final approval to 2 of them, the 1 to put the amending power in the hands of 34 legislatures and the 1 to overturn the ruling on apportionment of legislative districts.

Two reasons are advanced for the fact that little attention has been paid to the rapid spread of these anti-Court activities. One is that most legislatures are accustomed to having before them futile and offbeat proposals to amend the Constitution. It was easy to put these three in that category.

The second and more impressive reason is that the campaign is something of a family matter among legislators. The entire three-package proposal had its inception at a meeting of the Council of State Governments in Chicago last December.

ACTION IN SHADOW OF REMAP RULING

By rollcall votes of the States, that group put its prestige behind each of the three. The legislators' action at Chicago came just 6 months after the Court had held that Federal judges can take notice of the unfair drawing of the lines of their districts.

But while resentment against interference with their districts may have been a spur to members of the Council of State Governments, their votes showed them to be much more eager to get a constitutional provision putting the amending power in the hands of the legislatures than to override the apportionment decision.

On the question of this new way of amending the Constitution, representatives of 37 of the 50 States voted for adoption. Only 4 States opposed it. Four abstained because their spokesmen didn't know what their bodies back home thought of it. Five States were unrepresented.

By contrast, when it came to a vote on a proposed amendment to upset the Tennessee apportionment case, only 26 States voted "yes," 10 voted "no" and 10 abstained. Four were absent.

The third part of the package was approved by a margin of only one vote. Representatives of 21 States favored setting up the 50-judge Court of the Union to override the Supreme Court. Twenty opposed the plan, which had startled some of the most avid critics of the nine Justices. Five abstained and four were absent.

In fact, on the first count, the Court of the Union plan lost by 1 vote. But following a vigorous plea by Florida's former Gov. Millard Caldwell, it won adoption by the same 1-vote margin.

Although a Florida man saved it from defeat, the 50-judge supercourt is the pet project of a northern Republican, Warren Wood, 4 times speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives.

The sponsors of the three amendments have gone to great lengths to keep their campaign clear of southern coloration, clear of any connection with racial strife.

"DUAL SOVEREIGNTY" IS THE WATCHWORD

In none of their public arguments do the words "civil rights" or "States rights" appear. In place of "States rights," they talk about "dual sovereignty" and the need to stop the trend toward overactivity by the Federal Government.

To carry on the theme that this is not a Dixiecrat movement, the supporters of the amendments have placed their campaign in the hands of a committee composed largely of northerners. The title of the group is "The Volunteer Committee on Dual Sovereignty."

Its chairman is W. Stuart Helm, Republican speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. He also is president of the National Legislative Council.

Six vice chairmen are: Republican Warren Wood, of Illinois; Robert Hasse, Republican speaker of the assembly, Wisconsin's lower house; Republican Lt. Gov. Harold H. Chase, of Kansas; J. D. McCarty, Democratic speaker of the Oklahoma House; William V. Chappell, Jr., Democratic member and former speaker of the Florida House; and Frederick Hauser, Democratic member of the New Jersey House.

The committee's operations are in low key and apparently on a small budget, though there seems little question it can get such money as it needs as the occasion arises.

Its operations are directed from Tallahassee, Fla., by 37-year-old George R. Prentice, native of Kansas who has been a newspaperman in Birmingham and Little Rock.

Prentice, who operates a news bureau serving several television stations in Florida, is the only paid committee staff member with the exception of a couple of stenographers.

His main efforts have been neither to publicize the movement nor hide it, but to keep in touch with legislators of the various States who are pushing one or more of the three proposed amendments.

BIG INITIAL PUSH BY FLORIDIANS

During sessions of the Florida Legislature, Prentice works for Speaker Mallory Horne. It was through his previous employment with former Speaker Chappell that Prentice got involved in the project. Although the northern legislators now are in front of the campaign, much of the steam for the amendments came from Chappell and others in Florida.

One of Prentice's tasks is to see that the committee avoids undesirable companions. While he recognizes that anyone who wants to do so can join the cheering section, he tries to keep the working ranks cleared of members of the John Birch Society, the racist White Citizens Council or any other groups on the radical right.

As a matter of tactics, there is no need for the committee to rally anticourt sentiment in the South. There is enough bitterness in that section over school desegregation.

Hence, the committee has more to gain by seeking Northern support on a straight-out conservative economic argument—especially since some of its Northern friends have to compete with Democrats for Negro votes.

The desire to keep the movement clear of the white supremacy issue may account for the action of the Mississippi Legislature in rejecting all three of the proposed amendments. Certainly, no State has more outspoken critics of the Supreme Court than has Mississippi.

One explanation offered for the Mississippi rejection was that legislative leaders didn't want to bring up the matter so soon after the bloodshed at the University of Mississippi.

Maryland turned down all three proposals. Massachusetts abstained from voting at Chicago. But when John E. Powers, president of the senate, got back to Boston, he took the position that the three ought to be submitted and killed. As a result the proposed Court of the Union was rejected and the other two died in committee.

GOVERNOR VETOED BILLS IN NEBRASKA

Nebraska had a unique record. Its one-house legislature approved the amendment to let States control changes in the Constitution and to set aside the Tennessee reapportionment decision. But the Democractic Governor vetoed the action.

Missouri, which approved two of the proposals, rejected the Court of the Union idea.

There are 13 States in which the legistures have given final approval to at least 1 of the 3 proposals—14 if you count Nebraska.

The 13 are: Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Washington and Wyoming.

The total would rise to 15 if Utah and Nebraska were added. Utah approved the one about changing the Constitution and the one upsetting the apportionment decision. But because they are not worded exactly as are the ones approved in other States, there is some question whether Congress would have to accept the Utah resolution.

The 12 States where the dual sovereignty committee hopes to have more successes this year, but where stronger resistance is expected are: South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Alabama, Louisiana, Wisconsin, Michigan and Vermont. In Wisconsin, once the "test tube" of the LaFollette Progressive movement, the lower house gave its approval to the 50-man super court and to the proposal to let State legislatures control constitutional amendments.

Although the sponsors of the three constitutional changes steer clear of any mention of the school integration decision of 1954 or other civil rights issues, they do not hesitate to point out some of the economic questions on which they believe the Supreme Court has "legislated" through its decisions.

LIST WAYS COURT CENTRALIZES POWER

They do not say that if the States get more power to amend the Constitution without veto from Congress that they will wipe out any of the decisions. But they do list the following as examples of decisions by which the Supreme Court gave the Federal Government more power: Unemployment insurance, with employers providing funds; old-age pensions taxing both employer and employee; regulation of labor relations; regulation of tobacco grading; minimum wages and maximum hours; workers required to join unions in order to hold jobs; employers required to negotiate with unions; States forbidden to prosecute for sedition because the Federal Government has preempted that field; States forbidden to discharge schoolteachers who use the fifth amendment to keep from answering questions about Communist actively; and permitting Federal judges to hear suits over apportionment of districts for State legislatures.

In his denunciation of the dual sovereignty committee's campaign, Yale's Professor Black brushes aside the proposal for a 50-man supercourt as "so patently absurd," that it will sink without trace.

His judgment seems to be upheld by the reluctance of legislatures to approve it and

by the one-vote margin which carried it in Chicago.

As to the proposal to set aside the Tennessee reapportionment decision, Black's position is that that is a special subject and its adoption, whether wise or unwise, would not "affect the Federal power or the whole shape of the Union."

Such is not the case with the plan to let 34 States dictate the submission of a constitutional amendment without congressional vote. The adoption of that proposal would, said Black, "effect a constitutional change of higher order of importance than any since 1787—if one excepts the de facto change implicit in the result of the Civil War."

That constitutional amendment, Black said, would permit a proportion of the American people no greater than that which voted for Landon in 1936 to impose upon the rest of the country any alteration whatever in the Constitution.

The alteration could be brought about by people who reside in "overrepresented legislative districts. The amendment would let the legislatures of 34 of the least populous States, containing less than 40 percent of the national population, change the Constitution.

BIG CHANGES—IF 15 PERCENT WANT THEM

Because even those people aren't properly represented in their legislatures, Black said, 15 percent of the Nation's population could do such things as repeal the income tax, change the Presidency to a Committee of Three, hobble the treatymaking power of the Chief Executive through such devices as the Bricker amendment, make Federal judges elective, make Catholics ineligible for office and move the Capital to Topeka.

The present provisions of article V, the amending article, Black said, provide for a national debate on proposals to change the Constitution. That is because the proposed change has to be approved by the national House and Senate before being submitted to the States for ratification.

But under the committee's plan, all debate on constitutional changes would take place in State capitals without seeking a "national consensus."

The only role Congress would play in the amending procedure would be that of sending the proposed change back to the States for ratification after 34 States has presented it.

The Court of the Union, which seems to have so little chance, would be a 50-member body, with a chief justice from each high State court. It would go into action only if five States, which do not border each other, make complaint against a Supreme Court decision within 2 years after it is handed down.

The restriction against action by neighboring States is presumed to be for the purpose of discouraging sectional action.

Three-fourths of the 50 judges would constitute a court quorum. But in order to set aside a decision of the Supreme Court, 26 of the State judges would have to agree. Its chief function would be to decide whether or not the Constitution actually gave the Supreme Court jurisdiction to make the ruling to which five States had objected.

The proposed amendment would require that Congress house the new court and provide money for its operation.

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[From the Chicago Daily News, May 6, 1963]

MANEUVER FOR ORAL ROLLCALL SUCCESSFUL—HOW WOOD GOT PROPOSAL THROUGH THE HOUSE

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—On a miserable, rainy, windy, and cold evening in Springfield, there came bounding down the steps of the State Capitol a man whose obvious high spirits seemed completely untouched by the dampness.

"I'm going to celebrate," chortled silver-haired State Representative Warren Wood, Republican, of Plainfield, four-time Speaker of the House.

Wood, by shrewd political maneuving that day, March 5, 1963, had pushed through the House by a 1-vote margin his controversial States rights proposal which would enable State legislatures to bypass Congress in amending the Constitution.

Fearing a possible countermove by Democrats to reconsider the vote, Wood had gone back to the speaker of the House's office, to make sure the resolution was mailed off to Washington.

Both parties had fought roughly over the resolution. Democrats were out to kill it. There were unconfirmed reports that orders to do so had come from the White House.

The resolution had won approval in the heavily Republican Senate the previous month, and was sent to the House on Valentine's Day. Five days later, Wood made his first attempt to pass it.

He was winning by a vote of 84 to 83 on the red and green electrical rollcall board when Democrats issued "or else" orders to Representative Carl H. Wittmond, Democrat, of Brussels, to change his vote from "aye" to "no."

This would have switched the score to 84 to 83 against the resolution and it would have died.

Wood asked and received postponement of consideration.

Wood then regrouped his forces and waited. On March 5 he was ready. He proposed an unusual tactic—an oral rollcall rather than voting on the electrical scoreboard. He hoped it would confuse Democrats.

Wood had a comfortable lead until Democrats, led by Representative Paul Elward (Democrat, of Chicago), demanded verification of votes in order to smoke out Democrats who sided in principle with Wood and were going to show it by not voting.

Wood's comfortable margin began to diminish. These Democrats were whipped into line: Dave Glenn, of Greenup, Allen Lucas, of Springfield, Leo Pfeffer, of Seymour, Sam Homano, of Chicago and Wittmond.

Two sometime Republicans, Peter J. Miller and Walter (Babe) McAvoy, both of Chicago, took a walk and did not vote.

Representative Robert Craig, of Indiaola, the only Democrat who had voted for the resolution when it was first considered, also took a walk.

It was Wood's maneuver for an oral rollcall that saved the day for him. Startled Democrats worked hard to pin down nonvoters, but their tally was bad.

Representative Paul Ceasar, Democrat, of Chicago, didn't vote, but Elward and Representative John Touhy, Chicago, Democratic whip who helped in the roundup, did not realize this in time. If Ceasar had voted, the count would have stood at 81 to 81, and the resolution would have died.

A spectator watching the Wood victory said, "It did my rightwing heart good."

Negro lawmakers in both parties voted against the resolution, arguing that it would be a boon to the segregated South and a slap at the U.S. Supreme Court for its civil rights decisions on integration.

Wood denied this, arguing that he only wanted to preserve "dual sovereignty."

"The official motto of Illinois is 'National Union and State Sovereignty,'" he said. "If we can't retain the American system of dual sovereignty, then all power is going to wind up in Washington."

Two other Wood resolutions aimed at curbing the alleged invasion of States' rights by the U.S. Supreme Court are pending in the house. These are proposals for a Court of the Union—the supercourt that could overrule the Supreme Court—and an amendment that would prevent Federal intervention in reapportionment of State legislatures.

The latter has passed the Senate, where Republicans are in control.

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## TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

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## REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with an amendment:

H.R. 5207. An act to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act, 1926, to authorize additional appropriations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 178).

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## EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. BIBLE, from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

Edmond T. Daly, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions;

Orman W. Ketcham, of Maryland, to be associate judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia; and

Richard R. Atkinson, for reappointment as a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency.

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## ADDITIONAL BILL INTRODUCED

Mr. MONRONEY, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (S. 1546) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease certain deposits of minerals in the bed of the Red River in Oklahoma, which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONRONEY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

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## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

### ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Mr. HUMPHREY submitted a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 42) establishing the Joint Committee on National Security Affairs, which, by unanimous consent, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. HUMPHREY, which appears under a separate heading.)

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## RESOLUTION

### STUDY TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE HOLDING BY A MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF A COMMISSION AS A RESERVE MEMBER OF ANY OF THE ARMED FORCES IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH HIS OFFICE AS SENATOR

Mr. GOLDWATER (for himself and Mr. THURMOND) submitted a resolution

(S. Res. 142) to make inquiry whether the holding by a Member of the Senate of a Commission as a Reserve member of any of the Armed Forces is incompatible with his office as Senator, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. GOLDWATER, which appears under a separate heading.)

## LEASE OF CERTAIN DEPOSITS OF MINERALS IN BED OF RED RIVER, OKLAHOMA

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease certain deposits of minerals in the bed of the Red River in Oklahoma.

The purpose of this act is to clarify the status of the bed of the Red River in relation to the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, as amended and supplemented, including but not limited to, the act of August 7, 1947.

In 1890, the territory that is now Oklahoma was officially designated to be agricultural land. The Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, which gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to lease Federal land under certain conditions, did not include such land previously designated as agricultural, according to a Supreme Court case in 1922.

There has been considerable litigation since 1922 involving the bed of the Red River. However, the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to execute leases under the Mineral Leasing Act has not been made clear.

This bill would merely clarify that the bed of the Red River from the 98th meridian west to the Texas border, approximately two-fifths of the southern Oklahoma-Texas border, is under the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 as amended and supplemented, allowing the Secretary of the Interior, pursuant to the provisions of the Mineral Leasing Act, to lease portions of the bed of the Red River to private persons or corporations on the basis of competitive bidding.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1546) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lease certain deposits of minerals in the bed of the Red River in Oklahoma, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920 (41 Stat. 437), as amended and supplemented, including without limitation the Act of August 7, 1947 (61 Stat. 913), is extended to deposits of minerals that are subject to the Mineral Leasing Act as heretofore or hereafter amended or supplemented, which deposits are owned by the United States and are located in the part of the bed of the Red River which lies west of the 98th meridian in the State of Oklahoma.

SEC. 2. This Act shall not apply to any deposits of minerals held by the United States in trust for Indians.

## NEED FOR A JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I submit, and send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a concurrent resolution calling for the establishment of a Joint Committee on National Security Affairs. I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the proposed joint committee would be empowered "to make a continuous study and investigation of all matters pertaining to national defense, foreign policy, and national security"—including, under this last term, the areas of "intelligence"—the Central Intelligence Agency—"defense policy, nuclear development, and disarmament."

Let me make clear at the outset that the proposed joint committee, although drawing on the membership and the talent of several standing committees in both Houses of Congress, would in no way infringe on the legislative responsibilities or the jurisdiction of these or any other standing committees. My proposal is to create in the legislative branch a committee which would be the counterpart—in terms of its comprehensive interests—of the National Security Council in the executive branch. Its formal authority, like that of the Joint Economic Committee, would be consultative only. But I hope it would provide the type of comprehensive and inclusive analysis of national security policy that the Joint Economic Committee provides in the field of economics and government.

The Joint Committee on National Security Affairs would not have legislative responsibilities infringing on the prerogatives of its parent committees—the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the respective Committees on Armed Services, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. By providing the type of comprehensive review of all facets of national security policy, the joint committee would assist these standing legislative committees in reaching the type of informed and independent judgments that can only strengthen their respective roles in the formulation of national security policy.

Mr. President, there is a clear need for a committee representing the House and Senate and both political parties to advise the Congress and the executive departments on the broad questions of national security and to make specific recommendations to the appropriate standing committees. If Congress desires to remain a respected and effective participant in the process of formulating such policy, we must begin to approach these matters in the same comprehensive fashion that the executive branch does.

Such questions as international relations, defense policy, intelligence activities, nuclear development, arms control and disarmament, foreign assistance, and weapons development are closely interrelated means whereby the United States seeks to achieve specific national security ends. For example, we should never fall into the trap of considering weapons and nuclear development as policies opposed to those for achieving arms control and disarmament. Each one represents a particular facet of the total policy designed ultimately to protect the national security of this country in the most effective manner. Arbitrarily to consider each facet without reference to other related areas of national security policy is to weaken dangerously the ability of Congress to assume a forceful and responsible role in the formulation of the policies themselves.

A Joint Committee on National Security Affairs certainly is no panacea for our problems. Structural innovations alone will not solve any basic flaws in our judgment of these critical decisions or our determination to see them through to a successful conclusion. But given the fundamental health of American democracy, which is incontestable, it seems imperative that the Congress have the machinery to translate this asset into smoothly formulated, effective policies. A Joint Committee on National Security Affairs could be an important nonpartisan step in this direction. Properly conceived and properly implemented, it would contribute to an integrated approach to problems which strain to the limits the present committee structure.

An important function of the proposed joint committee is that of congressional surveillance and coordination of the intelligence agencies and instrumentalities of the executive branch. It could serve as the watchdog committee of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, the Armed Services Committees, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy would bring a wealth of information and a definite perspective to the work of the Joint Committee on National Security Affairs. I believe we should provide a forum whereby these respective experiences and backgrounds can be used constructively in the analysis and formation of policy. Lacking this central forum, it is often difficult for the members of these respective committees to engage in such constructive and cooperative enterprises. It is quite natural and desirable that the Armed Services Committee should view questions of force levels and weapons development from a different perspective than does the Foreign Relations Committee. The Joint Atomic Energy Committee considers a proposed test-ban treaty in terms of technical and scientific problems; the Foreign Relations Committee tends to consider such a treaty from the standpoint of the basic diplomatic posture of the United States. Each perspective is valid; each contribution is needed.

But at some juncture in the consideration of these and similar questions, Congress should have the means to attempt to reach an integrated opinion that

# IN HIGH COURT—A BLANKET RULE AGAINST SEGREGATION?

Supreme Court

**Big question after the latest round of Supreme Court rulings on race issues: What next?**

**Private businesses and private clubs wonder if the day is approaching when the federal courts will dictate racial policies for them, too.**

Negroes, once again, have won a big victory in the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Court, on May 20, threw out the convictions of Negroes and white sympathizers arrested for "sit-in" demonstrations against segregation in business places in the South.

Negro leaders immediately announced that the rulings will bring an increase of sit-ins all over the country.

Businessmen, everywhere, were left wondering what comes next.

Can any businessman, anywhere, effectively refuse to serve Negroes?

The Court deferred decision on a Maryland case involving that issue.

***Pattern of decisions.*** By one decision after another, however, the Court has established a pattern of ruling against almost any form of racial discrimination.

Segregation has been outlawed in public schools, interstate-transportation facilities, public parks or playgrounds, and in public housing. Now the issue involves businesses that are privately owned.

What the Supreme Court ruled in six decisions on May 20 was this:

- Negroes cannot be convicted of trespass for demanding service in a "whites only" restaurant where there is a law that requires segregation.
- Even where there is no such law, convictions cannot stand if officials are carrying out a public policy of racial segregation.

What the Court held, in effect, was that it is unconstitutional for a State or community to require racial segregation, and therefore police power cannot be used to enforce such segregation.

All the cases involved in those rulings came from Southern States—South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina and Louisiana—where segregation is an established public policy.

***The "right to restrict."*** Still to be clarified is the legal situation in the case of a businessman who bars Negroes on his own, without compulsion of law or official policy.

Associate Justice John M. Harlan, the only dissenter to the May 20 decisions, declared:

"An individual's right to restrict the use of his property, however unregenerate a particular exercise of that right may be thought, lies beyond the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment."

However, Chief Justice Earl Warren, who wrote the majority opinions, took the position that private discrimination becomes unconstitutional when government becomes involved in it "to some significant extent."

Associate Justice William O. Douglas, in a concurring opinion, went further. He said: "When the doors of a business are open to the public, they must be open to all regardless of race. . . ."

A case touching on this point is before the Supreme Court. It is an appeal by Negroes fined on trespass charges after refusing to leave a privately owned amusement park in Glen Echo, Md., just outside Washington, D. C.

The Court has ordered this case reargued—indicating that it has not yet been able to make up its mind.

***A question of "licenses."*** Justice Douglas also raised another question that is causing concern among businessmen about what the High Court may hold in the future. He pointed out that restaurants are licensed to do business, and said he sees "no constitutional way" for a Government to license a business to practice discrimination.

Many types of business operate under a license by some government. So do many private clubs. This is being asked:

Is the Supreme Court working toward a blanket ban against racial discrimination—private, as well as public?

## TROOPS . . . MARCHERS . . . FULL JAILS—RACE TENSION SPREADS

*During the week ending May 24:*

MONTGOMERY, Ala. – A new showdown between State and federal power began developing.

The University of Alabama has been ordered by a U. S. court to admit two Negroes on June 10.

Governor George Wallace served notice on May 21 that he personally will bar their entrance.

President John Kennedy, on May 22, made it plain that he will send federal troops if necessary to enforce the court's order—just as he did last September, when Negro James Meredith entered the University of Mississippi. Then, on May 24, the U. S. Department of Justice asked a federal-court injunction to bar Governor Wallace from interfering at Alabama U.

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Highway patrolmen moved in after two weeks of mass marches by thousands of Negroes demanding integration.

Arrests, mounting above 1,500, overcrowded the city's jails.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. – Two developments raised hopes for racial peace in this long-troubled city.

A U. S. court forbade expulsion of 1,000 Negro school youngsters who took part in demonstrations. Negroes had threatened new demonstrations if the pupils were expelled.

A State supreme court ruling removed Birmingham's city commission that had antagonized Negroes. The new city government is considered more moderate on racial issues.

JACKSON, Miss. – The State attorney general's office sued in a U. S. court to remove U. S. troops guarding Negro James Meredith at the University of Mississippi.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Kennedy, in the face of spreading race troubles, said he is considering new civil-rights legislation.

Commentary
Sept. 1963
Supreme Court

# JUSTICE BLACK AND THE ABSOLUTE

James Grossman

"DUE PROCESS, to use the vernacular," Justice Douglas has said in a formal lecture on the Bill of Rights, "is the wild card that can be put to such use as the judges choose." A little more than a quarter of a century ago they chose, in the name of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment,* to strike down statutes that were intended to help us out of the Depression. One had the sense of an accelerating force out of control by the spring of 1936. On each of three successive Mondays the Supreme Court declared a statute unconstitutional, using for each a different reason and reserving due process for the last, a New York minimum wage law for women drawn with such care to appease the Court that even starvation wages were to be raised only if a reasonable wage level resulted.

Today the use of the due process clause to upset any economic regulation seems impossible. We know the exact moment when the new direction set in. Less than a year after the decision in the New York case a Washington State minimum wage act, much less well-drawn than the one in New York, was upheld. No new judge had considered the problem, no new learning was brought to it; between the two decisions Franklin Roosevelt had been overwhelmingly re-elected and proposed to pack the Court with new judges. It seems an unimportant nicety to point out that the Washington case apparently had already been informally decided before Roosevelt's plan was announced. As the attack continued, the Court by the changed vote of one judge or at the most two ("A switch in time saves nine") found that the power to enact broad welfare legislation existed in Congress as well as the states, and at a well-timed moment in the fight one extremely conservative judge retired. The Court-packing plan was beaten and the independence of the judiciary preserved by surrendering to the assailant.

To fill the vacancy Roosevelt appointed Senator Hugo Black, an outright New Dealer, which to Roosevelt's opponents implied some unfitness to be a judge, as if it were unseemly to uphold the New Deal on the basis of a conviction older and deeper than the newly converted majority's. A more serious question was raised when the nation learned, too late to do anything about it, that Black for a few

* The relevant passage of the Fourteenth Amendment is the second sentence of Section 1: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; *nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;* nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

years in the 20's had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama, a fact well known there but apparently denied in the Senate during the debate on confirmation. A white-robed Klansman among the black-robed judges—a doctored photograph in the newspapers made this newspaper rhetoric vivid and literal—was at the moment an overwhelming national scandal, which seen today in perspective seems irrelevant.

The brief membership, which if timely revealed might have prevented his Supreme Court career, has to be considered in the light not only of that career but also of his earlier career, which he may have been too proud to discuss when he made his unhappy radio address to the nation, for both careers are of a piece. A few years ago Justice Black wrote at length to demonstrate that no crime was committed by one lone Negro's dancing quietly by himself while waiting for a bus and that to convict him of loitering for this and of disorderly conduct for arguing with the policeman who arrested him denied him due process of law. Fifty years ago as a young police court judge in Birmingham, Black in dismissing a disorderly conduct charge against twenty-two Negroes arrested at a dance told the arresting officer that he had no more right to break up their dance than any other. The Supreme Court judge who has so vigorously opposed the lawless enforcement of the law opposed it with equal vigor when he was a county prosecutor in 1915. Negroes arrested and held indefinitely, to increase the fees of their keepers and the costs that prisoners had to pay until they were tried, were either brought to trial quickly by Black or had their cases dismissed. A high percentage of confessions by the Negroes of a certain locality made him suspicious of the police there; on discovering that for a long time they had been using brutal torture he had a grand jury investigate, prepared an eloquent report that led to an independent citizens' committee inquiry and the proposal to oust the guilty policemen. Characteristically, his report insisted that an arrested man, whether innocent or guilty, did not give up his "right to be treated as a human being. . . ."

Joining the Supreme Court while it was in a more or less graceful retreat from its constitutional excesses, Black wanted it in effect to admit clearly and forthwith that it was wrong about the Fourteenth Amendment and had been wrong for decades. Ideally, rate cases brought by utilities claiming that the state had set confiscatory rates should be neither affirmed nor reversed on their merits but dismissed to show that they were not even within the Court's jurisdiction. Corporations, which brought most of the litigation under the Fourteenth Amendment, should be told that a human being was the only kind of "person" whom the Framers of the Amendment had in mind. Black was right in distrusting Roscoe Conkling's plea on behalf of a railroad client in the 1880's that the Framers—he had been one of them—shifted from "citizens" to "person" for the very purpose of using a word broad enough to cover both Negroes and corporations. Conkling fudged his facts; there seems to have been no conscious conspiracy for business such as he implied existed. But scholars have made the point that we should not, as Black does, stop here. The Framers, or some of them, were good enough lawyers to know that "due process" was growing beyond its original meaning to take in on the one hand such spiritual concerns as freedom of speech and on the other such practical ones as business and corporations; and if the Framers could think of corporations as entitled to due process, they could also easily think of them as persons.

Black has never convinced the Court on his tactical point about corporations. (He himself has ignored it in rescuing a newspaper corporation from punishment for an editorial.) But he has apparently established his major point, that due process has nothing to do with state regulation of business. The victory was won in the 40's but has just been restated formally by Black. This past term the Court has sustained a state statute prohibiting the general practice of debt adjustment, the business of taking control of a hard-pressed debtor's funds and trying to settle with his creditors. It might well be deemed a harmful business, subject to abuse; but what Black said in his majority opinion was that the state could act foolishly or wisely, under one economic theory or another, it was no concern of the Court's either to approve or disapprove. Only the most conservative of the judges felt the need to assert that the statute might actually be rational; all the other members of an individualistic court given to the exact expression of their views were silent.

Due process of law, whatever else it covers, has always signified to the Court, just as it does to laymen, procedural safeguards. What they are, the Court has never told us precisely. Those that have been enumerated by it come chiefly from the Bill of Rights. As the Bill of Rights was adopted to bind only the federal government and not the states, the Court in construing the Fourteenth Amendment has felt free to pick and choose among the rights; only fundamental ones—those "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty," essential to "civilized decency," to "fundamental liberty and justice"—have been absorbed into due process. By this method self-incrimination and double jeopardy have apparently not been absorbed, certainly not fully, indictment by grand jury not at all, but unreasonable searches and seizures and right to counsel have been. The First Amendment rights—freedom of religion, press, assembly, petition, although matters of substance rather than of procedure—seem to have been fully carried over into due process.

No one in our time has so pushed the Court to make the Bill of Rights applicable to the states or to expand the provisions of the Bill of Rights itself as has Hugo Black. His passion for freedom, his faith in it as an everyday guide stand out in Irving Dilliard's excellent collection of Black's opinions on civil rights and liberties.* By arranging them chronologically and including Black's James Madison Lecture as well as his public interview on absolutes at an American Jewish Congress dinner, Mr. Dilliard has enabled us to see Black's philosophy of freedom emerging fully articulated relatively early, and yet having even now the potentiality of startling consequences.

THE MAJORITY of the Court, particularly when influenced by Felix Frankfurter, has been haunted by the possibility that it may now, in the field of civil rights, be imposing its own views of freedom, its very prejudices, on legislatures, as formerly its predecessors imposed theirs in the field of economics. It is a troublesome doubt, for all who judge like to believe that they are governed by objective standards; even literary critics are reluctant to accept Remy de Gourmont's view that it is the function of the critic to erect his prejudices into laws. For a profound student of the Court like Frankfurter, aware of past abuse of judicial power, the only hope is in self-restraint, humility. "Mr. Justice Frankfurter is deeply humilitarian," Professor Wallace Mendelson has observed. "Plainly this is an acquired characteristic. . . ."

For Black, the Frankfurter technique leads not only to uncertainty but to the very vice it purports to cure. No matter how one words the standards judges should apply, the actual method of selecting what is essential to due process is bound to be personal; the greater the judges' self-restraint the more they are legislating and in the end nullifying the Bill of Rights. It is implicit in Black's logic that all of the provisions of the Bill must be treated as part of due process, and he believes that what logic demands history has happily performed: the entire Bill of Rights was incorporated (presumably through the privileges and immunities clause) into the Fourteenth Amendment by its Framers.

In an elaborate appendix to a 1947 dissenting opinion, Black made what may well be the fullest investigation into the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment that has been made by a Supreme Court judge, for judges usually do not look so much to history as to what their predecessors have said is history. He found that Congressman Bingham, whom Black likes to call the Madison of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, mentioned the Bill of Rights frequently in debate, and that Howard of Michigan in introducing the Amendment in the Senate clearly stated that it protected the personal rights set forth in the first eight Amendments. These views of a proponent are entitled, it seems to me, to a greater weight than is usually accorded them, and yet as Frankfurter said, "What was submitted for ratification was his proposal not his speech." The proposal was so unclear that state legislatures do not seem to have been aware that it was being made; nearly half of the ratifying states were then instituting criminal prosecutions without a grand jury and never changed so as to conform to this requirement of the Bill of Rights. Most of the public discussion of the Fourteenth Amendment was about its major purpose, the protection of Negroes and the reconstruction of the South. In this clamor little else could be heard. If Black is right, it can almost be said that the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted by a conspiracy—one, however, not on behalf of corporate power but of the Bill of Rights.

Black's doctrine of wholesale incorporation has not been accepted by the Court, but I believe that it has influenced decisions. There seems to be a recent tendency to apply all of the features of a right enumerated in the Bill in their full rigor against a state when the right is found to be part of due process. We saw how absolute a prohibition can be when Black demonstrated that New York's experiment with a vaguely deistic prayer of less than two dozen words was an establishment of officially approved religious doctrine forbidden by the First Amendment.

Professor Edmond Cahn in his public interview of Black used as a text the sentence from the James Madison Lecture that might be taken as the judge's credo: "It is my belief that there *are* 'absolutes' in our Bill of Rights, and that they were put there on purpose by men who knew what words meant and meant their prohibitions to be 'absolutes.'" We can agree with Black's characteristic argument from history in every field except the one that is most important, freedom of the press.

An excellent case has been made by a liberal scholar that the Framers' bold words on freedom of the press when the First Amendment was adopted meant much less to them then than they do to us now.† That freedom was placed beyond the reach of the government; Congress, unlike the Parliament in England, could not abridge it in the slightest. But what was given this absolute protection was a relatively narrow freedom, the right to publish without previous restraint or licensing such as had prevailed in England until 1694; one would still be subject to prosecution for seditious libel, as fairly moderate disparagement of the government was called. The most that the Framers seem to have had in mind was the

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* *One Man's Stand for Freedom: Mr. Justice Black and the Bill of Rights,* Knopf, 504 pp., $6.95.

† *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History,* by Leonard W. Levy, Belknap Press, 353 pp., $6.50.

right to plead truth as a defense and to have it passed on by a jury. It was only when Madison and Jefferson and their allies were fighting the Sedition Act aimed against their party that they first urged that a broader definition of freedom was embodied in the First Amendment. They may not have been absolutely and impartially committed to this new contention, for in Jefferson's administration some men were indicted for a seditious libel on him and his Congress, and the indictment was pending in Madison's administration until dismissed by the Supreme Court, not as an invasion of freedom of the press but because there could only be statutory and not common law federal crimes.

Jefferson's and Madison's more liberal views have prevailed to such an extent that we are likely to think that their own dabbling in seditious libel was not in good faith. We should realize rather that they and their allies in the course of their political struggles enlarged constitutional freedom. What Professor Levy has said so well of them has some application to Justice Black today. "They were addressing the future, not the past. Their insistence that they were simply clarifying the past's original understanding reflected an Anglo-American habit of going forward while facing backwards: rights that should exist are established on the fictitious pretense that they have ever existed. . . ." It is a noble fiction that when sincerely believed can help create for the future the Golden Age it sees in the past. But it is a future that has not yet come into being.

The views which Black holds with such intensity he seems to have enjoyed stating in his New York interview with provocative simplicity, as if he were speaking off the cuff rather than from his depth of historical learning. But the very casualness with which he asserts his claims for the absolute can jolt us into realizing that we have been accepting, merely because they are old, restrictions on freedom that are inconsistent with it. His most startling, most shocking, theory is the unconstitutionality of our libel law. That Congress has enacted no law on private libel in its entire existence may well be a sign that, as early commentators thought, it cannot under the First Amendment. What is forbidden Congress seems equally to be forbidden the states (even if we think of only the First Amendment and not the entire Bill of Rights as being made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth). This is in essence Black's point. But if we infer nothing from the inaction of Congress and if we assume, as I believe we must, that freedom is less than absolute, still many of the peculiar features of present libel law must go if freedom of the press is to have any real meaning.

Freedom, we like to say, does not give one the right to harm others by lying about them. But the law of libel—which derives largely from Star Chamber, that part of the English tradition least compatible with freedom—in a number of ways goes much farther than to give compensation for actual damage from lies:

(1) The plaintiff does not have to prove that what has been written about him is false. Instead, the burden of proving truth is on the defendant and he is limited to the use of legally acceptable evidence, which often means that he must produce in court the eyewitnesses to the events he has written about. It is not enough for him to show that he has acted with the greatest care and has used only reliable sources; he will still be liable, for this is one field of law in which there can be liability without fault in anyone, unless we accept the Star Chamber view that unlicensed writing is itself a fault.

(2) Punitive damages, a frankly penal sum in excess of actual damage, can be awarded if the defendant acted maliciously, which may mean no more than that in a jury's opinion he did. So much of the ancient hostility to the press survives in our libel law that if a defendant pleads the defense of truth and fails to establish it, his failure is a circumstance from which the jury may infer malice. Punitive damages paid to the plaintiff are possibly an even more oppressive form of punishment than a fine paid to the state would be. They are a criminal sanction imposed without the traditional safeguards of the criminal law. The jury in many states need not be unanimous in its verdict, nor need it find the defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

(3) Even a verdict nominally limited to plaintiff's actual damages can in reality include a penal amount. For the plaintiff need not offer any evidence of the damage he has suffered; the jury can infer the amount from the circumstances of the case.

The judge-made rule of judicial impunity recognizes the deterrent effect of libel suits. If what a judge says or writes in a case is relevant, it can be false, scurrilous, malicious, but the judge cannot be held liable. Surely the basis for this rule is not that judges demand the right to defame, but that they need this absolute freedom of speech if they are to speak freely.

A wholesome dread of the law's uncertainties, a wholesome ignorance of how really illiberal the law of libel is, perhaps explain why more damage to freedom has not been done by it. The huge verdicts of the last few years give to the law a new potential for harm, particularly in areas in which a pattern of repetition may be established. A scandal sheet, living by defamation, changing its victims constantly, presumably can pay the cost. A Northern newspaper or magazine circulating in the South may find it prohibitively expensive to publish the truth as it sees it or to advertise the political views of others if Southern juries are to continue to bring in half-million dollar verdicts. In a normal world a balance of rights—an approach that Black despises—would suggest that where a subject of public importance is

involved a plaintiff should recover in a libel suit only if he proves that the statement about him was false and the defendant careless or otherwise at fault, and his recovery should be limited to the actual damages established by competent evidence. If abnormal verdicts persist, the temptation may become strong to find that the First Amendment has to be read as literally as Black says it should be.*

BLACK SPEAKS in terms of absolutes, but when we compare the actual issues in a case with Black's opinion—Irving Dilliard's valuable prefatory notes and his skillful editing of the opinions make it easy for us to do this—we are struck by how much stronger the doctrine often is than the occasion actually demands. If freedom wins, he writes to assure it the largest victory. If he is in dissent but also at times when he concurs, the wrong to freedom reminds him of the grossest ancient wrongs—the anti-Masonic madness of the 1830's, the Alien and Sedition laws, Protestant persecution of Catholics, Catholic attainder of Protestants (Black follows Macaulay in his views of the wickedness of James II's brief ascendancy in Ireland, not Lecky, who finds Macaulay's picturesque, horrifying details exaggerations). In the long run Black's method may well be fruitful, but in a given case it sometimes seems weak. He seems to see no difference between the folly of discharging a subway conductor for refusing to state whether he is a Communist and the Taft-Hartley Act requirement that a union official swear that he is not one. (Even so good a friend of free speech as Zechariah Chafee has said, "The Taft-Hartley oath was intended to remedy serious evils of industrial relations, such as strikes for political or revolutionary purposes.")

Since Black's fundamental tactic has been to get us to accept as old what are really new views, he does not speak of the growth of the law and does not admit that he has any part in making it, as judges who have been teachers are so fond of doing. At the most he admits to helping restore the law to its original purpose. Mere reason may tell us that this is an absurd doctrinaire attitude, but it has been amazingly successful as a judicial method, and the vulgar test of success is not a bad one to apply in a field that has so few demonstrable rules as constitutional law.

Black's method is successful because if one is to explicate a text well, one must have faith in the task, in the value of the text itself. It is perhaps no more absurd for Black to look for ultimate wisdom in an 18th-century document, the creation of an anxious period that had its own problems to solve, than it is for us to find profound insights about ourselves in the plays Shakespeare threw together hastily. It is part of our romantic heritage that we have more faith in poets as lawmakers than in lawmakers as poets. To say, as we do, that the Constitution is what the judges say it is may not so much deny its existence as assert that as Shakespeare has been enriched by Coleridge and his other great critics, so it has been enriched by its interpreters. If in our few best moments we are able to read Shakespeare as if he were a sacred text, finding among the ambiguities of poetry some of our few certainties about life, it should be possible for us to believe that a judge can read the Constitution, his sacred text, as if it were Shakespeare and find in it his vision of the absolute.

It is certainly not a dangerous vision today. So many forces in the courts, in government and society, so much of what we call moderation and prudence and the art of the possible, so much even of liberalism itself, make against freedom that no force on its side can be extreme. Hugo Black's stand through the years for absolute freedom may help assure us an indispensable minimum.

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* I do not pretend to write impartially on libel, for as a lawyer I have been concerned with it chiefly from the point of view of publishers and authors.

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JAMES GROSSMAN, *who practices law in New York, last appeared in our January 1962 issue with "The Sacco-Vanzetti Case Reconsidered." Author of the volume on James Fenimore Cooper in the American Men of Letters series, he has also written for many magazines, including* Partisan Review *and* Kenyon Review.

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

Supreme Court

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For Release
Sunday, October 6

# SUPREME COURT HELD 'MORE FIRMLY UNITED THAN EVER' IN ROLE AS DEFENDER OF RIGHTS

## Annual Analysis of High Court Decisions by American Jewish Congress Finds 'Remarkable' Percentage of Rulings Upholding Asserted Constitutional Guarantees

## COURT SEEN FILLING A 'VACUUM' CREATED BY 'DEFAULT' OF CONGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Supreme Court, which begins its new term tomorrow (Monday), was described in a report issued yesterday as "more firmly united than ever before in its role as the great defender of the basic freedoms of the American people."

In its annual analysis of the decisions of the high court, the American Jewish Congress said the 1962-63 term was "remarkable" for the percentage of rulings upholding racial equality, separation of church and state, freedom of expression and other Constitutional guarantees.

The 83-page summary and analysis, seventh in an annual series, was prepared by the AJC commission on law and social action under Leo Pfeffer, director; Joseph B. Robison, assistant director; and Carol Weisbrod, staff counsel. Ephraim London is chairman of the commission.

### All Major Cases Decided Unanimously or Nearly So

The survey covered 42 cases, of which 34 were decided in favor of the person or group seeking vindication of civil rights or civil liberties. This amounted to 80.9 per cent, as compared with 63.5 per cent during the previous six years.

Particularly significant, the survey found, was that the major decisions on pressing national issues among the 42 cases were all unanimous or near-unanimous. These included rulings upholding Negro sit-in demonstrations in the South, outlawing Bible-reading and prayer recitation in public schools, requiring states to provide legal counsel for indigent defendants in all criminal cases and ordering that the principle of one-person, one-vote be applied in statewide and countywide elections.

MORE

The unanimity of the court can be explained in part, the survey noted, by the fact that relatively few cases involving internal security came before it during the 1962-63 term. This issue has been the major source of division in the court within recent years, it was stated.

Court Seen Acting in Face of 'Default' by Congress on Civil Rights

The report said that during the past 15 years the high court has been "increasingly involved" with civil rights and civil liberties issues, reflecting the growing concern of the American people with these issues.

In its decisions on these questions, the study commented, the Supreme Court "appears to have stepped into the vacuum created by the default of Congress in discharging the responsibilities imposed on it by the Constitution."

The American Jewish Congress analysis noted that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments gave "primary responsibility" for protecting Negro rights to the Legislative branch. Yet for more than 75 years, the report said, "not a single law was adopted by Congress to make real this promise of equality.

"The two modest if not minor civil rights laws enacted by Congress in 1957 and 1960 have hardly come close to fulfilling Congressional responsibility," the survey continued, adding:

"The contribution of the Supreme Court to the struggle for racial equality has been much greater than that of the Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy) and of course immeasurably greater than that of Congress."

The report pointed out that a little-noted decision by the court in the Peterson case, setting aside the convictions of Negro sit-in demonstrators protesting segregation at department store lunch counters in Greenville, S. C., "may turn out to be one of major importance, ranking in significance with the landmark cases of Baker v. Carr [legislative malapportionment] and Engel v. Vitale [New York Regents' prayer] of the 1961-62 term." The American Jewish Congress study declared:

"The Peterson decision and its companion decisions reflect a willingness on the part of the court to provide a legal framework in which the Negro may strive for his own emancipation. It has, in effect, indicated that it will not repeat the tragic mistake of the Dred Scott decision but, on the contrary, will seek to create a lawful and peaceful transition from racial inequality to racial equality."

'Liberal' Bloc Held Dominant

While the court is united on the major issues of national concern such as racial equality and church-state separation, individual differences among the justices on other questions still permit a division of the bench into "liberal" and "conservative" wings, the analysis found.

MORE

Appointment of Justices Arthur J. Goldberg and Byron White to succeed Felix Frankfurter and Charles Whittaker, the report said, shifted the line-up of the court from a 5-to-4 "conservative" majority to a 5-to-4 "liberal" majority.

A tally of the individual voting records of the nine justices showed that Justice Goldberg sided most frequently with the "liberals" — Warren, Brennan, Black and Douglas — while Justice White voted on many cases with the "conservatives" — Clark, Harlan and Stewart. Before their retirement from the bench, Justices Frankfurter and Whittaker voted most frequently with the "conservative" wing.

The summary showed that eleven of the 42 cases covered in the 1962-63 study were decided by 5-to-4 votes. All but one of these were carried by the "liberals."

Justices' Voting Records Analyzed

The American Jewish Congress report analyzed the justices' opinions according to whether they were favorable or unfavorable to the individual or group asserting a Constitutional or civil right. This method was adopted in preparing the survey, it was explained, as a relatively objective method of classification. There was no assumption that the person claiming the right was necessarily justified in doing so.

The difference between the "liberal" and "conservative" blocs was most apparent, according to the report, in a comparative tabulation of the votes of the justices in the 42 cases covered. Of the five "liberal" justices, Douglas showed a record of 39 favorable and 3 unfavorable votes; Warren, Black and Brennan each voted 38 and 4; and Goldberg voted 37 and 5.

The "conservative" wing consisted of Justices White (23 favorable, 19 unfavorable); Stewart (21 and 21); Clark (18 and 24) and Harlan (14 and 28).

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*Memorandum from* . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

Supreme Court

October 24, 1963

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

From: Joseph B. Robison

Subject: Summary and Analysis of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the 1962-63 Term of the Supreme Court.

We enclose herewith the seventh in our annual series of Summaries and Analyses of the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of civil rights and civil liberties.

The report reveals that the Supreme Court continues to be a steadfast guardian of the liberties of the people as guaranteed in the broad provisions of the Bill of Rights. While the Court is sometimes sharply divided, its major decisions of the past Term, notably in the areas of civil rights and religious liberty, were unanimous or nearly so. Thus, there was no more than one dissenting vote in any of the leading cases of the past Term, the Schempp Bible reading case, the Peterson decision dealing with sit-in demonstrations, the Gray case condemning the "county unit" system in primary elections for state-wide office and the Gideon case holding that states must provide indigent defendants with legal counsel for their defense in all criminal cases.

Previous years have seen a division of the Court into a conservative bloc of five and a liberal bloc of four. Changes in the personnel of the Court have given the liberal bloc the same narrow margin. However, it should be noted that, at least during the 1962-63 Term, this division manifested itself principally in cases dealing with procedural points rather than the establishment of fundamental principles.

We trust you will find this Summary and Analysis interesting and useful.

Encl.

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# THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES DECISIONS

of the

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

for the

1962-1963 TERM

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A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

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Prepared by the

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street

New York 28, N. Y.

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## INTRODUCTION

Our introduction to last year's Summary and Analysis of the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the United States Supreme Court noted that there had been a sharp drop during the Term covered by that Summary in the number of civil rights and civil liberties cases given full consideration and decision by the Court. During the 1960-1961 Term there had been 54 such decisions whereas during the 1961-1962 Term there had been only 28, just slightly more than half the number in the previous years. We suggested, nevertheless, that the conclusion we had drawn from the earlier study - that the Court fashioned by Marshall to be the supreme protector of property rights and to safeguard commerce, industry and finance from hostile legislatures had been replaced by a Court which deemed its constitutional function to be the protection of the liberties of the people - was still valid. We suggested further that the explanation for the drop in the number of civil rights and civil liberties decisions was to be found in temporary and accidental factors.

This suggestion appears to be validated by this year's Summary and Analysis (the seventh in an annual series). During the 1962-1963 Term, the number of civil rights and civil liberties decisions in which opinions were written increased to 42, 50% more than last year, although still below the top achieved during the 1960-1961 Term.

Analysis of the decisions of this Term as well as the previous Terms covered by this series, supports a number of other conclusions regarding the role of the Supreme Court in the American political system. More than a century ago, de Tocqueville noted that in the United States sooner or later all political issues become legal issues and get to the courts. Whether or not this statement is too broad, it nevertheless is true that in this country the Supreme Court has become the forum for the resolution of controversies that divide the community.

The work of the Court reflects, perhaps better than the operations of any other organ of government, the critical issues that confront the American people. Since the judicial revolution of 1937 (see Introduction to AJCongress Summary 1960-1961), the Court has abandoned the field of restraining or censoring social welfare legislation. The reason for this is that the great depression of the 1930's convinced the American people that the American capitalist economy could not survive except in the framework of a modified welfare state. The Supreme Court is not faced today with questions regarding the constitutionality of laws for social security, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, wages and hours, graduated income taxes, etc., because, notwithstanding the unhappiness of some extreme rightists with these laws, there is a practically universal consensus that they are here to stay and will always be part of our social system. On the other hand, during the same period (roughly, the past 15 years), the Court has been heavily involved in cases involving civil rights and civil liberties because the American people have been deeply involved and divided in these areas.

The extent to which the Court's actions reflect the people's concerns is indicated further by an examination of the nature of the civil rights and civil liberties cases in which the Court has acted. During the past Term, the Court wrote opinions in nine civil rights cases (all affecting Negroes) and in only three internal security cases. In contrast, during the 1956-1957 Term (the first covered in our series), the Court wrote opinions in 15 internal security cases and in only two civil rights cases. The explanation for the difference, we suggest, lies in the fact that in 1956 the principal American concern was interna security; today, it is the Negro's struggle for equality.

The results and the divisions of the Justices in these two classes of cases are also significant. All nine civil rights cases were decided in favor

of the claimed right; in the internal security cases the score was two to one in favor of the claimed right. This corresponds to the results during the seven year period covered by our series; the cumulative score is 30 to 4 in the civil rights cases, and 29 to 24 in the internal security cases. Moreover, in the civil rights cases the decisions during the past year were close to unanimous; only one Justice (Harlan) dissented in three of the nine cases, and even in those three his dissent was partial, addressed not to the substance but either to the inadequacy of the record or the failure to exhaust adequate state remedies On the other hand, in all three of the internal security cases, the Court was sharply divided, with the votes being either 5 - 4 or 6 - 3. It is probable that these results and divisions also reflect the American consensus - that on the whole the American people are more committed to achievement of equality by the Negro than they are to the protection of the constitutional liberties of actual and potential subversives.

Another conclusion concerning the Supreme Court's role in our political system that seems to emerge from our summaries is that the Court appears to have stepped into the vacuum created by the default of Congress in discharging the responsibilities imposed upon it by the Constitution. Each of the three post-Civil War amendments enacted to insure full equality for the Negro, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth, provides that Congress shall have power to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation. It was undoubtedly contemplated and intended thereby that the primary responsibility for according equality to the Negro would lie with Congress. The Reconstruction Congress so interpreted the mandate of the Constitution and enacted a number of laws which, though in large measure nullified by decisions of the pre-1937 Supreme Court, nevertheless still supply the legal basis for much of the litigation in the Federal courts aimed at racially discriminatory practices. However, for more

than three quarters of a century after 1875, when Congress enacted the last of the post-war civil rights statutes, not a single law was adopted by it to help make real the promise of equality expressed in the Amendments. The two modest if not minor civil rights laws enacted by Congress in 1957 and 1960 have hardly come close to fulfilling Congressional responsibility.

The existence of this vacuum, and the demand not merely by the Negro but by the overall American conscience that it be filled, have resulted in activities on the part of the other two arms of the Federal government, the executive and the judiciary, to an extent undoubtedly much greater than contemplated by the generation that added the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Of these two, the post-war generation undoubtedly contemplated that the responsibility of the executive would be greater than that of the judiciary. However, history has refused to agree with that decision. The contribution of the Supreme Court to the struggle for racial equality has been much greater than that of the Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy), and of course immeasurably greater than that of Congress.

Judicial intervention has come only after the legislative branch of government has had more than adequate opportunity to discharge the responsibility initially given it by the Constitution. The case of Baker v. Carr, decided last year, illustrates this. In 1946, in the case of Colegrove v. Green, the Court refused to take jurisdiction of a suit aimed at correcting the gross inequalities in the value of urban and rural votes in the election of legislatures. The philosophy of the Court in that case was that primary if not exclusive responsibility for eliminating the inequalities rested with the legislative bodies, federal and state. The passage of 15 years showed clearly that those bodies were either unwilling or unable to act. Accordingly, in 1961, in Baker v. Carr, the Court announced that it was prepared to intervene to discharge

a duty that had been abandoned by the organ of government to which it had initially been entrusted by our basic charter.

The willingness of the Court to provide a forum for the redress of profound grievances is a matter of great good fortune to the American people. For were there no such forum within our legal framework, it is certain that redress would be sought outside it. Our political and economic revolutions since the founding of our republic have been peaceful because there always has been a legal forum, legislative, executive or judicial, through which the changes required by our maturation and evolution could be effected without recourse to insurrection and unlawfulness. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in respect to our social revolution. Because of the default of all three branches of our government in the middle of the 19th century (the judiciary, in the case of Dred Scott v. Sanford), the controversy resulted in armed conflict. Now, a century later, the legislature has again defaulted in its responsibility, and the executive has responded niggardly and reluctantly; to appreciate this one need only compare the success of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in solving cases and obtaining convictions in the field of internal security with its dismal record in the field of civil rights. Whether there will again be a resort to wholesale violence and civil conflict may again depend on whether the Court will be able and willing to provide the means for a peaceful and lawful transition to a society of racial equality, which is as inevitable as was the transition from a laissez-faire economic system to the capitalist-welfare state in which we live.

In this respect the little-noted decision in Peterson v. City of Greenville during this Term may turn out to be one of major importance, ultimately ranking in significance with the landmark cases of Baker v. Carr and Engel v. Vitale of last year's Term. In the Peterson case, and in its extension in Lombard v. Louisiana and Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham, the Court set aside convictions of

Negroes engaged in sit-in demonstrations seeking to eliminate segregation at lunch counters in department stores. That the segregation, based as it was on the sanction of state law or action of state governmental officials, violated the Fourteenth Amendment was hardly open to question. (Even if the segregation had no governmental sanction to support it, it would be in violation of the intent of the generation that fought the Civil War and enacted the post-war civil rights statutes - although that intent had been frustrated by the Supreme Court's decision in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, in which it held that the Fourteenth Amendment does not encompass non-governmental discrimination.) The failure of both the Congress and the President to provide a remedy has made it both necessary and inevitable that the Negro should resort to self-help in the form of sit-in demonstrations. The Peterson decision and its companion decisions reflect a willingness on the part of the Court to provide a legal framework in which the Negro may strive for his own emancipation. It has, in effect, indicated that it will not repeat the tragic mistake of the Dred Scott decision but, on the contrary, will seek to create a lawful and peaceful transition from racial inequality to racial equality.

The sit-in demonstrations were the first large-scale step in the Negro's revolutionary struggle for self-emancipation and they were among the first to reach the Court. It may be anticipated that other steps will likewise find their way to the Court seeking the sanction of constitutional law and, so long as they remain peaceful, probably meeting a similarly sympathetic and hospitable reception.

Three other cases decided by the Court during the past Term merit special mention. Unlike Peterson v. City of Greenville, none of these represented judicial striking out in new constitutional directions (although even the

Peterson decision may have been somewhat anticipated by the 1946 decision of Marsh v. Alabama) but only the extension of existing frontiers. They are important for two reasons: first, their practical consequences, which will be nationwide and, secondly, the evidence they give that the Court has no intention of retreating from previous libertarian decisions but on the contrary is prepared to extend them and thus advance the development of freedom, justice and equality.

The most controversial of these decisions is undoubtedly School District v. Schempp, in which the Court declared unconstitutional devotional Bible reading and Lord's Prayer recitation in the public schools, thereby extending the principles announced in the McCollum decision of 1948 and last year's decision in Engel v. Vitale. The second of these decisions is Gray v. Sanders in which the Court held that Georgia's use of the "county unit" system in primary elections for statewide office violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The significance of the decision lies in the Court's exercise of jurisdiction under its decision in Baker v. Carr, last year, to hold that, at least insofar as statewide elections are concerned, the Amendment means "one person, one vote." The third decision is Gideon v. Wainwright in which the Court, extending the principles announced in earlier decisions, held that in all criminal cases, even those not involving the death penalty, the state must provide indigent defendants with legal counsel for their defense.

What is particularly gratifying and noteworthy about these four leading decisions of the 1962-1963 Term is that they were unanimous or practically so. All nine Justices joined in Peterson and Gideon, and in each of Schempp and Gray v. Sanders only one Justice dissented, Stewart in the former and Harlan in the latter.

The following Analysis consists of two parts. First, we describe the cases decided by the Court in the area of civil rights and civil liberties. Second, we present an analysis of the votes of the individual Justices during the Term.

## SUMMARY OF CASES DECIDED

We discuss the Court's decisions on civil rights and civil liberties under five major headings: (1) "Civil Rights," which covers cases dealing with racial discrimination; (2) "Internal Security," which includes not only cases arising under security laws but all other cases involving persons charged with Communist affiliations; (3) "Immigration and Nationality," (4) "Freedom of Expression and Voting," which includes freedom of speech, press, religion and voting; and (5) "Other Criminal Proceedings," which covers cases, not included in the previous headings, in which the parties raised such questions as self-incrimination, double jeopardy, forced confessions and the right to counsel.

With only a few exceptions, we cover here cases in which the Court granted a hearing and reached a decision on the merits. In some of the cases, full opinions were not written but the Court's disposition of the matter nevertheless established legal principles. We have not attempted to cover generally the Court's rulings declining to hear cases (by dismissing an appeal or denying a petition for writ of certiorari). However, a few such rulings that appear to be significant have been described briefly.

## I. CIVIL RIGHTS

Nine cases, an unusually large number, dealing with the struggle for equal rights reached the stage of full consideration and decision by the Court during the past year. Two dealt with schools, two with segregation in parks, one with segregated courtrooms, and one with fair employment legislation in a northern state. In addition, three cases decided together considered various aspects of the sit-in movement and other forms of protest demonstration.*

In Goss v. Board of Education, 83 S. Ct. 1405, a unanimous Court held unconstitutional that portion of Tennessee's proposed plan for school desegregation which permitted a student in a minority race to transfer back to a school where his race is in a majority. (The general plan provided for rezoning of school districts without reference to race.)

In an opinion by Justice Clark, the Court explained that "by the terms of the transfer provisions, a student, upon request, would be permitted, solely on the basis of his own race and the racial composition of the school to which he has been assigned by virtue of rezoning, to transfer from such school, where he would be in the racial minority, back to his former segregated school where his race would be in the majority." The Court found that this transfer system fostered the "perpetuation of segregation" particularly since it was not possible under the plan for a child to choose integration outside of his zone.

The Court held that classifications based on race for purposes of transfers between public schools, as here, violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It noted that the superficial equality of enabling each race to transfer from a desegregated to a segregated school cannot save the plan.

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* Three additional cases growing out of the civil rights struggle are dealt with below in the section on Freedom of Expression, (Edwards (No. 16), Gibson (No. 17) and Button (No. 18).

The fact that the transfer provision is based on race and operates only to promote segregation underscores the fact that the scheme as a whole has a racial character and purpose.

The Court concluded that "In reaching this result we are not unmindful of the deep-rooted problems involved." Indeed, it was consideration for these local problems and difficulties which led the Court in 1955, in the second Brown case to frame its order requiring desegregation of public schools in terms of "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date," with "all deliberate speed." Now, however, "eight years after this decree was rendered and over nine years after the first Brown decision, the context in which we must interpret and apply this language to plans for desegregation has been significantly altered.... The transfer provisions here cannot be deemed to be reasonably designed to meet legitimate local problems, and therefore do not meet the requirements of Brown."

In McNeese v. Board of Education, 83 S. Ct. 1433, the Court held, 8 - 1, that failure of a Negro plaintiff to resort to an administrative remedy under the Illinois School Code did not bar the maintenance of a suit under the Federal Civil Rights Act to prevent a local Board of Education from continuing to operate a segregated public school system.

The plaintiff had alleged that a large number of students had been transferred from an overcrowded school, that was 97% white, to an under-utilized school, that was 100% Negro, and that the transferred students were rigidly segregated from the existing student body, even to the point of being required to use separate entrances and exits. The suit in a Federal Court was dismissed because the plaintiff had failed to apply to Illinois authorities for relief.

The procedure for relief under the state law involved getting 50 residents of the school district or 10% (whichever is less) to file a complaint with the Superintendent of Instruction that a student had been segregated because of his

race. If, after a hearing, the Superintendent decided that the allegations were substantially correct, he could request the Attorney General to bring suit to rectify the practices subject to judicial review. Further, the Superintendent could withhold the certification necessary for state aid if he found that a school district practiced segregation.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Douglas held, first, that earlier Supreme Court decisions requiring resort to state remedies do not apply where, as here, "no underlying issue of state law" controls the litigation. The purpose of the Civil Rights Act, he said, was to override certain kinds of state laws; to provide remedies where state law was inadequate; or to provide supplementary remedies in the federal courts to any state remedies which might be available. "We would defeat these purposes if we held that assertion of a federal claim in a federal court must await an attempt to vindicate the same claim in a state court."

Further, "it is by no means clear that Illinois law provides ... an administrative remedy sufficiently adequate to preclude prior resort to a federal court for protection of ... federal rights." Aside from the problem of getting the 50 residents or 10% to sign the complaint, the Superintendent has no power to order corrective action. Finally, even if the Superintendent would refuse to certify a school district for state aid, the withholding of state aid at best is only an indirect sanction for violation of Fourteenth Amendment rights. "When federal rights are subject to such tenuous protection, prior resort to a state proceeding is not necessary."

Justice Harlan, dissenting, was of the opinion, first, that since the discriminatory practices here related to the manner in which a particular school district was formed and administered, "the federal courts should not initially become embroiled," but should leave the matter to local authorities. He asserted,

too, that the state remedy in this case was not deficient, stressing that the process was subject to judicial review. Finally, he said "we should be slow to hold unavailing an administrative remedy afforded by a State which long before Brown v. Board of Education ... had outlawed both by its constitution and statutes racial discrimination in its public schools...."*

In Watson v. Memphis, 83 S. Ct. 1314, a unanimous Court held that the doctrine of "all deliberate speed" is not applicable to public recreational facilities and that the City of Memphis was not justified in delaying the desegregation of its public parks. In the course of its decision, the Court plainly implied its impatience with delays in school desegregation as well.

This action had been brought by Negro residents of Memphis to halt segregation in all parks, playgrounds and similar facilities operated by the city. The city's defense was that it had already desegregated a number of facilities and should be given time to desegregate the rest. The Federal District Court denied the plaintiffs' prayer for an immediate end of segregation and directed the city to submit a desegregation plan within six months. It relied on the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases allowing such delay. (It will be remembered that the Supreme Court's first decision in the Brown case in 1954 condemned segregation in public schools and its second decision, a year later, permitted gradual desegregation, "with all deliberate speed.")

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* One other school case in which the Court took action was Meredith v. Fair, 83 S. Ct. 10, which involved James Meredith's application for admission to the University of Mississippi. A single Circuit Judge had repeatedly issued stays of the Circuit Court of Appeals mandate ordering Meredith's admission. During the summer recess of the Court, Meredith asked Justice Black to prevent further interference with the Circuit Court's mandate. Justice Black issued such an order, saying that there was no likelihood that the Supreme Court would disturb the lower court's decision, He also stated that, while he had power to act alone, he had submitted the matter to his Brethren, who agreed with his conclusion.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Goldberg said that the principle of "all deliberate speed" of the second Brown case was a modification of the usual principle that "constitutional rights are to be promptly vindicated." He said that in school desegregation, there was a need for this modification because of the practical difficulties stemming from compulsory attendance, and the fact that adequacy of teachers and facilities was of crucial significance. "Desegregation of parks and other recreational facilities does not present the same kinds of cognizable difficulties...." The Court said, therefore, that Memphis must sustain "an extremely heavy burden of proof" to justify the continuation of segregated recreational facilities, and held that it had failed to do so.

Specifically, the Court found that the fears of violence and disorder were purely speculative and that, in any case, law and order cannot be preserved by denying Negroes their rights. The Court also rejected the argument that additional supervision (which it was claimed would be necessary in unsegregated parks) would create additional cost and would cause the closing of playgrounds, thus depriving many children of recreational facilities. Even if this were true, "it is obvious that vindication of conceded constitutional rights cannot be made dependent upon any theory that it is less expensive to deny than to afford them."

The Court concluded that it was irrelevant that the recreational facilities available for Negroes might be roughly proportionate to their number and, therefore, presumably adequate to meet their needs. This argument "reflects an impermissible obeisance to the now thoroughly discredited doctrine of 'separate but equal.'"

A particularly striking aspect of the decision was the clear implication by the Court that it was not satisfied with the way in which its second decision in the Brown case was being used to delay school desegregation. The Court said:

> Given the extended time which has elapsed, it is far from clear that the mandate of the second Brown decision requiring that desegregation proceed with "all deliberate speed" would today be fully satisfied by types of plans or programs for desegregation of public educational facilities which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. Brown never contemplated that the concept of "deliberate speed" would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools.

In Wright v. Georgia, 83 S. Ct. 1240, a unanimous court reversed Georgia's conviction of six young Negroes for breach of the peace because they refused to obey a police officer's request that they leave a "white" city park in which they were playing basketball. The evidence in the case showed that the defendants had been playing basketball in the park in an orderly fashion, that the police went to the area as soon as they heard that Negroes were using it and that they ordered the defendants to leave. When the defendants refused to do so, they were arrested. They were, thereafter, convicted of disorderly conduct, by disturbing the public peace and not dispersing at the command of the police.

Chief Justice Warren, who delivered the Court's opinion, disposed first of the state's claim that the defendants had not complied with Georgia's extremely technical requirements for raising constitutional issues. Rejecting this claim, he quoted from earlier decisions, holding that "the assertion of Federal rights, when plainly and reasonably made, is not to be defeated under the name of local practice."

On the merits, Georgia argued first that the failure of the Negroes to obey the command of a police officer constituted a breach of the peace. As to this, the Court said, that "one cannot be punished for failing to obey the command of an officer if that command is itself violative of the Constitution." (Here the officers themselves testified that their intention was to enforce racial segregation in the park.) Georgia also argued that the Negroes were guilty of a breach of the peace because their activity was likely to cause a breach of the

peace by others. The Court said that there was no substantial evidence to support this possibility of disorder and that, in any case, "the possibility of disorder by others cannot justify exclusion of persons from a place if they otherwise have a constitutional right (founded upon the Equal Protection Clause) to be present."

The Court concluded that "under any view of the facts ... it cannot be maintained that petitioners had adequate notice that their conduct was prohibited by the breach of the peace statute." It is well established that a "conviction under a criminal enactment which does not give adequate notice that the conduct charged is prohibited is violative of due process."

Segregation in courtrooms was dealt with summarily by the Court in Johnson v. Virginia, 83 S. Ct. 1053. Here, the defendant had seated himself in the section reserved for whites in a Virginia Traffic Court and had refused to move to the white section even when directed to do so by the judge. He was convicted of contempt of court and the Virginia courts upheld the conviction. The Court unanimously reversed, without hearing argument. Its brief per curiam opinion noted that "it is no longer open to question that a State may not constitutionally require segregation of public facilities." It added: "State-compelled segregation in a court of justice is a manifest violation of the State's duty to deny no one the equal protection of the laws."*

Late in the Term, the Court decided five cases growing out of sit-in demonstrations in the South -- three by full decision and two by brief orders. Justice Harlan filed a single separate opinion in these cases, dissenting in four and concurring separately in the fifth.

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* The segregation dispute was also involved in Alabama v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 1365, where the Court, unanimously, in a one-paragraph per curiam opinion, denied a motion by the State of Alabama for leave to file a suit to enjoin the President from alerting and stationing troops in the area of Birmingham.

In Peterson v. City of Greenville, 83 S. Ct. 1119, the Court held unanimously that the conviction of ten Negroes for a sit-in demonstration at a chain store's segregated lunch counter violated the equal protection clause where the segregation was required by a City ordinance. The ten defendants in this case were Negro boys and girls who entered the lunch counter at an S. H. Kress store in Greenville, S. C. to obtain service. The manager told them to leave. When they refused to do so, they were arrested. They were convicted of violating the South Carolina anti-trespass statute, which makes it illegal to fail to leave a privately-owned place when requested to do so by the owner.

Chief Justice Warren based the Court's reversal of the convictions on the fact that the City of Greenville had an ordinance requiring segregation in lunch counters. He declared that, since the city "has provided by its ordinance that the decision as to whether a restaurant facility is to be operated on a desegregated basis is to be reserved to it," the city "has removed that decision from the sphere of private choice." The convictions thus cannot stand even if, as the city claimed, the manager of the store would have excluded the Negroes independently of the city ordinance.

The convictions "had the effect, which the State cannot deny, of enforcing the ordinance passed by the City of Greenville, the agency of the state. When a State agency passes a law compelling persons to discriminate against other persons because of race, and the State's criminal processes are employed in a way which enforces the discrimination mandated by the law, such a palpable violation of the Fourteenth Amendment cannot be saved by attempting to separate the mental urges of the discriminators."*

* On the same day, the Court issued a one-sentence, per curiam decision, in Gober v. Birmingham, 83 S. Ct. 1311, reversing similar convictions on the authority of the Peterson case. In another one-sentence per curiam decision, the Court vacated the convictions in Avent v. North Carolina, 83 S. Ct. 1311 and remanded the case to the Supreme Court of North Carolina for further consideration in light of the Peterson case. The North Carolina court had decided the case on the erroneous assumption that no ordinance requiring restaurant segregation existed.

In Lombard v. Louisiana, 83 S. Ct. 1122, the Court held, by an 8 - 1 vote, that statements by public officials that sit-in demonstrations were prohibited had the same coercive effect as a city ordinance requiring segregation. Here, three Negro and one white student had been convicted for refusing to leave the lunch counter of a McCrory store in New Orleans. It appeared that, prior to the arrests, both the Mayor and the Superintendent of Police had issued statements on earlier sit-in demonstrations. Thus, the Mayor had stated that "It is my determination that the community interest, the public safety, and the economic welfare of this city require that such demonstrations cease and that henceforth they be prohibited by the police department." The evidence revealed that the restaurant manager has asked the defendants to leave in obedience to the directive of the city official.

Speaking for the Court, Chief Justice Warren concluded that the New Orleans city officials "determined that the city would not permit Negroes to seek desegregated service in restaurants. Consequently, the city must be treated exactly as if it had an ordinance prohibiting such conduct." The case was thus governed by the Peterson decision just described.

Justice Douglas filed a concurring opinion, joining in the Court's opinion but giving two additional grounds for reversal. First, he stressed that a public facility such as a restaurant "has no aura of constitutionally protected privacy about it." He concluded that when the State, through its officials or its courts, enforces discrimination by such a public enterprise, it violates the equal protection clause. Second, he noted that the restaurant held a license from the state and that its operation was extensively regulated by the state. "This restaurant is thus an instrumentality of the State since the State charges it with duties to the public and supervises its performance."

In Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham, 83 S. Ct. 1130, the Court, by a vote of 8 - 1, reversed the conviction of two ministers for aiding and abetting a violation of a city ordinance. The ministers had been charged with encouraging students to participate in sit-in demonstrations. One of the defendants, Reverend F. L. Shuttlesworth, a close associate of Reverend Martin Luther King, was sentenced to 180 days in jail at hard labor and a fine of $100.00. The other defendant was sentenced to 30 days and $25.00.

Writing for the Court, Chief Justice Warren noted that the two college students who had testified concerning the defendants' conduct were the same two whose conviction for criminal trespass was involved in Gober v. Birmingham (described above) in which their convictions were reversed by the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice said that "there can be no conviction for aiding and abetting someone to do an innocent act" and, since the convictions in Gober had been set aside, "it follows that the present petitioners did not incite or aid and abet any crime, and that therefore their own convictions must be set aside."

Justice Harlan wrote a separate opinion in which he discussed the Peterson, Lombard, Gober, Avent and Shuttlesworth cases, concurring in the result in Peterson, and dissenting in whole or in part in the other cases. His differences with the Court related primarily to the treatment of the state action issue.

Regarding the Peterson case, Justice Harlan disagreed with the Court's holding that the mere existence of the segregation ordinance rendered the state's enforcement of its trespass laws unconstitutional, regardless of whether the store owner's decision to exclude was actually influenced by the ordinance. However, he believed that the existence of the ordinance made out a prima facie case of invalid state action and that the state now had the burden of proving that the exclusion of Negroes was in fact solely the product of private choice. In the Peterson case the state had not sustained that burden of proof, since the evidence

showed that the manager's exclusion of the Negroes had been based on the ordinance. Justice Harlan therefore joined in the Court's judgment.

In the Lombard case, Justice Harlan believed that the statements of the Mayor could not be compared with a city ordinance commanding segregated eating facilities because they were designed to preserve the peace rather than to require segregation. Had the chain store involved chosen to serve Negroes as well as the whites it could have done so without any official restraints.

However, Justice Harlan found that evidence indicating "advance collaboration" between the police and the chain store had been excluded by the trial court. Since such evidence, in his view, would have justified reversing the convictions, he would have remanded the case for a new trial.

As to the Gober case, Justice Harlan believed that it was impossible to say from the record whether or not the judgments of conviction might be supported on independent and adequate state grounds under Alabama law. He therefore concluded that the case should be sent back to the Alabama courts for further action.

In the Avent case, Justice Harlan noted that, in affirming the convictions, the North Carolina court ignored the existence of a local segregation ordinance. He thus agreed with the Court that the case should be returned to the state courts for further consideration. However, since he disagreed with the majority's opinion in Peterson, he dissented from the judgment and opinion of the Court in Avent.

Justice Harlan said, finally, that the majority's holding in the Shuttlesworth case was based on the erroneous premise that Shuttlesworth was charged merely with inciting the sit-ins involved in the Gober case. Shuttlesworth was charged also with generally inciting violations of the Birmingham trespass ordinance and therefore the Court's reversal in the Gober case could not serve as the ground for reversal in Shuttlesworth. However, he said that, since the trespass which

Shuttlesworth was convicted of inciting "may or may not have involved denials of equal protection, depending on the event of the 'state action' issue," he would send the case back for a new trial.

In Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission v. Continental Air Lines, 83 S. Ct. 1022, a unanimous Court held that the Colorado statute prohibiting discrimination in employment could constitutionally be applied to an interstate air line. The State Commission administering the statute had found that Continental Air Lines had refused to hire a qualified Negro as a pilot, solely because of his race. The Colorado Supreme Court set aside the Commission's order on the ground that the state law could not be applied to an interstate carrier. The Supreme Court reversed.

The air line had two main lines of argument. The first was that the Colorado statute imposes an undue burden on interstate commerce and thus violates the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. Justice Black, speaking for the Court, noted that while there were situations in which "the dangers and hardships of diverse regulation justify foreclosing a state from exercise of its traditional powers," this was not the case here since diverse regulation was not constitutionally possible. In earlier cases dealing with this problem, the Supreme Court had "assumed the validity both of state laws requiring segregation and of state laws forbidding segregation .... But under our more recent decisions any state or federal law requiring applicants for any job to be turned away because of their color would be invalid.... The kind of burden that was thought possible in [earlier cases], therefore, simply cannot exist here."

The Court also rejected the air line's second argument that federal law "has so pervasively covered the field of protecting people in interstate commerce from racial discrimination that the States are barred from enacting legislation in this field." The Court examined the Federal Aviation Act and the Railway Labor

Act, and referred to executive orders banning racial and religious discrimination in hiring. It concluded that these acts and orders were not intended to regulate air carrier discrimination so pervasively so as to invalidate state legislation attempting to accomplish the same purpose.

II. INTERNAL SECURITY

Only three cases involving aspects of internal security were decided by the Court during the 1962-63 Term, an unusually small number. (But see the Cort and Gibson cases described in the two succeeding sections.) Two of the cases involved the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the other an alien sought to be deported because of membership in the Communist Party.

In Yellin v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 1828, the Court held, 5 - 4, that the failure of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to follow its own rules for the protection of witnesses during an investigation of Communist "colonization" of the steel industry vitiated the contempt conviction of a witness who refused to answer the Committee's questions.

The rules of the Committee provide that, "If a majority of the Committee ... believes that the interrogation of a witness in a public hearing might endanger national security or unjustly injure his reputation, or the reputation of other individuals, the Committee shall interrogate such witness in an executive session ...." When the defendant in this case was subponaed to appear as a witness at a Committee hearing, his attorney wired the Committee asking that he be heard in an executive session. He received a wire in reply from the Committee's staff director denying the request. At the hearing, the Committee refused to allow the exchange of wires to be placed in the record. Thereafter, the defendant refused to answer questions put to him, primarily on the ground that the questions violated his rights under the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of expression. He was convicted of contempt of Congress.

In reversing his conviction, the Court did not reach the constitutional questions because it concluded that the Committee had failed to comply with its own rules. Chief Justice Warren, in the Court's opinion, noted that, under the Committee's rules, it may hold a public hearing even if it will injure the witness' reputation but that the Committee nevertheless has an obligation to consider the reputation of the witness and his efforts to protect it. The Court found, first, that the Committee did not consider injury to Yellin's reputation when it decided against calling him to testify in executive session and, second, that the Committee failed to act at all upon Yellin's express request for an executive session, since a staff director, who lacked the authority to do so, acted in the Committee's stead.

The Court rejected the argument that the Committee's rules were written to provide guides for the Committee and were not designed to confer rights upon witnesses. Chief Justice Warren noted that throughout the rules "the dominant theme is definition of the witness' rights and privileges." He held that after the Committee had failed to "exercise its discretion according to the standards which Yellin [had] a right to have considered," the only avenue open to Yellin which would protect his reputation was the one he took by refusing to testify.

Finally, the Court said that Yellin's rights were not forfeited by his failure to make clear at the time he was questioned that his refusal to answer questions was based upon the Committee's departure from its own rules. The Court said that Yellin was unable at the time of his hearing to know that his rights had been violated since, so far as he knew, the staff director had the authority to deny his request. It was not until his trial that the facts were revealed.

Justice White dissented, joined by Justices Clark, Harlan and Stewart. Justice White said, first, that "[S]ince petitioner did not refuse to testify

at the hearing on the ground that it was a public rather than a private session ... he is not entitled, at this late stage, to rely upon the Committee's alleged failure to apply its executive session rule to him." If possible damage to his reputation was the grounds for his demanding an executive session under the Committee's rules, a decent respect for the House of Representatives would have required him to state this objection to the Committee itself. Further, Yellin's telegram did not "make out a substantial demand for an executive session" based on the Committee's rules.

Justice White also found that the Committee had properly applied its executive session rule to Yellin. The Committee had information that Yellin was a known Communist and the Committee believed its information to be reliable and adequate. Public interrogation of a witness, if the Committee's foundation for its questions rests on rumor, "falls within the area of unjust injury to reputation. But public revelation of the truth does not."

Finally, the dissenters said that much of the discussion was beside the point. Since Yellin refused to answer four questions, and since his sentence was to be served concurrently, if his refusal to answer any of the four was unjustified, the conviction must stand. One of the questions related to Yellin's place of residence before 1957. An answer to that question could not possibly be harmful to his reputation.

Wheeldin v. Wheeler, 83 S. Ct. 1441, involved a suit against a staff member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for abuse of process. The Court voted, 6 - 3, to dismiss the proceedings.

The plaintiffs in this case asserted that the defendant, a Committee investigator, had served them with subpoenas, entirely without authority from any Committee members, as required by statute. They further asserted that the subpoenas had been served on them while they were at work, that as a result they lost their

jobs and that it had been the defendant's intent to subject them to public shame and a false stain of disloyalty. Suing in a federal court, they asked for an injunction and money damages. Since the subpoenas were not enforced, the only issue was the claim for damages. The lower courts dismissed the action, on ground the Supreme Court regarded as invalid. However, the Court affirmed, holding that there was no federal cause of action.

Justice Douglas, in the Court's opinion, first rejected the claim that the subpoenas constituted an unreasonable search or seizure, in violation of the Fourth Amendment, noting that there was neither a search nor a seizure. The Court further rejected the claim that there was a federal right, assertable in federal courts, not to be subjected to abuse of federal process. It held that Congress had not created any such right by statute and that this was not a case in which the Court could create a "federal common law" right. Hence, any right that the aggrieved parties had was under the state common law concerning abuse of process and could be asserted only in the state courts.

Justice Brennan dissented, with Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black in agreement. He noted that the questions decided by the Court had not been discussed in the lower courts and hence had not been fully briefed or discussed in the Supreme Court. He would have remanded the case to the lower courts for full consideration, believing that the disposition made by the Court was open to serious question. Thus, he argued that the complaint clearly stated a general common law cause of action for abuse of process and that there was adequate basis for creating a federal common law dealing with abuse of federal process. He said that, where it is alleged that a federal officer has so abused his powers "as to cause unjustifiable injury to a private person, I see no warrant for concluding that state laws must be looked to as the sole basis for liability."

In Gastelum-Quinones v. Kennedy, 83 S. Ct. 1819, the Court held, 5 - 4, that proof that an alien had for two years attended meetings of and paid dues to a local club of the Communist Party is not sufficient evidence of "meaningful association" to warrant deportation under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. (The act subjects to deportation aliens, who, after entry, became members of the Party.)

Speaking for the majority, Justice Goldberg said that the statute had been previously interpreted by the Supreme Court as meaning that deportability on the grounds of being a member of the Communist Party turns on whether the alien was "aware that he was joining an organization known as the Communist Party which operates as a distinct and active political organization" and whether the alien had a "meaningful association" with the Party.

Here, the Court found the evidence of association with the Party, consisting of the testimony of two government witnesses, insufficient to establish the government's case. The Court rejected the argument that, since the defendant failed to produce evidence in response to the government's proof, there was an inference of meaningful association. Deportation is a "drastic sanction" and "a holding of deportability must therefore be premised upon evidence of 'meaningful association' more directly probative than a mere inference based upon the alien's silence." From the evidence of the government witnesses, "the dominating impulse to petitioner's affiliation with the Communist Party may well have been wholly devoid of any 'political' implications."

Justice White dissented, joined by Justices Clark, Harlan and Stewart. He asserted, first, that since the sole issue presented to the lower courts was whether the Board of Immigration Appeals should have re-opened the proceedings to allow the defendant to show that he had never personally believed in the violent overthrow of the government, the majority should not have resurrected the

issue of meaningful association, supposedly settled in the previous proceeding in the case. (The majority opinion did not discuss this point.) He concluded further that the facts in this case were sufficient to justify a finding of voluntary and meaningful membership. He referred to the general rule that the findings of administrative agencies are not to be overturned by the courts if there is substantial evidence to warrant the inferences they drew, finding no reason to apply a different rule here.

## III. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ELECTIONS

### A. Religious Freedom

In School District of Abington Township v. Schempp and Murray v. Curlett, 83 S. Ct. 1560, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional, by a vote of 8 - 1, the practice of devotional Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools.

The Schempp case challenged the validity of a Pennsylvania law requiring the reading without comment of ten verses from the Holy Bible on the opening of public school each day. The statute provided that any child shall be excused from participation or attendance at the written request of his parent or guardian. In the particular high school attended by the plaintiffs' children, the Bible reading exercises were broadcast each morning through an intercommunication system, followed by recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Although the school furnished only the King James (Protestant) version of the Bible, the student selected to do the reading could use a different version, and at times the Douay (Catholic) and Jewish versions were used. There were no prefatory statements and no interpretation given at or during the exercises. A statutory three-judge federal court unanimously held that the reading of the verses, even without comment, possessed a devotional and religious character, and constituted in effect a religious observance. The practice was, therefore, held unconstitutional and its discontinuance decreed.

In the Murray case no statute was involved. The suit, brought by an avowed atheist, challenged the daily Bible reading and Lord's Prayer recitation which had been practiced in the Baltimore public schools pursuant to a rule of the city board of school commissioners that had been promulgated in 1905. No trial was held in the Murray case, as the Maryland trial court dismissed the complaint and the state's highest court upheld the dismissal.

Writing for the Court, Justice Clark said there is an overlapping between the non-establishment and free exercises clauses of the First Amendment. He went on:

> ... The Establishment Clause has been directly considered by this Court eight times in the past score of years and, with only one Justice dissenting on the point, it has consistently held that the clause withdrew all legislative power respecting religious belief or the expression thereof. The test may be stated as follows: what are the purpose and primary effect of the enactment? If either is the advancement or inhibition of religion then the enactment exceeds the scope of legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion... The Free Exercise Clause, likewise considered many times here, withdraws from legislative power, state and federal, the exertion of any restraint on the free exercise of religion.... The distinction between the two clauses is apparent - a violation of the Free Exercise Clause is predicated on coercion while the Establishment Clause violation need not be so attended.

Applying these principles to the cases before it, the Court found that, since the challenged exercises are of a religious character, they are unconstitutional.

In the Maryland case, it was argued by the school authorities that the purpose of the morning program was not religious but secular, in that it sought to promote moral values. But, Justice Clark said, even if its purpose is not strictly religious, it is sought to be accomplished through readings from the Bible, and the "place of the Bible as an instrument of religion cannot be gainsaid."

The Court also rejected the contention that its decision collides with the majority's right to the free exercise of religion. The free exercise clause, said Justice Clark, "has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the State to practice its beliefs." The opinion concluded:

> The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home, the church and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of government to invade that citadel, whether its purpose or effect be to aid or oppose, to advance or retard. In the relationship between man and religion, the State is firmly committed to a position of neutrality.

Justice Goldberg, in a concurring opinion in which Justice Harlan joined, emphasized that the Court's decision does not require a state or its public schools to ignore religion. "Neither the state nor this Court," he said, "can or should ignore the significance of the fact that a vast portion of our people believe in and worship God and that many of our legal, political and personal values derive historically from religious teachings.... The Court would recognize the propriety of providing military chaplains and of the teaching about religion, as distinguished from the teaching of religion, in the public schools."

In his concurring opinion, Justice Douglas pursued the theme first expressed by him in the Regents' Prayer case, Engel v. Vitale (See AJCongress Summary 1961-1962, p. 30) that even a minimal expenditure of governmental funds for religious purposes violates the establishment clause. That clause, he stated, "forbids the State to employ its facilities or funds in a way that gives any church, or all churches, greater strength in our society than it would have by relying on its members alone."

Justice Brennan, concurring, offered a lengthy analysis of all the Court's previous church-state decisions and concluded that the Constitution forbids "those involvements of religious with secular institutions which (a) serve the

essentially religious activities of religious institutions; (b) employ the organs of government for essentially religious purposes; or (c) use essentially religious means to serve governmental ends, where secular means would suffice."

Justice Stewart, dissenting, believed that there was a substantial free exercise claim on the part of those who desire to have their children's school day open with the reading of passages from the Bible. He said that the use of government property for religious purposes becomes unconstitutional only when it is used to support the proseletyzing activities of religious sects. It follows from this that devotional Bible reading and Lord's Prayer recitation are unconstitutional only if there is a restriction through coercion or restraint upon the free exercise of religion. Since the record in these cases was not clear on the issue of coercion, he would have remanded the cases to the trial courts.

In Sherbert v. Verner, 83 S. Ct. 1790, the Court held, over two dissents, that the free exercise clause of the First Amendment prohibits the denial of unemployment compensation benefits to a Seventh Day Adventist who refused to work on Saturday because of her religious beliefs. The appellant had worked for a textile mill for several years when it changed its work week to include Saturday. When she refused to work on that day, she was discharged. Since she refused other available jobs on the same ground, she was denied unemployment benefits under the South Carolina statute which bars compensation if an applicant rejects available jobs "without good cause." The state courts upheld the denial of compensation.

In an opinion by Justice Brennan, the Court found that, if the denial of benefits were to withstand the constitutional challenge, it must be either because the disqualification represented no "infringement by the State of ... constitutional rights of free exercise" or because any incidental burden on free exercise may be justified by a compelling state regulatory interest. The Court found, first, that the disqualification for benefits clearly imposed a substantial burden on the free exercise of religion, since the appellant could follow the precepts of her

religion only if she forfeited benefits under the statute. Further, the Court pointed out that South Carolina statutes expressly exempt the Sunday worshipper from having to make this kind of choice. "The unconstitutionality of the disqualification of the Sabbatarian is thus compounded by the religious discrimination which South Carolina's general statutory scheme necessarily effects."

The Court then said that there was here no overriding state interest in enforcing the existing provisions of the statute which might justify the infringement of First Amendment rights. It rejected the argument that the possibility of spurious claims was adequate justification. The Court distinguished this case from Braunfeld v. Brown, in which it upheld Sunday closing laws even as against Sabbatarians (see AJCongress Summary 1960-61, p. 48), on the ground that in Braunfeld there was a compelling state interest in a uniform day of rest for all workers, which could have been achieved only by declaring Sunday to be that day.

The Court also rejected the claim that its decision "established" the Seventh Day Adventist religion in South Carolina in contravention of the First Amendment. The "extension of unemployment benefits to Sabbatarians in common with Sunday worshippers reflects nothing more than the governmental obligation of neutrality in the face of religious differences ...."

Justice Douglas, concurring, noted that there were many small religious denominations in this country whose tenets "could easily be trod upon under the guise of 'police' or 'health' regulations reflecting the majority's views." He referred to his dissent in the Sunday law cases, emphasizing that "/t/he harm is the interference with the individual's scruples or conscience -- an important area of privacy which the First Amendment fences off from government."

Justice Stewart concurred in the result but rejected the majority's line of reasoning. He said that there are many situations where "legitimate claims

under the Free Exercise Clause will run into head-on collision with the Court's insensitive and sterile construction of the Establishment Clause," as in the Bible reading cases above. The Court's construction of the establishment clause, he said, "requires South Carolina ... to deny the appellant's claim for unemployment compensation ...." This "poses no problem for me, because I think the Court's mechanistic concept of the Establishment Clause is historically unsound and constitutionally wrong...." He also found the present decision inconsistent with Braunfeld v. Brown (since he did not agree that there was less direct burden on religious practices in the Braunfeld case) and concluded that Braunfeld should be overruled.

Justice Harlan, joined by Justice White in dissent, said first that, despite the Court's protestations to the contrary, the decision necessarily overrules Braunfeld v. Brown. Second, this holding violates the establishment clause, since the state must "single out for financial assistance those whose behavior is religiously motivated,...." Justice Harlan said that, while a state could constitutionally create an exemption for Sabbatarians if it so desired, it is not constitutionally compelled to do so. "Such compulsion in the present case is particularly inappropriate in light of the indirect, remote, and insubstantial effect of the decision below on the exercise of appellant's religion and in light of the direct financial assistance to religion that today's decision requires." *

* A reverberation of the Court's Sunday law decisions of 1961 appeared in Arlan's Department Store v. Kentucky, 83 S. Ct. 277, in which the Court dismissed an appeal from the conviction of the owners of a Louisville store for violating Kentucky's Sunday law. That law contains an exemption for those who observe a Sabbath other than Sunday. In their appeal to the Supreme Court, the defendants claimed that this exemption constituted discrimination in favor of certain religious groups, thereby making the statute unconstitutional under the First Amendment as made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth. The Court, without opinion, dismissed the appeal for want of a substantial federal question. Justice Douglas, who had been the sole dissenter from the Court's 1961 decision upholding Sunday laws generally, filed a brief dissent. He regarded the law as "plainly an aid to all organized religions, bringing to heel anyone who violates the religious scruples of the majority by seeking his salvation not through organized religion but on his own."

B. Censorship

In Bantam Books Inc., et al. v. Sullivan, 83 S. Ct. 631, the Supreme Court held, 8 - 1, that the circulation by the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality In Youth of notices listing objectionable books, thanking a bookseller for his cooperation, and reminding the seller of the Commission's duty to recommend prosecution of purveyors of obscenity, constituted governmental censorship prohibited by the First Amendment. The Commission had been established by the state legislature with the purpose of educating the public concerning any book containing obscene language or manifestly tending toward the corruption of youth. This suit was brought by a group of publishers who showed that the Commission's activities prevented circulation of some of their books in Rhode Island. The publishers operated in the state through a distributor. The distributor had received letters from the Commission stating that certain books were "objectionable," asking cooperation in removing them from circulation and warning that the police would act in case of non-compliance. In order to avoid prosecution, the distributor promptly withdrew the books.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Brennan found that, although the Commission was limited to informal sanctions, the evidence showed that the Commission had undertaken to achieve the suppression of certain publications and had in fact succeeded. The Commission's operation was held "a form of effective state regulation superimposed upon the State's criminal regulation of obscenity and making such regulation largely unnecessary. In thus obviating the need to employ criminal sanctions, the State has at the same time eliminated the safeguards of the criminal process."

Justice Brennan said that, where systems of prior administrative restraint have been held constitutional, they have "operated under judicial superintendence and assured an almost immediate judicial determination of the validity of the

restraint." Rhode Island procedures involved no such safeguards. Moreover, the Commission's statutory mandate was found to be vague. Books are marked "objectionable" without further elucidation. The distributor must speculate as to whether the book is considered "obscene or simply harmful to juvenile morality."

Justice Brennan noted that the Court was not barring consultation between the police and distributors before the institution of prosecutions where it took the form of advice to aid compliance with the law. Here, however, the Commission "acted as an agency not to advise but to suppress." Accordingly, the Court held that "the system of informal censorship disclosed by this record violates the Fourteenth Amendment." Since it did not invalidate the underlying statute, it presumably left the Commission free to find a new modus operandi.

Justice Black noted his concurrence in the result, but without submitting a separate opinion.

Justice Douglas joined in the opinion of the Court, emphasizing the lack of procedural safeguards and the dangers to freedom of expression. He also indicated his adherence to the views he expressed in his dissenting opinion in Roth v. United States (see AJCongress Summary of 1956-57, p. 18) respecting the "narrow scope of governmental authority to suppress publications on the grounds of obscenity."

Although Justice Clark concurred in the result, he asserted in a separate opinion that since the Court could not, under earlier decisions, strike down the Rhode Island obscenity statute completely, it should not drop "a demolition bomb 'on the Commission's practice' without clearly indicating what might be salvaged from the wreckage." He agreed that the Commission should "abandon its delusions of grandeur and leave the issuance of 'orders' to enforcement officials and 'the state's criminal regulation of obscenity' to the prosecutors." He noted, however, that, under the majority opinion, the Commission was free to engage in other

activities relating to obscenity, such as publicizing findings as to the obscene character of any publication, sending its findings to publishers and distributors, and seeking the aid of state law enforcement officers in prosecuting offenders of the state obscenity law.

Justice Harlan, criticized the Court's opinion for failing to consider "the accommodation that must be made between Rhode Island's concern with the problem of juvenile delinquency and the right of freedom of expression assured by the Fourteenth Amendment." He believed that the reasons given by the Court for holding the procedures of the Rhode Island Commission unconstitutional were not of "overriding weight in the context of what is obviously not an effort by the State to obstruct free expression but an attempt to cope with a most baffling social problem."

C. Freedom of Speech.

In Edwards v. South Carolina, 83 S. Ct. 680, the Court held, 8 - 1, that the conviction of a number of Negro students for disturbing the peace violated the constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression. The record showed that some 187 Negro students had engaged in a peaceful demonstration against segregation on the grounds of the South Carolina State House. A crowd gathered to watch, but there was no violence and police protection was "ample." The students were allowed to demonstrate for some time and were then told to disperse. They refused to do so and started singing "The Star Spangled Banner" and other songs, and a "religious harangue" was made by one of the leaders. They were thereupon arrested for breach of the peace.

The Court found, in an opinion by Justice Stewart, that "the circumstances in this case reflect an exercise of these basic constitutional rights [of expression] in their most pristine and classic form." The evidence, said Justice Stewart, "showed no more than that the opinions which they were peaceably expressing were sufficiently opposed to the views of the majority of the community to

attract a crowd and necessitate police protection." It was clear to the Court that in arresting, convicting and punishing the defendants under these circumstances South Carolina infringed their "constitutionally protected rights of free speech, free assembly, and freedom to petition for redress of their grievances."

To Justice Clark, dissenting, the question in this case was "whether a State is constitutionally prohibited from enforcing laws to prevent breach of the peace in a situation where city officials in good faith believe, and the record shows, that disorder and violence are imminent, merely because the activities constituting that breach contain elements of constitutionally protected speech and assembly." Justice Clark concluded that the police officers had interfered only when they apprehended imminent violence and that it was not a constitutional principle that the police, to preserve order, must act against the crowds and give immunity to the demonstrators.

D. Freedom of Association.

In Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, 83 S. Ct. 889, the Court held, 5 - 4, that, absent substantial evidence of a connection between subversive activity and a local NAACP branch, a state investigative committee could not compel the president of the branch to use membership lists to refresh his memory as to whether specified individuals were members of the NAACP. The controversy began in 1956, when a committee of the Florida Legislature began to investigate the NAACP. The NAACP refused to produce its entire membership lists, and the Supreme Court of Florida held that, while it could not be compelled to produce and disclose the lists, the custodian of the lists would be compelled to bring them to the hearing and refer to them to determine whether specific individuals, identified as or suspected of being Communists, were NAACP members.

Gibson, the president of the Miami NAACP, refused to bring the lists. At the hearing, he volunteered to answer questions as to membership on the basis of his own information. When given the names and shown photographs of fourteen

persons, he said that he could associate none of them with the NAACP. He was adjudged in contempt, sentenced to six months in jail and fined $1,200.00. His conviction was upheld by the Florida appellate courts.

Justice Goldberg, writing for the majority, noted that the parties agreed that the proper test to be applied in reconciling the claims of the government and the individual was whether a sufficient "nexus" had been shown between the information sought and a subject of overriding and compelling state regulatory interest. After reviewing the evidence that some persons with known Communist affiliations had had some degree of activity in the NAACP, the Court concluded that the important right to "privacy of membership lists of groups engaged in the constitutionally protected free trade in ideas and beliefs may not be substantially infringed upon such a slender showing as here made by the respondent."

Justice Black, concurring, believed that "the constitutional right of association includes the privilege of any person to associate with Communists or anti-Communists ..." or "... with people of all kinds of beliefs, popular or unpopular ... I cannot understand by what constitutional authority Florida can compel answers to questions which abridge that right."

Justice Douglas, concurring, said that "[J]oining a group is often as vital to freedom of expression as utterance itself," and that the Fourteenth Amendment makes the First Amendment applicable to the states with the same force and to the same degree that the First Amendment itself is applicable to the Federal Government. "[T]he State and Federal Governments by force of the First Amendment, are barred from investigating any person's faith or ideology by summoning him or by summoning officers or members of his society, church or club."

Justice Harlan dissenting, joined by Justices Clark, Stewart and White, believed that the Court's holding as to the absence of "nexus" was unsound. In effect, the majority was requiring an investigating agency "to prove in advance the very things it is trying to find out." He also believed that the case did not

present a serious question as to interference with freedom of association, in view of Gibson's willingness to testify about his own knowledge of NAACP membership.

Justice White, dissenting in a separate opinion, believed that "the opinion of the Court represents a serious limitation upon the Court's previous cases dealing with this subject matter and upon the right of the legislature to investigate the Communist Party and its activities." He concluded: "The net effect of the Court's decision is, of course, to insulate from effective legislative inquiry and preventive legislation the time-proven skills of the Communist Party in subverting and eventually controlling legitimate organizations."

In NAACP v. Button, 83 S. Ct. 328, the Court held 6 - 3 that litigation activities of the NAACP directed against segregation could not constitutionally be forbidden under Virginia's statutory ban on "the improper solicitation of legal business." Statutory regulation of unethical and nonprofessional conduct by attorneys had existed in Virginia since 1849 and the statutes had included a ban on improper solicitation of legal business. Until 1956, however, no attempt had been made to limit NAACP activities. In 1956 the legislature amended the statute to include as an illegal solicitor of legal business an agent for an organization which retains a lawyer in connection with an action to which it is not a party and in which it has no pecuniary right or liability. Litigation activities of the NAACP directed at ending racial segregation in Virginia public schools were banned under this revised statute.

The NAACP attacked the application of the Virginia statute on a number of grounds but the Court reached only one: that the statute abridged rights under the First Amendment protected against state action by the Fourteenth Amendment. In an opinion by Justice Brennan, the Court held that the activities of the NAACP "are modes of expression and association protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments which Virginia may not prohibit, under its power to regulate the legal profession, as improper solicitation of legal business...."

Justice White wrote a separate opinion, concurring in part and dissenting in part. He agreed that the Virginia statute as construed by the Virginia courts prohibited not only control of the litigation by the NAACP, but also advising the employment of particular attorneys. He also agreed that it is unconstitutional for a "State to prevent the exercise of constitutional rights in the name of preventing a lay entity from controlling litigation." He believed, however, that the majority would also strike down "a narrowly drawn statute proscribing only the actual day-to-day management and dictation of the tactics, strategy and conduct of litigation." Justice White concluded that neither the practice of law by a lay organization nor its management of the litigation of its members is constitutionally protected.

Justice Harlan, joined by Justices Clark and Stewart, dissented on the ground that striking down the Virginia statute "cannot be squared with accepted constitutional doctrine in the domain of state regulatory power over the legal profession." He emphasized that the NAACP determined the type of relief to be sought in legal actions, the timing of the suit and the form of pleading; that it did much more than advocate litigation; and that the normal incidents of the attorney-client relationship were often absent in litigation handled by staff attorneys. He believed that the evidence justified the Virginia court's finding of a violation of the statute, stressing that the Virginia court had construed the statute as not prohibiting the NAACP "from acquainting colored persons with what it believes to be their rights, or from advising them to assert those rights in legal proceedings...."

Justice Harlan agreed that litigation "is often the desirable and orderly way of resolving disputes of broad public significance, and of obtaining vindication of fundamental rights," particularly in the area of race relations. However, even as a form of expression, it may be reasonably regulated.



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[illegible] that the statute was not vague and that, even if it was, "The Court should excise only the ambiguous part of it, not strike down the enactment in its entirety."

E. Elections

In Gray v. Sanders, 83 S. Ct. 801, the Court held, 8 - 1, that Georgia's use of the "county unit" system in primary elections for statewide offices violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Under the Georgia statutes in effect when the suit was brought, statewide elections were not decided by the popular vote but by a system of units. The candidate getting the most votes in any county was assigned twice the number of units as the number of representatives from that county in the lower house of the state legislature. Because of the way that house was apportioned, this resulted in gross discrimination against the urban counties. The statute was changed while the case was pending but the county unit system was retained. Units were still assigned on a basis that favored the smaller counties. In court, the state sought to justify the system specifically as an effort "to achieve a reasonable balance as between urban and rural electoral power."

In an opinion by Justice Douglas, the Court found, first, that, in view of the state's detailed regulation of the primary, that process must be regarded as state rather than private action and hence subject to the equal protection clause. Second, it held that any person whose right to vote is impaired has standing to invoke that clause. Third, the Court found that the case was not moot because of the fact that the Democratic Committee voted to hold the 1962 primary on a popular vote basis. "/T/he voluntary abandonment of a practice does not relieve a court of adjudicating its legality, particularly where the practice is deeply rooted and long-standing. For if the case were dismissed as moot appellants would be 'free to return to /their/ old ways.'"

On the main issue, the Court noted that the problem in this case involved neither gerrymandering nor the question whether a state may have one House chosen without regard to population at all. This is "only a voting case." The Court concluded that, "Once the geographical unit for which a representative is to be chosen is designated, all who participate in the election are to have an equal vote.... The conception of political equality from the Declaration of Independence, to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Nineteenth Amendments can mean only one thing -- one person, one vote."

Justice Stewart, joined by Justice Clark, concurred in the opinion and the judgment of the Court, noting, however, that the case involved state-wide offices, not legislative apportionment. "Within a given constituency, there can be room for but a single constitutional rule -- one voter, one vote."

Justice Harlan, dissenting, believed that the one person, one vote ideology was constitutionally untenable, in view of the history of the Constitution. He believed that it was not "irrational for a State to conclude that a candidate for such office [of governor] should not be one whose choice lies with the numerically superior electoral strength of urban voters," or that with respect to other state-wide offices, Georgia should "assure against a predominantly 'city point of view' in the administration of the State's affairs."

IV. IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY

The Court heard and decided together two cases dealing with expatriation for draft-dodging. Kennedy v. Mendoza-Martinez and Rusk v. Cort, 83 S. Ct. 554. In both, the Court held unconstitutional, by 5 - 4 votes, statutes providing for automatic forfeiture of citizenship for leaving or remaining away from the country in order to avoid the draft. In Cort, two of the dissenting Justices would have held unconstitutional a provision making failure to comply with any requirement of the draft laws presumptive evidence of intent to leave the country to avoid the draft.

The first of these cases concerned Mendoza-Martinez, a native-born American who by reason of his parentage also had Mexican citizenship. In 1942, he left the United States and admittedly went to Mexico solely for the purpose of evading military service, remaining there until 1946 when he voluntarily returned to the United States. In 1947, he pleaded guilty to a charge of draft evasion, was convicted and served a sentence of a year and a day. In 1953 he was served with a warrant of arrest in deportation proceedings based on the assertion that, by remaining outside the United States to avoid military service after 1944 (when the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act concerning expatriation of draft evaders took effect), he had lost his American citizenship.

The second case concerned Dr. Joseph Cort, a native-born American, who went to England in 1951 on a fellowship. Later that year, he was instructed to submit his passport to be invalidated except for return to the United States. He refused because, according to his affidavits, he believed he was being forced to return in order to be subpoenaed before the House Committee on Un-American Activities or to be prosecuted under the Smith Act for his membership in the Communist Party while in the United States. Thereafter, on the same grounds, he ignored a number of notices from his draft board to report for service. In May 1954, the British Home Office refused to renew his residence permit and Cort moved to Czechoslovakia where he has lived since. In 1959, he applied for a passport which was denied on the ground that he had forfeited his American citizenship by failure to report for induction and by remaining outside the country to avoid military service.

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* The Supreme Court decided during the 1961-62 Term that Cort could bring an action under the declaratory judgment act to review the ruling of the Secretary of State that Cort had lost his citizenship by remaining abroad to avoid military service. See AJCongress Summary 1961-62, p. 20. The present case considered Cort's claim on the merits.

In both cases, the Court held, 5 - 4, that the statutes on which expatriation was based were unconstitutional.* In an opinion delivered by Justice Goldberg, the Court held the statutes invalid because "Congress has plainly employed the sanction of deprivation of nationality as a punishment - for the offense of leaving or remaining outside the country to evade military service - without affording the procedural safeguards guaranteed by the Fifth and Sixth Amendments," including notice, confrontation, compulsory process for obtaining witnesses, trial by jury and assistance of counsel.

The Court rejected the argument that the availability, after the fact of expatriation, of administrative and judicial proceedings to contest the validity of the sanction, meets the measure of due process. Since the sanction imposed was punishment (and on the basis of a detailed examination of the legislative history of this statute and its predecessor the Court determined that it was) "the procedural safeguards required as incidents of a criminal prosecution are lacking. We need go no further."

The Court concluded that, while it might be that this holding would immunize a draft evader who has left the country from suffering any penalty, since he must return to this country before he can be apprehended and tried, the "compelling answer to this is that the Bill of Rights ...[is] not to be abrogated merely because a guilty man may escape prosecution ...." Moreover, even without expatriation, the draft evader living abroad cannot assert the vast majority of his rights as an American citizen. To assert these rights, "he must return to this country, and by doing that he will subject himself to prosecution," and pay his debt. "This is what Mendoza-Martinez did [and], what Cort says he is willing to do ...."

* Before reaching the constitutional issue in the Mendoza case, the Court found (1) that the case was properly tried before a single judge rather than a statutory three-judge court and (2) that the Government was not estopped from claiming expatriation by an admission, made in earlier proceedings, that Mendoza was a citizen.

Justices Douglas and Black filed a one sentence concurring opinion in which they joined in the opinion of the Court but also expressed their view that "Congress has no power to deprive a person of the citizenship granted the native born by §1, cl. 1, of the Fourteenth Amendment."

Justice Brennan also filed a separate opinion, joining in the Court's opinion but expressing additional views. He believed that the present case was governed by Trop v. Dulles (see AJCongress Summary, 1957-58, p. 37) because here, as in that case, the claim that expatriation was necessary to implementation of a governmental power (the war power in Trop and maintenance of troop morale here) was not tenable.

Justice Stewart dissented, joined by Justice White. He said that the statute was not punitive since the disability it imposes is not for the purpose of vengeance or deterrence but is an incident to a broader regulatory objective, in this case the objective of strengthening war-time morale. He found that, under its war powers, Congress could expatriate for the purpose of "removing a corrosive influence upon the morale of a nation at war."

He believed also, however, that the administrative determination that Cort had lost his citizenship was invalid because it made use of a statutory provision which declares that failure to comply with any section of any compulsory service laws of the United States shall raise the presumption that the departure from the United States was for the purpose of evading military service. He found here an insufficient rational connection between the fact proved and the ultimate fact presumed. Hence, he would have ordered new proceedings in the Cort case.

Justice Harlan, with Justice Clark concurring, joined those parts of Justice Stewart's opinion leading to the conclusion that the statutes were constitutional. However, they disagreed with Justice Stewart's view that the evidentiary presumption contained in the statutes is invalid.

In Rosenberg v. Fleuti, 83 S. Ct. 1804, the Court held, 5 - 4, that a resident alien who visited Mexico for a few hours and then returned to the United States had not made an "entry" within the meaning of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 so as to subject him to deportation for a condition existing at the time of his return. The defendant was a Swiss national admitted to permanent residence in the United States in 1952. He had been here continuously except for a visit of a few hours to Mexico in 1956. In 1959 the Immigration and Naturalization Service tried to deport him on the ground that when he returned to the United States in 1956 he was subject to deportation because he had been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude. When it appeared that this deportation order was invalid (because the crime was a petty offense not encompassed by the statute), new proceedings were brought against Fleuti on the ground that at the time of the 1956 re-entry he was a homosexual, and thus an alien "afflicted with psychopathic personality."

Fleuti argued successfully in the Circuit Court that the immigration statute was unconstitutionally vague as applied to him in that homosexuality was not properly included in the statutory term "psychopathic personality." On the government's appeal, Justice Goldberg, speaking for the majority, found it unnecessary to reach this issue since he found that Fleuti's return to the United States was not an "entry" within the meaning of the statute. (This was determinative of the case, since Fleuti was concededly not excludable as a "psychopathic personality" in 1952.)

The statute defines entry as the coming of an alien to the United States from a foreign port whether voluntarily or not, except that an alien having a lawful residence in the United States will not be considered as having made an entry if his departure to a foreign port was not intended or was not voluntary. The Court found that the exception, a remedial amendment to the statute, was

designed to protect an alien from the irrational hazards of unintentionally or involuntarily leaving the country and finding himself subject to deportation upon his "re-entry." The Court found no indication in the legislative history of the amendment of what Congress thought about the problem of "resident aliens who leave the country for insignificantly short periods of time." (The legislative history approved two liberal judicial interpretations of the original law, one protecting an alien who had taken a train from Buffalo to Detroit which passed through a part of Canada; the other protecting an alien whose ship was torpedoed during World War II and who, after being rescued, was taken to Cuba for a week to recuperate.) Nevertheless, the policy considerations which underlie the amendment, led the majority to conclude that in approving the two liberal decisions, Congress "could not have meant to limit the meaning of the exceptions it created... to the facts of those two cases."

Justice Clark, joined by Justices Harlan, Stewart and White, dissented on the ground that the plain language of the statute did not allow for this expanded definition of intent. Justice Clark emphasized that, while Fleuti's trip may have been brief and casual, unlike the aliens in the two cases referred to by the majority, he clearly expected to enter a foreign port. Since the Court should have but did not reach the issue as to the validity of the statute, Justice Clark dissented.*

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* One other case may be mentioned in this section. In Schneider v. Rusk, 83 S. Ct. 621, a naturalized citizen had challenged the statute that provides that a naturalized citizen loses his nationality if he returns for three years to the country of his birth or former nationality. The suit had been dismissed by a single judge on the authority of a 1949 decision upholding the statute which the Supreme Court had refused to review. In a brief unanimous per curiam opinion, the Court said that, in view of subsequent decisions, there was now a substantial question as to the constitutionality of the statute and that therefore the case should be considered by a three-judge statutory court.

## V. OTHER CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

### A. Searches, Arrests, Electronic Devices and the Use of Illegally Obtained Evidence.

In Ker v. California, 83 S. Ct. 1623, a closely divided Court affirmed the conviction in the California courts of a man and his wife for illegal possession of narcotics. The police acted in this case after receiving information indicating that the Kers were dealing in marijuana. They entered the defendants' apartment silently, using a passkey obtained from the building superintendent. Walking towards the kitchen, one of the policemen saw a package of marijuana on the sink. The Kers were arrested after denying knowledge of the contents of the package and failing to answer a question about its ownership. After the arrest, the officers, proceeding without a warrant, searched the apartment and found additional marijuana which, with the marijuana on the sink, was introduced in evidence. The California court, in affirming the conviction, found that there was probable cause for the arrest, that the entry into the Kers' apartment was for the purpose of arrest and was not illegal and that, since the search was incident to a lawful arrest, it was also lawful and its fruits were therefore admissible in evidence. The defendants urged reversal, onthe basis of the 1961 decision of the Supreme Court in Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U. S. 643 (see AJCongress Summary 1960-61, p. 56), which held that evidence obtained in violation of federal constitutional guarantees may not be used in criminal prosecutions in state courts.

The Court voted 5 - 4 to uphold the conviction but the majority divided 4 - 1 on the basis of its action. Justice Clark, speaking also for Justices Black, Stewart and White, held, first, that the prohibition of all but "reasonable" searches and seizures in the Fourth Amendment, which applies to the federal government, is made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth Amendment. He

further held that "the standard of reasonableness is the same under the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments...." (On this point, only Justice Harlan disagreed.) He noted that additional restraints might be applied to the federal courts under the Supreme Court's general supervisory jurisdiction, but not under the Fourth Amendment.

Second, Justice Clark reviewed the record and concluded that the police had reasonable grounds for arresting the defendants. Third, he held that the entry into the apartment without prior announcement was reasonable. Fourth, he found that the search in connection with the arrest was well within the accepted rule that "a search without warrant may be lawfully conducted if incident to a lawful arrest...."

On the third point (on which the dissenters disagreed), Justice Clark said that the constitutional guarantee normally requires that policemen, before breaking in, must disclose their identity and purpose. However, this requirement is subject to exception. Here, the police had testified that, in their experience, dealers in narcotics can and do easily dispose of incriminating evidence when threatened with arrest. This fact created "exigent circumstances" sufficient to require an exception to the usual rule.

Justice Harlan concurred in the result (thus adding the fifth vote necessary for a majority) but he disagreed with the Court's opinion. He said that searches and seizures in the Federal courts have been subject to the requirement of reasonableness contained in the Fourth Amendment, and that heretofore searches and seizures by the states have been judged "by the more flexible concept of 'fundamental' fairness...." He would have retained that distinction.

Justice Brennan, with Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas and Goldberg, joined the Court's opinion on the first point but disagreed on the third. They believed that even though there was probable cause by federal standards for the

arrests of the Kers, "the arrests of these petitioners were nevertheless illegal, because the unannounced intrusion of the arresting officers into their apartment violated the Fourth Amemdment." Justice Brennan said that the Fourth Amendment bars the unannounced intrusion of police officers into a private home except in circumstances not present here. He viewed the exception endorsed by Justice Clark as violating the presumption of innocence since it assumed that all persons suspected of crime would engage in illegal conduct if warned of the presence of police.

In Wong Sun and James Toy v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 407, the Court decided 5 - 4 that a confession made by a narcotics suspect after a federal narcotics agent unlawfully entered his apartment could not be used against the defendant.

In 1959, federal narcotics agents in San Francisco arrested a suspect and found narcotics in his possession. The suspect said after his arrest that he had bought heroin the night before from "Blackie Toy," the proprietor of a laundry. That morning, six or seven narcotics agents went to a laundry owned by the defendant, James Toy. One Chinese agent told Toy that he was calling for laundry. Toy said that he did not open until 8 o'clock. He told the agent to come back later and started to close the door. The agent then said "I am a federal narcotics agent." Toy slammed the door and ran back down the hall through the laundry to his living quarters. The agent and the other federal officers broke open the door and arrested Toy. A search of the premises revealed no narcotics.

In his apartment, after his arrest, Toy denied having sold narcotics, but said that he knew someone named Johnny who did sell narcotics. Toy helped the agents locate Johnny Yee who surrendered some heroin, saying that it had been brought to him four days earlier by James Toy and another Chinese known as Sea Dog. Toy identified Sea Dog as defendant Wong Sun and took the agents to

Wong Sun's house, where Wong Sun was arrested. A search of his premises revealed no narcotics.

A few days after their arrests, Wong Sun and James Toy were interrogated separately at the Narcotics Bureau. Bureau agents them prepared statements for Toy and Wong Sun. The accuracy of these statements was admitted, although neither statement was signed.

The narcotics statute provides that proof of possession of drugs will support a conviction unless the accused satisfactorily explains the possession. The government's evidence tending to prove possession consisted of (1) the oral statement by Toy in his bedroom at the time of his arrest; (2) the surrender of the heroin to the agents by Johnny Yee; (3) Toy's pre-trial unsigned statement; and (4) Wong Sun's pre-trial unsigned statement. These four items were admitted by the trial court in evidence over the objection that they were inadmissible as the fruits of unlawful arrest or of attendant searches. The lower court held that both arrests were illegal since not based on probable cause, but that the four items of proof were not the fruits of illegal arrests and therefore were properly admitted in evidence.

Justice Brennan speaking for the majority, said that Toy's arrest was illegal because there was not probable cause for acting without a warrant. The requirement of reliability of information on which an officer may act without a warrant is as least stringent as the requirement when a warrant is obtained. The majority concluded that no arrest warrant would have been issued on the information available to the officers at the time of Toy's arrest. The information from the original informant was not necessarily reliable and there was no certainty that James Toy was "Blackie Toy." The Court rejected the argument that any defects in the information which took the officers to Toy's laundry were remedied by events occurring after their arrival and particularly by Toy's flight down the hall.

The Court next held that Toy's declarations in his apartment must be excluded as "fruits" of a federal agent's unlawful action. It said that verbal evidence which derives "immediately from an unlawful entry and an unauthorized arrest... is no less the 'fruit' of official illegality than the more common tangible fruits of the unwarranted intrusion." The Court further held that the exclusion of the bedroom declaration required the exclusion of the narcotics taken from Yee, since the discovery of the narcotics followed from "exploitation" of the tainted declaration.

Toy's unsigned statement was thus the only proof remaining to sustain his conviction. The Court found it unnecessary to consider whether Toy's statement was also the fruit of illegal arrest. It is well settled that a confession cannot be the basis of a conviction unless it is corroborated. Won Sun's statement could not be used for corroboration because of the rule that out of court declarations made after an arrest may not be used at a trial against one of the partners in crime. Henace, as to Toy "the only possible source of corroboration is removed and his conviction must be set aside for lack of competent evidence to support it."*

The Court found that Wong Sun's arrest also was without probable cause or reasonable grounds but concluded that, since his unsigned confession was not the fruit of the arrest, it had been properly admitted. Nevertheless, the Court concluded that Wong Sun was also entitled to a new trial. For the same reason that Wong Sun's statement was incompetent to corroborate Toy's admissions, any references to Wong Sun in Toy's statement were incompetent to corroborate

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* On the corroboration point, the Court said that it was well settled that out of court declarations made after arrest may not be used in a trial against a partner in crime. But the Court had never ruled squarely on the question presented here, whether a co-defendant's statement might serve to corroborate even where it would not be sufficient to convince. "We see no warrant for a different result as long as the rule that regulates the use of out of court statements is one of admissibility, rather than simply of weight, of the evidence."

Wong Sun's admission. Thus, the only source of corroboration for Wong Sun's confession was the heroin itself. The Court could not be certain from the record that the trial court had considered only the heroin as corroboration, and that "the scales were not tipped in favor of conviction by reliance upon the inadmissible Toy statement."

Justice Clark dissented, joined by Justices Harlan, Stewart and White. He said that the informant's knowledge was sufficiently reliable to establish probable cause for the arrest of Toy without a warrant; that even if there was no probable cause at that point, Toy's flight was "strong evidence of guilt" and that, "/i/n view of this, there is no 'poisonous tree' whose fruits we must evaluate...." Toy's declaration at the time of the arrest and the narcotics found in Lee's possession were thus admissible in evidence. As to Wong Sun, he found no grounds for the assumption that the trial judge "may" have considered Toy's confession, particularly where a federal judge, and not a jury, was the trier of the facts.

In Lopez v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 1381, the Court held, over three dissents, that a revenue agent's secret electronic recording of a conversation made in the defendant's office is admissible in a federal criminal prosecution where the revenue agent himself testified and the recording served as corroboration of his testimony.

In the course of an investigation of tax evasion by a revenue agent, the defendant offered the agent a bribe, which the agent accepted and then reported to his superiors. On a subsequent visit to the defendant's place of business, the agent carried a concealed tape recorder and recorded his conversation with the defendant. At the trial for bribery, the agent testified as to the conversations and the tape recording was introduced as evidence to corroborate his testimony. The defendant argued that the tape recorded conversation was obtained in violation of his rights under the Fourth Amendment. He also

challenged the testimony of the agent at his trial, saying that the agent's conversation with him was illegally "seized" since the agent gained access to his office by misrepresenting his intention to accept the bribe.

The Court, in an opinion by Justice Harlan, held first that the agent could not be said to have "invaded" the defendant's office simply because the former's "apparent willingness to accept a bribe was not real." He was in the office with the defendant's consent and the only evidence obtained consisted of statements by the defendant to the agent which the defendant knew could be used against him.

On the constitutional claim relating to the recording, Justice Harlan said that this case does not involve "eavesdropping" at all since "/t/he Government did not use an electronic device to listen in on conversations it could not otherwise have heard." The recorder was used only to obtain "the most reliable evidence possible" of a conversation in which the agent was a participant and which the agent was entitled to disclose. Finally the device was not implanted by means of an "unlawful physical invasion... under circumstances which would violate the Fourth Amendment."

In addition to rejecting the constitutional claim, the Court refused to exclude this evidence in the exercise of its supervisory powers over procedures in federal courts, since "there has been no manifestly improper conduct by federal officials."

Chief Justice Warren, concurring in the result, agreed with the majority that the use of electronic devices to corroborate an agent and protect his credibility was permissible. While agreeing with the dissenters on the dangers of electronic spying he declined to support a bar on all use of such devices. He thought that the majority opinion might be taken as reaffirming On Lee v. U. S., 343 U. S. 747, in which the Court admitted as evidence a recording of a conversation

between a narcotics suspect and a government informer, where the informer (who never testified himself) carried a microphone and transmitted the conversation to a narcotics agent some distance away. Like the dissenters, he thought that case wrongly decided. He believed that the present case could be distinguished from On Lee on the ground that the agent in the present case had testified to the conversation and that the tape recording was only corroborative, whereas in On Lee the recording obviated the necessity of putting the informer on the stand.

Justice Brennan dissented, joined by Justices Douglas and Goldberg. He believed that this case was rationally indistinguishable from On Lee, and that On Lee was wrongly decided and should be overruled. It should make no difference that the agent in this case testified while the informer in On Lee did not, since the tape recording was independent evidence and not merely repetitive or corroborative of human testimony. The three dissenters thought that the Court should, either under the Fourth Amendment or through the use of its supervisory power, exclude "from federal criminal trials the fruits of surreptitious electronic surveillance by federal agents."

Cleary v. Bolger, 83 S. Ct. 385, involved the question whether federal courts may use the injunction power to prevent the use of illegally obtained evidence in state court criminal proceedings. The plaintiff here was a longshoreman who was arrested by federal agents for smuggling. The agents obtained an incriminating statement from the plaintiff during an interrogation conducted in violation of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure (but not of any constitutional guaranty). A state official, Cleary, was present at the interrogation. The plaintiff was indicted for petty larceny in New York state. He sued to prevent the federal agents and Cleary from testifying to the incriminating statement. The District

Court granted the injunction and only Cleary appealed. The Supreme Court held, 6 - 3, that there was no basis for the injunction against Cleary.

Justice Harlan, in the Court's opinion, stressed the traditional reluctance of federal courts to interfere with state court proceedings. While prior Supreme Court decisions upheld restraints upon the testimony of federal officials in state proceedings, they do not apply to state officials. If they give testimony in violation of state law, the convicted person can appeal the conviction to the Supreme Court but correction should not be by collateral attack. Justice Harlan also noted that there was no evidence here that Cleary was being used by the federal officials.

Justice Goldberg concurred in the result. Disagreeing with the majority, he thought that state officials might sometimes be restrained from testifying. But he would withhold such relief here because New York court decisions indicated that the state court would exclude the evidence in question.

Justice Douglas, with Chief Justice Warren concurring, dissented. He asserted that Cleary should be enjoined because he obtained his evidence "as a result of 'federal agents' violation of the Federal Rules." The Court's decision, in his view, facilitated evasion of the Rules.

Justice Brennan, again with the Chief Justice concurring, expressed agreement with Justice Douglas and added that basic principles of equity were flouted when an injunction against federal agents, properly issued, was made nugatory by failing to enjoin a state official. He also disagreed with Justice Goldberg since it was not certain that the New York courts would exclude the evidence in question or that, if they did not, the Supreme Court would reverse a conviction so obtained.

B. Self-incrimination

In Shotwell Manufacturing Company v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 448, the Court held, 6 - 3, in an opinion by Justice Harlan, that the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination was not violated by the government's use at a tax evasion trial of defendants' voluntary, though false, disclosures to the Treasury Department made under a promise of immunity from prosecution. The defendants were convicted in a federal court of attempted evasion of federal income taxes for the years 1945 and 1946. The charge was that the defendant company's tax returns for those years had not reported substantial income derived from black market sales. As a result of various procedural steps, a special hearing was held to determine whether the District Court should have suppressed certain evidence used at the trial which the defendants had furnished the government under the Treasury Department's then existing policy of voluntary disclosure. (This policy was a promise by the Treasury Department that delinquent taxpayers could escape possible criminal prosecution by disclosing their dereliction to the tax authorities before any investigation had begun.) The evidence in question consisted of tabulations showing the unreported black market income and offsetting black market payments for the purchase of raw material. These payments almost matched the black market receipts.

The District Court refused to suppress the evidence, finding that no honest voluntary disclosure had ever been made since, although the black market receipts of the company had been correctly reported, the black market expenditures for payment of supplies had been falsely over-represented and most of the receipts had in fact been pocketed by the officers of the company. The Court of Appeals affirmed and the Supreme Court granted review.

The defendants' principal claim was that the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment barred the government's use at the trial of any of the

voluntarily disclosed material. The Court agreed that the Fifth Amendment bars use of "evidence of guilt induced from a person under a governmental promise of immunity." Nevertheless, said Justice Harlan, this principle is inapplicable here, first, because of the essential character of this particular offer of immunity and, second, because of the response of the defendants to that offer. The offer presupposed at the very least that the delinquent taxpayer would make a full and honest statement. Once the defendants had decided to engage in fraud, "they must be deemed to have recognized that such offer had in effect been withdrawn as to them." Thus, the disclosure here cannot be regarded as the product of unlawful inducement.

The defendants next argued that a new trial should have been granted because the party whose transactions with the company had formed the basis of the charges in the indictment had testified falsely regarding the amount of his black market payments. The Court reviewed the evidence and found that the convictions could not be regarded as having rested on perjured testimony. The Court also rejected a number of other defenses not raising constitutional questions.

Justice Black in dissent was joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas. He stated that the convictions should be reversed and a new trial granted because of two serious errors which denied the defendants their constitutional right to a fair trial. First, he said, the jury verdicts rested in part "on confessions obtained from the defendants by governmental promises of immunity from criminal prosecution, in violation of the Fifth Amendment." He said that the majority had used various formulas each of which in turn "lops off a significant part of the protections the Fifth Amendment has always been thought to afford." Specifically, Justice Black rejected the suggestion that a defendant's constitutional right not to be compelled to be a witness against himself must be conditioned on his coming into court with clean hands.

Justice Black also found that, since the jury's verdict of guilty in large part rested upon testimony that was thoroughly discredited by a witness in the subsequent hearing, the defendants were denied their constitutional right to a fair jury trial by the failure to grant them a new trial before a new jury which could hear this evidence in determining their guilt or innocence.

In Namet v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 1151, the Court held, 7 - 2, that it was not reversible error for a prosecutor to ask two witnesses questions concerning their relationship to the defendant with the knowledge that the witnesses would invoke the privilege against self-incrimination.

Namet was convicted of violating the federal wagering tax law. One of the local stores in which Namet was said to be operating a gambling ring was owned by Mr. and Mrs. Irving Kahn who, with Namet, were charged with violations of the tax laws. At Namet's trial, his counsel told the court that the Kahns would plead the privilege against self-incrimination if called as witnesses. The judge ruled that, because of their plea of guilty, the privilege was not available to them except to the extent that they might be liable to prosecution for conspiracy or bribery. The Kahns then testified, without objection, on a number of points but successfully asserted the privilege on some questions. Namet was convicted.

In an opinion by Justice Stewart, the Court said that "/n/o constitutional issues of any kind are presented." He rejected the claim that reversible error was committed in permitting the government to question witnesses after it became known that they would claim their privilege.

Justice Stewart said that there was some support in lower court decisions for two theories on which the defendant might claim reversible error. The first is based on prosecutorial misconduct, occurring "when the Government makes a conscious and flagrant attempt to build its case out of inferences arising from

use of the testimonial privilege." The second rests on the conclusion that "inferences from a witness' refusal to answer added critical weight to the prosecution's case in a form not subject to cross-examination and thus unfairly prejudiced the defendant." Without specifically endorsing either theory, the Court found that on neither was there reversible error since there were few claims of testimonial privilege and those few were at most "cumulative support for an inference already well established by the nonprivileged portion of the witness' testimony."

Justice Black, joined by Justice Douglas, dissented on the ground that it was error for the trial court to "permit the prosecuting attorney in the presence of the jury to ask questions which he knew the witnesses would refuse to answer on the ground of self-incrimination."

C. Confessions

In Lynumn v. Illinois, 83 S. Ct. 917, the Court unanimously set aside a conviction for the unlawful possession and sale of marijuana because of the use of an improperly obtained confession. The events in question started when the Chicago police told a man named James Zeno, who had been arrested for possession of narcotics, that they would show leniency if he "set somebody up for them." Zeno agreed to cooperate and accompanied the police officers to the defendant's apartment. Zeno went upstairs while the officers waited below. Some time later, Zeno came out of the apartment carrying a package of marijuana. The officers then arrested the defendant, who at first denied that she had sold Zeno the marijuana. However, she orally confessed making a sale after the officers repeatedly told her that, if she did not cooperate, state aid for her infant children would be cut off, her child n would be taken away from her and she would go to jail for ten years and never see her children again. At the trial, the defendant repeated her denials, and her testimony as to the circumstances of her confession was corroborated by the testimony of the police.

Justice Stewart, delivering the Court's opinion, held that use of the confession violated the constitutional requirement of due process. The confession could not be deemed the product of a rational intellect and a free will, since the defendant confessed while she was encircled in her apartment by three police officers and a felon cooperating with the police. There was no friend or advisor to whom she could turn, and she had no experience with the law which might lead her to believe that the police did not have the power to carry out their threats.

The Court also rejected the contention that the error was harmless in light of other evidence of the defendant's guilt. The Court has uniformly held that, even if there is sufficient evidence apart from the coerced confession to support a judgment of conviction, the admission of the confession in evidence vitiates the judgment.

In a second case dealing with confessions, Haynes v. Washington, 83 S. Ct. 1336, the Court divided 5 - 4 in reversing a conviction based on a confession signed after a robbery defendant had been held incommunicado for 16 hours, during which time he was told that he could not call his wife or obtain an attorney unless he cooperated. The defendant, who was charged with robbing a gas station, had orally admitted the crime immediately after his arrest. Nevertheless he was held incommunicado while the police obtained a signed confession from him and tried to obtain a second. It was the use of the signed confession that the Court found to require reversal.

Speaking for the majority, Justice Goldberg reviewed the evidence and found that the confession was obtained "in an atmosphere of substantial coercion and inducement created by statements and actions of state authorities" and that the "totality of circumstances" evidenced "an involuntary written admission of guilt." The Court cautioned that it did not mean to suggest that

"all interrogation of witnesses and suspects is impermissible." The difficult problem here was in determining the effect of the "psychologically coercive pressures and inducements on the mind and will of an accused."

Justice Goldberg took occasion to note that the coercion used here was only to complete a case in which there was already ample evidence of guilt. He went on: "There is no reasonable or rational basis for claiming that the oppressive and unfair methods utilized were in any way essential to the detection or solution of the crime or to the protection of the public."

Justice Clark, in a dissent joined by Justices Harlan, Stewart and White, noted that special factors present in other psychologically coerced confession cases, such as youth or sub-normal intelligence, were absent in this case. From the absence of these special factors and of evidence of "an atmosphere tending to subvert" the defendant's "rationality and free will," he concluded that Haynes' confession was not involuntary.

D. Double Jeopardy.

In Downum v. United States, 83 S. Ct. 1033, the Court held, 5 - 4, that a federal criminal defendant was placed in double jeopardy by a trial held two days after the first jury was discharged because of the absence of a key prosecution witness. The defendant had been indicted on six counts of stealing checks from the mail and forging and passing them. After a jury was impanelled, the prosecutor discovered that a key witness on two of the six counts in the indictment was missing. After the prosecution asked that the jury be discharged because the witness was not present, the defendant moved that the two counts be dismissed for want of prosecution and that the trial continue on the other counts. This motion was denied and the judge discharged the first jury, which had been sworn but had not heard any evidence. Two days later a second jury was impaneled and the defendant was convicted after his plea of double jeopardy was rejected.

Justice Douglas said that there are times when "the valued right of a defendant to have his trial completed by the particular tribunal summoned to sit in judgment on him" may be subordinated to the public interest but only "when there is an imperious necessity to do so." Each case must be determined on its own facts. The Court would not say that the absence of witnesses can never justify the discontinuance of a trial. In this case, however, the Court held that, in impaneling the jury without first determining whether or not a necessary witness was present, the District Attorney simply took the chance of not being certain that he had enough evidence to convict. There is no difference in principle between this situation and the one in which the prosecuting attorney discovers that his evidence is insufficient only after calling several witnesses. Both cases are within the double jeopardy rule.

Justice Clark, joined by Justices Harlan, Stewart and White, dissented. He stressed that the two day delay did not cause the defendant any harrassment or expense, or in any way prejudice him. He believed that the action of the prosecutor did not deprive the defendant of any rights and that the ends of justice required that the defendant be tried rather than set free "because of the harmless oversight of the prosecutor."

E. Right to Counsel.

A 20-year old precedent was overruled in Gideon v. Wainwright, 83 S. Ct. 792, when a unanimous Court held that the failure of a state to provide counsel in a non-capital criminal case deprived the indigent defendant of due process under the Fourteenth Amendment. The defendant was charged with breaking and entering, which is a felony under Florida law. His request for counsel having been denied, he conducted his own defense as well as could be expected from a layman. Nevertheless, he was convicted.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Black noted that these facts were strikingly similar to those in Betts v. Brady, 316 U. S. 455 (1942) in which the Court, by a vote of 6 - 3, refused to reverse a state court conviction. It there held that the circumstances were not "so offensive to the common and fundamental ideas of fairness" as to constitute a denial of due process as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court here decided that Betts v. Brady should be overruled.*

The Court first considered the provisions of the Sixth Amendment that in "all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right ... to have the Assistance of Counsel ...." This has been construed to mean that in the federal courts counsel must be supplied for indigent defendants unless the right is competently and intelligently waived. Gideon urged, as Betts had before him, that this right was extended to indigent defendants in state courts by the Fourteenth Amendment. In response to this, the Court had said in Betts that the Sixth Amendment laid down no rule for the conduct of the states, and that the constraint upon the national courts expressed in the Sixth Amendment was not so fundamental and essential to a fair trial that it is made obligatory upon the states by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Justice Black accepted the assumption of Betts that a provision of the Bill of Rights which is fundamental to a fair trial is made obligatory upon the states by the Fourteenth Amendment. "We think the Court in Betts was wrong, however, in concluding that the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of counsel is not one of these fundamental rights." He noted that, ten years before Betts, the Court had held that the right to counsel was imposed on the states in capital cases. In view of the general and unequivocal language of the Court in that case regarding the right to counsel, he suggested that the Betts court had made "an abrupt break with its own well-considered precedents." In returning to these old precedents,

* Only two members of the present Court were on the Court that decided Betts and both of these, Justices Black and Douglas, dissented at that time.

"we but restore constitutional principles established to achieve a fair system of justice."*

Justice Harlan, concurring, agreed that Betts v. Brady should be overruled but suggested that it was not as unfounded a decision as the Court now considered it. He noted that it was not until 1962 that it was squarely held that counsel must be assigned in all capital cases and that, before that, some additional "special circumstances" had to be shown, such as the defendant's youth or ignorance. Now the Court had come to recognize "that the mere existence of a serious criminal charge constituted in itself special circumstances requiring the services of counsel at trial." Justice Harlan concluded that he did not read the present decision as holding that the Fourteenth Amendment "incorporates" the Sixth Amendment as such.

Justice Douglas, concurring, reviewed the relation between the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment. "Since the adoption of that Amendment, ten Justices /including Justices Douglas and Black of the present Court/ have felt that it protects from infringement by the States the privileges, protections, and safeguards granted by the Bill of Rights." He noted that this view "has never commanded a Court" but stressed that since constitutional questions are always open "what we do today does not foreclose the matter." He noted that Justice Harlan's view "that a guarantee of the Bill of Rights that is made applicable to the States by reason of the Fourteenth Amendment is a lesser version of that same guarantee as applied to the Federal Government ... has not prevailed" and concluded that "rights protected against state invasion by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment are not watered down versions of

* The Court noted that, while Florida was supported by two other states in urging reaffirmance of Betts, 22 other states had urged reversal.

what the Bill of Rights guarantees."

Justice Clark, concurring, concluded that the Constitution did not provide a distinction between capital and non-capital crimes and that the Fourteenth Amendment "requires due process of law for the deprival of 'liberty' just as for deprival of 'life', and there cannot constitutionally be a difference in the quality of the process based merely upon a supposed difference in the sanction involved."

In White v. Maryland, 83 S. Ct. 1050, the Court said, in a brief unanimous per curiam opinion, that the absence of counsel vitiated the conviction of a defendant who entered a guilty plea at a preliminary hearing, even though it was not necessary that a plea be entered at that time. At the preliminary hearing shortly after his arrest, at which time he was not represented by counsel, the defendant pleaded guilty to a charge of murder. Subsequently, at a proceeding called "arraignment," the defendant, now aided by court-appointed counsel, changed his plea to "not guilty" and "not guilty by reason of insanity." Nevertheless, his earlier plea of guilty was introduced as evidence at his trial. He was convicted and sentenced to death.

The Court noted that last year, in Hamilton v. Alabama, 368 U. S. 52 (see AJCongress Summary 1961-1962, p. 39), it had held that failure to provide counsel at an Alabama arraignment required reversal of a conviction, whether or not it was shown that the defendant was actually prejudiced by the lack of counsel. In this case, the Court said, "whatever may be the normal function of the 'preliminary hearing' under Maryland law," it was just as "critical" as the arraignment in the Hamilton case. "Only the presence of counsel could have enabled this accused to know all the defenses available to him and to plead intelligently."

The right to counsel at a later stage in criminal proceedings was involved in Douglas v. California, 83 S. Ct. 814. There, two defendants who had

been convicted of 13 felonies asked to have counsel assigned in order to take an appeal. California statutes provide that state appellate courts, on receiving such a request, may make "an independent investigation of the record and determine whether it would be of advantage to the defendant or helpful to the appellate court to have counsel appointed ...." Here, the California appellate court examined the record pursuant to the statutes and denied the request for assigned counsel. The Supreme Court, voting 6 - 3, found the California procedure inadequate.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Douglas emphasized that the right to counsel on a first appeal should not be determined by whether a person can afford counsel. Under the California provision, if a person can pay, the appellate court passes on his case with the benefit of written briefs and oral argument by counsel. If he cannot, the appellate court is forced to prejudge the merits before it can even determine whether counsel should be provided. The Court concluded that when "an indigent is forced to run this gantlet of a preliminary showing of merit, the right to appeal does not comport with fair procedure ...."

Justice Harlan, in a dissent joined by Justice Stewart, stated that the application of the equal protection clause to cases like the present one "can lead only to mischievous results." He argued that the equal protection clause does not impose upon the states "an affirmative duty to lift the handicaps flowing from differences in economic circumstances."

Justice Clark, dissenting, argued that the appointment of counsel here would have been "utter extravagance and a waste of the State's funds," required neither by the due process nor the equal protection clauses of the Constitution. He pointed out that the Supreme Court's own procedures provide less protection for indigents than California's, and concluded "People who live in glass houses had best not throw stones."

F. Right of Indigents to Free Transcript of Testimony.

An issue closely related to the right of indigents to counsel is their right to have the state pay for the preparation of a transcript of their trial for purposes of appeal.

In Lane v. Brown, 83 S. Ct. 768, a unanimous Court invalidated an Indiana law requiring the approval of the Public Defender before an indigent criminal defendant could obtain, without cost, the transcript of his trial necessary to appeal in the state courts. The defendant in this case was an indigent under sentence of death. His original conviction had been appealed unsuccessfully. He then started a new proceeding, claiming denial of constitutional rights. This collateral proceeding was dismissed by a state court.

In order to appeal further, the defendant required a transcript of his trial which, under the Indiana Public Defender Act, only the Public Defender can request on behalf of an indigent. In this case, the Public Defender refused to request the transcript because he believed that an appeal would be unsuccessful. When the defendant's appeal in that proceeding failed, he started this habeas corpus action in a federal court.

Speaking for the Court, Justice Stewart said that the "upshot is that a person with sufficient funds can appeal as of right to the Supreme Court of Indiana from the denial of a writ of error ..., but an indigent can, at the will of the Public Defender, be entirely cut off from any appeal at all." The Court held that this case was clearly governed by an earlier decision holding that a state which had an appeals system that made trial transcripts available to those who could afford them was required to furnish "adequate and effective appellate review" to indigents. The Indiana provision, the Court said, confers "upon a state officer outside the judicial system power to take from an indigent all hope of any appeal at all." The Court held that it made no difference that this

proceeding was a collateral attack and that Indiana law gave indigents equal treatment during their direct appeals from convictions.

The defendant was ordered discharged from custody unless within a reasonable time Indiana provides him an appeal on the merits to the Supreme Court of Indiana from the denial of the writ of error.

Justice Harlan, joined by Justice Clark, concurred in the decision to remand but would have given different instructions. He agreed that it was unconstitutional to foreclose an indigent from appealing by the unreviewable discretion of the Public Defender. However, he said that, if judicial review of the decision of the Public Defender had been available, he would have voted to sustain the conviction. Accordingly, he would have instructed the lower court to discharge the prisoner "only if the Indiana Supreme Court fails, within a reasonable time, to accord him a review of the Public Defender's decision not to appeal...."

In Draper v. Washington, 83 S. Ct. 774, the Supreme Court held, 5 - 4, that the Washington rules governing the provision of transcripts to indigent defendants for the purposes of appeal, as applied in this case, deprived the defendants of due process of law. The indigent defendants here, who had court appointed counsel, were convicted of robbery. Their motion for a new trial was denied and, now acting for themselves, they filed notices of appeal and requested the preparation of trial transcripts at state expense. The trial judge reviewed the defendants' request and their specific claims of error, as well as the prosecutor's arguments and summary of the evidence (refuting each of the defendants' claims), and concluded that the assignments of error were "patently frivolous." The requests for transcripts were therefore denied. Attached to the trial judge's order were findings of fact, which did not describe the evidence upon which they were based. The Supreme Court of Washington, basing its

conclusions solely on the record of the hearing on the request for a transcript (and not on the record of the jury trial), held that the trial court had properly found the appeals frivolous.

In an opinion by Justice Goldberg, the Court first noted that a state need not purchase a stenographic transcript of a trial in every case where the defendant cannot afford to pay for a transcript. The requirement is that "the State is to provide the indigent as adequate and effective an appellate review as that given appellants with funds...." The Court found that, under the Washington rules, an indigent defendant needing a transcript could get it only "if the judge who has presided at his trial and has already overruled his motion for a new trial as well as his objections... finds that these contentions, upon which he has already ruled, are not frivolous." Then, Justice Goldberg continued, the "predictable finding of frivolity" is subject to review without direct examination of what occurred at the trial, but only of what the parties argued at the hearing and what the judge recalled and concluded about what happened at the trial. The Court held that this was an "inadequate substitute for the full appellate review available to non-indigents in Washington."

Justice White dissented, joined by Justices Clark, Harlan and Stewart. He asserted that the record placed before the Supreme Court of Washington was entirely satisfactory and contained no constitutional infirmity. Specifically, he regarded the description of the evidence in narrative form in the prosecuting attorney's affidavit as sufficient basis for the state Supreme Court's action.

A different problem was involved in Norvell v. Illinois, 83 S. Ct. 1366, where the trial transcript sought by the indigent was unavailable because of the death of the court reporter. The defendant in this case was convicted of murder in 1941 and at that time tried to get a transcript. Because he was indigent, he was unable to pay for a transcript and so did not obtain it. Although

represented by counsel, he did not pursue the appeal. In 1956, the Supreme Court decided Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U. S. 12, holding that "it was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to deprive a person because of his indigency of any rights of appeal afforded all other convicted defendants." The Supreme Court of Illinois then adopted a rule by which the state provided a free trial transcript to every convicted indigent, whether convicted before or after the Griffin decision. It further provided that, where it is impossible to furnish a transcript, the court shall deny the petition for a free transcript. When Norvell petitioned for a transcript under this rule, it was discovered that the official court reporter had died some years earlier and no one could read his shorthand notes. Accordingly, Norvell's motion for a new trial was denied.

The Supreme Court affirmed the denial by a vote of 7 - 2. In an opinion by Justice Douglas, the Court said that the state may make rough accommodations in dealing with the equal protection clause and that it need not achieve "exact equality."

Justice Harlan concurred in the result without opinion.

Justice Goldberg, joined by Justice Stewart, dissented on the ground that the Court had unnecessarily anticipated and resolved difficult constitutional questions. The Illinois court, he said, acted on the assumption that Griffin v. Illinois "operated prospectively, and not retroactively, in the sense that it invalidated only 'existing financial barriers' to appeal." Given this view, it was unnecessary for the Illinois court to consider whether a defendant who could not obtain a transcript because of his indigency in 1941 was at that time deprived of his constitutional rights. Since the Illinois court was mistaken in its basic assumption, Justice Goldberg would have remanded the case for further consideration.

G. Due Process and Equal Protection

In Rideau v. Louisiana, 83 S. Ct. 1417, the Court held, 7 - 2, that the failure to grant a motion for change of venue constituted a denial of due process where a film showing the defendant confessing to the sheriff was shown on television three days in a row and was seen by thousands of persons in the county in which the trial was held, and where three persons who had seen the film served on the jury which convicted the defendant of murder. In an opinion by Justice Stewart, the Court said that "it was a denial of due process of law to refuse the request for a change of venue, after the people of Calcasieu Parish had been exposed repeatedly and in depth to the spectacle of Rideau personally confessing in detail to the crimes with which he was later to be charged." This spectacle "in a very real sense was Rideau's trial..." and he pleaded guilty without the benefit of counsel. The Court concluded that it was not necessary to look into the details of the examination of the jurors or the fact that the judges had denied Rideau's request that the three jurors who had seen the film be removed for cause.

Justice Clark dissented, joined by Justice Harlan. He said, first, that he believed that law enforcement officers should not cooperate in "activities which tend to make more difficult the achievement of impartial justice." Therefore, if the case had arisen in the federal courts (over which the Supreme Court exercises supervisory powers), he would have voted to upset the conviction. However, he said, there is a significant difference between matters within the "scope of our supervisory power and matters which reach the level of constitutional dimension." He said that the majority had failed to establish "any substantial nexus" between the televised interview and the defendants' trial almost two months later. He did not find that the material had fatally affected the trial by entering the courtroom "indelibly embedded in the minds of the jurors."

In Brady v. Maryland, 83 S. Ct. 1194, the defendant and a companion were found guilty of first degree murder and sentenced to death. Prior to the trial, the defendant's lawyer asked permission to examine the companion's out of court statements. Several of these were shown to him but one, in which the companion admitted the actual homicide, was withheld. Because of this, the state court granted defendant a new trial, limited, however, to the question of punishment (which the jury decides under Maryland law). The defendant asked the Supreme Court to reverse on the ground that he should have been given a new trial on the question of guilt as well. The Court rejected this plea, voting 7 - 2.

Justice Douglas, in his opinion for the Court, first held broadly that, "the suppression by the prosecution of evidence favorable to an accused upon request violates due process where the evidence is material either to guilt or to punishment, irrespective of the good faith or bad faith of the prosecution." Turning to the question raised here, the Court noted that the Maryland court had found that nothing in the suppressed confession "could have reduced the appellant Brady's offense below murder in the first degree." It read that statement as a ruling that the confession was inadmissible on the question of guilt or innocence.

The majority concluded that "a sporting theory of justice" might assume that if the confession had been used in the first trial the jury might have ignored the ruling that it was inadmissible on the issue of guilt. However, "we cannot raise that trial strategy to the dignity of a constitutional right and say that the deprival of this defendant of that sporting chance... denies him due process or violates the Equal Protection Clause...."

In a separate concurring opinion, Justice White said that the only question before the Court was the equal protection question and that he concurred in the Court's disposition of that point. He regarded the Court's holding that

suppression of the confession violated the due process clause as unnecessary to the decision and therefore "wholly advisory." He said he "would not case in constitutional form a broad rule of criminal discovery."

Justice Harlan, joined by Justice Black, dissented. He disagreed with the majority's interpretation of the Maryland court's ruling and noted that, since the Maryland constitution makes the jury the judge of the law as well as the facts, there was an open question of state law as to whether the jury could have considered the question of guilt. He would have remanded the case to the state courts for resolution of that question.*

H. Habeas Corpus.

The power of federal District Courts to review state court criminal proceedings in habeas corpus proceedings was broadly viewed in three decisions during the past term.

In Fay v. Noia, 83 S. Ct. 822, the Court held, 6 - 3, that a defendant may be granted habeas corpus relief from a state conviction obtained in violation of the Constitution, even though he allowed the time for a direct appeal to lapse without seeking review of his conviction by a state appellate court. In 1942, Noia and two others were convicted in New York of a murder committed in the course of a robbery. The other two defendants appealed their convictions in

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* A decision having possible wide implications for the assertion of constitutional rights generally was issued in Willner v. Committee on Character and Fitness, 83. S. Ct. 1175. There the Court held, 7 - 2, that an applicant who had passed the written examination for admission to the New York bar but who was refused admission because he failed to pass the character examination, was denied due process since he was not given a hearing before either the Character Committee or the Courts on charges filed against him. Justice Douglas, in the Court's opinion, said that the requirements of due process must be met before the state can exclude a person from the practice of law, that "procedural due process often requires confrontation and cross-examination of those whose word deprives a person of his livelihood," and that "the need for confrontation is a necessary conclusion from the requirements of due process in a situation such as this." Justices Harlan and Clark dissented on the ground that the constitutional issue was not properly presented.

the New York courts. These appeals were unsuccessful at the time. However, subsequent state court proceedings resulted in the release of these defendants on findings that their confessions had been coerced. Noia's confession was also admittedly coerced but the same relief was not available to him, under New York law, because of his original failure to appeal. A separate effort to obtain relief by a coram nobis proceeding in the state courts was rejected for the same reason.

In federal habeas corpus proceedings, the lower court refused to grant relief under the federal habeas corpus statute because the state court's denial of relief rested on an adequate non-federal ground. The Circuit Court reversed and ordered that Noia be discharged from custody unless given a new trial. The Supreme Court affirmed.

After an extended discussion of the history of the writ of habeas corpus,* a history "inextricably intertwined with the growth of fundamental rights of personal liberty," Justice Brennan, speaking for the majority, held that "Federal courts have power under the federal habeas statute to grant relief despite the applicant's failure to have pursued a state remedy not available to him at the time he applies" for habeas corpus. The question here was whether this type of case was governed by the doctrine that the Supreme Court will not directly review a case involving a federal question where it is shown that the state decision rested upon an adequate and independent state ground. Justice Brennan rejected the argument that, because the state law barred Noia from obtaining relief in the federal courts by appeal, he was therefore barred from

* The Court noted, inter alia, that the present broad habeas corpus statute was adopted in 1867, during the Reconstruction Period, and "seems plainly to have been designed to furnish a method additional to and independent of direct Supreme Court review of state court decisions for the vindication of the new constitutional guarantees."

relief by way of habeas corpus.*

It was also argued that a state prisoner who forfeits his opportunity to vindicate federal rights in a state court has been given due process and hence is not restrained contrary to the Constitution. The Court said that the due process concept embraces "the right not to be convicted upon evidence which includes one's coerced confession."

The Court noted that a limitation on the assumption of jurisdiction would certainly be warranted in the case of a defendant who has deliberately sought to subvert or evade the orderly adjudication of his federal defenses in the state courts and said that the federal courts have discretion to deny relief under these circumstances. But "this grant of discretion is not to be interpreted as a permission to introduce legal fictions into federal habeas corpus." The Court concluded that "no just and humane legal system can tolerate a result" whereby Noia's co-defendants are at liberty because their confessions were found to have been coerced, yet Noia, whose confession was also coerced, remains in jail for life.

Justice Harlan filed a dissent in which Justices Clark and Stewart joined. He said that the decision, with its "abrupt break with the past" was "one of the most disquieting that the Court has rendered in a long time." He believed that federal courts had "no power, statutory or constitutional,..." to release Noia from state detention because "his custody by New York does not violate any federal rights, since it is pursuant to a conviction whose validity rests upon an adequate and independent state ground which the federal courts are required to respect."

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* The Court referred to an earlier decision holding that a federal habeas corpus proceeding was barred if the petitioner had failed to ask the Supreme Court for review of the state court action denying relief. Although that rule was not applicable here, because Noia had asked for such review (unsuccessfully), the Court said that the rule was necessarily overruled by its decision in this case.

Justice Clark, dissenting in a separate opinion, agreed that Noia's incarceration rested upon an adequate and independent state ground. He believed that the decision would result in a rash of new applications from state prisoners and that the influx would result in burying meritorious applications in a flood of worthless ones.

In Townsend v. Sain, 83 S. Ct. 745, the Court ruled, 5 - 4, that a District Court had erred in dismissing a habeas corpus petition without holding a new hearing to determine whether a confession had been obtained by coercion. In 1955, Townsend was tried for murder in Illinois. At his trial, the Public Defender objected to the introduction of his confession on the ground that it was coerced. After a preliminary hearing had been held, the confession was admitted, but the judge charged the jury that they might disregard it if they found it involuntary. The defendant was convicted and sentenced to death. After thoroughly exhausting his state remedies, Townsend petitioned for habeas corpus in the federal courts. The theory of the application was that the petitioner, a narcotics addict, had been injected with a drug which was, in effect, a truth serum and that as a result of this injection he had confessed the crime. His petition was denied. The Supreme Court vacated the judgment and remanded the case for a decision as to whether a full evidentiary hearing was required. On the remand, the District Court found that "justice would not be served by ordering a full hearing." On appeal, the Circuit Court concluded that on habeas corpus the District Court's inquiry was correctly limited to a study of the undisputed portions of the record and that these portions here showed no deprivation of constitutional rights. The Supreme Court granted review.

Chief Justice Warren, for the Court, said that the test governing the admissibility of confessions was whether the confession was the product of a rational intellect and a free will. "It is difficult to imagine a situation in

which a confession would be less the product of a free intellect, less voluntary, than when brought about by a drug having the effect of a truth serum." Thus, the habeas corpus petition alleged a deprivation of constitutional rights.

The question before the Court then became whether the District Court was required to hold a hearing to ascertain the facts on which the constitutional claim was contested or whether it could resolve the issues on the basis of the record made in the state court. The Court held, first, that there was no question that the District Court had power to hold such a hearing. Second, it found that a new hearing was required unless the state-court trier of fact has after a full hearing reliably found the relevant facts. It then discussed in detail the standards to be applied in determining whether a new trial was necessary. Applying those standards here, the Court concluded that Townsend should have been granted an evidentiary hearing in the District Court.

Justice Goldberg, concurring, joined in the opinion and judgment of the majority and expressed specific disagreement with Justice Stewart's dissenting opinion. He rejected Justice Stewart's criticism of the detailed articulation of standards to govern the grant of evidentiary hearing, saying that it was "an appropriate exercise of this Court's adjudicatory obligations."

Justice Stewart's dissenting opinion was supported by Justices Clark, Harlan and White. He said that he agreed that a confession induced by drugs is constitutionally inadmissible, that the Circuit Court used an erroneous standard in limiting its inquiry to the undisputed portions of the record, and that where an applicant for a writ of habeas corpus alleges facts which, if true, would entitle him to relief, the federal court has the power to try the facts again. However, applying those principles, he would not have ordered a new trial, since the record showed that the Illinois courts had properly passed on the petitioner's

claim. In addition he disapproved the Court's detailed statement of standards because it would tend to be applied too rigidly.

In Jones v. Cunningham, 83 S. Ct. 373, a unanimous Court held that a state prisoner who had been placed on parole was "in custody" within the meaning of a federal statute giving the District Courts jurisdiction to grant a writ of habeas corpus to a prisoner "in custody in violation of the Constitution... of the United States." The petitionor was here challenging an earlier conviction in Virginia on the ground that his federal constitutional right to counsel had been denied. While an appeal in his habeas corpus action was pending in the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, he was paroled in the "custody and control" of the Vriginia Parole Board, which placed numerous restrictions on his conduct. Thus, he was required to obtain the permission of his parole officer to leave the community or to own or operate a car. He was also required to make monthly reports to his officer and to follow the officer's instructions and advice. The Circuit Court directed dismissal of the habeas corpus petition on the ground that the Parole Board did not have physical custody of the petitionor.

In an opinion by Justice Black, the Court reviewed the use of habeas corpus, both in England and in this country, in situations in which there was no close physical confinement. Justice Black concluded that there can be no doubt that, "besides physical imprisonment, there are other restraints on a man's liberty, restraints not shared by the public generally, which have been thought sufficient in the English-speaking world to support the issuance of habeas corpus." Habeas corpus was found to be appropriate here because "the custody and control of the Parole Board involves significant restraints" on the petitioner's liberty. The Court added that it was not relevant that these restrictions may be desirable and important facets of the rehabilitative process. The restraints themselves "are enough to invoke the help of the great writ."

## ANALYSIS OF THE VOTES OF THE INDIVIDUAL JUSTICES

The Tables below present the votes of the individual Justices during the 1962-63 Term in the civil rights and civil liberties cases described above, and certain cumulative material for the last six Terms. The 42 cases covered here are those bearing numbers in the Table of Contents.

Each vote is recorded as being favorable (F) or unfavorable (U) to the person claiming a constitutional or other civil right. In some cases where different grounds were advanced for favoring the asserted right, FB indicates a favorable vote on broad grounds and FN a favorable vote on narrow grounds. We believe that this method of classification, based on whether the person asserting the right was favored, is relatively objective. It is not intended to embody any assumption that the person asserting that his rights were infringed was necessarily correct.

Table I gives the Court's disposition of the 42 cases covered here, divided into five categories. Table II gives the votes of the individual Justices in those cases. Tables III and IV cumulate the material in the first two Tables for the last six Terms of the Court.

Table I shows that the Court is still deciding a majority of the civil rights and civil liberties cases that come before it favorably to the asserted right. In fact, during the past Term, the proportion of favorable decisions was the highest that it has been in the six Terms covered by these reports. Of the 42 cases during the last Term, 34 were decided favorably and eight unfavorably. During the 1961-62 Term, 22 of 28 were decided favorably; during the 1960-61 Term, only 27 out of 50 were decided favorably. For the six-year period, as shown in Table III, the figures are 162 decided favorably and 93 decided unfavorably.

Table II shows the votes of the individual Justices during the past Term. It reveals clearly that there has been a significant change in the line-up of the Court. During the preceding Terms there had been a clear division between a conservative bloc of five (Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Harlan, Whittaker and Stewart) and a liberal bloc of four (Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan). Two members of the conservative bloc, Justices Frankfurter and Whittaker, have now been replaced by Justices White and Goldberg. On the record of the 1962-63 Term, it is clear that Justice White has lined up with the three remaining conservatives but that Justice Goldberg has cast his votes most often with the liberals, thus giving them a majority on the Court. The Justices are listed in Table II in the order of the proportion of the favorable and unfavorable votes during the last Term. There is a clear, sharp break between the first five and the last four.

The pattern is far from perfect and voting is certainly not automatic. In a number of cases, individual Justices shifted from one side to the other. Yet the conclusion that there are two blocs is well supported by the fact that eleven of the 42 cases covered here were decided by 5 - 4 votes and that all but one of these showed the liberal majority of five voting against the conservative group of four.

The division between the Court is further shown by a feature that has been conspicuous for a number of years. If the assumed polarity of the Court were false, one would see liberal Justices voting unfavorably in the same cases in which conservative Justices voted favorably. In civil rights and civil liberties cases that rarely happens. During the past Term it occurred only twice (in Norvell and Brady). It did not happen at all during the 1961-62 Term and it happened only twice in 1960-61 and once in 1959-60.

It should be emphasized, however, that in the 1962-63 Term the division in the Court did not manifest itself in the cases dealing with pressing national issues, such as racial equality and church-state separation. As we have noted in the Introduction, all of the major cases were decided by unanimous or near unanimous votes, a remarkable development indicating that the United States Supreme Court today is more firmly united than ever before in its role as the great defender of the basic freedoms of the American people. This unanimity in the Court can be explained, in part at least, by the fact that relatively few cases involving internal security came before it during the 1962-63 Term. In recent years, such cases have been the major source of division within the Court on constitutional issues.

The pattern of unanimity or near unanimity in civil rights cases, which has prevailed with only a brief interruption since the public school desegregation decisions of 1954, was revealed again this year, as may be seen in Table V. It shows the votes of the Justices in the nine civil rights cases decided during the Term. In six, the Court was unanimous and in two more the Court split 8 - 1, with the dissenter, Justice Harlan, agreeing with the Court that the convictions in question should be reversed. In the ninth case, the vote was 8 - 1, with Justice Harlan again dissenting.

There were three internal security cases decided during the year, as compared with five in the 1961-62 Term and sixteen in the 1960-61 Term. As shown in Table VI, this is an area in which the division of the Court into conservative and liberal wings is usually shown clearly. This year was no exception, despite the small number of cases. Two of the three cases (Yellin and Gastelum) were decided favorably by 5 - 4 votes, following the present liberal-conservative lineup. The third (Wheeldin) was decided unfavorably, 3 - 6, with Justices Douglas and Goldberg joining the conservative bloc.

In the area of immigration and nationality, the polarity of the Court appears in all three cases. Two cases (Mendoza and Rosenberg) were decided favorably by votes of 5 - 4. In the third case (Cort), the vote was 7 - 2, but two of the favorable votes came from Justices White and Stewart who disagreed with the liberal group and based their favorable votes on narrow grounds. (The votes in the cases affecting immigration and nationality are also given in Table VI.).

The seven cases dealing with freedom of expression listed in Table VII, cover a wide range of topics - freedom of religion, the press, speech and association as well as voting. All were decided favorably and only one (Gibson) was decided by a close division of 5 - 4.

Twenty cases are listed in Table VIII, Other Criminal Proceedings. It is in this category that all but one of the Court's unfavorable decisions were issued. Thirteen of the twenty cases, however, were decided favorably.

With the liberal conservative lineup of the Court changed this year from 4 - 5 to 5 - 4, cases were decided unfavorably to the asserted right only when there was a defection from the liberal side. The only case decided unfavorably by a 5 - 4 vote was Ker, in which Justice Black cast the swing vote. Altogether, aside from the two atypical decisions in which there was a mutual crossover (Norvell and Brady), the conservative bloc was joined by Justice Goldberg four times, Justices Black three times, Chief Justice Warren and Justice Brennan twice and Justice Douglas once. Aside from the eleven cases that were decided favorably by a unanimous vote, the liberal bloc was joined by Justice White twelve times, Justice Stewart nine times, Justice Clark seven times and Justice Harlan twice.

The proportion of unanimous decisions this year was relatively low, 13 out of 42 (31%). In previous Terms it has been 11 out of 28 (39%), in 1962-63, 15 out of 50 (30%) in 1960-61, and 14 out of 35 (40%) in 1959-60.

TABLE I.

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY COURT

1962-1963

| | Favor-able | Unfavor-able | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Internal Security | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Freedom of Expression | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Immigration and Nationality | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Other Criminal Proceedings | 13 | 7 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 34 | 8 | 42 |

TABLE II.

TOTAL VOTES OF JUSTICES

1962-1963

| | Favorable Broad | Favorable Narrow | Favor-able | Favorable Total | Unfavor-able | Not Partic-ipating |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Douglas | 5 | 0 | 34 | 39 | 3 | 0 |
| Black | 3 | 0 | 35 | 38 | 4 | 0 |
| Warren | 0 | 0 | 38 | 38 | 4 | 0 |
| Brennan | 0 | 0 | 38 | 38 | 4 | 0 |
| Goldberg | 0 | 0 | 37 | 37 | 5 | 0 |
| White | 0 | 1 | 22 | 23 | 19 | 0 |
| Stewart | 0 | 1 | 20 | 21 | 21 | 0 |
| Clark | 0 | 2 | 16 | 18 | 24 | 0 |
| Harlan | 0 | 4 | 12 | 16 | 26 | 0 |

TABLE III.

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY COURT

CUMULATIVE: 1957-1963

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | 30 | 4 | 34 |
| Internal Security | 29 | 24 | 53 |
| Freedom of Expression | 30 | 8 | 38 |
| Immigration and Nationality | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| Other Criminal Proceedings | 65 | 51 | 116 |
| TOTAL | 162 | 93 | 255 |

TABLE IV.

TOTAL VOTES OF JUSTICES

CUMULATIVE: 1957-1963

| | Favorable Broad | Favorable Narrow | Favorable | Favorable Total | Unfavorable | Not Participating |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Douglas | 49 | 8 | 186 | 243 | 12 | 0 |
| Black | 36 | 12 | 181 | 229 | 25 | 1 |
| Warren | 19 | 16 | 184 | 219 | 31 | 5 |
| Brennan | 12 | 26 | 174 | 212 | 41 | 2 |
| Goldberg | 0 | 0 | 37 | 37 | 5 | 0 |
| White | 0 | 1 | 24 | 25 | 20 | 13 |
| Stewart | 5 | 14 | 87 | 106 | 88 | 4 |
| Harlan | 5 | 23 | 84 | 112 | 140 | 3 |
| Clark | 2 | 17 | 80 | 99 | 156 | 0 |

TABLE V.

VOTES IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES: 1962-1963

| Cases | *Court | Douglas | Black | Warren | Brennan | Goldberg | White | Stewart | Clark | Harlan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Goss (1) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| McNeese (2) | 8-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | U |
| Watson (3) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Wright (4) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Johnson (5) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Peterson (6) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | FN |
| Lombard (7) | 9-0 | FB | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | FN |
| Shuttlesworth (8) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | FN |
| Continental (9) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Favorable Broad | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Favorable Narrow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Favorable | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 5 |
| Total Favorable | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Unfavorable | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

* In Tables V, VI, VII and VIII the vote of the Court is given with the number of favorable votes first.

TABLE VI.

VOTES IN INTERNAL SECURITY AND IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY CASES: 1962-1963

| Cases | Court | Douglas | Black | Warren | Brennan | Goldberg | White | Stewart | Clark | Harlan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Internal Security | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yellin (10) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Wheeldin (11) | 3-6 | U | F | F | F | U | U | U | U | U |
| Gastelum (12) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Nationality | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mendoza (20) | 5-4 | FB | FB | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Cort (21) | 7-2 | FB | FB | F | F | F | FN | FN | U | U |
| Rosenberg (22) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable Broad | | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Favorable Narrow | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Favorable | | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Favorable | | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Unfavorable | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

TABLE VII.

VOTES IN FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION CASES: 1962-1963

| Cases | Court | Douglas | Black | Warren | Brennan | Goldberg | White | Stewart | Clark | Harlan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Schempp (13) | 8-1 | FB | F | F | F | F | F | U | F | F |
| Sherbert (14) | 7-2 | F | F | F | F | F | U | F | F | U |
| Bantam (15) | 8-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | FN | U |
| Edwards (16) | 8-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | U | F |
| Gibson (17) | 5-4 | FB | FB | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Button (18) | 6-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U |
| Gray (19) | 8-1 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | U |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable Broad | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Favorable Narrow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Favorable | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Total Favorable | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Unfavorable | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 |

TABLE VIII.

VOTES IN OTHER CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS: 1962-1963

| Cases | Court | Douglas | Black | Warren | Brennan | Goldberg | White | Stewart | Clark | Harlan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ker (23) | 4-5 | F | U | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Wong Sun (24) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Lopez (25) | 3-6 | F | U | U | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Cleary (26) | 3-6 | F | U | F | F | U | U | U | U | U |
| Shotwell (27) | 3-6 | F | F | F | U | U | U | U | U | U |
| Namet (28) | 2-7 | F | F | U | U | U | U | U | U | U |
| Lynumn (29) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Haynes (30) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Downum (31) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Gideon (32) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| White (33) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Douglas (34) | 6-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U |
| Lane (35) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | FN | FN |
| Draper (36) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Norvell (37) | 2-7 | U | U | U | U | F | U | F | U | U |
| Rideau (38) | 7-2 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | U | U |
| Brady (39) | 2-7 | U | F | U | U | U | U | U | U | F |
| Fay (40) | 6-3 | F | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U |
| Townsend (41) | 5-4 | F | F | F | F | F | U | U | U | U |
| Jones (42) | 9-0 | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Favorable Broad | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Favorable Narrow | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Favorable | | 18 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| Total Favorable | | 18 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Unfavorable | | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 13 | 15 | 14 |

COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW
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1963

## INTRODUCTION

Observers of public opinion were quite startled recently by the extreme range of reaction to the Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional the composing or sanctioning of prayer by the State for the public schools. Later events demonstrated that a distinction could be made between the earliest reaction and those "second-thought" opinions reflecting more attention to the actual wording of the Supreme Court ruling. The incident served to highlight both the responsibility of religious leaders to think through their positions before making hasty response, and the responsibility of the mass media in communicating as accurately as possible the decision of the court. It is one thing to headline "GOD BANNED FROM THE STATE," another to declare "COURT RULES UNCONSTITUTIONAL STATE COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL PRAYER," granting of course that a short headline is more readable.

The *"Columbia Journalism Review"* of Fall, 1962, a quarterly under the auspices of the Columbia faculty, alumni and friends of the graduate school of journalism, Columbia University, examined the role of journalism in reporting the school prayer decision and the consequences of its role. The project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs reprints, with the kind permission of the Columbia School of Journalism, this incisive article written by William A. Hachten, Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin. Not only did the magazine feature this study, but it chose as well to editorialize on the question. The editorial follows:

# *On covering the court*

Starting on page 6, the *Review* chronicles journalism's role in recording the Supreme Court's prayer-in-school decision and the wave of indignation that followed. Many of the first comments, the story notes, came from persons who could not have had full knowledge of the decision, much less its still-debated implications. Moreover, there is room for suspicion that some public figures who shot from the hip later felt obliged to cling to their early positions.

That the limited, undefinitive nature of the decision was not clear in many of the early stories is a reflection not only on the contentious wording of the Black and Douglas opinions, but on the ancient system under which Supreme Court decisions are announced and reported. No member of the Court simply announces a 5-4 or 6-3 decision. The opinions on a case, however long and complex, are simply released to the press at the moment when a justice starts to read the first one dealing with a given case. It is up to the reporters, suddenly loaded with an armful of paper, to determine what the decision is and what it means. In the competition among wire services and networks, there is inevitably a race to see which one can first divine the decision and tell the world.

In 1935, this kind of race caused a major error. When the Court released a tangled bundle of opinions on the gold-standard cases, The Associated Press misinterpreted a majority opinion and transmitted a flash and a bulletin stating the opposite of the Court's intent.

The system prevailing today is much the same, except for the addition of pneumatic tubes (replacing messengers) to carry the opinions from reporters inside to reporters waiting outside. In the school-prayer case, the system did not produce any error of fact. Yet the wire service that "lost" the race to complete the first story—United Press International—apparently made good use of the additional time and produced a version that gave a somewhat clearer idea of the opinion. Both stories, however, were put forth to the public in forms so short as to cause even those predisposed to support the decision to misjudge its breadth.

Change, if any, will have to come from those concerned with the decisions and the reporting of them. Recognizing the possible consequences of public misinterpretation of a key decision, the justice writing the majority opinion might well strive to make crystal clear just what the decision is and what its scope is, as well as what the principal reasoning behind it is. There is nothing requiring that Supreme Court opinions be less than lucid.

For their part, the news organizations involved might well subordinate the practice of breakneck competition enough to insure real precision of reporting. In respect to major Supreme Court decisions we could stand a bit more of the old slogan: "Get it first, but first get it right."

# Journalism and

*In this study, a news story notable for the suddenness of the event and the speed of the reaction is, in effect, scrutinized in slow motion. The article is based on material supplied by the wire services, a network, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and on a study of a national cross section of newspapers. The writer, William A. Hachten, is an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin with earlier experience on California newspapers.*

By WILLIAM A. HACHTEN

On June 25, 1962, the United States Supreme Court handed down sixteen decisions. Of the sixteen, one commanded immediate attention. Wire-service reporters led their stories with it, radio and television and afternoon newspapers used it prominently, and by the following morning it had become the leading story in most newspapers.

It was, of course, the ruling that the recitation of an official twenty-two-word prayer in New York State's public schools violated the First Amendment to the Constitution. The vote was 6 to 1. Justice Hugo L. Black wrote and read the majority opinion. Justice William O. Douglas wrote a concurring opinion. Justice Potter Stewart dissented.

The first publicly spoken responses to the decision were highly critical, even outraged. Members of Congress, religious leaders, and educational officials placed thousands of words of explosive commentary on the record. The Supreme Court received hundreds of critical letters and telegrams.

This kind of nationwide reaction was unusual in the recent history of the Court. But did it rise entirely from the nature of the decision itself? Or was it to an extent a result of the way the original story was reported and edited — particularly by the major wire services and the broadcasting outlets and newspapers dependent on them? Did the news media help to create the reaction and to expand it once it had begun? Finally, did the opinions and interpretations offered by the press clarify the issue?

First, the original handling of the story: Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, breaking the unwritten rule of "no comment" on decisions, has offered the opinion that considerable public misunderstanding stemmed from pressures on reporters to communicate the ruling rapidly, with half a dozen other major decisions. Speaking in San Francisco at the American Bar Association convention in August, Justice Clark said that the decision provoked the Court's heaviest flow of critical mail in years. But when news media began to interpret the decision later, he said, the mail became more favorable.

Clark said: "Here was a state-written prayer circulated to state-employed teachers with instructions to have their pupils recite it in unison at the beginning of each school day. The Constitution says that the government shall take no part in the establishment of religion. No means no. As soon as people learned that this was all the court decided—not that there could be no official recognition of a Divine Being or recognition on silver or currency of 'In God We Trust', or public acknowledgment that we are a religious nation—they understood the basis on which the court acted.

"The news announcements were not complete, most of them reciting the content of the twenty-two-word prayer and the fact that the court had held it unconstitutional for a teacher to have her pupils recite it."

Wire-service reporters who covered the Court on June 25 have accepted no part of Justice Clark's charge. *Editor & Publisher* for August 11, 1962,

# the prayer decision

quoted Paul Yost, an Associated Press Supreme Court reporter for eighteen years, as saying: "We had it 100 per cent accurate. We stuck right to the opinion and dealt specifically with what the opinion said."

Charlotte Moulton, Supreme Court reporter for United Press International since 1949, said she did not think that there was anything wrong with her stories or with those she saw by other reporters. "People who read them," she said, "read them with an emotional accompaniment and read into the stories certain inaccuracies."

Who is right, Justice Clark or the reporters? An examination of the stories indicates that both sides are right.

The initial AP and UPI stories were ably and objectively written, fully up to professional reporting standards. But their terseness, especially after pruning by news desks and copy desks, probably contributed to misunderstanding. (See excerpts on page 6.)

Nor were matters necessarily helped by the headlines. There is a considerable difference between the specific "N.Y. School Prayer Held Unconstitutional" *(The Evening Bulletin,* Providence, June 25) and the general "Court Rules Out Prayers in Schools" *(Los Angeles Times,* June 26). The majority of newspapers appear to have kept "prayer" in the singular, but many failed to specify either its official character or its origin in New York state. A middle-of-the-road headline, no doubt seen by many members of Congress who commented on the decision, was the one in *The Evening Star,* Washington: "High Court Bans School Prayer," reading out to "1st Amendment Provision Cited In 6-1 Decision," followed by "Area Practices Seen Affected, Stewart Dissents."

The sequence of early comment, in the order it was transmitted by The Associated Press, ran as follows:

Leo Pfeffer, general counsel, American Jewish Congress: "I am highly gratified by the decision." (2:29 p.m., June 25)

Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York: "There is plenty of opportunity afforded to parents . . . to inculcate religious faith in their children at home and at weekend religious schools." (3:23 p.m.)

Representative John J. Rooney of New York said the decision put American public schools on the same footing with Russian schools, "in which mention of a Supreme Being is not permitted." (3:23 p.m.)

Representative George Grant, Alabama: "They can't keep us from praying for the Supreme Court." (3:23 p.m.)

Representative George Andrews, Alabama: "They put the Negroes in the schools and now they've driven God out of them." (3:23 p.m.)

Representative Howard W. Smith, Virginia: "The next thing you know, they'll be telling us we can't open our daily House sessions with prayer." (4:12 p.m.)

Alan Reitman, assistant executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said the decision might end all religious observances in public schools. (4:59 p.m.)

William J. Butler, lawyer for the Long Island parents who took the case to the Supreme Court, said roughly the same thing. (4:59 p.m.)

The Reverend Stanley Mooneyham, director of information, National Association of Evangelicals: "The only way left for the majority to express their opinion is to have the majority push for a constitutional amendment." (5:10 p.m.)

Dr. Alcwyn Roberts, National Council of Churches: No comment. (5:10 p.m.)

Francis Cardinal Spellman said he was "shocked and frightened" by the decision. "The decision strikes at the very heart of the Godly tradition in which America's children have so long been raised." (6:11 p.m.)

Billy Graham, evangelist: "This is another step toward the secularization of the United States." (9:23 p.m.)

**PRODUCED UNDER PRESSURE:** Below are transcripts of the first stories on the prayer decision sent by AP and UPI, and the first paragraphs of subsequent revisions.

## THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**11:54 a.m. — Bulletin**

Washington, June 25 (AP) — The Supreme Court ruled today the offering of a 22-word daily prayer in New York State's public schools violates the U. S. Constitution.

**12:02 p.m. — First add**

Five parents with children in schools in New Hyde Park, N. Y., had questioned the practice as a violation of the principle of separation of church and state.

New York State's Board of Regents, the governing body of the public school system, recommended that this prayer be spoken in school opening exercises:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

Justice Black wrote the court majority opinion which declared:

"We think that by using its public school system to encourage recitation of the regent's prayer, the State of New York has adopted a practice wholly inconsistent with the establishment clause" of the U. S. Constitution.

The First Amendment to the Constitution commands that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

Justice Stewart wrote a dissenting opinion which declared "the Court has misapplied a great constitutional principle."

Stewart added, "I cannot see how an 'official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. On the contrary, I think that to deny the wish of these school children to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our nation."

Justice Douglas wrote an opinion concurring with the majority.

Justices White and Frankfurter took no part.

The Court's vote was thus 6-1.

**1:39 p.m. — First lead**

Washington, June 25 (AP) — The Supreme Court ruled 6-1 today that New York State sponsorship of a 22-word daily prayer for recitation in public schools violates the U. S. Constitution . . .

## UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

**11:58 a.m. — Bulletin**

Washington, June 25 (UPI) — The Supreme Court ruled today that daily recital of an official state prayer in public schools, even though non-compulsory, offends the religious freedom guarantees in the Constitution.

**11:58 a.m. — First add**

The 6-1 decision came in a New York case but will affect many thousands of schools throughout the country.

**12:10 p.m. — Second add**

Justice Hugo L. Black wrote the court's decision. The dissenter was Justice Potter Stewart. Justices Felix Frankfurter and Byron R. White did not participate.

Black said "It has been argued that to apply the Constitution in such a way as to prohibit state laws respecting an establishment of religious services in public schools is to indicate a hostility toward religion or toward prayer."

"Nothing, of course, could be more wrong," he said.

But he added: "It is neither sacrilegious nor anti-religious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.". . .

**12:29 p.m. — First lead**

By Charlotte G. Moulton

Washington, June 25 (UPI) — The Supreme Court ruled today that the daily recital of an official state prayer in public schools is unconstitutional because it violates the religious freedom guaranteed in the Bill of Rights . . .

**1:18 p.m. — Second lead**

By Charlotte G. Moulton

Washington, June 25 (UPI) — The Supreme Court ruled today that it is unconstitutional to have public school children recite official state prayers as a daily exercise . . .

In the next hours and days, many others had their opinions in print. To mention only those at the peak of eminence:

Two former Presidents—Hoover and Eisenhower—reacted unfavorably, the former proposing a constitutional amendment. A comment by former President Truman to the effect that it was the Court's business to interpret the Constitution received little attention. On Wednesday, June 27, President Kennedy asked in his news conference for support of the decision and suggested prayer at home.

The sweep of the reaction can be gauged in the actions of two bodies of elected politicians. The Governor's Conference endorsed the idea of a constitutional amendment, 49 to 0. (Governor Rockefeller of New York abstained because he said the decision merited further study.) In Congress, no fewer than forty-two such proposals were put forward in the House alone.

Before the week end, quieting influences began to take hold. For one thing, the words of the opinion itself probably received further study. Many large newspapers ran editorials either supporting the decision or pointing out its limited scope. At the beginning of the following week, the major news magazines ran stories that discussed the decision calmly. *U. S. News & World Report* ran excerpts from the Black and Stewart opinions. *Newsweek* gave four pages to the opinion and the furor. *Time's* coverage was also complete.

As the volume of informed comment grew, the reaction continued to subside.

In fact, there was a discernible turning point in the flow of comment in the week of July 8 to 15. The Religious News Service (operated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews) described this "second wave" as "more temperate, with more distinction being made between the actual decision . . . and what was repeatedly referred to as the possible implications of that decision."

The dwindling of reaction indicated that the American public had decided to accept the decision, despite the fact that nearly 80 per cent of a sample questioned by the Gallup Poll favored prayers in public schools.

On any question as controversial as this one, violent reaction from some quarters was probably inevitable, regardless of the way it was covered. The volume of mail received by the Court in April, when the case was argued, points to an organized pro-prayer effort, although no such effort was reported in the press. But there can be doubt that confusion and misunderstanding should have been as widespread as they were. There seems little question but that the mechanics of handling news contributed to the reaction. It can be argued that the following sequence took place:

First, the opinion itself, while no more complex than many other matters that have come before the Court, was bound to seize wider attention than most such statements. Some journalists have argued that the opinion was not well stated for broad public consumption. In his column of August 13 in the *New York Herald Tribune,* David Lawrence wrote: "...the fault is not with the press or the public, but with the complex and often ambiguous language in which the opinions of the Justices themselves are presented."

This view received support in the September issue of *Commentary,* a monthly sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. In "School Prayers and the Founding Fathers," Leonard W. Levy of Brandeis University, author of *Legacy of Suppression* (1960), a study of the First Amendment, approved the decision but wrote:

> The Court has reaped the scorn of a confused and aroused public because it has been inconsistent; moreover, its past compromises failed to prepare the public for a principled decision.

And:

> The public, which has little patience with legal distinctions, has a right to be appalled at the contradictory results of the Court's various decisions on the establishment clause: New York's released-time program of religious education for public school children, New Jersey's subsidized bus rides for parochial school children, and Massachusetts' Sunday closing or blue laws are not, the Court has ruled, violations of the establishment clause....That Justice Black, the author of the school-bus decision (constitutional) is also the author of the school-prayer decision (unconstitutional) only adds to the public's confusion.

Even granting that the Court was not as direct as it could have been, journalism must still be held accountable, for it has the task of reporting *any* important event or statement, no matter how badly organized it may be.

The initial wire-service stories, while fast, accurate, and objective, were too brief to counter squarely the two most widespread misconceptions about the decision: first, that it had in one stroke banned all religious observance from public life or education; second, that it was a decision that had taken a position against religion in general.

In the reporters' favor, it should be noted that many placed high in their stories the paragraph from

the Black opinion selected by authorities on constitutional law as the crux of the decision:

> It is neither sacrilegious nor anti-religious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.

Or its rough equivalent, elsewhere in the opinion:

> . . . it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by government.

Later in the day, the wire services, in their efforts to follow up an obviously "hot" story, worked on a first-come, first-served basis in selecting persons for comment. There was balance in the choice of clergymen, but not in congressional comment, which was heavily loaded with Southerners already hostile to the court for its desegregation decisions and Easterners whose religious feelings were outraged.

It was pointed out in *The New York Times* on June 26 that, according to a 1961 sampling of schools, the East and the South were the only areas in the country that had widespread public-school prayers. Less than 10 per cent of schools elsewhere participated. This fact suggests that the wire services obtained comment largely from the angriest members of Congress.

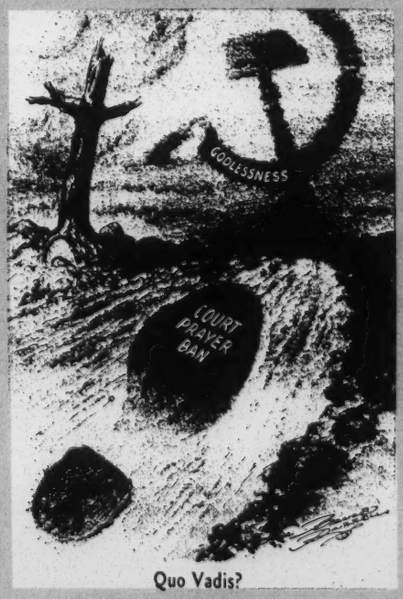
In commenting on Justice Clark's charges, Julius Frandsen, Washington bureau manager for UPI, said: "He is evidently confusing what news agencies have written with what certain members of Congress and the clergy were saying."

However, the wire services must bear responsibility on this point. The news-gathering processes gave them ample opportunity to balance their stories and to include informed comments. The press need not be a mere transmission belt for the reckless.

Clarification and interpretation did come eventually. A number of newspapers—among them, *The New York Times, The Washington Post,* the *Chicago Daily News, The Milwaukee Journal,* and *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—ran a good share of the Black opinion and the Stewart dissent. Discerning, calm editorials also helped. Unfortunately, such clarification appeared belatedly in many papers.

Finally, American journalism had another responsibility that was not effectively discharged in every instance. A free and independent press has a constitutional obligation to protect civil liberties against the encroachments of government. This obligation also means that the press should explain

*Burris Jenkins, Jr., in N. Y. Journal-American*




Quo Vadis?

*Bruce Russell in Los Angeles Times*

to the public the meaning of governmental acts pertaining to those liberties.

In this case, journalism was slow to explain fully and some news organizations in fact seemed to be as much in the grip of anger and intemperance as the public. It is a paradox that a few angry newspapers recommended that the First Amendment be rewritten, as was the case in a signed editorial by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., that appeared in Hearst newspapers.

It can justifiably be asked what contribution is made to understanding (not necessarily support) of the decision by such editorial comments as the following:

> If this device [a prayer drawn up by three religious leaders] is eventually prohibited by an atheistic, agnostic or what-have-you Supreme Court majority, other dodges and end-runs can be figured out by active minds in religious circles. Sooner or later, such tactics should make a complete monkey and dead-letter out of Monday's Warren Court ruling. (New York *Daily News,* June 29.)

> . . . six justices of the Supreme Court of the United States have been persuaded by a small group of guardhouse sophists to make a burlesque show of the world's first complete declaration of religious toleration. (*Los Angeles Times,* June 28.)

> It is difficult to understand how any six men in the United States could agree on this decision, written by Justice Hugo Black, who started his political career in the Ku Klux Klan but who, on the bench, became the leader of the radical left. Here is a decision without a quoted precedent, with no roots in law, with no historic basis. (*New York Mirror,* June 28.)

The fact that all of those cited above happen to be known as conservative newspapers is beside the point. Other newspapers, equally conservative, followed the almost self-evident dictum expressed by Ned Calmer on "WCBS-TV Views the Press" on July 1:

> Editorially . . . a newspaper has the primary right to assume any stand it chooses. A fitting corollary might be that a newspaper has a *duty* to express itself — especially on such a basic issue — with reflection and restraint.

"Reflection and restraint" may be better advice for editorial writers than for reporters. It is hard to counsel men whose primary duty is to report events as they happen to exercise deliberation. Yet there should be a point in the development of a story where speed gives way to reflection. For much of American journalism, this point came too late in the school-prayer case. And for one segment, it never came at all.

The 11th Commandment

*Jacob Burck in Chicago Sun-Times*

"LEAVING RELIGION TO PRIVATE INITIATIVE IS UN-AMERCAN!"

*Herblock in The Washington Post*

## WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nation-wide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

43 West 57th St. • New York 19, N. Y.

The NCCJ project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs is designed to raise the general level of public understanding and discussion on issues of public concern about which religious groups differ. The main objectives of this project are: to analyze the practical and theoretical problems involving political action and religious freedom; to effectuate a greater understanding of the significance of those religious commitments that affect public policy; and to lessen needless conflict created by different religious approaches to social problems.

Union College-Symposium
Spring 1963
Supreme Court

# 'GOD SAVE THIS HONORABLE COURT'

by Sven R. Peterson

On June 25, 1962, the United States Supreme Court handed down sixteen decisions, one of which provoked almost immediately a wave of highly critical, even outraged comments expressed in editorials, sermons, speeches, letters and telegrams. This was, of course, the 6-to-1 ruling that the so-called Regent's prayer used in many New York State schools was in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Justice Hugo L. Black wrote the majority opinion, Justice William O. Douglas wrote a concurring opinion, and Justice Potter Stewart dissented.

A decision such as this one has many ramifications. It circulates down through the hierarchical structure of our legal system, influencing opinions here and guiding decisions there, and at the bottom, in the local courts, sets off a fresh wave of cases which are appealed upward through various courts and eventually appear before the Supreme Court. Many of these cases the Supreme Court refuses to review; the ones it accepts are presumably those whose nature makes them typical cases, or those which illustrate or clarify some legal point. Two such cases—one from Maryland, the other from Pennsylvania—are before the Supreme Court at present; hence the exact nature of these cases is of considerable interest. Both deal with Bible reading, but in different ways.

In the Maryland case, the Baltimore city school board has a rule providing for daily Bible reading and reciting of a prayer. Although there is no compulsion on students to attend the morning exercise, Mrs. Madalyn E. Murray and her son William, alleging that the boy was spat on, assaulted, and subjected to student and teacher sanctions because he walked out on the exercises, have requested protection from such injury. The Baltimore city attorneys have argued that there is no constitutional violation if there is no compulsion, and that anyone who dissents runs the risk of disapproval. They have also argued, somewhat begging the question, that further litigation would result in removal of "every vestige of our religious heritage" from public life; and, in a curious reversal, the lawyers have claimed on the other hand that the exercises are no longer of a religious nature anyway, though they may once have been, but rather are simply considered to be "a good practice for the benefit of the children and to put them into a good frame of mind."

In the Pennsylvania case, involving the Abington School District, ten Bible verses are read each school day over a loudspeaker, and the children are encouraged to read their own Bibles. It was argued in this case that no child had ever asked to be excused, hence there was no evidence of any compulsion being used. It was argued further that a decision against such Bible reading would be an expression of hostility to religion, thereby violating the requirement of the First Amendment that the government remain neutral. At the same time, it

Herblock © Cartoon

*"Leaving Religion to Private Initiative Is Un-American!"*

was argued that the Bible reading was not a religious practice but an educational one, that the practice extended back to colonial days, and that the purpose was to teach lessons of morality—in fact, that the Bible reading was one of the last vestiges of moral value left in the school system.

These arguments, culled from newspaper accounts, are a representative sample, not of the level of argument before the Supreme Court, perhaps, but of what newspaper reporters find to be newsworthy. Taken in the abstract, the level of argumentation does not seem to be very high, but this does not really matter, for the important thing is the effectiveness of the arguments in shaping the tone or substance of the final verdicts. The Court is known to be somewhat responsive to public opinion; as a matter of fact, after the original decision Justice Tom C. Clark, speaking before a convention of lawyers in San Francisco, broke the rule of "no comment" on decisions to talk about the critical mail the Court had received after its June decision. He implied that hasty reporting, inaccurate summaries, and scare headlines were to blame for the initial uproar, and that later on, when the news media had had an opportunity to explain more fully, the mail became more favorable. The press has denied this charge, of course, and some columnists have retaliated by charging that the language of the decision itself was too complex and ambiguous to be understood. The noteworthy thing here is the implication that the Court reads its mail and is perfectly aware of its role, as final authority on the meaning of the Constitution, in shaping at least some aspects of public life, and hence of rousing many layers of deep-seated habit, custom, and conviction. The justices do not inhabit any sort of ivory tower; they are immersed in public life as much as anyone else; the big difference is that they are *responsible* for certain aspects of that public life in a way that no one else is.

EVERYTHING depends on what is in the minds of the justices as they ponder these new cases; the barrage of opinions—temperate or intemperate, hasty or considered—in point of fact plays very little part in shaping the law of the land. This fact seems so self-evident that it is surprising so few writers on the subject have examined the one document that is a key to the thinking of the justices—the text of the original decision of June 25, 1962. A careful examination of this decision, together with its learned footnotes and supplementary material, is the only way to delineate accurately the issues in question, the scope of the decision, and the nature of the arguments that seemed decisive to the justices themselves. There is nothing particularly difficult or complex about this text, nor does it rest on complicated legal issues. Some of the arguments in it are as bad as the arguments of the lawyers, but that is quite irrelevant: the justices are not pleading before any higher court, where good arguments count for more than bad arguments; rather they are stating the reasons for deciding as they did. Using these reasons as a touchstone, we can begin to predict, with some faint hope of accuracy, how future decisions in this tangled area might proceed.

The decision in the Regents' prayer case is found in the *U. S. Supreme Court Reports* for July 16, 1962 and runs from page 601 to page 619. Very briefly, Justice Black held that using the New York public school system to encourage recitation of the prayer was wholly inconsistent with the clause of the First Amendment which prohibits laws respecting an establishment of religion. Justice Douglas concurred on the ground that the state was financing this religious exercise, and remarked that in retrospect the Everson case, involving public school buses to parochial schools, seemed also to be out of line with the First Amendment. Justice Stewart dissented on the ground that no "official religion" was involved. Let us now consider these three statements in turn.

First, the facts. The Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 9, New Hyde Park, directed the school principal to have the Regents' prayer recited aloud by each class at the beginning of each school day. The Regents' prayer is as follows:

> Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country.

The parents of ten pupils brought action in a state court, claiming (1) the state law authorizing the use of prayer in public schools, and (2) the School District regulations authorizing the use of this particular prayer, were both in violation of the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment.

In his majority opinion, Justice Black made the following points:

¶ The daily recital of the Regents' prayer is undoubtedly a religious exercise. This was denied by no one.

¶ The use of the prayer by the school system "breaches the constitutional wall of separation between Church and State." Whatever else the establishment clause means, it means that "it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the government."

¶ It is a matter of history that many of our early colonists came to America to avoid governmentally composed prayers for religious services; it is an unfortunate fact of history that some of these same dissident groups, once they gained control of state legislatures, made their own religions the official religion of their state.

¶ Our Founding Fathers, knowing "the anguish, hardship and bitter strife that could come when zealous religious groups struggled with one another to obtain the Government's stamp of approval from each King, Queen, or Protector that came to temporary power," intended the First Amendment to stand as

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SVEN R. PETERSON, chairman and associate professor of philosophy, has been at Union since 1952. As a logician he is fascinated not only by the logic of the law, but also by the anti-logic of Lewis Carroll, on whose work he is expert.

a guarantee that "neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support, or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say"—that is, that religion would remain independent of the vicissitudes of political power.

¶ The New York prayer program "officially establishes the religious beliefs embodied in the Regents' prayer." The facts that the prayer is non-denominational, and that observance is voluntary, might serve to exempt this prayer recital from the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment, but not from the Establishment Clause. In brief, a religious exercise has been established, even though pupils are allegedly free to choose whether or not to participate.

¶ In fact, establishment of a religion is already indirect coercive pressure, and historically it often leads to direct pressure to conform. The Establishment Clause rests on the belief "that a union of government and religion tends to destroy government and to degrade religion." If government allies itself with any one religion, the "inevitable" result has been that it has incurred the hatred, disrespect, and even contempt of those who hold contrary religious beliefs. The same history shows conversely that any religion that relies on the support of government loses much respect.

¶ This decision does not indicate a hostility toward either religion or prayer. The First Amendment was not written to destroy either religion or prayer, but "to put an end to governmental control" which in the past had shackled men's tongues: ". . . each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves. . ."

¶ The fact that the Regents' prayer is so brief and general does not make it harmless. James Madison, who wrote the First Amendment, said:

> It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. . . . Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects?

What conclusions can we draw from these eight points? First of all, though much of the wording is directed against the fact that the Regents actually composed the prayer in question, it is clear that the deeper point is the establishment of a prayer, and not its nature or composition. Hence it seems likely that, if the court remains consistent, the establishment of the Lord's prayer will be ruled out in the same way and for the same reasons. What about reading from the Bible? It seems clear that such reading will be construed as an exercise in religion, not as an exercise in morality or in our American heritage, and certainly not as an act of scholarship or comparative religion. If Bible-reading is a religious act, then its establishment will be ruled out.

What constitutes an establishment of religion? Justice Douglas, in his concurring opinion, singles out the factor of financing the religious exercise, that is, using school time and the paid services of a teacher. He goes further. He points out that what New York did on the opening of its public schools was precisely what both Congress and the Supreme Court itself do at the beginning of each session, namely use a paid chaplain or marshal to intone a prayer. A footnote lists many more such anomalies. The very same First Congress that wrote the First Amendment also provided for chaplains in Congress and in the armed services. There is compulsory chapel at the service academies. Religious services are held in federal prisons and hospitals, to what might be called captive audiences. The President issues religious proclamations. The Bible is used for the administration of oaths. NYA and WPA funds were available to parochial schools during the Depression. There is Bible-reading in the schools of the District of Columbia, and religious instruction in the District's National Training School for Boys. Is it possible to draw a clear line through such cases and to separate those which are legitimate from those which are establishments? Justice Douglas does not bother, saying merely: "Our system at the federal and state levels is presently honeycombed with such financing. Nevertheless, I think it is an unconstitutional undertaking whatever form it takes." It would seem that Justice Douglas, at least, is prepared to strike even the motto "In God We Trust" from all our coins and currency. Though this motto was first authorized for coins in 1865, it did not become mandatory on all coins and currency until 1955, so that in fact it is of rather recent vintage.

WILL THE Court attempt to pick a line through these tangled anomalies? Can a distinction be drawn on the ground that prayers in the school and under the auspices of a teacher amount to religious instruction or guidance in some way that a conventional invocation, oath-taking, proclamation, or motto is not? Is a prayer or Bible-reading under such auspices of a credal nature, an avowal of presumably important and deeply-held convictions, and hence something that should *not* be imposed on impressionable young minds by lay persons? The Court clearly means to encourage children to go to their religious teachers for such guidance. But what then of the compulsory chapels in the service academies? The stand of Justice Douglas is clear: if the person praying is a public official on the public payroll, performing a religious exercise in a governmental institution, he must go. Once government finances a religious exercise it inserts a divisive influence into our communities; Justice Douglas points out, for example, that the apparently innocuous Regents' prayer does not conform to all of the tenets of the Jewish, Unitarian, and Ethical Culture groups, and that one of the petitioners in the case is an agnostic.

One simple procedure, one which the Court tends to follow in any case, is never to ask for trouble—to construe each decision as narrowly as possible, and to do nothing if there are no complaints. Thus the mottoes and invocations are likely to remain undisturbed, but new

cases, for example, concerning the phrase "under God" inserted in our Pledge of Allegiance in 1954, are likely to arise. It also seems probable that the Everson decision, to allow public money to pay the bus fares of parochial pupils, will be re-opened in some form, and if so, that Justice Douglas for one will vote it unconstitutional, on the ground that by the same token other needs can also be met—lunches, books, tuition, etc. And he will surely quote Madison again:

> Public money devoted to payment of religious costs, educational or other, brings the quest for more. It brings too the struggle of sect against sect for the larger share or for any. Here one by numbers alone will benefit most, there another. That is precisely the history of societies which have had an established religion and dissident groups.

It is clear how Justice Douglas will decide in all these questions, if and when they come before the Court, but what about the other justices? The only clue we have is in footnote 21 of Justice Black's opinion, which deserves to be quoted in full:

> There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that school children and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance.

ASSUMING that this footnote is agreeable to a majority of the justices, it follows that an attempt will be made to draw the line in some fashion between "unquestioned religious exercises" and "patriotic or ceremonial occasions." The compulsory chapels at the service academies may very well go, as did segregation in the armed forces, but the ceremonially pious utterances will remain.

Let us now turn to the dissenting arguments of Justice Stewart. The first of these is the ingenious one often used by the lawyers in the cases, that the Court is preventing the free exercise of religion:

> I cannot see how an "official religion" is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. On the contrary, I think that to deny the wish of these school children to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation.

This reference to "the spiritual heritage of our Nation" is curiously coupled with a rejection of the lengthy historical arguments of Justice Black concerning the established church in England and in the early colonies:

> What is relevant to the issue here is not the history of an established church in 16th century England or in 18th century America, but the history of the religious traditions of our people, reflected in countless practices of the institutions and officials of our government.

Justice Stewart then reviews the anomalies we have mentioned before, and adds quotations from several presidential addresses to establish that all our presidents, without exception, have called upon God for protection and help. There is no question of the facts here, of course, only of the relevance; but Justice Stewart does not seem to contribute anything new, except when in his footnote 9, commenting on footnote 21 of the majority opinion, he strikes a telling blow: " . . . is the Court suggesting that the Constitution permits judges and Congressmen and Presidents to join in prayer, but prohibits school children from doing so?" There is nothing more to Justice Stewart's dissent than this rather emotional appeal to "the deeply entrenched and highly cherished traditions of our Nation." The trouble is that the tradition being referred to is a public and ceremonial one, which, as we have seen, is relatively safe, and the only tradition of religious exercises for school children, which is after all the point at issue, lies in the history of the established Church of England and of the colonies, the same history which is rejected by Justice Stewart as somehow irrelevant to our glorious tradition.

WHAT OF the issue of compulsion? Is it true that our politicians are free to pray publicly to God while our school children are forced to remain silent? Yes and no. The children are encouraged by the Court to express their religious convictions in the home and in the church, without favor or discrimination from the state. On the other hand, the glorious national heritage, which is clearly Protestant in character, and historically has usually discriminated against such minorities as Catholics, Jews, free-thinkers, agnostics, and outright atheists, is being prevented from dominating these minority opinions with public funds and on public time. The fact that the religious observances being questioned are clearly voluntary, and not compulsory on each student, is irrelevant to the main fact that the public funds and resources are being used to further religious observances that are not quite neutral in character. The fact that parents are concerned enough to protest should be sufficient; the argument that the national heritage is threatened is simply the argument that the more-or-less Protestant majority should be allowed to prevail against the various minorities on religious questions. And perhaps the majority *should* prevail; perhaps the ideal of true religious neutrality is a chimerical one that is hopeless of attainment. The question can be debated endlessly and fruitlessly; but the clear fact is that the Court is following the clearly stated intention of the Founding Fathers to avoid any degree of established religion, that it has construed an apparently innocuous prayer delivered at public expense to be one step toward such establishment, and that it is likely to make all future decisions in the same spirit. The writer of the First Amendment did not want our national heritage to reflect any established support of the Protestant or any other religious sect, hence presumably not any financial support either. It seems safe to predict that still more fundamental decisions than the Regents' prayer case will be decided in the next few weeks and years, and that they will all be decided against anything that smacks of the establishment of any religion.

# RIGHT MAY SHUN TENNESSEE VOTE

## Both Senatorial Candidates Seeking Liberal Support

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

MEMPHIS, Oct. 29—Like the liberals of Georgia and Alabama, the right-wingers of Tennessee have no one to vote for in their top political race this fall.

All four persons running for Governor in Georgia and Alabama are conservative segregationists, leaving many liberals and Negroes so disgruntled that they may boycott the elections there Nov. 8.

In Tennessee, the two men running for the Senate—Gov. Frank G. Clement Jr., the Democrat, and Howard H. Baker Jr., the Republican—are fighting so determinedly for the liberal and middle-of-the-road votes that the right-wingers are left without a candidate. Some are talking of a boycott.

Tom Anderson of Nashville, editor of The Tennessee Farmer and a member of the board of the John Birch Society, advised his readers in the October issue of the magazine not to vote in the Senate race. However, he hedged his advice with a reluctant endorsement.

"If I were forced at gunpoint to vote in the Tennessee senatorial election, I would vote for that all-Tennessee Pharisee, Bible-carrying, whisky-drinking hypocrite, Frank Clement Jr.," he wrote.

"I'm for making the Republican party conservative or making it die."

### Edged into Isolation

Conservatives of Mr. Anderson's unyielding conviction have been increasingly edged into isolation since 1964, when President Johnson defeated Barry Goldwater in Tennessee by a wide margin.

The Republicans chose as their nominee for the Senate this year a moderate of the kind who once controlled Tennessee Republicanism undisputed. Mr. Baker is the son-in-law of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois and the son of a man who was a Congressman for 14 years from eastern Tennessee, where Republicans have dominated since the days of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Baker's defeated opponent in the Republican primary was Kenneth Roberts of Nashville, a Goldwater Republican, one of the thousands of middle and western Tennessee Democrats who have joined the G.O.P. in the last decade.

Neither Mr. Baker nor his Democratic opponent is exceptionally liberal. But they are somewhat to the left of most other candidates for major office in the South this year, and they are too liberal to give much comfort to the white backlash voters.

Both might be called "New Deal" liberals. Both favor equal right for Negroes, liberalized Social Security benefits, the Tennessee Valley Authority and increased spending for education.

Mr. Clement seems to be a slight favorite. He is expected to get most of the Negro and laborer voters, who are still leery of the Republicans because of its nomination of Mr. Goldwater. Mr. Baker has been working hard for their support and may receive some.

Most Negro and labor leaders are committed to Governor Clement but they admit they have a problem. Senator Ross Bass, who was defeated by Governor Clement in the Democratic primary, got most of the Negro and labor votes in the primary and that race was so vigorously fought that many who voted for Senator Bass are finding it distasteful to go for Governor Clement. As a result, the leaders are encountering some voter apathy, they say.

Mr. Baker has a comparable problem. Although he has denounced the Birch Society, he is on the ticket with several Goldwater Republicans.

One of these is Representative William Brock of Chattanooga, one of three Republican Congressmen from Tennessee. He is favored to defeat an energetic young Democratic challenger, Franklin Haney.

Two Goldwater Republican Congressional candidates in western Tennessee are given some chance of winning, partly because of white backlash. They are Julius V. Hurst, school superintendent of McNairy County, and Dan Kuykendall, a Memphis life insurance agent.

Mr. Kuykendall is waging an aggressive race against Representative George Grider, a liberal Democrat who has supported the Johnson Administration consistently. Since Mr. Grider was first elected two years ago, a Congressional redistricting has placed thousands of his loyal Negro supporters in two adjacent districts. However, he is still a slight favorite.

Mr. Hurst, widely known for squabbling with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare over school desegregation guidelines, is running against a young state legislator, Ray Blanton. Mr. Blanton defeated Representative Tom Murray, a longtime Congressman, in the Democratic primary. Some observers predict a Hurst victory.

## Westchester Unit Approves Offer of Courthouse Site

Special to The New York Times

WHITE PLAINS, Oct. 29—A committee of the Westchester County Board of Supervisors voted unanimously yesterday to accept a city offer of six acres of land in two plots for a new county courthouse.

The offer must now be submitted for approval to the entire board, which has been insisting on one plot of five acres. Approval of the voters in a referendum is also required.

The decision by the County Courthouse Development Committee would place the new courthouse on either a two-acre plot on the east side of Grove Street on Martine Avenue, or on a four-acre site across Grove Street, both of which the county would buy for up to $3-million.

This would leave the city room for a new library adjacent to the four-acre site.

## First Snow in Moscow

MOSCOW, Oct. 29 (AP) — The first snow of the winter, 1.18 inches, hit Moscow today.

# Massive Problems Await Long-Session Legislature

1/8/67

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 7. Tennessee's 85th legislature started rolling this past week toward a struggle with, of not solution of, some of the greatest problems facing any of the 84 predecessor sessions.

Some of the major problems before the legislature include: reform of the entire tax structure and assessments; liquor-by-the-drink; capital punishment; redistricting; up to $150 million in new revenues; biennial or annual legislative sessions; legislative expense accounts, and certainly the independence of the legislature from executive dictation.

The legislature followed the usual pattern on organization, accepting the dictates of the governor-elect in the selection of speakers of both houses, along with two constitutional officers and the minor legislative elected officials.

**THIS SURRENDER** of independence at the start forebodes little change in the domination of the legislature by the governor, but some major changes in party affiliations and personnel could lead to at least a measure of independence in the action of the legislators along the way.

The Republicans now have 41 of the 99 house members, but only 8 of the 33 senators. There are five Negro members whose influence may be greater than their mere numbers where a balance of power might be needed.

The congressional redistricting, which the federal courts say must be done before June 1, 1966, is certain to involve the party alignments. The Republicans now have four of the nine, and were narrowly kept out of the fifth seat and a majority of the state delegation. Certainly the Democratic majority will move to strengthen their congressional representation in Washington.

**REAPPORTIONMENT** has been okayed by the federal courts, giving the urban centers almost equal strength with the rual - dominated seats in both houses. The Republicans and perhaps the Negro bloc might well swing the balance of power between the urban and rural forces in any fights that might develop. The urban areas, the Republicans, and the Negroes may well await the 1970 census for still further gains.

Under newly approved constitutional amendments, the legislature will work under a new procedural schedule, with the 15-day opening session for organization and preparation for the regular sessions starting the last week in February.

**UNDER THE** new 90-day session limit instead of the old 75-day plan, there's a big question of whether to hold annual 45-day sessions or the extended bi-ennial session. Odds seem to favor a trial of the annual session proposals this time as a test pattern.

The new governor is not inaugurated until January 15, thus making the first organizational session a lame-duck effort at best.

Gov.-elect Buford Ellington has indicated some of this proposed legislation may be ready for introduction early in the session but the bulk will certainly await his inauguration and the return of the legislators in late February.

1-25-67

*City Hall*

# Debate Seems Big Flaw In Local Poverty Fight

By DICK BATTLE

After a great deal of listening I've discovered what may be the major flaw in the operation of our local War on Poverty:

Battle

The "war" has bogged down to a windy, many-sided debate. Almost everybody has grabbed a piece of the argument — except the poor themselves.

As an "Ad Hoc" committee of one my single purpose is to promote any reasonable plan for fullest practical participation of the poor in programs designed to help families and individuals now in poverty attain the dignity and responsibility of contributing and self-supporting citizenship. I report these personal findings — with humility, sincerity, and deep sense of appreciation for the conscientious — and frustrated — MAC members:

**● The 33,000 family survey and census of poverty "target" areas set for Jan. 26 is vital for future success of MAC projects. The survey and the data it must develop is over due. It should have been undertaken and completed two years ago. This wasn't done. The current "crash" program is the result of that neglect.**

Regardless of that fact, this information is needed — and needed now — as a basis for every anti-poverty effort that can be funded under the Economic Opportunity Act.

● The so-called "move . . . to create a private, non-profit organization" to administer the poverty program" was misrepresented and distorted

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# City Hall

(Continued From Page One)

by reports of its formation by "a group of Nashville civil rights leaders."

The facts, as obtained from two of the leaders of this "group," indicate there is concern that MAC programs may be cut off if OEO's Atlanta office holds MAC to strict accounting on the census problem. There are also misgivings among this "group" about the so-called "power structure" and about some areas of MAC non-compliance with OEO guidelines. There was no purpose to form a competing or usurping agency duplicating MAC. There is consideration of a new agency which could make contracts for specific projects "if necessary."

**● There have been many apparent differences among members of the MAC commission. Listening to most of them I have found there is very little difference about objectives. I have found no disagreement in (1) sincere concern for those in poverty, or (2) the principle the poor should be participants in the plans and programs — at all levels.**

● In frank discussions with those who have been critical of MAC I have found wide areas of agreement, and I have found more areas with which they could agree with MAC plans and policies than areas of disagreement.

**● I have discovered also there can be direct, friendly and cooperative dialogue, communication and exchange of ideas between the so-called "power structure" — Mayor Briley, himself, for instance— and those who have had honest doubts about the non-political objectivity of our local poverty program from the "power structure" level. I made this discovery through the simple device of bringing about a face-to-face conversation between Briley and another friend of mine, Baxton Bryant. Bryant is the articulate and aggressive executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, and a man with whom I maintain a friendly and, highly rewarding feud.**

To close this partial report —for there is more to be said —I can clear up a question that bothered my friend, the Rev. Bill Barnes, at an "ad hoc" MAC Bylaw study Monday night: Mayor Briley does not appoint the chairman of any other Metro boards or commissions. The Metro charter specifically provides (Article 11, Ch. 1, Section 11.-

## MAC Officer Election Move Anticipated

**The Metropolitan Action Commission in regular session Thursday night will learn from its chairman, the Rev. Paschall Davis, that both he and Mayor Briley recommend MAC elect its own chairman and executive committee — if this is the desire of the commission, The Banner learned today.**

**MAC members also will be assured Mayor Briley is in complete agreement with the election of one-third of MAC members from "target areas" by the "residents of the area who are poor." The mayor's only suggestion is that MAC make certain the poor "and not the politicians" elect the target area representatives.**

**The MAC meeting will be at Head School, 500 20th Ave. N., at 7:30 p.m. It's probable the suggestions listed here will be urged by the MAC chairman for inclusion in the new by-laws, it was learned.**

BANNER 1-27-67

*City Hall*

1-27-67

# New Spirit, Purpose 'Adopted' By MAC

By DICK BATTLE

From debate and discord, from strong discontent and rooted, differing opinions, a new Metropolitan Action Commission is taking shape with objectives higher than a war on poverty.

Battle

As an outsider, I can better testify to the emerging MAC and its greater dedication to a broader cause than can its members. I think I'm right and I believe Thursday night's meeting supports my belief.

**New bylaws were adopted, but more important was MAC's adoption of a new spirit and a stronger purpose. This latter action came without spoken word or recorded vote but—I believe—without dissent.**

The new bylaws are specific and strictly within the federal OEO requirements. They do NOT—as has been mistakenly reported "strip" Mayor Beverly Briley of any power or authority he cherished or demanded. Briley freely and willingly relinquished any "right" to control, dominate or even select MAC members.

This is one of the things to set a new trend and give MAC new vigor. Some MAC critics and Briley's more bitter detractors don't like this trend because it disarms them.

Those who are more concerned with the problems of the poor than with poverty power [illegible] welcome the change and a new cooperation of so-called "power structure" and some of the elements that have expressed honest distrust in the "power structure" motivation.

Even in disagreement over Bylaw construction, there was a new tolerance — I believe— and a renewed respect for the integrity of differing opinion.

It seems to me MAC may be

(Turn to Page 3, Column 4)

## City Hall

(From Page One)

achieving a maturity and objectivity that heretofore was indicated only by worthy and wellworn words written into the OEC guidelines.

**I believe that from the chaos of committee sessions and the weekly surge from crisis to crisis MAC is developing a deep and real concern for the PEOPLE who are poor.**

This is tremendously different than being merely the directors and strategists waging a "war on poverty."

From now on, however, the personnel of the commission may change — and I would hope there may not be too many changes too quickly other than the election of the one-third membership by the poor and from the poor—this new objective must be top priority.

**I'd like to see the phrase "war on poverty" abandoned —at least for our local effort. Let MAC set its purposes higher; Not a "war" against the faceless horror of poverty, but a fight FOR those PEOPLE who are poor.**

This is what I see — what I think I see — beginning to develop as MAC struggles to a new stature. This is what we will need when the largesse of the Great Society dwindles to 80 per cent and then down to 50 per cent and finally puts the total burden (where it probably should have been in the beginning) on the hearts, the conscience —and the pocketbooks—of our own community.

**There is a continuing need for MAC to honestly evaluate its staff from the executive director down. There is a necessity for standards of efficiency, for strict qualifications for competence for jobs —from the director on down. This has not been the case in the past.**

The census undertaken by MAC with volunteer help brought out 500 men and women Thursday. It was a most encouraging indication of real citizen concern for the cause of "people who are poor."

There is no assurance the Atlanta OEO will fund and approve MAC programs unless every detail of compliance is accomplished by March 1— and this may be impossible.

**I am personally disheartened at the news Dick Hume has resigned. The Robert Moore Report which MAC adopted (leaning too heavily, I believe on suggestions of Executive Director William Davis) eliminated Hume's position as director of research and evaluation. If there ever was a time when MAC should hang on to a man of Hume's professional qualifications, that time is now.**

Hume, with his skill and computer technique, was beginning to get a project evaluations MAC has lacked for two years. I had hopes from him of getting an actual accounting of exactly what good has been accomplished with the expenditure of $8 million.

I'm still going to demand such statistics and evaluation —but I doubt I'll get what I need to prove to the citizens of this community how many families in poverty have been helped to move to the dignity of self-support and the status of contributing members of society.

Even so, I'm hopeful about MAC—but March 1 will be a very interesting date.

N.T. 1-27-67

# MAC Votes To Curb Briley Appointment Right

The Metro Action Commission voted bylaw changes last night which would strip Mayor Beverly Briley of his power to appoint the commission's chairman.

In the future, the chairman will be chosen by the full 45-member commission, Nashville's coordinating agency for the local War on Poverty.

**IN ADDITION,** the commission approved other bylaw changes which would limit the power of the chairman and greatly enhance the voice of individual commissioners in MAC affairs.

The bylaws will go into effect after the commission is reorganized along lines laid down by federal law and interpreted by the regional Office of Economic Opportunity in Atlanta. This reorganization presumably will be carried out by March 1.

In a lengthy meeting last night at Head School, the commission also voted to accept a committee recommendation that William B. Davis Jr., executive director of MAC, be "commended."

**COMMISSION MEMBER** Inman Otey attempted to block a vote on the motion to accept the commendation made by a special committee appointed to probe federal officials' charges that Davis is incompetent.

**THE MOVE** to limit the power of the chairman in the future was an outgrowth of feeling by some commission members that the chairman was too powerful.

Under the bylaws approved last night:

- The chairman will not be permitted to appoint MAC's standing committees. These committees will be elected by the commission as a whole.
- The executive committee, which is the primary decision-making body of MAC, also will be elected by the full commission instead of appointed by the chairman.
- All committees will elect their own chairmen. In the past, the Rev. Davis automatically has been chairman of the executive committee.

The bylaw changes also will permit the commission to reorganize its membership to permit this city's poor people to choose at least one third of MAC's members.

**CECIL** Branstetter, chairman of the bylaws committee, said last night he hopes this process of choosing the poor can get under way by Feb. 15 to meet the March 1 deadline.

If the poor are not elected by March 1, Nashville will lose its poverty programs, according to OEO officials in Atlanta.

Nashville Tennessean 1/29/67 Tenn - DOPE

# Equality Fight Must Be Won, Relations Unit Told

By TOM INGRAM

The fight for equality of opportunity, ignited by the American Revolution, must be won regardless of how much legislation it takes, the president of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations said yesterday.

"I think we have talked ourselves out on a limb," said Mrs. Martha Ragland, "and we are going to have to put up or shut up."

She added, however, in her afternoon speech before the council, engaged in a two-day meeting at the Andrew Jackson Hotel:

"IT IS A DARK irony that now we so often seem to be cowering in neurotic fear before the forces to which we gave the original impetus."

Mrs. Ragland's talk, as well as the purpose of the organization she heads, dealt with the general field of civil rights —from the Negro revolution to the poor man's fight to exist within the inner city's slums.

She called on the Tennessee legislature to act in the areas of education, aid to families with dependent children, minimum wages and unemployment insurance.

She also attacked the hindering "far right" forces that "label as 'Communistic' any person, organization or institution working for progressive measures."

MRS. RAGLAND described the civil rights fight as an ever expanding situation. To solve one problem reveals a cause that is then another problem to be solved, she said.

The slum dweller's domestic environment as well as his school must be improved and aid to dependent families must create initiative, not merely provide existence, she said.

"As the 1967 Tennessee legislature meets," she said, "I hope there will be evidence of strong citizen support for significant improvement in our public schools."

"But . . . " she added, "those who live in slums and ghettoes . . . will not have the motivation, the energy and health to take advantage of the schools, however good they might be."

SHE CHARGED that city officials must do more than just move the poor out of their environment to build "expensive apartment houses, hotels and office buildings."

The government must do more than move the poor from one deplorable situation to "large complexes of barrack-type public housing, that intensify the concentration and the problems of the poor," she said.

Solution lies, instead, she said, in involving the underprivileged in "self-help" programs and "to see that the values of our society apply to them, too."

This philosophy of involvement, however "has almost scared some city officials to death," she said. "The last thing they want is for a disadvantaged group to get organized."

SHE ADDED, "The fearful mayors feel about this just like the Roman emperors did about the Christians. But to introduce a cheerful note here, I should point out that mayors don't feed present day dissidents to the lions. They just intimidate and discredit them."

She said Americans who extol self-reliance and initiative are the same ones who "lament about three generations on relief yet at the same time condone a grudging, stingy welfare program that guarantees that its recipients will not graduate from its rolls.

"This government-sustained poverty has been coming into focus and it is becoming clear that we must raise, not just a little, but to a decent minimum our welfare and public assistance grants and Social Security."

Describing increased aid to families with dependent children as the "most imperative need," she said, "Our 1967 legislature can do something about this—and will, if there is enough public support for it."

Mrs. Martha Ragland

*"It is a dark irony"*

MANY PEOPLE who live in poverty have worked all of their lives, she said, but cannot raise their status because they are being paid "substandard wages."

NASHVILLE BANNER
APRIL 28, 1967

# MAC Left With Breach After Debate

By DICK BATTLE

A strong bid to replace the Rev. J. Paschall Davis as Metropolitan Action Commission chairman ended near midnight Thursday in a temporary deadlock and with the commission split sharply on the chairman's right to complete his tenure of appointment.

The nominating committee headed by Mrs. Raymond Waller will seek a conference with Mayor Beverly Briley for "clarification" of administration appointments to MAC including his appointment in August 1966 of Davis as chairman from a list of three submitted by the commission.

The stalemate left MAC without effective standing committees and with what is apparently a breach that cannot be easily closed.

Consultants sent to Nashville by the Atlanta regional office of the Office of Economic Opportunity to evaluate MAC programs were present at the meeting.

Mrs. Allee Mitchell, OEO consultant for Head Start programs; and Dr. Samuel Hand, consultant for Neighborhood Services, will meet at 1 p.m. today with the commission sitting as a committee of the whole.

It is possible the consultants will suggest Nashville is not ready for a "poverty war" program. Such a recommendation could result in halting all OEO-subsidized programs.

On the other hand, Briley has indicated he may be approaching the point where he will recommend breaking off the OEO program from this end of the contract.

### 'Disgusted'

Briley, commenting on the meeting, said he was "completely disgusted." He said:

"The Metropolitan Action Commission was created by ordinance, (Substitute Bill No. 64-312 signed by the mayor Aug. 28, 1964) and the Commission must abide by it.

"Until that ordinance is repealed or amended by the Metropolitan Council, it is the ordinance under which the commission operates. I have no choice but to be governed by the provisions of the ordinance. I would suggest the members of the commission go back and read the ordinance and see what it says."

He pointed out that neither he nor any member of his administration had attempted to interfere with MAC's operation or to control its policies, programs or decisions.

### 'Appointments'

"I have made appointments to the commission from names submitted and I appointed all those elected from the 'target areas.' I have no wish to dictate to MAC or control its action."

Questioned about Dr. Lou Silberman, who was not reported as a MAC member on a list of 39 members transmitted to MAC Thursday by the mayor's office, Briley said:

"I did not reappoint Dr. Silberman. He is not a member of the Metropolitan Action Commission and I have no intention of appointing him."

Thursday night, with the assent of Chairman Davis, Silberman was seated as a member with full voting privileges on the basis of his nomination from the Nashville Human Relations Council.

### Leaders

Silberman and Mrs. Waller were leaders in the fight to elect nominees presented by the committee Mrs. Waller heads.

The Rev. Mr. Davis and Cecil Branstetter, commissioner and chairman of the current bylaws committee, headed the opposing faction. The chairman argued the nominating committee had no authority to submit the names of Mrs. Robert Lagemann and the Rev. Andrew White as nominees for chairman and vice chairman respectively.

Branstetter and Chairman Davis took the position that no vacancy exists in the positions of chairman and vice chairman (Dr. S. O. Roberts) until their terms expire. They insisted the officers must be elected by the commission at its annual election session in September.

Mrs. Waller and Silberman, supported by a majority of the members, took the position OEO guidelines overruled any conflicting provisions of the Metro ordinance. MAC's new bylaws, approved by 'OEO's Atlanta office, they insisted, require a full-scale election of chairman, vice chairman, all standing committees and all committee chairmen as soon as possible.

### Audience

A strongly partisan audience in the Lentz Health Center auditorium gave frequent noisy applause to Mrs. Waller, Silberman and others supporting their arguments.

Most of the 150 people in the audience were protesting OEO's withdrawal of funds for Neighborhood Opportunity Centers at nine community centers.

After an open hearing during which former commission member Mrs. John C. Hull, chairman of the Neighborhood Opportunity Center ad hoc committee, and others strongly urged continuation of the NOC programs, Mrs. iMtchell and Dr. Hand were introduced, and MAC staff director Ed Phillips reported on Head Start and other programs.

After a variety of motions attempting to maneuver an election of the committees and committee chairmen, and other motions to defer for legal opinions, a motion by Mrs. Waller to proceed with the complete election carried 17 to 12.

### Argument

Chairman Davis turned over the chair to Roberts. Another hour of but there was election. The confusion argument followed ended with a 27-vote majority supporting Mrs. Waller's motion to adjourn with the stipulation the commission sit as a committee to meet today with the two OEO consultants.

The consultants indicated MAC might want another special session after the committee meeting.

Chairman Davis said if a special meeting was necessary after the nominating committee's meeting with Briley he would call a special meeting.

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
APRIL 28, 1967

1 of 2

TENNESSEE

# MAC Chairman Fights Ouster Try

BY FRANK BEILER

The Metro Action Commission's nominating committee launched a bid last night to remove the Rev. J. Paschall Davis as MAC chairman—despite Davis' protests that such action would be illegal.

In a surprise move, the six-member committee tried to replace Davis with Mrs. Robert Lagemann, a commission member who also serves on the Board of Health.

DAVIS, WHO has held the chairman's post—through appointment by Mayor Beverly Briley—since August, 1965, reacted angrily and told the commission:

"My position has not been up for grabs. It's still not up for grabs."

The Rev. J. Paschall Davis
*Not up for grabs*

Davis argued that he was appointed by Briley last October to serve another one-year term as MAC chairman. The commission cannot overturn the mayor's appointment, he argued.

After four hours of heated argument — punctuated by clapping and shouting from the audience of about 150 persons—the commissioners adjourned without resolving the question.

BEFORE adjournment, the commission voted unanimously to meet with Briley to discuss the attempt to replace Davis.

Mrs. Raymond Waller, chairman of the nominating committee, reminded the commissioners that Briley recently announced he would not object to MAC choosing its own chairman and vice chairman.

In the past, Briley has appointed the chairman of MAC. But according to new bylaws recently approved by the Atlanta regional Office of Economic Opportunity, MAC must choose its chairman.

Davis argued last night that a new chairman cannot be elected until MAC holds its annual meeting in November or until he resigns. He then [illegible] and does not intend [illegible]

DAVIS ATTEMPTED to block consideration of the nominating committee's move by ruling it out of order. His action was challenged, however, and on a vote to decide whether Davis' ruling would be upheld, Davis lost by 16 to 13.

The commission then voted to meet with Briley to determine his views about the matter — especially in regard to his announcement in support of MAC choosing its own chairman.

"But we would be putting the mayor on a spot," commission member Inman Otey argued.

"So what?" asked Ed Shea.

"We talk about him (Briley) like a dog," said Mrs. Charles

Turn to Page 11, Column 1

Toms. "We might as well have him here."

**THE FIGHT** to oust Davis was led by those who were recently elected in neighborhood polls by the poor, and by those on the commission who worked hardest for the elections.

Several commission members argued that MAC should be free of any control from the mayor, but the Rev. A. M. Walker warned:

"You will not cut his (Briley's) voice — not as long as he is mayor of this city."

The mayor's influence on MAC was first weakened by new bylaws which established a reorganization of the commission. Under the new bylaws, which went into effect March 1, the nominating committe is supposed to nominate candidates for all committee chairmanships. All of MAC then vote on the nominees.

UNDER THE OLD procedure, the mayor appointed the chairman and the chairman named all committees.

The second reversal for the mayor was when Atlanta ordered that at least one-third of MAC's members be elected from the city's poor neighborhoods.

Previously Briley had been allowed to appoint all members of MAC.

The mayor at first opposed

# Briley Raps MAC Election

By WAYNE WHITT

Mayor Beverly Briley said yesterday Washington could have its War on Poverty money back before he would "wreck" the local effort by popular election of members of the agency administering the program.

"The election of the members of the Metropolitan Action Commission (the Nashville agency for the War on Poverty program) would turn this worthwhile effort over to the ward heelers and place it right in the middle of politics," the mayor said.

"This would wreck the program, and I will not have any part in anything which would damage it, much less wreck it.

"WE'RE interested in doing something to relieve poverty here, not in the bunch of foolishness we have been getting. You can imagine what would happen if we turned this multi-million dollar program over to the ward heelers."

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity has made $8.1 million available to MAC for fighting poverty in Nashville-Davidson County. Through last Nov. 30, Briley said, 75,369 persons had benefited.

MAC has been having problems with the Atlanta regional Office of Economic Opportunity, but now has funds to operate through March.

There has been insistence that at least one-third of the members of MAC be elected from the poverty areas.

"I'M NOT about to put voting machines out and let members of MAC run for election," Briley said. "If there are any voting machines put out for such an election, Atlanta is going to have to conduct the election. I don't even know who would be qualified to vote."

The mayor said persons from the poverty areas are serving on

(Turn to Page 13, Column 7)

Nashville Tenn Wednesday Jan 11, to 1

# Briley Raps MAC

(Continued From Page One)

MAC and have a voice in the program here. There are 11 members on the committee from the so-called target areas.

"These people have been recommended by various groups and agencies in the area," Briley said. "I don't even know some of them. They were recommended from the sections, and I placed them on the agency."

He said he believed this complied with federal regulations since there are several methods by which representatives from target areas can be selected.

"WE HAVE a good program here and we are succeeding," he added. "People from Atlanta and Washington have said we are doing a good job. I don't know what has caused some of our difficulties with the Atlanta regional office.

"No one has been here from Atlanta to see me except a public relations man who came up here, and he said we were right.

"I'll go to Atlanta or Washington or wherever I have to, to keep the program going.

"We've kept this program out of politics. There is not a single political appointee on MAC. I don't know how any of the MAC members voted, and I don't care. I don't know whether they voted for me last year or not. I know this, not a one of them was actively involved in my campaign.

"BEFORE I'LL see this program wrecked, they can take their money and take it back to Washington," he added.

Guidelines established by OEO provide several methods for the selection of representatives from target areas. Briley said he is certain the method used here is in keeping with the guidelines.

"I don't anticipate any further problems on this," he said, "but I am making my position clear.

"We have able persons serving on our action commission," Briley said. "They are charged with the responsibility of administering the program. They are doing a fine job. I have not attempted to interfere or to dictate to them in any way. I have left them alone.

THE MAYOR said all minority groups are represented on the commission as well as the poverty areas.

MAC members are:

The Rev. J. Paschall Davis, chairman.

The Rev. W. A. Alexander, 901 37th Ave., N.

The Rev. William L. Barnes, 1502 Edgehill Ave.

James Beerman, 761 Wedgewood Ave.

Attorney Cecil Branstetter, 216 Third Ave., N.

Henry Burkitt, with the state employment security department.

Pete Charlet, 2700 Franklin Road.

J. T. Edwards, 631 N. First St.

Lilman Esters, 834 40th Ave., N.

Mrs. L. M. Freeman, 820 S. 6th Court.

Ollie Frith, 1719 West End Ave.

Mrs. Lettie Galloway, 1812 Morena.

Miss Katy Gore, youth employment specialist with the state employment security department.

Attorney Frank Gorrell, American Trust Building.

William V. Harper, 1021 College Ave.

Dr. John Harris, director of schools.

Mrs. John C. Hull, 1616 17th Ave., No.

Mrs. Vivian Hunley, 1610 Delta Ave.

Dr. A. P. Johnson, 1820 Charlotte Ave.

Mrs. Robert Lagemann, member of the Metro health board.

Mrs. Lou Ella Lewis, 451 13th Ave., N.; Dr. Freeman McConnell of the Bill Wilkerson Speech and Hearing Center; Architect Calvin McKissack, Morris Memorial Building; Charles Miller, 226 Capitol Blvd.; Dr. Jack Miller, Peabody College; Inman Otey, real estate developer; Dr. S. O. Roberts, Fisk University; Attorney Harold Seligman, 1808 West End Building.

Ed Shea of the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce; Dr. Lou Silberman, Vanderbilt University; Mrs. Kirkland Todd Sr., 2300 Golf Club Lane; Sylvan K. Small, jeweler; Dr. Sam Smith, 4109 Kimbark Drive; Raymond J. Swain, 184 Wharf Ave.; Leslie Vantreasa Sr., member of the Metro Hospital Board; Archie Walker, 1625 17th Ave., N.; Mrs. Raymond Waller, 4025 Franklin Road; the Rev. Andrew White, 1621 Haynes Meade Circle; Mrs. Eva Whitson, 163 University Court; A. C. Wilson, 310 Hurst Drive, and Cecil Wray, 814 Church St.

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NB- 1-27-67



# New Bylaws Will Conform With All OEO Wishes: MAC

By JACQUE SROUJI

Members of the Metropolitan Action Commission approved new bylaws Thursday which they said would "conform" with Office of Economic Opportunity regulations and "assure" elected representation.

The lengthy session at Head Elementary School was attended by members of the commission and poverty officials from throughout Nashville.

Cecil Branstetter, chairman of the bylaws committee, said the actions were aimed at meeting all federal objections to the local poverty program. "Now we are conforming with the law and can expect them (bylaws) to go into effect by March 1," he said.

The vote was 15 to 3 in favor of the bylaws, with two abstentions.

### Elections

Under the regulations, one-third of the commissioners would be elected from major public agencies and community groups; one-sixth, major public officials or representatives of major public agencies concerned with poverty; one-sixth, community groups, and one-third, poor areas.

The Rev. Paschall Davis, MAC chairman, and Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, expressed optimism over what they termed a "new spirit" now working in the Nashville poverty program.

"I have been encouraged this week, partly by the things I have read in the paper, of your leadership (Paschall Davis), of leadership I think has begun to create a different atmosphere," Bryant said.

### 'Fussing, Feuding'

The Rev. Mr. Davis said in the past too much time had been spent "just knit-picking, fussing and feuding. There are some things we must get straightened out and for a month at least let's just get together and work on our problems."

Commission member Inman Otey presented allocation of funds from the program development committee.

Otey said $450,000 has been earmarked for the Head Start program for 5-year-olds; $350,000 Head Start's 3-5-year-olds; $125,000 for MAC administration; $200,000 for combined neighborhood services; and $75,000 for family planning for at least six months at which time he said other funds would be available.

Mrs. Kirkland Todd said 500 volunteers were already on the house-to-house poverty area survey which will eventually cover 33,000 homes and 107,000 residents.

The survey information is to be used in planning for the spring and summer Head Start programs.

NB 1-19-67

*For Family Planning*

# Unexpended Funds OKd By Atlanta

By DICK BATTLE

Dr. Joseph M. Bistowish, Metro director of health, said Wednesday he had learned from the Atlanta Office of Economic Opportunity "our famliy planning program can be funded from unexpended funds of the Metropolitan Action Commission."

The health director said the statement made to him by Mrs. Carolyn Martin, Tennessee coordinator for OEO, contradicted statements made to him last week by MAC executive director William B. Davis Jr. and deputy director Nat Williams.

Fighting for continuance of the program now funded through Feb. 28, Bistowish said he would report his findings to the MAC project review committee meeting this afternoon in the hope "we can at least obtain funding for this program through the next six months." He said he estimated it will require approximately $75,000 to finance the program for six months or about $150,000 to carry it a full year.

Davis told THE BANNER: "Nat Williams talked to Mrs. Martin after she talked to Dr. Bistowish last Friday. She said it was 'legally possible' to use unexpended funds to finance the family planning program but she was waiting for additional information from OEO in Washington relating to guidelines and regulations before giving us such a commitment in writing."

The MAC director said as soon as "we can get something in writing from Atlanta we'll know just what we can do."

He said the family planning program "is an excellent program and we want very much to be able to continue it. If there are any funds available, either unexpended funds or funds from any other sources, I would certainly recommend to the commission that the program be funded and continued."

Davis said the program funding is now being audited and it was not yet possible to report how much there will be in unexpended funds by the end of February. The Atlanta OEO office has authorized extension of OEO funded programs—including family planning — through Feb. 28.

The committee meeting this afternoon will consider funding and extension of all OEO programs beyond the Feb. 28 cutoff date.

In addition to family planning these include Neighborhood Opportunity Centers, Information and Education, Foster Grandparent, Headstart and Enable. The latter has already been ordered discontinued by OEO. It involves case work with multi-problem families in poverty areas.

Bistowish said the family planning clinics organized by his department are now serving 4,800 women.

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Nashville Tennessean
5-1-67

# Briley Ripped In MAC Action

Nth 5-1-67

By GEOFFREY COOPER

The newly formed Community Improvement Association adopted resolution last night attacking Mayer Beverly Briley for his failure to appoint a duly elected representative to the Metropolitan Action Commission.

The agency made the resolution defending the election of Lou Silberman, of the Tennessee Human Relations Council, to MAC its first official act.

The statement said:

"THE COMMUNITY Improvement Association condemns the mayor for his failure to appoint a duly elected representative of the Metropolitan Action Commission.

"We feel that this action is clearly in violation of reasonable federal standards and is typical of this administration's efforts to seriously support a program to improve the lives and conditions of the people to be served by the Economic Opportunity Act."

The meeting at the Edgehill Methodist Church was attended by 50 persons representing neighborhood improvement groups, professional social work agencies, clergymen and others.

The Rev. Bill Barnes, one of the group's organizers, explained the purposes of the meeting:

"THE MEETING tonight representing different organizations in different parts of the city represents a growing awareness that the problems of the poor will never be dealt with until there is a unified effort made.

"By unified, I mean all of the organizations from all over the city which are fighting for the cause of the frightened, oppressed persons of the city."

The theme of the meeting was explained in the use of two words which speaker after speaker used—"fragmentation" and "frustration."

The fragmentation is the division of effort of members of the Negro community, although each group is working toward the same goal. The frustration comes about when each small group tries to deal with city and state officials alone, according to the speakers.

IN URGING the groups to unite, Mrs. Matilda Osborne, of the United Helping Hand, said, "The poor people have nothing to offer you as leaders, but you have something to offer them."

Councilman Mansfield Douglas cautioned the group against over-enthusiasm when he said, "There are no simple problems, and therefore no simple solutions."

Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Human Relations Council, who attended the meeting, said:

"THERE HAS been some doublecrossing and doubledealing taking place between the mayor and what he's agreed to do," he said. "And in my opinion the mayor's action in not appointing Lou Silberman is for the purpose of deliberately picking a fight with a private agency — the Tennessee Council of Human Relations."

"If this is his intent, he will certainly get a fight," he said.

Bryant said he thought the city was in grave danger of losing all OEO funding because of Briley's action.

He said he would give the background of the dispute in a press conference to be held at 11 a.m.

NASHVILLE
TENNESSEAN

MAY 2, 1967

# MAC Aides Called Sheep

Nat. 5-2-67

[illegible]

The [illegible] director of the [illegible] council on Human Relations [illegible] Action [illegible] Mayor [illegible] shown [illegible] the [illegible] chairman.

At an afternoon press conference first [illegible] yesterday morning, Baxton Bryant said a majority of MAC [illegible] by Briley [illegible] whether the poverty agency can select its own chairman.

BRILEY WAS reportedly out of the city last night and could not be reached for comment.

Last Thursday MAC's chairman, the Rev. J. Paschall Davis, beat back at least temporarily an attempt by members of the commission's nominating committee to replace him. The committee tried to kick Davis, a Briley appointee, out and substitute Mrs. Robert Lassmann, a MAC member. After hours

(Turn to Page 8, Column 4)

Binkley all will serve until [illegible] when the posts will be filled [illegible]

# MAC Aides Called Sheep

Nat. 5-2-67

(Continued From Page One)

of debate, the commission voted to meet with Briley on the matter.

Yesterday, Bryant charged Briley with being "paternalistic" and with "not telling the truth, and that would be lying."

The relations council official also said Davis is more paternalistic than the mayor.

Following is the text of Bryant's prepared press conference statement:

"The mayor has deliberately violated the Metro Action Commission bylaws approved by the Metro Action Commission and accepted by Atlanta as a pre-requisite for approving our new conduct and administration grant of $[illegible]

"UNDER THESE bylaws, the commission has the right and responsibility to elect its own chairman and officers. The target areas and public and private agencies would elect or select their own representatives and the mayor would appoint them pro forma.

"When the mayor says he has claimed no authority over the conduct of the Metro Action Commission, he does not speak the truth and he knows it. To illustrate, on Monday night, January 23, the bylaws committee met and argued for four hours.

"The so-called power structure group defeated attempts to change the bylaws to provide that the commission elect its own officers and committees and that proper representation be given to target areas and private agencies.

"On January 24, the director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and Mr. Dick Battle had a conference with the mayor and the mayor agreed to the above changes. This was received . . . in Mr. Battle's column on Wednesday, January 25.

"The power structure commission members were told to change their stand and without even calling a bylaws committee meeting, the above changes were penciled into the draft at the regular commission meeting on January 26.

"THE MAYOR reversed his position in a private conference and supported [illegible] bylaws group without consulting with the previous majority, and they like wise carried out the mayor's reversal when in the Thursday night nominating committee. The mayor has now reversed himself again and [illegible] over 5[illegible] Metro Action Commission representatives sent to Atlanta on February 28. Thus, the conduct and administration grant was received under false pretenses by the mayor.

"Only an aroused community with the participation of the poor can save the poverty program."

Bryant said the mayor probably has the good of the community at heart but he has a paternalistic personality.

Bryant said he did not know if the mayor would reverse his present stand and that he would like the mayor and a public agency to be part of the poverty program.

"THEY HAVE to be part of it, along with the poor and private agencies, for OEO to accept a program," he said.

Bryant said the controversy dates back to 1964 before the federal guidelines. The council resolved then that the mayor would appoint MAC members and the chairman.

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ASKS Poverty War Emphasis

# No Cause To Quit: Davis

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

May 2, 1967

## No Justification To Quit: Davis

By FRANK SUTHERLAND

The chairman of the Metro Action Commission said yesterday he sees "no justification" for him to resign because "certain factions and misguided individuals" want to run the War on Poverty in Nashville.

The Rev. J. Paschall Davis, appointed to his post by Mayor Beverly Briley, said the mayor has no "legal authority or power" to appoint a new MAC chairman before Davis' term ends in September.

**DAVIS' STATEMENT** came a day after Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, charged that a majority of MAC members have followed Briley "like sheep" on the question of whether the antipoverty agency can select its own chairman.

The confusion resulted after the OEO regional office in Atlanta insisted that the commission elect its chairman by secret ballot. The MAC bylaws approved by the Metro Council were amended to that effect last February, but Davis contends that the amended bylaws do not call for an election until the

(Turn to Page 14, Column 5)

(Continued From Page One)

regular meeting next September.

Last Thursday, Davis beat back an attempt by the commission's nominating committee to replace him. After hours of debate, the commission voted to meet with Briley on the matter.

**YESTERDAY, DAVIS** said "I sincerely believe that what Nashville and Nashville's poor need most, is not a new MAC chairman, but commissioners joining hands with each other and the poor in pressing on with our great, joint mission."

Bryant charged Monday that Briley was "paternalistic" and "not telling the truth." He also said Davis is more paternalistic than the mayor.

Following is the text of Davis' statement released yesterday:

**THE PEOPLE** of Nashville are entitled to a statement explaining why I insist on holding my office as chairman of Metro Action Commission. It may appear to some that the poverty program would progress more to their liking if I would step down and permit MAC to elect a different chairman. Others may suspect that my motives are selfish and that my behavior is undemocratic or contrary to the best interests of the poor and of the public.

The appointment to the office of chairman of MAC is a public trust and an opportunity for service. My acceptance of that office was also an acceptance of heavy responsibility and an agreement to serve the full term to the best of my ability. This position carries no pay or pecuniary compensation, which accentuates, and certainly does not alleviate the moral responsibility assumed upon acceptance.

**METRO ACTION** Commission was created by Ordinance 64-312 passed by the Metro Council and adopted on Aug. 28, 1964. All its actions, including its bylaws, are subject to and must be in compliance with the enabling ordinance. That ordinance provides that "the Mayor shall appoint the chairman for a term of one year." The bylaws cannot change this provision and do not even attempt to do so.

At the termination of my first year as chairman, in accordance with the bylaws then in force, I was elected by the full commission, at its annual meeting in September, 1966, as one of three candidates from whom the mayor was requested to select the next chairman. I was duly reappointed chairman for a term of one year ending in September, 1967.

In February, 1967, the bylaws of MAC were amended at the insistence of the OEO regional office in Atlanta to provide that the chairman shall be elected by secret ballot of the MA Commission. The mayor has agreed to exercise his power under the ordinance, hereafter, by appointing as chairman the person duly elected for that office under the bylaws.

**THERE WAS NO** agreement to an immediate election, and the bylaws do not provide for any such election prior to the annual meeting in September, unless and until the office of chairman becomes vacant. The office is not vacant. An election at this time is, therefore, unathorized and out of order. Even if a new chairman were elected, the mayor would have no legal authority or power to appoint him to the chairman ship before September, unless the office is vacated sooner.

No one has advanced any sound reason why the mayor should remove me, if he could, or why I should resign as chairman of MAC; and I do not see how, under all these circumstances, I could vacate the office in good conscience. I have never agreed with the regional office, or with the mayor, or with anyone else, that I would resign or stand for election prior to this coming September.

The job of chairman is not easy, or particularly pleasant. Nor can we view with pleasure the prospect of my continuing in office until September, with the majority of the commissioners still refusing to get on with the job—the big and important job before us. I sincerely believe that what Nashville and Nashville's poor need most is not a new MAC chairman, but commissioners, joining hands with each other and with the poor, in pressing on with our great, joint mission.

**IN SUMMARY:** I never asked for the chairmanship. It was offered to me, "out of the blue," as a call to unselfish service for this whole community. I accepted it as such and have tried sincerely to devote that office, as well as my whole life, to the ministry of reconciliation of man to God and of man to man. I admit to my own impatience, frustrations and outbursts of anger, along with other personal failings and inadequacies. But that all goes to show that much remains in that great ministry of reconciliation yet to be done in and through all of us, including me.

There appears to be no justification or sound reason for surrendering this public trust and responsibility, or for abandoning the problems and difficulties emerging with "maximum feasible participation," just because certain factions and misguided individuals have combined their forces for the ostensible purpose of running the poverty war in Nashville to their own satisfaction.

**UNTIL WE ARE** given reliable evidence that, without me, the poverty program will progress faster, more effectively and more fairly, in furthering the well-being of the poor and in keeping with the interests of our whole community, I must continue to serve out my full term as chairman of MAC. This duty and responsibility is owed to all the poor and to the entire community, with its duly elected officials, as well as to my fellow MAC commissioners and to our loyal staff.

NT MAY 5, 1967

# Dr. Silberman Insists He's Still on MAC

By FRANK RITTER

Dr. Lou Silberman, president of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, said yesterday that he considers himself a Metro Action Commission member — despite Mayor Beverly Briley's statement that he is not.

"I don't want to make a big to-do about this," Silberman added. "But if the mayor can disregard my election to MAC and refuse to appoint me, then he can disregard the election of all other members of the commission, and we will be back to where we were before."

**SILBERMAN SAID** he was elected to MAC by the leadership council which he heads. The council is listed in MAC's bylaws as one of several which shall have representation on the antipoverty commission.

Briley, however, has stated that he did not "appoint" Silberman to MAC, that he has "no intention" of appointing him, and that Silberman is not a member of the commission.

Asked yesterday if he would ignore Briley's statement and continue to serve on MAC's 40-member board, Silberman replied:

**"THAT'S HOW** I am proceeding. I assume I am a member in good standing until steps are taken to establish that I am not a member.

"I am proceeding on the assumption that my agency (the leadership council) has fulfilled its obligations according to MAC's bylaws and its manual of procedure."

At its last meeting, MAC voted to seat Silberman as a member of the commission, pending clarification of his status on MAC. Silberman was the one who raised the question about his status.

**SILBERMAN**, along with all other MAC members, submitted his resignation in February to take effect "if and when the mayor publicly announces that he has accepted it and is making a substitute appointment."

Briley accepted more than 20 resignations and listed these in a letter sent to MAC's chairman, the Rev. J. Paschall Davis. Silberman's name, however, was not included in the list.

Since Briley made his new appointments March 1, the Atlanta regional Office of Economic Opportunity has been notified that Silberman is a MAC member. And MAC officials were under the impression that Silberman was a member until Briley made his statement about Silberman's status last Friday.

**IN OTHER** developments yesterday, the Rev. J. Paschall Davis announced there will be a special MAC meeting at 7:30 p.m. Tuesday at Lentz Public Health Center.

At that time, there is expected to be a showdown between a faction inside MAC which is seeking to replace Davis as chairman of MAC, and a faction opposing the move.

The commission's nominating committee, which first proposed replacement of Davis by Mrs. Robert T. Lagemann, is scheduled to meet at 230 p.m. today with Mayor Beverly Briley to hear his views.

Briley has already indicated that he is opposed to the move to replace Davis who was appointed by Briley to the chairman's post last year for a 12-month term.

**AT THE LAST** MAC meeting, a majority faction in MAC voted to proceed with election of a new chairman. New MAC bylaws call for election of the chairman — but the question is whether he shall be elected before the commission's annual meeting in September.

Silberman said yesterday he will not be able to attend Tuesday night's MAC meeting — and because of this, a showdown on his status with the commission may be avoided.

Silberman added that he will be attending the annual meeting of the Nashville Community Relations Council at Christ Episcopal Church.

NASHVILLE BANNER MAY 6, 1967

# MAC Decision On May 25 To Guide Program's Future

By DICK BATTLE

A decision May 25 by the Metropolitan Action Commission for or against immediate election of a new chairman will determine the future of the local program attacking causes and problems of poverty.

The MAC nominating committee, headed by Mrs. Raymond Waller, conferred with Mayor Beverly Briley Friday for "clarification" of the Mayor's attitude concerning his appointment of a MAC chairman as opposed to the new by-law requirement that the commission elect its own chairman.

The committee will report to the full commission when MAC meets in regular session Thursday, May 25 at 7:30 p.m. at the Lentz Health Center.

### The Facts

These are the pertinent facts developed from the meeting:

- The mayor stated he was "bound by the terms of the ordinance" (Substitute Ordinance 64-312 dated Aug. 28, 1964 establishing the commission). The ordinance says the "Mayor shall appoint the chairman for a term of one year."
- The MAC by-laws adopted as amended on March 16, 1967 and subsequently approved by the regional (Atlanta) Office of Economic Opportunity provide, "the chairman . . . shall be elected by the full commission, by secret ballot."
- A letter to MAC chairman J. Paschall Davis dated May 3, 1967 from J. M. Merrell, Jr. OEO deputy regional director states: "It was and remains the intent of OEO once your Board of Directors was restructured to comport with CAP Memo 57, a majority of the Commission's Board of Directors should decide when to invoke its power to select the Chairman and Vice-Chairman. Specifically in answer to your question, this means that the power of the Commissioners under that revised by-law to select their own presiding officers must prevail regardless of the term of office being served pursuant to an appointment to these offices by the Mayor under the old by-laws."

### Opinion

- An opinion from the Metropolitan legal department in reply to a request by Chairman Davis states: "In as much as you were duly appointed by the Mayor for a one year term and reappointed for successive terms of one year, your status is that of Chairman of this Commission which will continue for the remainder of the one year term, from the date of your last appointment."

The opinion, signed by Director of Law Neill S. Brown and deputy director Felix E. Polston, adds: "It might be said some that the change in the By-laws . . . would prevail. However, such is not the case. It is a fundamental principle of law that a public agency cannot act beyond the scope of the powers delegated to it by the legislative body. Elliott Nat'l Bank vs. W. Atlantic R. R., 70 Tenn. 676."

Briley said he would be "subject to ouster" if he failed to comply with the ordinances and the charter of Metropolitan government. He said he would "work as closely as I can (with MAC and OEO within the frame work of that ordinance . . . I won't amend it by my own action."

### Anticipates Change

The mayor told the committee he anticipated changes in the OEO act by Congressional action. He said the anti-poverty program problems brought to light locally "are not confined to Nashville . . . they are occurring all across the nation." He said he had no desire to control or direct the affairs of MAC and he was more interested in programs to relieve conditions of poverty than "superficial arguments" or any "power structure."

Mrs. Waller read a letter she had sent to the Mayor summarizing the differences in opinion and the problems confronting the nominating committee. She and other members of the committee stated there was no intent by the committee to project a "factional" power struggle within the commission or a conflict with the Metro administration. She and other members of the commission stated they had worked in "good faith" through several meetings to present a list of nominees by "democratic" processes.

Mrs. Waller offered the summary of the meeting: "The ordinance is saying one thing and the (OEO) regional office is saying another and it will cut off funds if we don't comply . . . we cannot work within the by-laws at any point where they differ with the ordinance." Committee member Inman Otey said: "I think we may be able to work this out some way."

Since the May 3 letter from Atlanta leaves the time of electing a MAC chairman up to the commission, it appears possible to some MAC members to hold the election at the expiration of the term of the present chairman and still comply with both guidelines and by-laws.

### Could Appoint

A chairman elected by MAC could be "appointed" by the Mayor as a pro forma act subsequent to the election by the

After the meeting with Mayor Briley Mrs. Waller called a meeting of the nominating committee for two o'clock Sunday afternoon at Wesley House community center on University Court.

MAC CHAIRMAN FIGHTS OUSTER TRY

2 of 2

## Ousted

the elections and said the federal government could keep its antipoverty money. He later altered this view, however, and said he would appoint to MAC those people elected by the poor neighborhoods.

**THE FIGHT** launched last night to oust Davis was seen as another step toward lessening Briley's influence—although he still will be permitted to name two-thirds of MAC's membership.

In other action, the commission voted to meet at 1:30 p.m. today with consultants from the Atlanta office to discuss this city's Head Start and Neighborhood Opportunity Centers programs.

Both programs will be suspended in the near future, OEO has warned, unless they are revamped. The consultants arrived in Nashville this week to work with MAC to do this.

The meeting of MAC last night originally had been called to vote on the nominating committee's recommendations for all the commission's six committees.

**WHEN THE** question arose about the chairmanship, the vote on the committees was held up. The commission then adjourned before taking action on the committees.

No date for the meeting with Briley has been set. Mrs. Waller and other commission members emphasized, however, that it is important to act as soon as possible to keep MAC moving.

At several points during the debate last night, the audience was so loud that proceedings were drowned out.

Once, commission member Cecil Branstetter told the audience that if they could not behave, they should leave. A few minutes later, Davis admonished Dr. Lou Silberman, another commission member, because Silberman's comments had drawn audience applause.

**SILBERMAN SHOOK** his fist at Davis and shouted:

"I did not invite the audience here! I did not ask them to clap!"

The audience reacted with the loudest and most prolonged applause when Mrs. Zulee Ursery, a recently elected commission member spoke. With great emotion she told the group:

"I would like to make an observation as one of the poor community. I have never in all my years seen anything so disorderly and disorganized as the actions by you well-to-do people here tonight.

# Briley Heads MAC Toward OEO Crash

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

MAY 6, 1967

By FRANK RITTER

Mayor Beverly Briley, insisting that the Metro Action Commission cannot elect a new chairman now, set MAC on collision course yesterday with federal antipoverty officials.

Briley, meeting with the MAC committee which recently launched a bid to elect a new chairman, said the local ordinance establishing MAC takes precedence over MAC's bylaws.

"ANY MAYOR," Briley added, "is bound by the ordinances. There is an ordinance creating MAC, and I couldn't amend it, even if I wanted to."

The mayor cited a ruling by the Metro legal department saying the ordinance must prevail over new MAC bylaws. The ordinance says Briley shall appoint the chairman. MAC's new bylaws, however, call for election of the chairman "by the full commission by secret ballot."

Briley appointed the present chairman, the Rev. J. Paschall Davis, last year to a 12-month term. The mayor insisted yesterday that Davis may continue as head until MAC's next annual meeting, in the fall.

A LEGAL opinion from the regional Office of Economic Opportunity, however, says MAC may select a new chairman whenever its majority wishes. Copies of the opinion, signed by J. M. Merrell Jr., deputy regional director, were released at yesterday's meeting.

The commission's right to select its own presiding officers "must prevail" regardless of the mayor's appointment of the chairman last year, the opinion concluded.

Most of the members of the MAC nominating committee — headed by Mrs. Raymond Waller — were noncommittal yesterday after their meeting with the mayor.

"WE PLAN TO hold a meeting at 2 p.m. Sunday at Wesley House Center," said Mrs. Waller. "We hope to decide at that time what our future course of action will be."

Presumably, the committee will decide whether to disregard Briley's opposition and recommend that the full commission go ahead and elect a new chairman. The full commission will meet at 7:30 p.m. Tuesday at Lentz Public Health Center.

The nominating committee recommended at MAC's last meeting that Davis be replaced by Mrs. Robert T. Lagemann. The committee decided to meet with Briley to determine his views.

IN A LETTER which Mrs. Waller read yesterday to the mayor, the committee members stated their views this way:

"The committee worked in good faith (in nominating Mrs. Lagemann). However, it is understood that if the commission does not conform to Atlantas' guidelines, funds will be cut off, and the people of the neighborhoods will lose the hope that has been brought by such programs as Head Start, neighborhood centers, family planning and others."

The committee said it recognized the "seeming conflict between the enabling local ordinance and the (MAC) by laws." It added, however, that Briley had previously been quoted as stating he thought election of the chairman was possible.

IN RESPONSE to Mrs. Waller's reading of the letter, Briley spoke out angrily and told the committee:

"I'm not concerned about your fight over the power structure. This commission (MAC) has given me more trouble than all other commissions in the local government combined."

Briley said that some people "think I control the MAC commission," and added:

"I'm interested in the programs and not in all these superficial arguments about who is going to run the programs."

BRILEY THEN launched an attack against Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Bryant criticized the mayor last week for what he termed Briley's breach of promise concerning election of a new MAC chairman.

"One character," Briley said, "has been on TV, calling me a liar. I'm really proud of some of the enemies I have made and this is one of them—this advisor to Stokely Carmichael."

Briley did not mention Bryant by name but it was obvious to whom he was referring. Bryant, asked for comment, replied:

"I AM NOT one of the mayor's enemies—I'm one of the poor's friends. I am sorry that the mayor counts as an enemy all those who support maximum participation by the poor in true democracy.

"The only way that the poor can get power to help determine their own fate is for the mayor to give up some of his. And it is clear that this he will refuse to do."

When the nominating committee launched its effort to remove Davis from the MAC chairmanship post, Davis argued that such a move would be illegal.

Davis said his job was "not up for grabs" and that he did not intend to step aside. A majority of the commissioners however, voted to hold an election for chairman, as well as all other officers and committees for MAC.

Continue Cited

NASHVILLE
TENNESSEAN
MAY 8, 1967

# Civil Rights Chiefs Clash

By GEOFFREY COOPER

Two civil rights figures clashed last night on the possibilities of the federal government immediately funneling a private agency with funds to administer the poverty program if the Metro Action Commission should lose federal funds.

Dr. Joseph Heffernan, of the University of Tennessee's School of Social Work and one of the organizers of the Community Improvement Association, challenged Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, on Bryant's assertion that a group such as the association could and should be ready to move in if MAC is forced out.

HEFFERNAN SAID he had spoken with John Dean, an official with the Atlanta regional office of the Office of Economic Opportunity, at 7 last night, and he quoted Dean as telling him:

"To transfer the Community Action program funds from a public body would be, under the best circumstances, a long, arduous business."

Bryant leaped to his feet and shouted:

"Dean told me just the opposite."

A heated discussion followed and the meeting at the Edgehill Methodist Church calmed down only when Bryant and his wife left, shortly thereafter, saying he had to attend another meeting.

ATTENDING THE meeting were 35 Negroes and whites representing various neighborhood improvement groups, professional groups, clergymen and other interested parties.

The newly formed association was established to unite the various neighborhood groups in attacking problems of the poor.

In other action, the group adopted a resolution attacking the "double standard" of

(Turn to Page 2, Column 8)

Mayor Beverly Briley in allowing MAC Chairman Paschal Davis to keep his post, when the other commission members had to be elected.

The resolution said:

"THE COMMUNITY Improvement Association believes that all Metropolitan commissions, including the Metropolitan Action Commission, should have the right to select their own chairman in a democratic manner.

"We therefore urge the mayor to take all necessary steps so that the Metropolitan Action Commission may function in a democratic manner."

In discussion preceeding the adoption of the desolution, Heffernan said the group did not necessarily want Davis removed as chairman. He said the group wanted the commission to have the right to vote for their own chairman.

Earlier in the meeting, the group appointed a committee, headed by the Rev. Bill Barnes, to write a charter for the organization and take whatever steps necessary to proceed with the incorporation of the association.

Incorporation became necessary when the possibility of funding from private sources became apparent, Heffernan said.

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
MAY 7, 1967

# Improvement Group To Study Action Commission Problems

The Community Improvement Association will meet in Edgehill Methodist Church at 8 p.m. today to explore the background and alternatives to current problems plaguing the Metro Action Commission.

Dr. W. Joseph Heffernan, temporary chairman of the association, said the meeting will seek "to explore the background of current MAC difficulties and to explore alternatives to the apparent extreme positions held by both Mayor Beverly Briley and Baxton Bryant."

BRYANT, EXECUTIVE director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, said Briley's "breach of promise" concerning election of a new MAC chairman to replace the Rev. J. Paschall Davis.

Briley, in turn, has attacked "one character," obviously referring to Bryant, as an "enemy" and an "advisor to Stokely Carmichael."

Bryant has answered that he is not an enemy of Briley's, but "one of the poors' friends" who is "sorry that the mayor counts as an enemy all those who support maximum participation by the poor in true democracy."

[illegible] participating in the program today.

Asked if Briley had been invited, Heffernan said he had not, "but I'll be glad to extend to him an in vitation personally."

(C+d) TENNESSEE

# HUMAN RELATIONS

NASHVILLE—DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

1967

# Beginnings

America's cities are in trouble. That is no alarmist's cry but rather an obvious fact. While much of our attention has been focused on wars overseas and on the developments of suburbs in this country, problems of the inner cities have built up explosive pressure. Cities such as Nashville confronted with this painful fact can choose any of several courses of action. The most enlightened approach is to admit the existence of critical problems in employment, housing, education, and police-community relations—and to go all-out in attempting to solve those problems.

Whatever else can be said about them, the problems of America's cities in the 1960's involve *human relations*: mutual confidence or distrust, communication or isolation, good will or ill will. No city dare disregard this dimension of its corporate life. Disregarded, human relations inevitably deteriorate. But by directing careful attention to the relations between races, religious groups, and socio-economic groups in the community, the city can build a healthy society that will provide basic satisfactions for all its citizens.

Nashville's community leaders undoubtedly had this in mind when they pressed for the establishment of a Metropolitan Human Relations Commission. Members of the Council who introduced Bill No. 65-697 on November 16, 1965, were Z. Alexander Looby, Mansfield Douglas III, John L. Driver, Glenn Ferguson, James L. Warren, and Harold M. Love. After being passed on third reading on December 21, it was approved and signed one week later by Mayor Beverly Briley.

# An Ordinance Establishing the Human Relations Commission of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville-Davidson County

WHEREAS, prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group of persons because of race, creed, color or national origin, is morally wrong and is detrimental to the peace, progress and welfare of the community; and,

WHEREAS, the inability of any individual to fully participate in the privileges of complete membership in the community diminishes the benefits of the common effort for all its citizens; and,

WHEREAS, a permanent organization is needed within the government to study the problems of human relations and to take positive action to eliminate discriminatory practices within the territorial boundaries of the Metropolitan Government;

BE IT ENACTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT OF NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY:

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a Metropolitan Human Relations Commission. It shall consist of fifteen (15) members who shall be broadly representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial groups which comprise the population of the General Services District of the Metropolitan Government. The mayor shall appoint the members of the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission subject to confirmation by a majority vote of the whole membership of the Council. Of the first fifteen (15) members appointed, five (5) shall be appointed for one year, five (5) shall be appointed for two (2) years, and five (5) shall be appointed for three years; after the first appointments, all appointments shall be for a term of two years. Every member shall have been a resident of the General Services District of the Metropolitan Government for at least one (1) year prior to his or her appointment and shall continue to be a resident of the General Services District of the Metropolitan Government so long as he or she shall serve as a member of the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission. In the event a vacancy is created on the commission by the death, incapacity, or resignation of a member or by the failure of a member to continue to reside in the General Services District of the Metropolitan Government, his or her successor for the unexpired term, shall be appointed in the same manner as original appointments.

SECTION 2. Eight (8) members shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of meeting and transacting business.

SECTION 3. The Commission shall elect a chairman and such other officers as it shall deem necessary. The chairman of the Commission shall appoint such committees as the Commission may deem necessary in order to carry out its functions.

The Commission shall employ such persons as may be necessary to perform its functions and as may be within the limits of its budget appropriations.

SECTION 4. The Commission shall promote and encourage fair treatment and equal opportunity for all persons and shall promote mutual understanding and respect among all members, all economic, social, racial, religious, and ethnic groups; and shall endeavor to eliminate discrimination against, and antagonism between, religious, racial and ethnic groups and their members.

In performing its functions, the Commission shall have the powers and duties:

(a). To conduct or arrange for research projects and studies into and public reports on discrimination and progress in equal opportunity in the community.

(b). To receive and investigate complaints of, and to initiate its own investigations into, discrimination and intergroup tensions and antagonisms.

(c). To hold public or private hearings to determine the facts about instances of discrimination or intergroup tensions.

(d). To recommend methods for elimination of discrimination and intergroup tensions, and to use its best efforts to secure compliance with its recommendations.

(e). To cooperate with other intergroup relations agencies, both public and private, on the city, state and national level in performing its functions under this ordinance.

(f). To cooperate with the various departments, agencies, and boards of the Metropolitan Government and of the State in effectuating the purposes of this ordinance.

(g). To enlist the support of civic, labor, religious, professional, educational organizations and institutions in community activities and programs that will further the goals of this ordinance.

(h). To organize community committees and councils that will work toward the goals of this ordinance.

(i). To recommend legislation to the Council, and modes of executive action to the Mayor, that will effectuate the purposes of this ordinance.

(j). To receive grants and donations from foundations, institutions, organizations, and individuals for carrying out its functions subject to the approval of the Metropolitan Council.

(k). To submit an Annual Report of its activities and of the progress and problems in intergroup relations in the community to the Mayor and Council.

(l). To adopt, promulgate, amend and rescind rules and regulations to effectuate the policies and provisions of this ordinance.

SECTION 5. The Commission shall prepare annually a budget for the ensuing fiscal year, and shall submit such budget to the Mayor and the Council for their approval.

SECTION 6. The Mayor shall provide suitable office space and facilities for the Commission.

SECTION 7. This ordinance shall take effect from and after its passage, the welfare of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County requiring it.

SECTION 8. If any provision of this Ordinance or the application of any provision or provisions to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of the Ordinance or the application of the ordinance to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION 9. The existence of the Commission, and its duties, powers, and functions, shall terminate five years from the effective date of this ordinance, unless extended by affirmative vote of the Metropolitan Council.

# The Commission

*Chairman:* Dr. Edwin H. Mitchell
Associate Professor of Radiology,
Meharry Medical College

*Vice-Chairman:* James F. Neal, Attorney
Cornelius, Collins, Neal, and Higgins
Also, lecturer at Vanderbilt
University Law School

*Secretary:* Robert J. Warner, Jr., Attorney
Dearborn, Berry, and Warner

JAMES C. BARBOUR
Vice-President, Equitable Securities Corporation

CECIL D. BRANSTETTER, ATTORNEY
Branstetter, Moody, and Kilgore

H. MAX DE HAVEN
Gates Rubber Company
Formerly, President of Nashville Central Labor
Council

RABBI RANDALL M. FALK
The Temple—Congregation Ahabai Sholom

REV. J. F. GRIMMETT
Pastor, New Hope Baptist Church
Also, Assistant Professor and Acting Director of
Pastoral Studies, American Baptist Theological
Seminary

MRS. C. M. HAYES
Homemaker and Civic Leader

DR. JAMES R. LAWSON
Acting President, Fisk University

GREENFIELD PITTS
First Vice-President and Treasurer,
Harvey's Department Store

EDWARD J. SHEA
Executive Vice-President, Nashville Area Chamber
of Commerce

DR. G. J. TARLETON, JR.
Chairman, Department of Radiology,
Meharry Medical College

FOY VALENTINE
Director, Christian Life Commission,
Southern Baptist Convention

REV. ANDREW WHITE
Executive Secretary, Division of Christian
Education, AME Church

# Advisory Members

Rev. Beverly Asbury
*Public Accommodations*

Rev. Will D. Campbell
*Public Accommodations*

Dr. John D. Hopkins
*Housing*

Rabbi Jerome Kestenbaum
*Education*

F. Clay Bailey
*Employment*

Rev. Frank Grisham
*Education*

Mrs. Arthur Hopkinson
*Housing*

M. D. Neeley
*Education*

Mrs. Richard Bauer
*Education*

Dr. Alexander Heard
*Education*

Joe Kelso
*Employment*

Dr. Robert Newbrough
*Housing*

J. William Perry

Dr. Edwin Mitchell (right) receives a plaque designating him as Nashville's "Citizen of the Year" for 1967. J. F. McClellan presents the plaque on behalf of Frontiers International.

# The Staff

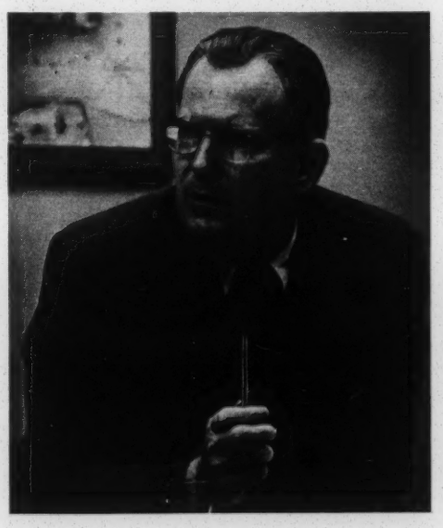
**WARREN N. MOORE**
*Executive Director*

Born in Memphis, the son of a minister, Warren N. Moore attended public schools in that city and graduated from LeMoyne College. He did graduate work at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, and was an exchange student for the school year 1963-64 at Mennonite Biblical Seminary. Following this, he served as Race Secretary for the General Conference of the Mennonite Church in 1964-65, lecturing on race relations.

Mr. Moore was employed as assistant director of the Memphis Urban League in 1965, and in that same year was awarded a "Key to the City of Memphis." Later in 1965, he became Assistant Director of the Tennessee Commission on Human Relations and director of the Commission's Memphis Field Office. Upon resignation of the Commission's director at the end of December, 1966, Mr. Moore became Acting Director—a post which he held until assuming his duties with the Metropolitan Commission in March, 1967.

Mr. Moore is the staff specialist in problems of employment, housing, and police—community relations.

**FRED CLOUD**
*Associate Director*



Mr. Cloud refers to himself as "a Tennessean by adoption," having spent all his adult life in this state. A graduate of Vanderbilt University and of the Vanderbilt Divinity School, he earned a further graduate degree from Scarritt College in 1961. His professional career has included seven years of pastoral service in Methodist Churches in Nashville and other cities of Middle Tennessee; stints of teaching at Vanderbilt, Scarritt, and the Nashville Center of U.T.; and fourteen years as editor of young adult publications for the General Board of Education of The Methodist Church. He came to the staff of the Commission in February, 1967.

Mr. Cloud is the staff specialist in education, public accomodations, communications, and interfaith relations.

**MRS. WILLIAM A. STROUD**
*Secretary*

Although a native of Kentucky, Mrs. Stroud has lived in Nashville for more than twenty years. For ten of those years she served as secretary to the Rev. Sam R. Dodson, Jr., at Calvary Methodist Church.

Mrs. Stroud is married to William Andrew Stroud, a loan service representative for the Veterans' Administration.

# Housing

One of Nashville's most urgent needs is for housing for the poor. Not just any kind of housing, nor located just anywhere, but housing that will help to build self-respect, that will prevent either the appearance or the reality of racial containment, and that will help persons to break out of the poverty cycle.

Under the leadership of Commissioner James C. Barbour, chairman of the Committee on Housing, the Human Relations Committee devoted much time and attention to problems of housing during 1967. A principal focal point of attention was the Edgehill Urban Renewal Project. On November 18, 1966, Mayor Briley referred to the Commission a formal complaint filed with him by the Edgehill Committee protesting the location of 500 units of low-cost public housing in the 5-17 and 5-18 sites of the Project. Commission Chairman Edwin H. Mitchell appointed an Edgehill Subcommittee — composed of James C. Barbour as chairman, Max DeHaven, Rev. J. F. Grimmett, Dr. James R. Lawson, and James F. Neal — to obtain detailed information and submit a report and recommendations. This Subcommittee held a public hearing, made inquiries, studied information available to it, and developed a set of *principles* regarding the construction of public housing upon which to base its recommendations. Those principles are:

1. The need for public housing in several areas of Metropolitan Nashville is urgent and the Edgehill area is one of those in which the need is greatest and most immediate.

2. Public housing should be so located and designed as to promote the maximum physical comfort and opportunity for social and cultural development consistent with the economics of construction and occupancy. Both short term and long term social and economic effects on the occupants and the community as a whole should be considered in this connection.

3. Experience in public housing in many cities has indicated that excessive concentration of housing for the very poor tends to perpetuate a "culture of poverty" and the social ills inherent in it, such as low achievement, delinquency and family instability.

4. Discrimination on the basis of race in public housing is contrary to law and to effective community development, but segregation exists *de facto* in many housing projects in Nashville and throughout the country. To an extent this is attributable to historical residential habits of ethnic groups. The Negro differs from most other ethnic groups, however, because his mobility is restricted by color as well as by economic and social restrictions he shares with others.

5. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and revisions in Federal housing laws and regulations have introduced new social elements into the planning of public housing which should be considered in both current and long term planning of the Nashville Housing Authority and other involved agencies of the Metropolitan Government.

On the basis of the above-listed principles, the Subcommittee made the following RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the Nashville Housing Authority, in view of the urgent need for housing, proceed as promptly as possible with the construction of approximately 180 housing units on one or both of the 5-17 and 5-18 sites in the Edgehill Urban Renewal Area, preferably the 5-18 site to avoid placing them adjacent to existing public housing. It is hoped that these units can be constructed in dispersed groupings for perhaps 60 to 90 families each.

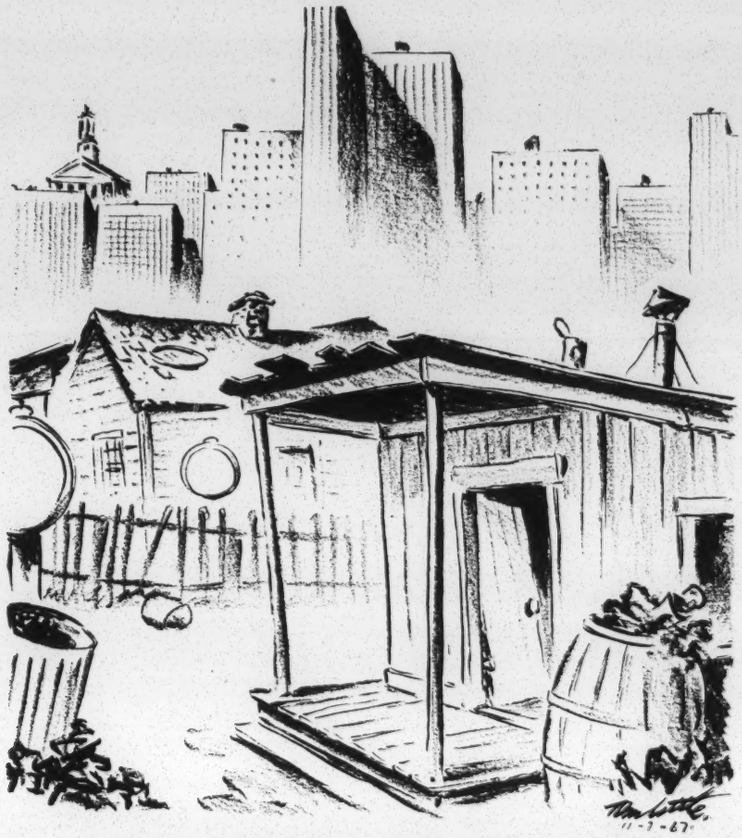
2. That studies be initiated by the Authority to consider the feasibility of providing greater dispersal within the Edgehill area of the proposed additional 320 units and of introducing into the area housing for families of moderate income in order to avoid excessive concentration of housing for the very poor.

3. That the Housing Authority and other involved agencies in the Metropolitan Government review their planning with the objective of providing public housing more varied as to location, design and method than heretofore.

4. That in studying and determining the economic feasibility of various housing plans the Authority consider the possible long term costs to the community of low achievement, delinquency and family instability which are frequent results of poorly planned housing.

5. That when formulating plans the Authority continually have in mind the social effects of racial

# Housing



"Two Skylines," by Tom Little. Reproduced by permission of the Nashville Tennessean.

discrimination in housing and the intent of the laws and regulations relating thereto.

6. That in the interest of community understanding the Authority expand its efforts to keep residents of affected areas informed at all stages of urban renewal projects; that it also develop a broader program with community agencies to facilitate relocation of families required to vacate existing housing.

7. That qualified social scientists be retained by the Authority in connection with the study of these recommendations and be employed in all other current and future planning.

On January 10, 1967, the Human Relations Commission heard the report from its Edgehill Subcommittee; the report, containing the above recommendations, was approved and was forwarded to the Mayor, in line with his request.

On February 3, Commissioner Barbour reported that Mr. Gerald Gimre evidenced a desire to meet the recommendations of the subcommittee in regard to the dispersal of the planned public housing in the Edgehill Urban Renewal Project. Further planning by experts would be necessary; but pending this, some start on public housing within the Edgehill Project would be needed. The Edgehill Subcommittee of the Human Relations Commission therefore concluded that:

1. The Nashville Housing Authority should proceed to build approximately 180 units of public housing on the 5-18 site beginning on its eastern side and building in a westward direction. The planning and building of the approximately 180 units should be accomplished in such a way that the remainder of the 5-18 site, after the 180 units are constructed, could be utilized for further public housing or for other purposes, depending on the findings of the study mentioned below.

2. Contemporaneous with the building of the approximately 180 units, the Nashville Housing Authority should undertake a study, with consultants, if necessary, of the feasibility of dispersing the remaining approximately 320 units of public housing throughout the Edgehill Project. This study should be conducted with the original report and recommendations of the sub-committee in mind.

Through its Housing Committee, its Chairman, and its Staff, the Human Relations Commission continued throughout 1967 to engage in conversations, committee meetings, and hearings with local and Federal housing officials regarding the most desirable approaches to housing for the poor. It participated in the Conference on Housing February 9 and 10 at Vanderbilt University, sponsored by Mayor Beverly Briley and Congressman Richard Fulton.

The Commission continued to press for its recommendation of dispersal of public housing, so as to prevent either the appearance or reality of racial containment; and for social and economic mixture of population so that poor people would not be surrounded exclusively by other poor people. The Commission sought to make the total community aware of the danger of constructing ghettos, whether racial or economic. Racial minorities, and the poor of whatever race, should not be made to feel that they are rejected by the larger community or that they are being kept in a cage. Nashville's concern with human relationships should include certainly the relationship of members of minority groups to the total community; and patterns of public housing are an important expression of the city's concern for its citizens, whatever their race or economic level.

According to local newspapers, in July 1967 the Department of Housing and Urban Development accepted the Commission's recommendations regarding dispersal of public housing and socioeconomic mixture in the Edgehill Project area.

# Employment

Employment is a key not only to the problem of poverty in Nashville but also to the problem of intergroup relations. Members of minority groups —and especially Negroes—experience real difficulty in securing employment appropriate to their level of education. It is not uncommon for college-educated Negroes to be employed in relatively menial positions. Furthermore, while Nashville's rate of unemployment for the total community is relatively low, it is much higher for the Negro population. And *under*-employment (by which is meant having to hold two jobs in order to earn a living wage) is very common among members of the Negro community.

The Metropolitan Human Relations Commission committed itself during 1967 to seeking passage of two equal employment opportunity ordinances for Nashville-Davidson County. At its meeting of July 25, the Commission requested the Committee on Employment, of which the Rev. J. F. Grimmett is chairman, to prepare a position paper on employment. A working paper on "Employment in Metropolitan Nashville" was developed; and, after consideration of the paper by the Commission at its meeting of October 24, the Commission voted to have the staff develop model ordinances for consideration at the next meeting.

The Committee on Employment made its report to the Commission on November 28 concerning the recommendation of equal employment opportunity ordinances for Nashville-Davidson County. After a discussion of two model ordinances prepared by the staff, the Commission adopted a resolution requesting the staff to communicate to the Human Relations Committee of the Metropolitan Council that the Commission recommends that two ordinances be drafted and considered by the Council. The first would require non-discriminatory hiring practices on the part of all persons and companies having contractual relationships with the Metropolitan Government, and the second would provide for non-discriminatory hiring practices generally throughout the Metropolitan area as a supplement to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, providing for local conciliation and local enforcement and covering firms employing eight or more persons.

The staff requested a conference with the Human Relations Committee of the Metropolitan Council, James LaPenna, Chairman, to present the Commission's request for the equal employment opportunity ordinances for Nashville-Davidson County. As 1967 ended, such a conference was being arranged.

# Education

Metropolitan Nashville, like most cities throughout America, has had some unhappy encounters between citizens and policemen. Charges have been made against policemen that indicate a need for improved communication and an increase in appreciation for the policeman's role, on the one hand, and a greater sensitivity to how persons—especially members of minority groups — think and feel, and why they react to certain situations as they do, on the other.

Following the disturbances in north Nashville in early April, 1967, the Committee on Education of the Human Relations Commission—under the chairmanship of Dr. James R. Lawson—proposed to the Commission at its meeting of April 25 a program of human relations training for police officers. Mayor Bevely Briley and Police Chief H. O. Kemp, who attended the meeting at the invitation of the Commission, expressed strong interest. Mayor Briley made a statement to the Commission indicating his determination that police training in the field of human relations should be improved and that the Police Department and the Human Relations Commission should enter into cooperative efforts in this regard. The Commission then voted that the staff, in coordination with the Police Department, should explore means for providing on a local basis opportunities for the police to be exposed to courses, seminars, and other training in the field of intergroup relations on a continuing basis.

After conferences with Captain John Sorace, the staff secured the services of Dr. J. Robert Newbrough, Director of the Center for Community Studies at Peabody College, and Derek V. Roemer of the National Institute of Mental Health, both of whom had given leadership in police human relations training programs, to help design a program for Nashville. Dr. Newbrough lined up a team of social scientists—including sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists from Peabody College, Vanderbilt University, Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, and Tennessee A & I State University—to provide leadership for the training sessions. At its meeting of June 27, the Commission approved in principle the human relations training program for police officers, and requested that the program proceed.

During the balance of 1967, the staff conferred a number of times with the Police Department, and with Dr. Newbrough and his team of social scientists, to perfect the design of the training program and to work out a schedule for the inauguration of the program. Initially set for late December, 1967, at the request of the Police Department it was re-scheduled to begin early in 1968.

Attitudes are formed early in life. References to ethnic groups in history and social studies textbooks in public schools, therefore, take on great importance, for they subtly influence the attitudes of the readers toward persons of other races or nationalities. At its meeting of October 24, the vice-chairman of the Committee on Education—Dr. G. J. Tarleton, Jr.—reported to the Commission that textbooks used in the public schools need to be examined to determine their fairness to ethnic groups, and that recommendations should be made to the State Textbook Committee regarding textbooks that are multiethnic in approach. He reported that the staff had been in conference with a highly qualified research specialist who was willing to make the needed study of textbooks used in public schools in Tennessee (elementary through high school) if funds could be secured for the project. The Commission approved the plan in principle and authorized the staff to seek the funds to implement it. Efforts to secure funds to underwrite this project were still being made as 1967 ended.

In August, 1967, the staff proposed to the Commission that a "Consultation on the Communications Media and Human Relations" should be held. It was pointed out that the mass media of communication—especially radio, TV, and newspapers—have profound effects upon the attitudes which persons adopt toward members of racial, socio-economic, and religious groups other than their own. At the same time, they are powerful forces in establishing the self-images of members of the various groups in the community.

Since attitudes usually are expressed in actions, the ways in which the mass media in Metropolitan Nashville present news and editorial views have far-reaching implications for intergroup relations in our community. If distorted stereotypes of members of a given racial, socio-economic, or religious group are projected by the media, those persons will be treated unfairly, unjustly, and sometimes inhumanly, by those whose attitudes have been shaped by the distorted images. Conversely, balanced and fair reporting-in-depth can build good relations across lines of race, religion, and socio-economic class.

The "Consultation on the Communications Media and Human Relations" will be designed to bring to the level of awareness in the minds of local leaders in the mass media the effects that their manner of operation has on intergroup re-

lations locally (and, to an extent, nationally and internationally). Further, it will project some criteria for performance by reporters, photographers, TV cameramen, newscasters, and publishers. Finally, it will begin the process of developing a strategy for improvement in intergroup relations through responsible use of the mass media. This proposal was approved by the Human Relations Commission on August 22, 1967. Shortly thereafter, the staff conferred with the officers of Sigma Delta Chi, the professional fraternity for persons in the mass media, and Sigma Delta Chi graciously agreed to co-sponsor the Consultation. Several planning meetings were held in the fall months of 1967; it was hoped that the Consultation could be held in the spring of 1968.

# Public Accommodations

In its efforts to secure equal rights for all citizens in Nashville, the Human Relations Commission received and investigated a number of complaints from individuals who had been denied equal access to public accommodations at various times during 1967.

Allegations of discrimination were made with regard to ambulance service, swimming pools, skating rinks, and self-service laundries.

In each instance, the staff informed the offending party of the provisions of the Civil Rights Law of 1964 and the allegation of discrimination, and urged compliance with the law. In more than half the situations, owners or managers—when confronted by the staff of the Commission with the complaints—agreed to comply with the provisions of the law and signed conciliation forms. In some instances, where the offending party was adamant, the case was referred to the office of the United States Attorney, Department of Justice.

Redressing individual grievances, important as it is, is not enough to improve the social health of Nashville. The Human Relations Commission is dedicated to moving beyond mere responding to complaints to the initiation of positive programs which will change attitudes and practices that deny any group of persons the full and free exercise of their citizenship rights.

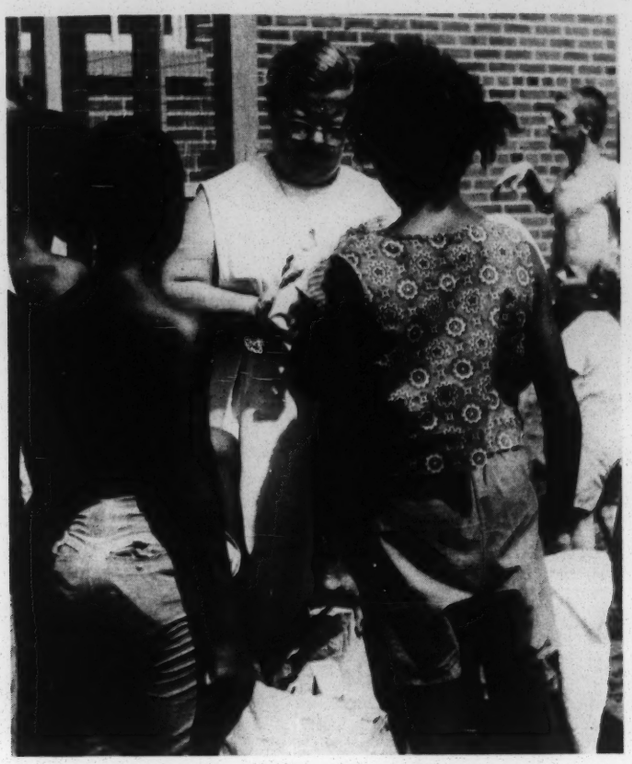
# Urban Projects, Inc.

Urban Projects was a natural outgrowth of a perceived need on the part of the Human Relations Commission. As summer approached, it was apparent to the commission and its staff that a variety of creative activities should be planned for the more disadvantaged children and youth in Nashville. A "natural" activity would be swimming. Beginning from this premise, the staff conferred with staffers of the Metropolitan Welfare Commission, the Metro Beautiful Commission, and the Metropolitan Board of Parks and Recreation. The outgrowth of this conference was a cooperative swimming project, which the Human Relations staff gave the title "Project Y.E.S." (Youth Earning to Swim).

Project Y.E.S. was reported to the Commission on June 27, 1967. It was approved, and an allocation of $300. was made from the Human Relations Commission's budget to get the project started. Harvey's, Cain-Sloan's, and the Life and Casualty Insurance Company made substantial contributions. The plan was simple: children and youth gathered up a shopping bag of litter from their yard, the street, or their neighborhood. They exchanged the bagfull of litter for a coupon which admitted them to three swimming pools, Howard, Hadley, and Rose. Thus, children between the ages of 12 and 17 could swim daily, if they so desired, without financial cost to them, while at the same time helping them to learn habits of industry and personal responsibility.

The project was supervised by volunteers from private and public agencies in Nashville. Some one-thousand children engaged in Project Y.E.S. between June 26 and August 1. This particular project indicated the nature of Urban Projects: they are "pilot projects," carried out cooperatively with other agencies insofar as possible.

Urban Projects, Inc., was chartered by the State of Tennessee on July 19, 1967. Incorporaters were Dr. Edwin H. Mitchell, James F.



Neal, Robert J. Warner, Warren N. Moore, Fred Cloud, and Edward J. Shea.

As the Charter states, Urban Projects, Inc., was set up for the purpose of the "support of charitable undertakings" within the meaning of Tennessee Code Annotated Par. 48-1101, including, but not limited to, engaging in work projects, recreational projects, and educational projects to benefit youth; and the "promotion of education" within the meaning of Tennessee Code Annotated Par. 48-1101, including, but not limited to, engaging in adult literacy campaigns, human relations education and training for police officers, and consultations on the mass media; and the support of such other philanthropic, educational, and cultural activities as the membership may deem appropriate.

The second project which the Human Relations Commission sought to enterprise through Urban Projects, Inc., in 1967 was a "Consultation on the Mass Media and Human Relations" (described in this report in the section on "Education"). The staff sought, and secured, funds to underwrite the cost of this consultation. A third approved project is a "Study of Textbooks for Fairness to Ethnic Groups" (also described above); however, as 1967 ended, funds to underwrite this project had not yet been secured.

A fourth project, approved in principle by the Human Relations Commission but not funded by the end of 1967, is an Adult Literacy Campaign, to be carried on in conjunction with the Metropolitan Board of Education, and with the Meharry Comprehensive Health Project. The basic approach would be to recruit and train college students to help functional illiterates to become literate, tying this project to the objectives of employment, voting, and improved personal and family health.

Contributions from interested individuals, groups, and foundations are welcomed. They may be sent to: Urban Projects, Inc., 1034 Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee 37201.

# Staff Activities

Human Relations as a professional discipline is concerned with the quality of relationships between all racial, religious, and economic groups in the community. For this reason, one of the ways in which the staff works is through participation in meetings, conferences, and committees of schools, churches, boards, agencies, and institutions in Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County.

During 1967, both the Executive Director and the Associate Director spoke upon many occasions to groups of citizens in schools, churches, colleges, and civic clubs in Nashville. In addition, they participated in conferences on housing, anti-poverty programs, employment programs, and public education.

Both the Executive Director and his Associate were selected for participation in an intensive study seminar on "The Metropolitan Area: Its Prospects and Problems," held in Washington, D. C., under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Public Affairs; and both became Associates in Urban Affairs of N.I.P.A.

Both staff directors were active during 1967 in the professional association in the human relations field — the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. In addition to attending the national conference of NAIRO, held in Detroit in November, both participated actively in the Nashville Chapter of NAIRO, the Associate Director serving as Chapter Chairman during 1967.

The staff of the Human Relations Commission spends much time in cooperative work with other agencies. For example, the staff worked with the Metropolitan Action Commission in the development of their summer program for 1967; and the Associate Director served as publicity director for the program, placing news stories in the papers and spot announcements on radio and TV. During September, the staff helped with the orientation for new VISTA workers, and provided a brief internship (ten days) for one VISTA, Miss Jan Atkinson.

Nashville was one of the first group of cities chosen to receive planning grants under the Model Cities Act. The staff of the Human Relations Commission was asked to help with this program, since citizen participation is a key factor in the success of this program. Ideas for services and facilities are to be generated as much as possible by persons in the target areas to be served. The Executive Director took part in a number of conferences as well as in committee meetings for the discussion of the Model Cities program, during 1967.

Whenever and wherever tension arose between groups in Nashville during 1967, the staff was vitally involved. During the disturbance in North Nashville in April, the staff worked both "on the spot" and through its office facilities to help restore lines of communication between contending groups. And in the more protracted struggle over the location of Interstate Highway 40, the staff and the chairman of the Commission attended numerous committee meetings and hearings, attempting to help clarify the "human dimensions" of the problem posed by the routing of the highway. At its meeting of October 24, the Commission voted to send a letter to the I-40 Steering Committee, expressing the Commission's support for a ninety-day delay in the letting of contracts on I-40.

Some of Nashville's citizens were engaged in taking a long hard look at our city's problems during 1967. For some, this was prompted by an awareness that we have large unresolved problems facing us; for others, it was forced by the logic of events, by the nationwide rising tide of frustration, dissatisfaction, and hostility between racial and socio-economic groups.

A question that concerns us is: Do we understand the *urgency* of the situation—the necessity to deal in depth with the unresolved problems of Nashville on an accelerated time scale? There are indications that even now a good many persons seem to wear blinders, and apparently are unaware of the frustrated existence of many persons who live in substandard housing, who are unemployed or under-employed, who experience segregation and discrimination, and who know that these things need not be in a land as wealthy as ours, in a land committed to freedom for all its citizens!

Dr. Edwin H. Mitchell addressing the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce at its Breakfast Meeting of Wednesday, November 11, 1967, at the Hermitage Hotel

# The Negro Community Looks at Nashville — Forward, or Backward?

**by Dr. Edwin H. Mitchell**

Gentlemen:

In accepting your invitation to address you this morning, I assure you that I am aware of the impossibility of one Negro speaking for the entire Negro community. I assure you too that I do not wish you to accept me as having those credentials, for too often in the past, one Negro, chosen by those in power, has been allowed to function as the expert in racial matters. Many times this practice has been to the detriment of both races.

I will attempt this morning, however, to present to you a picture of the Negro community as it is in the eyes of some of us and as we view it in the light of plans which have been made public. I shall attempt, as well, to indicate your stake in these plans, for, while you speak of a Forward Nashville, there are those of us who see the city poised for a giant step backward.

I shall speak primarily of the 4.3% land area of Davidson County on which is found 35.4% of its total population. For here is situated over half (58.4%) of all the families in the county having an annual income of less than $3,000 and half (49.4%) of all the unemployed within the county. There is no need for us to *speculate* why so many people, so characterized by poverty are restricted to this small land area when we recognize that over half (53.1%) of all of the housing built before 1939 but only 29% of all the sound housing in Davidson County is found here. But, of course, with middle and upper income orientation to pride in home ownership, one tends to see these thirty year old dilapidated and deteriorating buildings as the end result of the ravages of those who reside therein, conspicuous, in the main, because of their black skins, rather than as having resulted from the onslaught of time. I would remind you that these dwellings represent for their owners a financial investment and that, as businessmen, they do expect and do obtain a return on their investment. The people who live here are truly *consumers* of the slum rather than *producers* thereof. Although I cannot tell you the percentage of home ownership in this *entire* area, I can tell you that only 21% of the homes in North Nashville are owner-occupied. For you to focus in your mind of which I speak, I need only call to your attention that which, as a civic landmark, has risen second in its viewing appeal only to the Parthenon—10th and Herman. I'm sure all of you have seen it.

Now these are things that exist. This *is* the principal market-place for the poor. And I should like to point out to you the factors that seem to assure that, if Forward Nashville continues in its same direction, this area is not likely ever to be reclaimed as a contributing part of this community.

There now exists, or plans have been publicly announced for them, a total of 5,000 low rent public housing units in the same area, this total not even including several proposed projects for the elderly. These units represent in terms of people better than 20,000 persons whose main requirement for permanent residence is that they remain poor. Parenthetically, there is an undetermined number of persons whose incomes are even too low to afford public housing who inhabit this area. And if a Negro family is able to succeed to the point of affording an $18-20,000 home, and if this family desires to locate this home in the urban community, that family will find lending agencies will not finance such a venture for there is hardly a neighborhood in the central city where even this modestly valued home would not be overpriced in comparison to other homes surrounding it. So the middle class Negro is driven from the city to the affluent black ghettoes that surround it or are driven into second hand, overpriced homes in transitional neighborhoods bordering the Negro slum. Such neighborhoods have been termed "grey" neighborhoods because of the presumed racial mix, but these so rapidly become all black, with the help of certain enterprising realtors, that the term has never become popularized. Negro businesses, which have even less mobility than the Negro family, see their financial stability deserting them as their more affluent customers move out. And when Negro businesses fail to prosper, too often it is attributed to some inherent failure related to race.

Adding to the exodus of the middle class Negro is the destruction of their sound homes within the city by ill-conceived public housing projects that utilize a program

of massive clearance to erect huge jungles of compact housing. And such programs seem to be repeated every ten to twenty years. Witness in Edgehill where nearly 1,000 family units of public housing and at least 280 units of additional low rent private housing were planned as almost a continuous unit. And we realize it was not an oversight that allows two contiguous urban renewal plans, one called the University Urban Renewal program and the other the Edgehill Urban Renewal program, to be separated by a high speed boulevard with access between these areas severely restricted. The absence of social concern of our universities is not limited solely to the white community, but there at least was, and the opportunity still exists, a chance for the educated community to lead the way out of the dark ages of racial bigotry. In addition, and even with less regard for those it displaces, super highways form concrete moats between Negro and white communities and tear their way, with no concern for the problems they create, through the heart of existing Negro communities, converting the majority of their streets into blind alleys and affording almost no access. Witness in North Nashville where Interstate 40 has been planned so that as it crosses 26th Avenue North it isolates a community of over 100 square blocks from the local park and public library except for a single walk-over; where only two through roads from the boundaries of Charlotte Avenue and the Clarksville Highway are open in an East-West direction and one of these, Centennial Boulevard, bisects the A and I campus; and where only five streets from the Jefferson Street bridge to 28th Avenue North are open in a North-South direction. There is not now a single through street between North and South Nashville and, as the highway was planned, Eighteenth Avenue, which bisects the campus community of Fisk and Meharry, would have been the only through street. As it crosses Jefferson, it destroys the north side of this main Negro business artery, displacing as it does numerous Negro establishments such as a savings and loan association hardly five years old, a $100,000 physician's clinic complex, a printing company, several churches and professional offices. Contrast this result with the commercial construction boom along West Charlotte where, by locating the highway off the main artery and preserving through streets, the business outlook is strengthened. Gentlemen, you of the Chamber, the city and state administrations endorsed this program. YOU DID NOT SPEAK FOR US!

But we are not blind to the viewpoint that such planning as I have described represents. We see the linking together of the economies of Sumner and Wilson counties with our own by your expressways so that now I can drive in a shorter time to Lebanon than I can to 100 Oaks. We see the leapfrogging of the needy of our community to tap the labor market of these counties. But we see too the residents of these counties taking the tax dollars home in their pockets to build their communities while our poor stay poor.

Repeatedly we hear the cry that everyone who wants to work can find a job and you may even be right. But too many of our people find that it takes two jobs just to acquire bread much less fruit from their labors. 60.3% of all the people in the county working in private households or as service workers or as laborers live in the area under discussion. How much do you pay your maid? Your janitor? Have you ever wondered how they live on their salaries?

But you tell us education is the answer to the problem; the Negro is unprepared! And, to draw an analogy, I am reminded that as early as 1926 Dr. Robert Goddard, an American now regarded as the "father of the modern rocket" built the first liquid fuel rocket. But there was no market for rockets and rocket engineers in America until the German V-bombs created one. Now where is the market for the educated Negro outside those vocations that serve his own people? Let's look at Nashville to see—Nashville, where there are thirteen colleges and universities, integrated, I am sure, because that's what the law requires and we are a law-abiding community. Why else would the Council pass a Riot bill as an approach to our probelms when it has shown a singular lack of legislative concern about other approaches to a solution of the "NEGRO PROBLEM." But I digress.

Let me cite for you figures gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission concerning Negro employment in Nashville businesses. I quote from a newspaper article appearing in THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN, dated Friday, June 30, 1967:

"The EEOC found that eleven Nashville trucking firms with a total of 1675 employees had 138 Negro employees, and that of 311 white collar workers in the firms, *none* was Negro.

"Twelve Nashville construction firms with a total employment of 1194 workers had 163 Negro employees. In these companies there was a total of 244 white collar workers, of whom one was a Negro."

It continues: "360 Negroes were found among the 5799 employees of eight Nashville manufacturing firms. In these companies, there were 1711 white collar workers, six of whom were Negroes.

"Only 344 Negro employees were found among the 3950 workers in six Nashville retail establishments. In these businesses there were 2946 white collar workers, 61 of whom were Negroes." (end quote)

Now if I add correctly, this means that of 12,618 employees in these establishments, in all of Nashville, with its thirteen colleges and universities, only 68 Negroes were found who were capable of holding a white collar job! And in municipal government, even all the drivers of garbage trucks are white! How much education and what kind of test does that position require? The fact that a job ceiling exists in every phase of employment in Nashville is not hidden from the Negro.

And you say education is the answer? On a national level, the average lifetime income of the Negro college graduate is equal to that of a white eighth grade drop-out! The summer unemployment rate for Negro college students this year was 16.1%; for the Negro high school student, 16.3% No, *education* is not the answer. Education, plus *opportunity* is the answer! And until the opportunity is created and, until the Negro student can feel assured that it is not just an illusion, the school drop-out rate will continue to dismay us, and college students will continue to pour off their campuses in protest movements, for one community is not significantly different from any other. Whether they be residents of the city is really not pertinent.

But times are changing we are told on television! And we tell you we have seen them change before. The median income of Negro families nationally rose to a high of 57%

of the white income in 1952 and dropped to 53% of the white income in 1962. This reflects the *Negro* law of supply and demand: last hired, first fired.

Now just because I have focused upon the educated Negro to make a point, do not interpret my remarks to indicate an unawareness of the larger problem. Negroes need jobs NOW! If they are unlearned, teach them! If they are unskilled, train them! Do not hide behind test scores that have no relevance to the job to be performed but rather measure social values of the majority culture.

And when you talk of a Forward Nashville, how can we be convinced when, in thirteen years, of 141 public school faculties 83 are still segregated and, of the 58 that are integrated, 23 have only 1 teacher of a different race. Tokenism may be enough to claim immunity from the law, and, gentlemen, if in all these areas I have discussed this is your intent, I have wasted your time and you mine.

And we see the establishment of a second degree-granting state institution here in Nashville as a continuation of the separate but equal misconception *despite* Chamber endorsement.

And we cannot accept that the dismissal of a few—and I repeat—a few police officers against whom well documented evidences of brutality have been presented represents a moral problem for the police department that exceeds the moral problem of the community-at-large.

We cannot imagine what manner of Negro man you feel lives here in Nashville when you continue to ignore the examples of Cairo, Milwaukee and Louisville as though Nashville's time is not coming.

Gentlemen, Nashville is indeed fashioning a new face. And it has begun by upgrading of the downtown business area. But tall buildings which allow you to gaze outward upon the green grass of surburbia, cannot long shelter you from the despair, frustration and bitterness that continue to build around you. In a city that unites its governments but leaves its people divided, in a city that provides in the midst of want elegant show houses of luxuries, a cruel mockery is made. But sitting as they are in the midst of all this poverty, your businesses are just such a mockery to so many.

What brave and unthinking men you are!

**METROPOLITAN HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION**

1034 STAHLMAN BUILDING • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37201

PHONES (615) 747-4385, 747-4386

Chattanooga Times
Sunday January 28, 1968

TENNESSEE

—Times-Post Staff Photo by Bob Sherrill.

**HUMAN RELATIONS: John Lewis, left, spoke to the 10th annual meeting of the Tennessee Human Relations Council Saturday about "Race Relations Across the South." With him are Dr. William Pollard, center, president of the state council, and Lewis Sinclair, vice president.**

Chattanooga Times
Sunday January 28, 1968

# Seeking Out, Training City's Poor Is Held 'Tremendously Important'

By MARGARET LEONARD

The Tennessee Human Relations Council, arriving at a "turning point" in its 14-year history, should move to the "tremendously important task" of searching out the urban poor to get them into training for jobs, the council's president, Dr. William Pollard, told the annual meeting at the Patten Saturday.

"Poverty programs can still be funded," Pollard said, "in spite of the budget restrictions. The training programs are a tremendous new resource, but they aren't getting many Negroes into them."

"The cities have great agencies which have been created all for years from the rest of the community. We don't know the

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# SEEK OUT POOR, COUNCIL IS TOLD

From Page One

lives there. There's a kind of conspiracy of lack of concern.

"We must get to know these people and help get them into these opportunities that they don't have any way of knowing about."

Pollard urged every member of a local council to "get to know five families." He said the state council will provide members with information about what training and education programs are available to those families.

According to Dr. Philipp Sottong, president of the Chattanooga Community Relations Conference, the local group may follow a different tack, while still working for employment of Negroes.

Sottong said the local council will form a committee during the spring meeting to "follow up" on the basic employment problems which came up in the [illegible] held Saturday afternoon.

Sottong explained that because action projects "come out of the membership" locally, the "five-family plan" may not be adopted here, unless some of the members decide to take it [illegible]

He feels personally that the employment problem involves a general attitude of exclusion, of rationalizing about why people are excluded, are not utilized."

"CRC tries to knock down the bluff, the rationalization."

He mentioned people who belong to all-white professional societies — doctors, dentists, businessmen. "There are three ministerial groups. One is primarily Negro. Why are they separate?"

Sottong did say that finding the unemployed who need training for jobs "would certainly be a good action project." He predicted that the Chattanooga group would probably adopt some such project.

### To Present Award

He announced to the meeting that the Chattanooga group has decided to hold an annual meeting and to award what may be an annual award to the local person who has done most to advance the cause of human relations.

"We're going to use the Nobel prize system. The award will not be automatic. Years may go by without an award."

He said later that it may be "just as important to skip years" without presenting an award, "to show that not a damn thing has been done."

Since the state council was formed in 1954, the nature of its activities has changed several times. Pollard said in the fifties, its purpose was "to provide an opportunity for the two races to get to know each other as persons, and to work together."

In the early sixties, the Council began to support, actively and morally, the sit-ins and other demonstrations designed to change the laws to open public facilities to Negroes.

### Long Way To Go

"Since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we have been trying to achieve compliance with the laws. We still have a long way to go in Tennessee to secure compliance with Title VI of the Act." Title VI deals with equal employment opportunity.

Pollard, an Episcopal minister, said "these people (the ghetto poor) can't be ignored much longer. The judgment is ultimately religious. We're ignoring our common humanity."

John A. Dyer, executive director of Chattanooga Progress Inc., welcomed the meeting in Mayor Kelley's absence. He said "it means nothing if the GNP increased $50 billion last Year," in the light of the unemployed who are still that way.

Dyer predicted that within the next six months, urban coalitions growing out of a national "coalition" of mayors, business, labor, religious and civil rights leaders, which met in Washington next year, would convene in a number of Tennessee cities providing the "community commitment" Dyer feels is necessary to solve urban problems.

The council will elect 1968 officers this morning. Ten Tennessee councils are represented.

(140) Tennessee

# Negroes Open Message

*Following is the text of the statement Friday by 71 Negroes representing about 50 organizations:*

"This is an open message to all citizens of Chattanooga:

"We do not condone violence in any form as a means of obtaining equal or civil rights.

"At this time in history when the entire nation mourns the death of the foremost exponent of Christian nonviolence, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Negro community wishes to re-emphasize certain inalienable truths: Martin Luther King addressed himself to the unfinished promises of democracy. He challenged the lofty promises we make and the methods we practice in America.

"He sought within the framework of law to save the soul of America. Whenever he disobeyed a law because of Christian conscience, he took the consequences of that civil disobedience. He never ran away, as the man who dastardly shot him down in the dead of night and ran as a coward. We say strongly that Christian nonviolence as espoused by Martin Luther King is the only alternative to violence.

"While the Negro community deplores acts of violence, as also deplore indifference and inaction on the part of the white community to move in the direction of action programs that work on the causes of riots and disorder.

"The Community recognizes that communication between the races here in Chattanooga far surpasses the system of communication in the major portion of the cities across the nation. This is exemplified in the fact that the past few days have not resulted in a major crisis.

"The committee also recognizes that the many established agencies who recognize and practice communication between their agency and the Negro community must also seek to communicate the fact to the white community. The committee recognizes the dilemma of the agency in this position and commends them for taking this stand.

"The committee recognizes that as long as the liaison agency is necessary to be the spokesman of communication between the two races, Chattanooga will remain two separate and distinct groups of people composing a single community.

"If together we are to build Chattanooga into a great city, we must have people-to-people communication along with agency-people communication.

## ACTION PROGRAMS ARE PROPOSED

"We recommend these specific action programs:

1. We commend the City Commission for its foresightedness and concern in passing the Open City ordinance prior to the 1964 Civil Rights Act; we now deem it necessary that the City Commission pass an ordinance supplementing the Civil Rights Act to cover all establishments serving the public and requiring license by the city. These establishments remain a potential powder keg from whence violence may and can erupt. Most Chattanoogans feel that equal access to establishments are open or should be open to all Chattanoogans.

"2. We urge the various plants and business firms to come under the Equal Opportunity Employment Act and to recruit Negroes for their employment. This, too, is a powder keg that could erupt into violence.

"3. There are unwritten employment practices even within so-called equal opportunity employment firms and plants that actually and actively discriminate against Negroes in employment. We recommend programs that provide training opportunities for the hard-core unemployed who have unemployable attitudes, for the purpose of redirecting their attitudes with the end product being employment. We chide the white business community for not having developed this type of training program in the past. The very mature of our segregated society has prevented the realization of the fullest potential and development, particularly of our Negro citizens. This is also a potential powder keg. Our Chattanooga community needs to be reconstructed so that the youth of today will not fall prey to the same heritage.

"4. The most appalling mental health problem facing this nation is racism. It undermines our very social structure, our business world, our employment practices, particularly in the devious ways in which the quota system, the track system, the test system, the so-called qualification system, the seniority system, and the apprenticeship programs of the unions discriminate. This again is a potential powder keg from whence violence may erupt.

## NEGRO EDUCATION IS 'IN A VACUUM'

"5. Too long the community has set Negro education, particularly Negro schools, aside in a vacuum. Not enough attention has been given to the structure and the curriculum within the schools. Too frequently we have been given second-class and old school buildings and equipment in which to operate an efficient education program. Even in the pattern of integration of teachers, the community has allowed the better qualified Negro teachers to be transferred to the white schools without replacing them with better qualified white teachers for the Negro schools. This is colonialism at its worst. And again, this is a potential powder keg from whence violence may erupt.

6. Our city school system has ignored the fact that Negroes have made significant and worthwhile contributions to America and to the world. We urge that this omission should be corrected in order that respect, decency, and correct attitudes concerning the Negro might be instilled in the minds of all students, both Negro and white. A single history book that presents the true story in American progress which includes the achievements and contributions of all races regardless of race, creed or color is imperative at this crucial time in history. The failure to have respect and understanding of the various contributions of all races is and will continue to be a potential powder keg from whence violence may erupt, because youth depends largely upon its relationship to a heritage upon which to build feelings and attitudes of significance in a society among men.

"7. Since the news media is the most potent instrument in moulding public opinion, it is essential that Negroes be represented on the staffs of all news media in order to relate and project the true image of the Negro. Every day the community is subjected to inflammatory baiting news reports in newspapers, radio, and television which portrays the Negro in a negative image.

"8. Somehow, within the teaching of religion, the churches and synagoues should assume their creative and dynamic role of leadership for human dignity and brotherhood and quit loafing.

"9. Finally, we recognize the fact that the so-called Negro community has not in the past taken too deep an interest in the needs, aspirations and frustrations of the vast segment of underprivileged people of all races. We hereby pledge to work for a spirit of oneness promoted through considering all citizens of the United States and Chattanooga as Americans—not blacks and whites, which tends to be a divisive influence, and give our support with all men of good will who will seek these and other such mandates to make Chattanooga a truly All-America City. We strongly urge the City Commission to establish by ordinance a Human Relations Commission with a staff to work on these kinds of problems on a continuing basis.

Racism is a factor which breeds only mistrust, hate and fear. Many have the idea that this racism affects only the inner city, but this fear, mistrust and hate becomes a part of each home, no matter how far removed it is from the inner city. If Chattanooga is to grow as an All-America city, racism is a luxury far too expensive for us to enjoy.

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1968.

TEXAS

Point of View

# Intergroup Relations

By Dr. Joe Witherspoon
Professor of Law
(First in a Series)

The problem of intergroup relations is, by any measure, the greatest domestic problem of the United States.

The population of this country consists of people of many different races, colors, religions, ancestries and national origins as well as of different sexes, age groups, and economic brackets.

## Achieve man's goals

It is essential to the public health, safety, welfare, peace, and progress of this nation and of each state and community that this diversity serve to strengthen individual and collective efforts to achieve man's enduring goals and not be used to weaken these efforts.

The latter result occurs when members of one group practice, through private or governmental institutions, discrimination and other harmful activity against members of another group in any phase of community life merely on account of their race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, age, economic status, or other normal group characteristic.

Witherspoon

Practices of this kind and the conditions accompanying them undermine the freedom and justice essential to a genuine democracy.

Relations between the Negro ethnic group and the white majority group constitute one example of the extraordinarily serious problem of intergroup relations at large in this country. The relations between these two groups have steadily worsened during the past quarter century. Despite a number of substantial gains, including several in the legal order, that have been made by Negroes, they have not substantially changed the lot of the average Negro in American society that generally obtained a quarter of a century ago.

## Segregation remains

It still remains true throughout the nation, and more especially in the South and Southwest, that most Negroes can live only in certain residential areas segregated from the rest of the community; most Negro children can attend only poorer, de facto segregated schools; most Negro professional and business men can operate only in Negro business districts and serve Negro clients; most Negro workers can work only in the lower-paid, lower skill jobs; and most Negro families can earn incomes amounting to only one-half of that earned by white families.

Negroes face widespread discrimination in government and private employment and in the operation of unions and employment agencies. They cannot obtain admission to professional and business organizations that are crucial to the progress of members of the professional and business fields affected.

They encounter discrimination in the purchase, rental, and financing of homes and commercial space. The public housing available to them has been principally located in urban ghettos and is constructed so as to put severe strains on family life. They can buy homes usually only on a conditional contract of sale which, in denying them the security enjoyed by most white home buyers, subjects them to the monthly possibility of losing, without recourse, an investment it has taken them years to make.

Urban renewal programs have removed them from valuable center city land and created new and even more congested urban segregated residential areas that will become in time like the ghettos their inhabitants had to leave.

The facts just reviewed are generally paraded in the better newspapers, magazines, journals, and government publications but they are still not understood by most white Americans.

These facts reflect the more basic fact that the white majority is utilizing the private and public institutions of our society — supposed to be open to all — with the effects of securing and increasing its exclusive hold on the good things of the free Democratic society.

Negroes are now in the process of a revolution designed to overturn the unjust effects of this white dominance. This revolution has been conducted, fortunately for us all, mainly in an orderly manner although it has erupted into occasional destructive violence in city after city, particularly during the summers of the past three years.

## Costly violence

This violence, which has been dramatic and costly when it has occurred, has had two effects. In Watts, for example, it has stimulated a number of substantial efforts by the white majority to understand finally the causes of the bitter outbreak and to undertake some initial efforts to alleviate these causes. On the other hand, it has diverted the minds of too many Americans from the almost unimaginable human tragedy that permeates the daily lives of millions of America's Negroes.

The broken families; the rat-infested and tumbledown housing; the poor health; the malnutrition; the lack of adequate medical care and legal assistance, the lack of know-how to obtain needed welfare services and assistance from city hospitals and other governmental agencies; the lack of adequate recreational facilities; the lack of the city services and facilities that other portions of the city enjoy; the lack of educational facilities for adults who missed obtaining an adequate education during their youth due to no real fault of their own — these are but a few of the almost countless deficiencies in the life of American Negroes as compared with the life lived by most white Americans.

## Problems for Negroes

What is true of the status of most of the 20 million Negroes in American life is largely true of most of the 6 million Latin-Americans of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin. The problems of Negroes have been fairly well discussed but the problems of Latin-Americans, particularly in our Southwest, are hardly known by the majority group referred to as the "Anglos".

As a group, Latin-Americans are far less well-educated than Negroes, they live in similar or even worse urban ghettos, their children also attend poorer, de facto segregated schools, and they are the target of discrimination in employment, governmental services, and often in housing as well.

(See **INTERGROUP**, page 3.)

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They also bear the wound of a long isolation from the American culture and language in part self-enforced but principally the product of the only way of life that has been opened to them in this country by its majority "Anglo" group.

After four years of intensive work on the Austin scene in the field of intergroup or human relations, an understanding of three things strikes me as central to any adequate beginning to meeting the problems just reviewed in Austin or in other communities of this state.

One is the fact that, by and large, the members of the majority group apparently do not really care about the welfare of their fellow citizens who are the Negroes, the Latin-Americans, and, more generally, the very poor.

## Majority doesn't care

If members of the majority group really cared about their welfare, they would take the time to find out about the manifold problem of these groups and begin to do something about them.

This lack of genuine concern stems in large part from a defect in group and individual character of the profoundest sort and from a lack of knowledge and genuine personal contact with the Negro, the Latin-American, and the very poor.

No particular element of the majority group is exempt from this characterization. It is a sad but clear and brutal fact.

A second major thing that must be understood if our Texas communities are to begin to make an adequate beginning in resolving human relations problems is the almost total lack of leadership at either the state or local level within either the majority or minority groups with regard to dealing with human relations problems.

No established minority group organization in Austin or elsewhere in the state has achieved more than ad hoc effectiveness in seeking to remedy human relations problems. The regular, well-established majority group organizations — whether in the private or public sector — have largely ignored human relations problems.

A third major consideration to be understood before we can make an adequate beginning to resolving human relations in Austin and elsewhere in the state is that each community, by and large, has the resources, both human and material, to begin to deal in significant ways with the discrimination and disadvantages thrown in the way of our minority groups and our poor.

These resources are, in the aggregate, far more plentiful than anything the

# Intergroup Relations...

(Continued from page 2.)

federal government has thrown into its efforts so far to secure a rectification in human relations in this country.

The discrimination and disadvantaging that so seriously impair the opportunities of our minority groups occur largely at the local level and must be dealt with ultimately at the local level whatever official or private efforts are mustered for this purpose.

## Central problem

The central problem in regard to intergroup relations is how to organize and to utilize the resources of each state and community for the purpose of effectively securing an improvement in human relations.

The experience of a few cities and states during the past 20 years is very instructive in this regard. Although some 30 states and 25 communities have adopted a new comprehensive form of civil rights law and a new form of governmental agency — called a human relations commission — to administer it, only a very few of these have gained some measurable degree of success.

We would all do well to study the experience of cities like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and of states like Pennsylvania and New York. I have spent the past four years studying this experience. A book summarizing my studies and recommendations will be published by the University of Texas Press. It is entitled: "Administrative Implementation of Civil Rights."

## Intergroup problems

There are more than 2,000 local communities along with the 50 states in the nation in which we can say that very serious intergroup problems exist involving minority groups such as Negroes and Latin-Americans.

The central task that must be performed in each of these communities and states i the reconstruction of human relations within them where most of the causes, conditions accompanying, and results flowing from discrimination and other harmful activity directed against minority and other disadvantaged groups are occurring. This reconstruction must be directed so as to eliminate the causes of this harmful activity, ameliorate the conditions flowing from it, and to overcome the results and scars that have been inflicted upon the community and its disadvantaged groups.

With regard to the majority group, performance of this task means the reorganization and reformation of majority group actions, habits, customs, and private and official arrangements that have produced and continue to maintain the conditions so seriously affecting the opportunities of minority and other disadvantaged groups in the community.

With regard to the minority and other disadvantaged groups performance of these tasks requires the development of leaders within these groups who will concentrate upon matters of human rights and relations, the provision of various kinds of assistance to these groups and leaders in preparing for and obtaining various needed opportunities, and the protection of these groups against certain typical types of exploitation and abuse.

This central task of reconstruction of intergroup relations calls for the assembly and redirection of the maximum human and material resources with each community. It demands that each community acknowledge the performance of this task to be its own responsibility and that each of its groups become genuinely involved in discharging it.

## Necessary institution

The necessary institution for guiding the performance of this task and providing the appropriate leadership is an official human relations commission whose members are drawn in a truly representative fashion from the citizens of the community.

Three kinds of functions must be assigned the commission:

- The processing of individual complaints relative to all forms of harmful discrimination through investigation, conciliation, hearing, issuance of cease and desist orders, and judicial enforcement actions where necessary.
- The negotiation from a position of strength with wide sectors of businesses, union organizations, professions, government agencies, and private organizations for the taking of action by them to improve opportunities available to minority and other disadvantaged groups.
- The undertaking of various forms of official constructive action designed to create the attitudes, conditions, and actions essential in each community for moving its majority and minority groups to confront and to resolve all of its serious problems of intergroup relations.

No other organization in the community can muster the authority and acceptance that an official human relations commission can in dealing with human relations matters. By far, the "negotiation" and "constructive action" functions of an official human relations commission have proved to be more effective in achieving the central task previously described.

## Process complaints

The processing of individual complaints contributes far less in producing positive changes. Suffice it to say here that no community and no state can hope to make adequate progress in resolving intergroup relations problems until it has established an official human relations commission, enacted a comprehensive civil rights law prescribing all the various forms of harmful discrimination, and empowered its commission to perform all three functions previously outlined.

Naturally, it must also provide an adequate staff and budget for its commission.

Just as important as an official human relations commission for each state and each community is the work of private organizations in the human relations field.

## Right action

It usually takes a number of years for a community or a state to become wise enough to establish the right kind of human relations commission and the right kind of civil rights law. Moreover, even if these are established, the commission cannot do the task itself.

It must largely proceed by engendering the performance of the right kind of actions on the part of every element of the community. Long before a strong human relations commission and civil rights law become a reality for a community or a state private efforts must be made by all forms of private and official organizations to hasten the day of better human relations.

Some way must be found to persuade the university faculties and administrations that they really are equally responsible with the rest of the citizenry for the degradation which has been forced by the majority group upon Negroes, Latin-Americans, the poor generally, and many other groups in our local, state, and national communities.

They must be made to see their special responsibility to take the numerous unique positive steps that can only be performed by universities in starting the process of necessary change in group habits, actions, practices, and arrangements that harm our minority groups.

## Exercise leadership

Someway must be found to move the ministers and lay leaders of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish churches to begin to exercise their leadership so as to move their congregations and fellows to begin to give practical meaning to their doctrines of love of neighbor or at least of justice toward him relative to the human misery about them.

Some way must be found to impress business and professional men and government officials with the inevitability of soon securing substantial readjustment in the present status of intergroup relations between the majority group, on the one hand, and Negroes, Latin-Americans, the poor, and many other disadvantaged groups, on the other.

Some way must be found to interest the younger people in our communities to begin the fascinating work their parents have failed to perform in ameliorating human relations problems.

Point of View

# Austin Rights Needs

By Dr. Joe Witherspoon
Professor of Law
(Second of Two Columns)

A part of my work during the past four years has involved an effort in conjunction with many others to develop a viable private organization that could begin the process of change in the Austin community.

The hope was that on the basis of experimentation here a model for successful community work could be developed that would be useful not only here but elsewhere in the state and region.

It was organized as a Texas non-profit, charitable corporation and is called the "Citywide Committee of Individuals and Organizations for Human Rights." It has a board of directors and a membership of around 200 persons.

Its purposes include working for the establishment of an official human relations commission and a comprehensive civil rights law in the City of Austin.

Dr. Witherspoon

It actually drafted and presented to the City Council on May 5, 1966, a careful proposal for accomplishing this purpose. The organization describes itself as being founded "to promote equality of opportunity for all persons in Austin through active cooperation between Negro, Latin, and Anglo citizens, their churches, and other organizations."

## Education Program

It has an educational program. One part of this program involves tutoring Negroes and Latin-Americans for obtaining a high school diploma equivalent. Approximately 70 persons are students in this program.

Already two of the students tutored have obtained their high school diploma equivalents since the program started last September.

Another part of the educational program is a typing and business English class. Approximately 36 Negroes and Latin-Americans are attending classes at St. Mary's Academy.

Some of the graduates of these classes have already obtained excellent jobs or have been able to qualify for on-the-job training at one of our large federal agencies.

The tutoring takes place at the CCIOHR Human Rights Center, 1106-B Concho Street, five days a week in the afternoon.

Another facet of the CCIOHR program involves helping members of minority groups with various kinds of problems they are encountering in dealing with government or business.

A law fraternity has supplied several teams of what amounts to "case-workers." They and some young lawyers still associated with the University School of Law have provided assistance in helping people to obtain clinic cards for medical services; in resolving difficulties between a family and school authorities; in obtaining needed clothing, food, and money; in obtaining loans of money to save a home; and in numerous other ways.

A third facet of the CCIOHR program is its series of public forums. These are held usually in a church in East or South Austin in order to reach the maximum number of persons in those areas.

In them are discussed problems of importance to members of minority groups with a view to providing them with a basis for making up their own minds with the best guidance obtainable on these problems.

It is hoped that the involvement of CCIOHR in such activities will move other groups to take up the good work, and that each organization will establish a human relations committee and undertake one or more significant projects for the improvement of intergroup relations in this city.

Work such as CCIOHR is doing will add a new meaning to any person's life. The member of the majority group who participates forms many new friends and truly learns, as well as a member of the majority group can learn, what it means to be a Negro or a Latin-American or a very poor person.

He or she begins to see the extraordinary possibilities in each Texas community for effectuating the first real change that is likely to be made in human relations in this state. He sees that what the federal government is currently doing is very far removed, indeed, from what must be done if we would make some real progress in human relations.

In working with organizations like CCIOHR, one also senses how close our communities in Texas are to the kind of acts of frustration and violence that have marred the scene of so many northern cities and more recently southern cities as well.

An organization like CCIOHR can build up a treasury of acceptance in the minority group communities that can help to avoid such outbreaks as these and to cut down the extent of violence when it does occur.

Efforts such as these cannot begin soon enough. The counsel of responsible Negro citizens is that some substantial readjustment in human relations must be made soon or what has occurred almost everywhere else in the ration will reach our own Texas cities.

## Desperate Need

Austin and other Texas communities desperately need to establish official human relations commissions, to enact comprehensive human relations ordinances, and to provide commission members and staff personnel as well as adequate budgets.

It is once more time to begin in Austin a far more comprehensive effort than the ones organized in 1963-64 and 1965-66 by CCIOHR to move citizenry and its political leadership to establish such an official human relations commission.

It is important for each organization in Austin that counts itself genuinely interested in the welfare and progress of this city to undertake substantial activities to make such a commission a reality.

Unless these efforts are undertaken and unless supporting private efforts in bettering human relations are also performed by these organizations, it will continue to be truly said of our city and its residents that they really do not care about the welfare of Negroes, Latin-Americans, and our poor generally.

("Point of View" does not necessarily represent Texan editorial policy. Contributions are welcome but must be typed on a 60-character line, triple-spaced, 90-95 lines only in order to fit in the space available.)

E NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1967

TEXAS

# Students Protest Banning Campus Rights Group

## 400 at Texas Southern U. Demonstrate as Friends of S.N.C.C. Is Barred

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, March 28—About 400 students blocked doors and disrupted classes today at Texas Southern University here to protest the school administration's refusal to recognize Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as an on-campus organization.

Texas Southern has about 4,000 students, most of whom are Negroes.

The student strike also protested the discharge of Mack Jones, faculty sponsor of the organization.

Dr. James B. Jones, dean of students, said that the group had failed to show an established relationship with the Atlanta-based student committee.

Dr. Jones delivered a letter, in which he said he regretted being unable to grant approval to the group as an on-campus organization, to the Rev. R. D. Kirkpatrick, a graduate student and campus chairman of the committee.

Mr. Kirkpatrick read the letter to about 400 students. The letter was then burned while the crowd chanted, "Close it (the school) down."

The students blocked doors to university buildings, threatened to lock nonparticipants in classrooms, and tried to stop traffic on a street that runs through the campus.

Mr. Kirkpatrick said the protest would continue until a meeting was held with school officials.

The campus group was told on March 20 that it must meet off campus and that the contract of the organization's faculty sponsor would not be renewed.

University officials never revealed their reason for not renewing the contract of Mr. Jones, the group's faculty sponsor.

He is a Woodrow Wilson fellow and a candidate for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Illinois.

His one-year contract as instructor in the government department at Texas Southern expires this summer.

HOUSTON

# Dow Jones Off 9.7, Falls Below 900

See Story Column 1


# HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Houston's Family Newspaper

Vol. 66 No. 208 TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1967 HOUSTON, TEXAS 77001 Second Class Postage Paid at Houston, Texas 10 CENTS


COMPLETE CLOSING QUOTATIONS **MARKETS**

# Cleanup of Houston Slums Urged

# Westec Ex-Chairman Refuses to Take Oath

## Major Attack Urged On 'Costly' Slums

FROM PAGE 1

of the cost of a program to rebuild a large slum neighborhood, rehabilitate its residents and otherwise improve their living conditions.

The committee also recommended that Houston study the state housing finance agencies in Massachusetts and New York with a view of the Texas Legislature being asked to create such an agency.

**Private Innovations**

Such agencies, organized as public benefit corporations, finance and seek construction of low—and middle—income housing at no cost to the taxpayer.

The committee also suggested several private innovations:

- Bond sales to finance rehabilitation of neighborhoods.
- Organization of tenants, and the pooling of their skills, to renovate dilapidated neighborhoods.
- Solicitation of contributions from individuals and corporations.

Among other recommendations of the committee were:

- A neighborhood development corporation, getting operating expenses from federal programs, to provide financing, technical assistance, coordination and the development of industrial sites in slum areas.

Federal grants to finance the building of youth centers, playgrounds and other public facilities in low income areas.

- Privately sponsored housing projects that would qualify for federal rent supplements.

The committee supported the need of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Housing, recently formed by the city, and urged that the city complete as soon as possible its comprehensive community plan and neighborhood analyses in progress.

**Dilapidated Homes**

The committee estimated Houston has 50,000 dilapidated and deteriorating homes, mainly in the old third, fourth and fifth wards. The families living in these homes pay $10 to $15 weekly rent, which is all they can afford, it said.

Figures were cited that disease, crime, property destruction and the costs to all taxpayers are much higher for slums than in other areas of a city.

"It should be apparent that life in the world of poverty is not cheap for anyone," the committee reported.

## Public Housing Asked

Claiming that slums are too costly not to abolish, the housing committee of the Houston Council on Human Relations today recommended a broad-based attack on the problem.

The committee urged the city to adopt a housing code and study the possibility of zoning.

The council announced the formation of a non-profit foundation to sponsor housing for low-income families.

The first job of the foundation will be to plan and build a low-income housing development. Dr. Stewart Wilbur, council president, said the council was hoping the development could be as large as 200 units.

**Revenue Bonds**

The committee recommended that revenue bonds be sold to finance "a modest number" of new public housing units when the city meets the requirements for federal aid. The requirements include some form of zoning.

It noted that Houston's existing 2340 units, built when the city did qualify for federal aid, is in number far below other cities, including San Antonio's 5554, Dallas' 6372, New Orleans' 12,270 and Atlanta's 10,014.

The committee supported the federal leasing program for which the city does qualify and under which the City Council already has authorized the Houston Housing Authority to lease 500 units.

The committee also recommended that Houston become a "model city" under the 1966 Demonstration Cities Act.

Under the act the federal government will pay 80 percent

(See MAJOR, Page 11)

agency U.S.D.A.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

JUL 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

This is in reply to your recent letter concerning the Food Stamp Program in Mississippi.

We would like to assure you that we are taking all possible action to insure that Federal food assistance is available to the needy in Mississippi. With the cooperation of State and local officials, Federal food assistance programs are now operating in every county in Mississippi--one of only six States in the country where this is true. These programs are now providing food assistance to about 400,000 people in Mississippi. That number represents about 20 percent of the total State population.

While that progress was good, we were aware that more needed to be done. We, therefore, visited several hundred families in Mississippi to learn, at first hand, about their food needs and consumption. As a result, we have announced several modifications in our Federal food programs.

We are enclosing a copy of the testimony of Secretary Freeman, before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This testimony outlines in detail the Federal food programs and the program modifications we are making. As Secretary Freeman indicated, we believe these program modifications will insure that food is available to every citizen of Mississippi who needs this assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James E. Springfield

Deputy Director
Food Stamp Division

Enclosure

For P.M. Release

Testimony of the Honorable Secretary of Agriculture
Orville L. Freeman
Before the Sub-committee on Employment and Manpower
of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Tuesday, July 11, 1967 - 2:00 p.m.

Mr. Chairman, members of the sub-committee:

I welcome this opportunity to appear before you.

The United States today possesses all the physical resources necessary to insure that every person has the opportunity for a full and nutritious diet. We have the food, and we have the most efficient system in the world to distribute it. All that is necessary is to use these resources efficiently and humanely.

I am confident that a series of proposals, the product of experience and experimentation to expand the USDA's food assistance program, which are now being put into effect in Mississippi will insure that by the end of 1967 an expanded and improved diet will be available to every citizen of that State who requires this assistance.

I want to emphasize, however, that to complete the task of reaching every person in this country today with a full and nutritious diet, we must know more than the fact there are still hungry people. We must thoroughly understand the tools we have --

the resources, organization and techniques -- and the nature of the difficulties we must overcome to complete the job.

Let me outline those tools and some of those difficulties.

The Department of Agriculture operates two programs designed to provide low-income families with more food than they can get with their own resources. One is a program to distribute food commodities directly, and the other is a Food Stamp Program which enables low-income households to buy more food purchasing power with the money normally spent for food.

The Direct Distribution Program began in the early 1930's as a way to share with low-income families the food commodities which the Federal government acquires under surplus removal and price support programs. The USDA makes these food commodities available to the States, and the States in turn distribute the food to county and city governments. Those who participate in the program are certified as eligible by local welfare agencies, and receive the food commodities at distribution centers provided by local officials.

The Direct Distribution Program as we know it really started in 1954 when the USDA began to pay the cost of shipping the food, a cost paid until then by the States. The program grew from 155 counties in 1954 to over 1,300 in 1959.

In 1960 the Federal food program became a campaign issue. The program was nearly moribund. Only five commodities -- lard, flour, dry milk, corn meal, and rice -- were being distributed with a total value of less than $1.20 per month, per person.

The cost of distributing these foods in many areas was greater than the value of the food. As a result many States and local governments had refused to enter the program and nearly 200 counties had dropped out from the 1959 peak.

In January, 1961, the new administration doubled the number of food commodities. Later it was increased to 15. The value of products currently being provided is about $5.55 per person per month, and will increase another $1.50 this month when we begin distributing butter and cheese. The number of counties participating has increased sharply and today -- including those in the food stamp program -- nearly 2,200 provide a food assistance program for low income families.

More than 3,400,000 persons in nearly 1,400 counties are now participating in the direct distribution program, and can obtain from it over half of the daily caloric intake recommended for an adequate diet. The current mix of commodities now available will provide on a daily basis -- if used -- almost 90 percent of the protein, more than 60 percent of the iron, more than enough calcium, thiamine and riboflavin. Very little vitamin A and ascorbic acid are available as these nutrients are found primarily in fresh fruits and vegetables which cannot be easily handled in this kind of program.

We have long recognized the weaknesses of the direct distribution program. Even as we have improved it, we knew it would never be adequate. While 15 commodities provide more variety than 5, it is difficult for even a highly skilled cook to prepare from 15 commodities the variety of dishes which the average housewife can make from the thousands of food products in today's grocery store. It can be done, but it is not easy.

It is a difficult program to administer, particularly in the sense that it requires us to duplicate the highly developed commercial distribution system.

These and other factors led us in early 1961 to launch by Executive Order the Food Stamp Program as a pilot effort to test whether we could improve the level of food assistance to the poor. It is a distant cousin to the stamp program of pre-World War II days -- a program that died because it ceased to be a food program.

After three years of operation on a pilot basis, President Johnson recommended and the Congress passed the Food Stamp Act in 1964. The purpose was, and is, to help low-income families supplement their food dollars with enough additional food purchasing power to obtain a better diet.

The Congress assigned to the States and local welfare agencies the task of certifying those who are eligible. States are also responsible under the Act for the sale and the security of the food coupons.

The USDA is responsible for authorizing eligible grocery stores where food stamp users can spend the stamps exactly as though they were spending cash. The Federal Treasury redeems the stamps through the commercial banking system.

The Food Stamp Program began with eight pilot projects and an expenditure of a little over $14 million the first year. It has grown in the fiscal year just ended to cover more than 800 counties and cities. Over 1.7 million people are participating, and the President's budget asks $195 million for fiscal 1968.

Both the food stamp and direct distribution programs today are supplementing the diets of over five million people. Better than two out of every three counties in the U. S. have one or the other family food assistance program.

Thus, the concept of providing food assistance for low-income families has evolved in three decades from a means of distributing surplus food to a system of increasing the food buying power of low-income families so they can obtain a nutritious diet through the same efficient food distribution system available to all families.

I hardly need recount for you the progress of these programs. The continuing support which is vital to them has not been easy to build or hold. Four votes could have defeated the Food Stamp Act of 1964, and eleven votes could have seriously crippled the program last month when it was considered for extension in the House. We have been successful thus far in obtaining adequate financial support for both programs, but this effort must always be done in competition with all the other programs and needs which the Congress must finance.

However, establishing the programs, and securing the continuing support for them is only the first step toward completing the task of assuring a full and nutritious diet for every person.

Once the programs are available, the second step is to insure they are operated and administered efficiently and effectively, not only at the national level but in the states and counties where they reach the low income family.

And after the first and second steps, we must insure that the participating family is doing an effective job in planning meals and preparing the food required for an adequate diet.

Thus, while we have been able to increase by over 1,000 the number of counties which provide a food assistance program, there are still about 800 where no program is available. Obviously, we are not reaching all the people who are hungry.

Only six States, one of which is Mississippi, now provide complete coverage of all counties with the food assistance programs. There are eight counties in New York which lack these programs, and we estimate nearly 35,000 people could benefit. San Diego, in San Diego County, California, is one of the two major cities in the U.S. which does not participate in or plan to join these programs. We estimated that nearly 75,000 people in San Diego would be eligible for this assistance. My own home county of Hennepin in Minnesota does not participate in these programs, although the city of Minneapolis has a food stamp program. In the Southeast, only 11 counties out of 46 in South Carolina have a food assistance program. In Alabama, only about half the counties provide food assistance. In Virginia, only 6 out of 96 counties make food assistance available.

We have been able to secure food assistance programs in all but 15 of the 100 lowest per capita income counties. However, among the lowest third per capita income counties and those considered to be poverty stricken by the Office of Economic Opportunity, there are 331 counties without these food assistance programs. I am submitting a list of these counties for the record.

In the past two years we have worked closely with OEO on these programs. That agency has underwritten the cost of administration and distribution of food commodities in counties where local tax resources

are inadequate. In Mississippi today, through Operation HELP, OEO is financing some or all the administrative costs of direct distribution in 41 counties. Similar arrangements have been made in 61 counties in other States.

OEO recently has indicated that it must discontinue its financial assistance for these programs by the end of this year. In order to assure that the food assistance programs continue in these counties, and that we reach needy families in the 331 low-income counties where no program is available, the USDA is prepared to provide the financial aid these counties will need to distribute food commodities to low-income families.

At the same time, I have directed the USDA's Technical Action Panel in the States and counties to work with state and local officials to urge and assist those counties which are not participating to set up a food assistance program as quickly as possible. The TAP group is a new instrument we have created in the USDA. It consists of the heads of the USDA agencies in each State, and its job is to make sure that the programs of the Federal government are effectively "reaching out" to the people who need them in rural America.

We estimate this effort to expand the coverage of the direct distribution program, combined with the growth of the Food Stamp Program planned for this fiscal year, will bring the opportunity for an improved diet to nearly a million more people.

However, we know that making food assistance available does not automatically insure that food reaches the people who need it. This is particularly true of our experiences with the Food Stamp Program.

The low-income household has to be encouraged to join the program, and special help must be provided to many families if they are to use the increased supply of food effectively.

The problems involved in these steps of implementation are complex. They make the task of starting a food stamp program seem simple in comparison.

I can illustrate this best with the results of a detailed study of the Food Stamp Program in Washington county, Mississippi. This is a county in the Mississippi delta which has an average per capita income of $1,094 and where nearly 3 out of 10 families have incomes too low to provide adequate food.

We wanted to know who was participating in the program, and who was not; and why. We wanted to know if the program was constructed so that it excluded some households, or if there were other reasons which made it difficult to reach hungry people.

The results of this survey, a copy of which I submit for the record, reveal a situation and a set of conditions which has been all but hidden from the eye.

Everyone has come to assume that the families who are not receiving the food assistance they need were those with many children who lived in rural areas away from town, who did not receive public assistance and who had no income.

The survey did identify some households like this, but it found another and much larger group which the Food Stamp Program was not reaching.

Over half the families which are eligible are not participating. They generally live in towns; they are, by and large, urban families. They are likely to be receiving welfare payments, and the size of the household is either small -- from one to three, or very large with incomes near the upper limits of program eligibility.

Nearly seven out of ten of the eligible urban households are not participating.

The households participating in the program generally are rural families of large size. They do not receive public assistance as a rule and have incomes ranging from only a few dollars to more than $200 a month.

Nearly seven out of ten of the rural households eligible for food stamps are participating in the program.

When families were asked why they did not participate, most said that the stamps cost too much or that they did not have enough money.

However, we found that nine out of ten of these families actually spent more money -- in some cases, substantially more -- than they would have had to pay for stamps.

Both statements are consistent and can be understood in relation to the way low-income families earn money and buy food. Money is earned in small amounts and food is purchased mostly as it is needed. Thus, while the cost of a particular food item is always known, families generally are unaware of how much they spend over a month for food.

Thus, the real task we face in getting more people to participate in the Food Stamp Program is to show the low-income family that food stamps will help them buy more food ... and more of the items they need for the family.

We cannot do this by sending them a postcard, or by making speeches, or by getting newspapers to print the story. The only effective way is to work directly and personally with low-income families to explain the program and to show them how they can benefit directly from it.

As a result of this study and other surveys we have made, I have made a number of changes in the Food Stamp Program which are now or shortly will be in effect in Mississippi -- and which will be extended to other States as rapidly as possible.

First, recognizing that families with no visible income, or at best intermittent employment, find it hard to pay even $2.00 a month per person, I am reducing the purchase requirement for the lowest income category to 50 cents a person per month. This is now in effect in Mississippi. It means that a family of six or more which has been paying $12 a month to get $72 or more in stamps, now will pay only $3 to receive the same amount.

The payment rate for the next two lowest levels also is being adjusted downward, and we are studying additional changes as well. Further, I have asked the States to assure me that where even this minimum payment would prevent a family from participating, the local county government will take steps to meet this cost. In most areas of the country where there is no regular general assistance program, the county now arranges to cover that portion of the purchase price for the very low-income families. If the counties are unwilling to do this, then we will find another means to qualify these people.

Second, in view of the difficulty a family has in putting together enough cash to enter the program and pay its back bills at the same time, I am reducing the purchase price by half for the first month for all new participants.

This will enable them to get a head start on old bills, and, once in the program, they will be able to better meet other obligations.

Third, we will begin to hire people in Mississippi this month who live in the neighborhoods where low-income families reside to serve as Food Stamp Aides. They will be a communications link between the poor and those who operate the program at local, State and Federal levels. The program aide will explain the program to those who are not participating, assist them to become eligible and help them to begin using food stamps.

After the initial phase, the program aides will continue to work with the food stamp families to teach them to prepare nutritious meals and provide training in food buying and other household skills.

The program aides also will help resolve complaints and misunderstandings about the program as they arise, and alert the program staff to errors in certification and to any problems encountered at grocery stores in the program.

Until the program aides are operating in full force, we are developing a special outreach effort through the State TAP to contact and encourage all eligible households in the food stamp counties to join the program if they are not already participating. In addition, the State extension service is designating a liaison person in each county to work with State welfare personnel and the food stamp staffs to develop an educational program to reach eligible families.

We also are asking OEO to make the resources of its Community Action Program in these counties available for an outreach program on an individual family basis.

Fourth, we will enlarge the number of USDA food stamp offices from five to ten in Mississippi to provide more intensive supervision to the effort to bring more low income families into the program.

Fifth, we are working with the States and counties to simplify the certification procedures, especially to reduce the time involved in waiting at the welfare office and eliminate many return visits.

Sixth, we are going to make additional studies similar to the Mississippi survey in other areas to determine if further adjustments should be made in the program, either on a regional or national basis.

I believe these changes and modifications represent the kind of experimentation which must go into any project which has so massive and difficult an objective as insuring that every person has the opportunity for a full and nutritious diet.

I also want to make it clear there will be further adjustments and changes in these programs as there must be in any programs that are so directly involved with the day-to-day lives of people who need help. We are, for example, studying the impact of the new minimum wage law on Southern field workers. We know this action is changing the work periods and seasonal income patterns, and we will have to determine what changes need to be made in our seasonal certification requirements.

In addition, we need to develop a special program in cooperation with health authorities for those families where dietary deficiencies are causing serious health problems. But we first must

identify those families, and then we must know what those health problems are, and what kind of a diet is required to treat them.

But we have the programs .... and we have built the staff (some 900 USDA employees now work in the food stamp program) necessary to carry them out. We have developed the techniques to bring food assistance to those in need .... and to reach the low income family to help them make the best use of this food.

We have launched the big drive to complete the task of making our food abundance fully and effectively available to all persons.

However, I am not so naive as to believe the USDA can do this alone. We will need and appreciate the help of this committee and the Congress to encourage additional counties to utilize the food assistance programs. We need the help of all groups concerned about and working with low income families to encourage those who could benefit from the programs to participate in them.

With this kind of help, we can do the job. Without it, we cannot complete the task efficiently and quickly.

- - - -

USDA

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

August 2, 1967

Dear Friend:

Each year the goal of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS), an agency of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, has been to ensure that every eligible farm voter, whether white or non-white, has free and equal opportunity to cast a ballot for the candidates of his or her choice in local community ASCS elections.

This year, as in previous years, changes in election procedures have been made in an attempt to guarantee democratic ASCS elections. Because these changes are of the utmost importance to you and your organization, we want to inform you of them before the 1967 elections get underway. Incidentally, elections will be held simultaneously in all counties nationally this year during the third week of September (18-22).

Enclosed for your information is a brochure, "Vote for Farmers of Your Choice." I hope you will disseminate its information widely. Additional copies of the brochure are available on request.

We pledge ourselves to increased efforts in this area of procedural changes to secure and maintain the right of all farmers to participate fully and freely in elections. Should you require additional information, contact your local ASCS County Office Manager.

Your comments on these actions are invited.

Sincerely yours,

Wm M Seabron

William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

USDA

# VOTE FOR FARMERS OF YOUR CHOICE

## Election: 3rd Week of September

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

# VOTING FOR FARMERS OF YOUR CHOICE IS DEMOCRAC

## MAIL-BALLOT ELECTION OF ASC COMMUNITY COMMITTEEMEN

This leaflet explains briefly the annual election by mail ballot of farmers as community committeemen to help the county committeemen run Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) farm programs locally.

These programs help assure a fair income for farmers by assisting them in keeping their production in line with market needs. As long as farmers can raise more than the market will take, such programs are needed to prevent ruinous price drops.

So, it is in your interest to elect good committeemen who will help make these programs successful.

### YOUR VOTE

As a farmer you will want to vote for your Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) community committeemen. Your community committeemen not only keep you informed about ASCS programs so that you may take part more fully in them, but they also elect your county committeemen.

And your county committeemen handle all ASCS programs locally. These include acreage allotments and price supports on cotton, tobacco, and peanuts and other crops; also cost-share conservation practices, such as digging ponds, building terraces, and planting trees and cover crops to keep your farm in good shape for your family and those who come afterward.

If you neglect to vote for your community committeemen, then you have no say as to who is chosen to help run these important programs.

*A South Carolina ASC community committee in conference on acreage allotments with the county office manager.*

### WHO CAN VOTE?

Very likely you can vote for ASC community committeemen, if you are an owner, tenant, or sharecropper.

Both husband and wife can vote in community property States including Louisiana and Texas.

If you are under legal voting age, you can still vote in ASC elections if you run an entire farm. Those who run farms as legal guardians for minor children also can vote if the farm is eligible to take part in ASCS programs.

If you are not sure about your right to vote in ASC elections, ask about it at your ASCS county office.

### WHO CAN RUN FOR COMMITTEEMAN?

Almost any farmer who is eligible to vote in ASC elections and who resides in the community is eligible to run for community committeeman.

If you wish to be a candidate, or if you have a neighbor that you would like to see nominated, and you have questions about eligibility, ask your ASCS county office for full information.

### WHO CAN NOMINATE COMMITTEEMEN?

(1) You or any other farmer and 5 or more neighbors in the same community can nominate a fellow farmer for ASC community committeeman by signing a petition. And you may sign as many petitions as you wish, but only with farmers in your own community. Petitions must be in ASCS county office at least 25 days before the deadline for returning your ballot.

(2) Your community committee nominates 6 to 10 candidates.

(3) And your county committee may nominate the number of candidates needed to complete a list of 10, if your community committee nominates less than 10.

In communities having 10 percent or more eligible voters who are members of a minority group, the county committee must place a minority group member on the ballot unless 1 or more have been nominated either by the community committee or by petition. The addition must be made, even though it increases the number nominated by county and community committees to more than 10.

### HOW MANY COMMITTEEMEN ARE ELECTED?

Three regular community committeemen and two alternates are elected each year.

The farmer receiving the highest number of votes becomes chairman of the committee; the one getting the next highest is vice chairman; and the third highest is

# CY IN ACTION

the regular member. The next two highest vote getters are first and second alternate committeemen who serve in the absence of any of the three regular members.

## WHEN ARE ELECTIONS HELD?

ASC elections for community committeemen are set this year for the 3rd week of September in all counties throughout the United States. Announcement of the election will be sent by the ASC county committee to all known eligible ASC voters at least 35 days ahead of the election. Announcement will be made also in local newspapers, over radio, and in other ways.

## COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

So that you may be sure of the community in which you live and vote in ASC elections, your county committee will announce approved community boundaries at least 35 days before election. Map of community boundaries will be either mailed to each eligible voter, or posted in each community.

## DON'T MISS OUT ON VOTING

If you believe you are eligible to vote in an ASC election, but do not receive information about the election and a ballot in the mail, ask about it right away at your ASCS county office.

Take along proof of your right to vote—the deed to your farm, or a written statement from your landlord if

*Arkansas ASC State, county and community committmen admire a ditch bank protected by grass against erosion.*

you are a tenant or a sharecropper, or any other proof you may have. But check at the ASCS office at once. Don't miss out on voting if you are eligible.

If you are not satisfied after visiting your county office, contact your ASC State Committee, or a member of your ASC State Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity. Their addresses are on the back page of this folder.

## MARKING YOUR BALLOT

At least 10 days before the election, you should receive in the mail a ballot with the names of all candidates in your community listed in A, B, C, D-order. If the farmers of your choice for committeeman are not listed, write in their names on the blank lines at the bottom.

In addition to the ballot, there will be instructions on voting your ballot, and when to send the ballot back to your ASCS county office, and when and where votes will be counted.

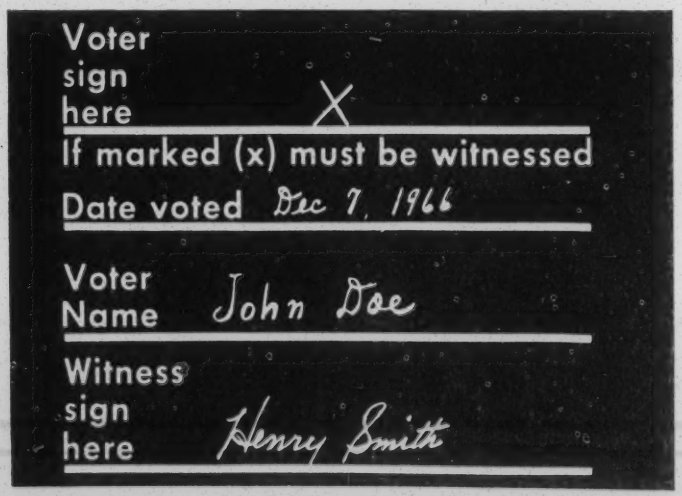
Also there will be two envelopes. One will be plain. The other will be addressed to your ASCS county office, and will have a certification statement on the back like the example below.

The steps in voting are:

(1) Look over the list of nominees carefully.

(2) Vote for the farmers of your choice. Vote for 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5. BUT VOTE FOR NO MORE THAN 5. IF YOU VOTE FOR MORE THAN 5, YOUR VOTE WILL NOT BE COUNTED. This number may vary in 1-community counties.

(3) Fold your ballot and place it in the PLAIN envelope and seal it. DO NOT WRITE ON THE PLAIN ENVELOPE. Leaving it unmarked keeps your ballot secret.




(4) Put the PLAIN envelope with your ballot into the larger envelope already addressed to your ASCS county office and seal it also.

(5) After you have sealed the larger envelope, sign or mark "X" on the line to which the arrow points and date it. In this way you certify or swear that you voted your own ballot personally without undue influence of others.

*A Mississippi ASC community committeeman, left, and one of his State committeemen inspect a new farm pond.*

If you mark "X" it must be done in the presence of a witness who will complete the form as shown in the example below and sign it. If the outside envelope is not so marked and signed, your ballot WILL NOT BE COUNTED AS A VOTE. Mail your ballot right away; NO POSTAGE IS NEEDED.

## COUNTING THE VOTES

When your ballot, like all the rest, gets back to your ASCS county office, it will be placed in the ballot box.

Within five days after the election, the votes will be counted publicly by your ASC county committee in a place open to all races. You may watch the counting if you wish.

Before the counting begins, the outside envelopes will be opened and the inside plain envelopes with the ballots will be taken out and placed in a separate pile from the outside envelopes which will be shuffled so that all ballots will be kept secret. Then the plain envelopes will be opened and the votes counted.

Results of the election will be announced in the local newspapers, over radio, and TV where available.

## FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information about ASC elections, or about any of the programs of ASCS, call or drop by your ASCS county office. It's your office and you are always welcome.

If you are not satisfied after visiting your ASCS county office, contact your ASC State Committee or a member of your ASC State Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity. You can reach either through your ASCS State office.

Get the address of your ASCS State office from your county office, or send a postal card for it to your ASCS Administrator, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Just say: Send me address of my ASCS State office. And give your name and address.

GPO 803-759

PA-774 Revised June 1967

★ *GEORGIA NEWS ROUNDUP*

# FBI Has No Bias, Atlanta Chief Says

ALBANY—Accusations that the FBI is prejudiced on the racial issue are completely untrue, James E. McMahon, special agent in charge of the Atlanta FBI office, said in an address here.

McMahon said local pressure groups have set up a hue and cry for the FBI to intervene in what they term a breakdown in local law enforcement.

No such breakdown has occurred in Georgia, the agent told the Albany Lions Club.

And he branded as gross distortion the accusations of a nationally prominent integration leader, whom he declined to name, that agents turned their back on alleged acts of police brutality.

The person he referred to, the agent said, "has been in your community many times during the past two years." A number of active integration attempts have been made in Albany by outsiders, including Dr. Martin Luther King of Atlanta.

The spokesman he had in mind, McMahon said, has charged that the FBI staffed its Southern offices with pro-segregation agents "who do not agree with the law of the land."

A further accusation was that because of such a situation, the FBI did not probe deeply into reports of alleged police brutality in Albany and elsewhere in the South.

"These allegations were analyzed thoroughly," the special agent said, "and found to be gross distortions and complete untruth."

**Don't stay SORE** Relieve painful little cuts, burns, scratches, scrapes. Quick, apply hospital-quality *Moroline*, the first-aid petroleum jelly. Filtered 5 times for extra purity. Saves 40% under next leading brand's 2 oz. jar at 25¢. Same size *Moroline* is 15¢. *Moroline's* giant 4⅓ oz. jar gives you over two times more for 25¢. Why pay more? Get the most and best, say "*MOROLINE*" Petroleum Jelly.

## Tobacco Prices Slip Just a Little

VALDOSTA — Most grades of Georgia-Florida flue-cured tobacco Wednesday brought steady to slightly lower prices than Tuesday. The Federal-State Market News Service reported most losses amounted to $1 per hundred pounds and occurred chiefly for lower quality grades.

## Columbus Assigns Negro Policeman

COLUMBUS—The city Wednesday assigned its first Negro policeman to duty in five years. At the same time the board of pub-

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
20 cents
VOL. 17, NO. 36 NEW YORK, JUNE 12, 1965

WRITERS, CONGRESSMEN SPEAK UP

# New protests on war policy

By Michael Munk

AS COMMENCEMENT addresses across the nation reflected the Establishment's relief that an academic year of unprecedented protest against its foreign policy had ended, two diverse groups in American society caught the spotlight as, in different ways, they spoke up against the Johnson Administration's actions around the world.

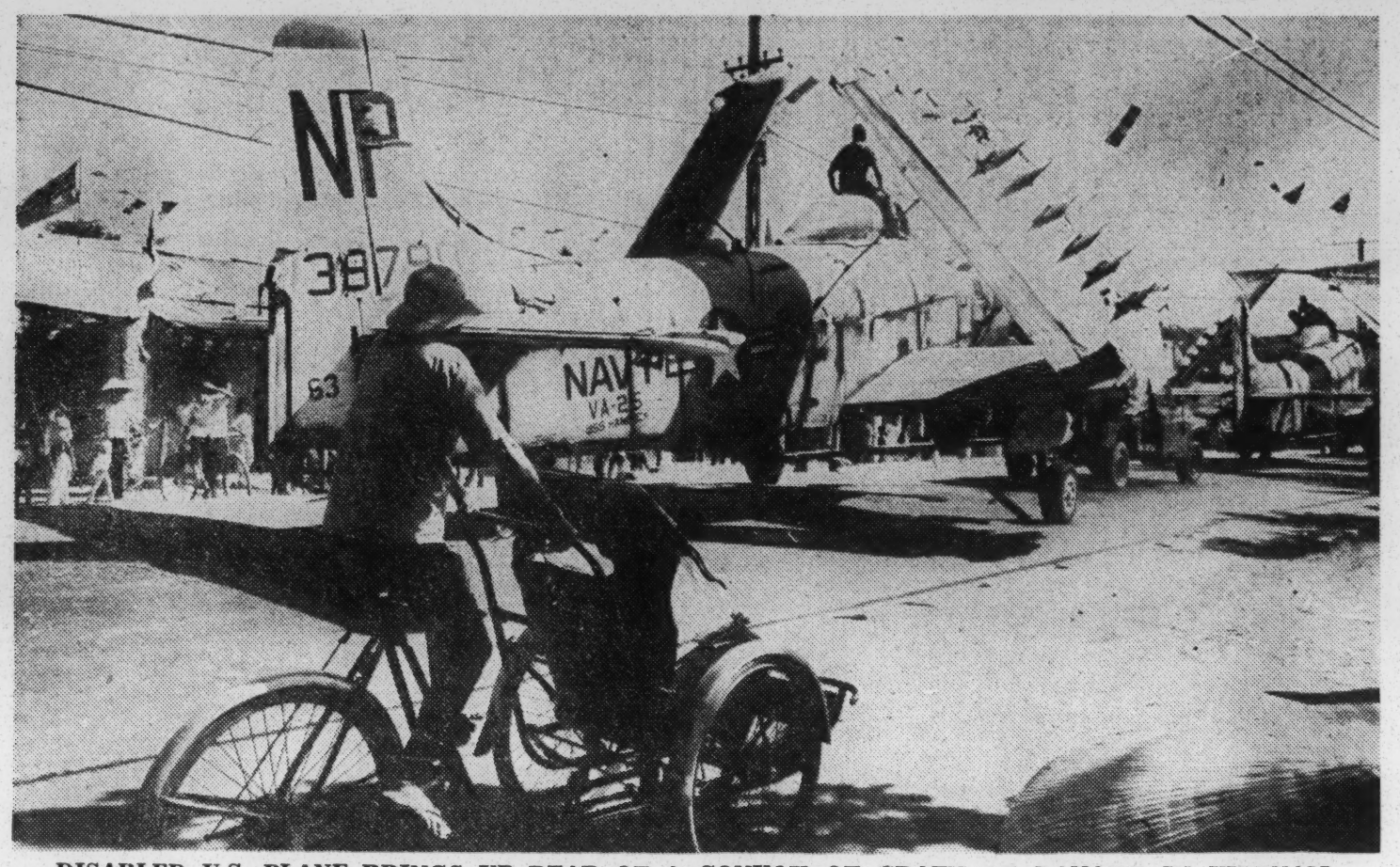
One group consisted of well known American writers and artists, whose individual protests were climaxed June 2 when Pulitzer-prize winning poet Robert Lowell rejected a presidential invitation to attend a White House Arts festival as a protest against what he called Johnson's "explosive" and "chauvinistic" foreign policy—a policy which he said he follows with "dismay and distrust." The next day, 20 other writers and artists, including six other Pulitzer-prize poets, supported Lowell's protest and in a letter to Johnson attacked his "increasingly belligerent and militaristic" foreign policy.

The second group, elected politicians, played their role with the first organized congressional protest against the Vietnam war (also on June 3) as 28 Democratic congressmen called for public hearings on the Administration's policy in Southeast Asia. In a letter to Rep. Thomas Morgan (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, circulated by Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.), the 28 signers declared that open hearings with the participation of private citizens and government officials would strengthen the "best traditions of democratic practice" by developing "a vigorous and responsible public dialogue about major foreign policy issues." Although the congressmen were careful to avoid any direct criticism on Vietnam, it was clear they were acting in response to the widespread public sentiment against the war.

**AS THE BEGINNING** of the monsoon season in Vietnam brought fresh evidence that the Saigon army was no match for the NLF's army, and U.S. deaths in the war climbed well over the 600 mark (thus placing the Vietnam war as eighth of the nine U.S. wars in terms of battle deaths, exceeding those in the Spanish-American War), the politicians' request took on special importance.

Among the signers were seven of the 20 Democratic members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and six of the seven House members who voted against the special $700 million appropriations for the Vietnam war. Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.) the only member who voted against the appropriation but did not sign the Rosenthal letter, issued her own statement May 26 in which she confessed that she had "searched for every possible excuse to support my government in the policies it is pursuing in Vietnam" but that "there is a point beyond which credibility will simply not stretch—and it is that somehow by waging a wider war we pursue the policy of peace." Mrs. Green

(Continued on Page 9)




**DISABLED U.S. PLANE BRINGS UP REAR OF A CONVOY OF CRAFT AT DANANG IN VIETNAM**
*War protests mount in the U.S. as the bombing of North Vietnam continues*

WILSON-ALLEN-NIXON PENALTIES SUSPEN DED; APPEAL DUE

# 3 sentenced in contempt case

Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUSPENDED SENTENCES of four to 12 months in jail and $100 fine each were given June 4 to peace leaders Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Mrs. Donna Allen and to GUARDIAN General Manager Russ Nixon following their conviction April 8 of contempt of Congress. Defense Attorney David Rein immediately appealed the conviction. The case raises the issue of the House Un-American Activities Committee's constitutionality and also its right to force witnesses to testify in secret hearings. If necessary, a final appeal to the Supreme Court will be made.

The case involved the refusal of the defendants to testify at closed hearings about their activities in behalf of an entry visa for Japanese peace leader Prof. Kaoru Yasui, who visited the U.S. in November, 1963.

Federal Judge Edward M. Curran, who earlier reached a "guilty" verdict in the case, pronounced the sentences. Citing that the case had raised the issue of secret hearings by HUAC, he held that "neither the court or any private citizen" can tell Congress how to conduct its business. After listening to pre-sentencing statements by the defendants, Curran expressed unhappiness at having to pronounce sentence, and said that he had read the probation reports on Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Allen, and Nixon and that "you are all fine people."

**THE FIRST** statement of the defendants was made by Nixon (see story Page 8). Mrs. Wilson, founder and leader of Women Strike for Peace, told the court:

"In approaching the State Department to request a visa for Professor Yasui, I was exercising a democratic privilege and carrying out a democratic responsibility. In insisting on a public hearing when questioned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I was asserting a democratic right.

"This court has found me guilty of contempt of Congress. My actions, however, far from being contemptuous, are an affirmation of the principle which is fundamental to American life: that of government by consent of the governed. . . .

"If any are contemptible it is those who, like the gentlemen of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, seek to silence the voices of those who have dedicated themselves to meeting the most urgent need of our times—the necessity for nuclear disarmament under international law."

**MRS. DONNA ALLEN**, who is national legislative chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and a WSP leader, said:

"I am now a convicted criminal. But I ask why? What kind of criminal am I? Let us and let all Americans consider

(Continued on Page 8)

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FBI IS INVESTIGATING DISAPPEARANCE OF EIGHT

# *Mississippi Negro family still missing*

By William A. Price

A NEGRO FAMILY of eight whose disappearance three months ago was first reported in the GUARDIAN May 1 is still missing, according to relatives and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Publication of the story provoked an attack on the GUARDIAN and the Negro freedom movement May 7 when the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission charged that "Communist publications apparently are helping the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in presenting distortions about Mississippi to get the sympathy of Congress." The Sovereignty Commission's charge, published by the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News under a three-column, front-page headline, was carried in newspapers throughout Mississippi. It said the GUARDIAN story, furnished by MFDP, was a "hoax."

But on May 30, with the family still missing, MFDP asked that "all of the resources of the Justice Department and the FBI be thrown into a nation-wide search" for the family. "Remember that only last year," the MFDP said, "the disappearance of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner [three civil rights workers whose bodies were later found] was called a hoax by these same papers."

The MFDP demanded retractions by all Mississippi papers "that attempted to spread rumors of a hoax by the MFDP."

**THE FAMILY** is that of Loron L. Acker, 44, a farm laborer; his wife Zella Mae, and six children who lived in the small rural community of Catahola, Hancock County, Miss. The family's disappearance the day after a March 6 local election about which Acker had expressed strong views, is still a mystery. But a widescale search has been undertaken since publication of the GUARDIAN story. On June 7, an FBI spokesman in Washington told the GUARDIAN that the FBI is conducting an "all-out active investigation." A Department of Justice spokesman said such an investigation was only undertaken when there was a possibility that a federal crime had been committed such as kidnaping or a violation of civil rights statutes. The FBI has listed the

(Continued on Page 4)

FARM WORKERS REBEL IN SOUTH

# Wave of strikes by Negroes

A SERIES OF strikes by Mississippi Negro farm laborers who are refusing to work for as little as 30c an hour has broken out in three counties of Western Mississippi which range along the meandering Mississippi River.

The strikes are led by the two-month-old Mississippi Freedom Labor Union organized April 9. They affect Negroes working the rich cotton-bearing land of large white-owned plantations. They have reached into the private province of one of the South's leading segregationists, Sen. James O. Eastland, who owns a huge tract in Sunflower County. They are the first such large-scale opposition to near-feudal conditions since the sharecroppers' strikes were violently suppressed in Mississippi and Alabama in the 1930s, and they have been met with injunctions, evictions, arrests, strikebreakers, and in one case, by gunfire.

The strikes started in April when ten MFLU members refused to work for less than $1.25 an hour in Shaw, Bolivar County. All ten had signed MFLU cards pledging to fight through strikes, collective bargaining and boycotts for a $1.25 minimum wage, an eight-hour day, an end to child labor, sick leave, medical care, equal employment practices and a number of other demands. Since then several hundred Bolivar County Negroes signed the pledge forms and refused to work. About 2,000 have signed similar pledges throughout this section of Mississippi, known as the "delta area."

**IN SHAW**, 13 strikers, adults and minors, and the Shaw project director for the Conference of Federated Organizations, Mary Sue Gellantley, were arrested and remained in jail until $500 each in bail funds could be raised. Miss Gellantley and several adults were arrested for sitting down to prevent the movement of a truck hearing strikebreakers to a nearby plantation. An arrest warrant has been sworn out for Robert Weil, a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and COFO worker.

The MFLU was founded at a time when, in Bolivar County, Negroes faced a threatened cut from $3 a day (for a 10-hour and sometimes 12-hour day) for "cotton choppers" to $1.75 a day. A "cotton chopper" is one who hoes weeds between rows of cotton. It is back-breaking "stoop labor," performed usually by the very young and the very old. Children as young as 5 and 6 years old do this work as soon—one civil rights worker says—as "they can hold a hoe."

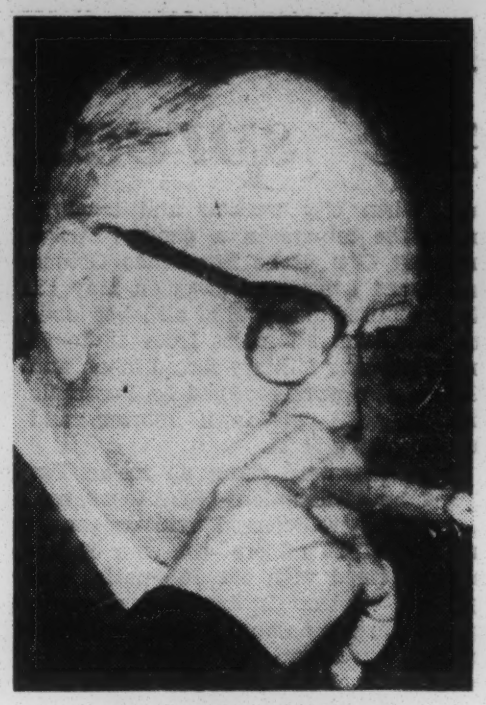
Other wages fit this pattern. While women and children do the hoeing, the men, usually family heads, work as "hoe bosses" or drive tractors and other mechanized equipment for $5 to $6 a day (for a 12-hour and sometimes 14-hour day). Tractors are equipped with headlights for night work. Overtime is rarely paid.

**THE STRIKERS** are in two categories, day workers who don't live on the plantations, and tenants who work for wages but live on the plantation in homes—usually unpainted, tin-roofed, frame shacks—provided by the owners or built by themselves.

In Washington County, adjacent to Bolivar, another strike started May 31 when a group of such tenants presented the MFLU demands to A. L. Andrews, the owner of the plantation on which they worked and lived. Here, 12 heads of families—11 tractor drivers and one hoe boss—and about 70 members of their families provide the work force for Andrews' 1,300-acre cotton plantation. The men confronted Andrews with their demands when they went to work at 6 a.m. Andrews replied "I'll go down before I raise you."

The Negro laborers refused to work the plantation which is in Tribbett, 15 miles from Greenville, and formed a picket line outside the plantation gates. On the first day they were able to turn away a busload of other Negro laborers (quickly hired by Andrews) after stopping the bus and explaining the strike to those inside.

**THE WORKERS'** grievances and demands expose the conditions under which most rural Negroes work. Andrews' retaliation just as clearly reveals how the white power structure maintains its dominance in an area, such as Washington County, where Negroes outnumber whites. Andrews, who formerly taught vocational agriculture, paid prevailing wages and



**SEN. JAMES EASTLAND**
*Trouble on his plantation*

says he recently spent money to improve living conditions of his tenants, said, "I done as much or more for the Nigras in this place as any other place in the Mississippi delta."

But an hour after the walkout, all utilities to the strikers were cut off and that afternoon, eviction notices were on each door. The notices stated that any striker who returned to his home would be considered a trespasser. The next day, by use of convict labor, all family possessions were taken from the houses and placed on the highway. Some of the furniture, purchased on time payments, was picked up by the credit agencies, so the owners lost their equity. Livestock owned by the strikers had to be slaughtered under emergency conditions when no grazing land was available.

After the first bus load of strikebreakers was turned away, Andrews obtained an injunction limiting the picket line to four persons and picket signs to 30 square inches. Unable to cover the plantation entrances, the strikers could not prevent further strikebreakers from being used the next day. Lawyers of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund have acted to have the injunction lifted and to transfer the case to the Federal District Court in Greenville, which has scheduled a hearing June 16.

**ANDREWS** declared that he has paid the Negroes' doctors bills, and that "I get my people out of jail, too." What sounds like humanitarianism is actually part of the neo-peonage suffered by Negroes not too far removed from actual slavery. With the judicial system packed against the Negro, it is frequently only the white boss who can get his "boy" out of jail. Having done so, he then has another hold over the Negro's life. During slack winter seasons, the white owner advances money to Negro families for groceries and frequently his workers are therefore perpetually in debt to him and throughout the year may see little of their wages in cash. It is these elements which are part of a system of white rule which control the lives of Negroes long before actual physical violence needs to be invoked.

The MFLU demands confront this system head on, just as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, from which it sprang, confronts directly the organized white political life in Mississippi.

Behind the strikes is the support of COFO, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the MFDP, and the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches of Christ, which is providing emergency shelter in Greenville for the families of the Andrews workers.

MFDP leader, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, speaking to the strikers outside Roosevelt Adams' country store near the Andrews plantation, called the strike "the most important thing that has happened in Mississippi." Workers have wanted to conduct such a strike for a long time, she said, but the Andrews tenants "are the first people to have the guts to do it."

The only violence so far occurred when the wife of the manager of a plantation adjacent to the Andrews tract drove by Adams' store and fired four shots in the direction of one of her workers who had walked off in sympathy. A warrant has been sworn out for her arrest.

MFLU activity has spread to eight delta counties, a COFO-SNCC worker said. On June 3 a busload of 15 Negro workers hired to work in Eastland's Sunflower plantation refused to work when they learned that Eastland would not pay his own tenants after some had registered to vote. The workers walked 25 miles back to Indianola, where they had been hired.

# Missing family

*(Continued from Page 1)*

family as "missing persons."

The family's disappearance was brought to light during an interview sought by this reporter with Mrs. Annie Devine, one of the three Negro women congressional candidates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party who have challenged the seating of the regular Democratic Party Mississippi congressmen.

The GUARDIAN quoted Mrs. Devine in its May 1 story as saying. "We're used to things like this" as she commented on the fact that during the search for the missing civil rights workers killed near Philadelphia, Miss., last summer, the bodies of two Negroes were discovered in a river.

**THE GUARDIAN** story said the family had disappeared "without a trace" under circumstances which indicated a hurried departure. When Acker did not apear for work, the story said, a neighbor, Willie Sellers, accompanied by a deputy sheriff, broke into the Acker house. On the kitchen table was a meal, cooked and ready to serve but untouched. The family car was missing and none of the family had heard from Acker.

These facts were subsequently reconfirmed through the MFDP, the family and the FBI, which said the family "left under circumstances which indicated a hurried departure."

In a phone interview May 26, Acker's mother, Mrs. Leola Acker, 79, said in Picayune, Miss., that she had visited her son's home again on May 24 and "I know they're gone, that's all I know." She added that all the family's clothes were still in the house.

The GUARDIAN reported that Acker had expressed opinions about his preferences between two white candidates in an election for beat (a county subdivision) supervisor. Both Loron and his wife were registered voters, his mother said.

**LORON'S MOTHER** commented that there "must have been some dissatisfac-

Renault in the Frontier, California
**"Forgive me for not recognizing y'all, sheriff."**

tion about the voting." MFDP stated May 30 that Acker's niece, who lives in Gulfport, said Acker was run out of town "because of how he voted in the election."

Loron's mother said she visited her son's family March 6, the day of the election. She didn't see him, she told the GUARDIAN, but she talked to his wife and saw the children. She said Acker's wife said nothing about going anywhere. They disappeared, apparently that night or the following day, Sunday, March 7.

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission stated in its May 7 blast at MFDP and the GUARDIAN that one of its investigators "in only two telephone calls" had learned that the Acker family was visiting relatives in Montgomery, Ala., where one of their daughters had become ill, preventing an early return. Sovereignty Commission director Erle Johnston Jr. said in a subsequent letter to the GUARDIAN that the Commercial Finance Co. of Bay St. Louis had received two money orders from Acker, for payments on his car, on March 31 for $22 and on May 10, for $25. Both were postmarked Montgomery, Ala., and the latter had a return address of "General Delivery, Montgomery, Ala." The first payment included a note, Johnston said, which stated that Acker was staying with a brother in Montgomery.

Acker's mother, however, told the GUARDIAN that he did not know anybody in Montgomery. A Justice Department spokesman told the GUARDIAN May 27 that the FBI was checking the handwriting on the money orders and the note to see if it was Acker's. On June 7, the same spokesman said that the FBI was still trying to check the handwriting, but had not found any specimens of Acker's writing to check against. The FBI refused to comment on whether it had located a brother in Montgomery.

**THE SOVEREIGNTY** Commission's May 7 statement said that the GUARDIAN, in its May 1 article, "also gave generous space to the MFDP campaign to unseat our duly elected congressman." The commission was set up by the Mississippi Legislature to "protect the sovereignty of the state" and has acted much like a "little HUAC" to expose alleged Communist influence in the civil rights movement.

# Ex-FBI spy loses in L.A. vote

By Grace E. Simons
Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

A FORMER anti-Communist undercover FBI informant narrowly missed winning a seat on the seven-member Los Angeles Board of Education in the runoff election May 25.

Victor in the race was the Rev. James Jones, 47, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church, who gained a majority of less than 3% in a city-wide election in which 524,125 votes were cast for the office. Jones is the second Negro to be elected to the Los Angeles School Board, and will be the first to sit on the board since Mrs. Ray Allen served two terms, 1939 to 1943.

Jones is an effective speaker and has good educational qualifications. He was chosen as the candidate of the Negro community in a convention sponsored by the United Civil Rights Committee in which 116 groups and organizations participated.

Jones's opponent, Mrs. Marion Miller, a real estate sales agent, came under heavy attack from both Republican and Democrats during the campaign because of her far-right associations. A former spy in Communist ranks, Mrs. Miller denied holding membership in the John Birch Society, but said she had been a speaker at the opening of a John Birch Society book store last December in Canoga Park.

File: FBI

# FBI Attitude: Southern?

## Negro Editor Cites Case to Support King

MARTIN LUTHER KING
*Says Negroes "Discouraged*

By Edward Peeks

Southwest Georgia Negroes say the FBI tripped on the rock of racism which made FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover call Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "the most notorious liar in the country."

In a telephone interview from Albany, Ga., A. C. Searles, editor of the Southwest Georgian, a Negro weekly, summed up the issue this way:

**"The FBI director did Dr. King an injustice. If the FBI weren't and aren't controlled by Southerners down here, they act the way we are accustomed to Southerners acting."**

Searles said, for example, that FBI agents never questioned him about complaints of civil rights violations in southwest Georgia until a white Albany merchant complained that civil rights pickets forced him to close his supermarket in the Negro community.

FBI agents questioned him, he said, and other Negro community leaders when the white man filed a complaint, but bypassed them when Negroes made scores of charges about police brutality during racial protest demonstrations in 1961, 1962 and 1963.

"It seems odd that the FBI should want to know what I know about one complaint, but nothing about what I know about others," Searles said. "We feel that Mr. Hoover was in error to call Dr. King a notorious liar. If Dr. King said that the FBI was controlled by Southerners, he well could have meant that it operates in a Southern custom toward Negroes."

**APPARENTLY**, the basis of the FBI director's charge against Dr. King stems from racial strife in southwest Georgia during the summer of 1963 and from an Albany speech made by James E. McMahon, then special agent in charge of the Atlanta FBI office.

McMahon told the Albany Lions Club that a "nationally prominent" Negro leader had made "gross distortions" about alleged acts of police brutality in Albany. McMahon didn't name the leader, but said of the charges:

"These allegations were analyzed thoroughly and were found to be gross distortions and complete untruths."

He said the FBI sought to interview the "nationally prominent spokesman for integration," but agents were told that "he was not available."

McMahon further said, "No organization has a deeper respect for state and local governments or avoids encroaching upon their legal prerogatives more than the FBI. You may check with your own local law enforcement agencies and individuals to determine the validity of that statement."

**He added, "I think I know every law enforcement officer in southwest Georgia pretty well, and any number of them will tell you that they are glad that the FBI will investigate these charges of alleged police brutality and not some other agency."**

His speech before the Lions was reported in The Albany Herald of Aug. 14, 1963 — a banner story written by Jimmy Robinson, Herald executive editor. The headline said, "FBI Agent Denies Albany Cop Brutality."

Beneath this front page story, an Associated Press story with an Americus, Ga., dateline said, "The Justice Department says it has found nothing to substantiate Negro charges of police brutality during anti segregation demonstrations in this south Georgia city."

**This story said that "a Justice Department spokesman said no police action that** would warrant federal action was found in an FBI investigation of the complaints."

►

**EDITOR SEARLES** said he was questioned by the FBI in the case of the white merchant, but not in other cases by Negroes complaining of civil rights violations, including charges of police brutality.

As a result of the merchant's complaint, seven Negroes and a white civil rights worker were convicted last year in Federal District Court on charges ranging from perjury to conspiring "to intimidate a federal juror." Their conviction grew out of a case of alleged police brutality 9n 1961.

The merchant had served as a juror in a suit filed by a Negro against a southwest Georgia sheriff who was accused of pistol-whipping the complainant and shooting him three times in the neck. An all-white jury cleared the sheriff.

**In the case of the convicted civil rights workers, they testified in court that the merchant had been picketed, as others had in the Negro community and in downtown Albany, over the issue of job opportunities for Negroes. The defendants denied that they had picketed the merchant because he was a juror who ruled on the police brutality complaint.**

Some of the defendants were placed on probation and others were sentenced to the penitentiary. The latter cases are under appeal, including that of Miss Joni Rabinowitz, the white civil rights worker.

Searles, Dr. King and other Negroes noted then and since that the conviction of the Civil rights workers was obtained through intensive investigation by 35 or 40 FBI agents, under the direction of the Justice Department and then-Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

A Negro youth in Albany said, "You don't see that many FBI agents around when a white policeman is charged with beating someody's head."

►

**DR. KING SAID**, "The only instance in which the government has moved with vigor has been against Negro leaders who have been working to removed the evils of the segregation system."

More recently, the Nobel Peace Prize winner referred to these Albany cases and others in replying to the "notorious liar" charge made by FBI Director Hoover.

Dr. King said, "The fact that no arrests have been made in the brutalities in Albany, the murder of the three civil rights workers in Mississippi and the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Ala., has left us all discouraged. This has encouraged individuals of the lunatic fringe to feel that they are aided and abetted by federal agents."

**One of the convicted civil rights workers in Albany is a Negro minister, the Rev. Samuel B. Wells.** Earlier, he had complained to the FBI that an Albany policeman grabbed him by the genitals and slammed him against the pavement before throwing him in jail during a civil rights protest demonstration. Other Complaints included that of a 16-year-old girl who accused a policeman of taking her by the forelock and shoving her into a jail cell. She said another officer tore off her blouse in the cell and cursed her for lying down on the sidewalk when her group was arrested for protesting racial segregation and discrimination.

**In Americus, 37 miles from Albany, a 28-year-old Negro told the FBI that a state trooper broke his leg with a baseball bat. The young man said he was beaten by two troopers who mistook him for a civil rights demonstrator as he was leaving a barbershop.**

A 68-year-old pensioner said Americus police beat him and others bloody with billy clubs and cattle prods after a mass meeting at a church. Police intercepted them on their way to city hall to hold a prayer vigil to protest the arrest of civil rights leaders and dem-

J. EDGAR HOOVER
*The Rock of Racism*

in the head, another six, and another had a broken leg. The actuality of the situation in Americus simply does not confirm the Justice Department's analysis.

**"As a resident of the State of New York, I feel that these statements made by Mr. McMahon and the Justice Department will contribute to an undermining of belief in the impartiality and integrity of the United States government, not only in Albany and Americus, but throughout this country as well . . . "**

Miss Holtzman referred to C. B. King (no relation to Dr. King), a Negro lawyer in Albany. The lawyer was bludgeoned in 1962 with a cane by a sheriff who was later acquitted in the case by an all-white federal jury.

In a recent discussion of his own case, King said, "FBI agents in Georgia and Mississippi are no different from the local law enforcement officers. They have the same allegiance."

But he said the problem of equal protection and treatment under the law goes beyond this "allegiance" partly dictated by FBI policy of cooperating with local police in civil rights cases and the practice of palling around with them. The problem and its **solution rest with the Justice Department and the president, he said.**

►

**FEDERAL LAWS and constitutional provisions, he said,** authorize the attorney general and the president to take action in civil rights cases, including complaints of police brutality.

King said, "The federal government, through the executive branch, has the responsibility to uphold the Constitution of the United States. This language, in my view, gives the president broader powers to do more than has been the case under Mr. Kennedy and under Mr. Johnson."

He criticized the way the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department handled his complaint against the sheriff and complaints of others in the past brought to court on charges of police brutality.

King said, under the federal law which such cases are tried, no grand jury indictment is necessary, but the Civil Rights Division insists on obtaining an indictment before prosecuting the case in court.

**He said the law allows the case to be taken directly to court on "mere information" backed by FBI evidence.**

"I challenge the failure to prosecute on mere information," King said. "The Jus-

cused of pistol-whipping the complainant and shooting him three times in the neck. An all-

rights demonstrator as he was leaving a barbershop.

A 68-year-old pensioner said Americus police beat him and others bloody with billy clubs and cattle prods after a mass meeting at a church. Police intercepted them on their way to city hall to hold a prayer vigil to protest the arrest of civil rights leaders and demonstrators.

As Dr. King said, "No arrests have been made in brutalities in Albany," nor in complaints of civil rights violations in Americus and other parts of southwest Georgia during the summer of 1963.

►

**THE ALBANY SPEECH** by Special Agent McMahon moved Miss Elizabeth Holtzman, a white civil rights worker from New York, to complain to Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N. Y. She mailed copies of her complaint to Atty. Gen. Kennedy and FBI Director Hoover.

Miss Holtzman told Sen. Javits, "I myself saw five shirts stiff with blood that teen-agers in Americus were wearing at the time they were clubbed by the police and burned with electric cattle prods. Reports by C. B. King and his law clerk Dennis Roberts who visited the arrested youths indicate that the teen-agers were beaten so badly that one required 22 stitches

Civil Rights Division insists on obtaining an indictment before prosecuting the case in court.

**He said the law allows the case to be taken directly to court on "mere information" backed by FBI evidence.**

"I challenge the failure to prosecute on mere information," King said. "The Justice Department and the federal government have an obligation to take advantage of existing laws to see that justice is done."

King takes a legal view of what the rank-and-file Negro, in southwest Georgia and other parts of the Deep South, commonly calls "foot dragging" on the part of the federal government, including the FBI, when it comes to the protection of his constitutional rights.

The rank-and-file Negro believes, rightly or wrongly, that the process of justice slows down to an almost standstill, tied in legal knots fashioned exclusively for him. And the burden of proof in complaints of civil rights violations rests on him, not on the accused police officer or the segregationist bomber.

►

**THE NEGRO KNOWS** that an arrest is one thing and a conviction is another. It is the duty of the police to arrest on probable cause and it is the obligation of the court to weigh the evidence. He knows that the obligation of the court is not to be confused with the duty of the police, including the FBI.

A shoeshine boy in Albany said, "The FBI is great when it comes to catching bank robbers and Communists, but they ain't nowhere when it comes to catching these people who blow up our civil rights and beat up our heads."

# SOMERSET KENTUCKY

A SOCIAL ANALYSIS

prepared by

BUREAU of COMMUNITY SERVICE

KENTUCKY COMMUNITY SERIES NUMBER 2

Sociology Department
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Kentucky
Lexington

March 1951

# A COMMUNITY IN TIME OF CRISIS

## An Army Camp Reopens in Morganfield, Kentucky

A Report prepared

by

BUREAU OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

KENTUCKY COMMUNITY SERIES NUMBER 3

Sociology Department
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Kentucky
Lexington

April 1951

# SHELBYVILLE

# A Community Social Profile

## *A Report of Findings*

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**Kentucky Community Series Number 6**

Prepared by

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University of Kentucky
Lexington

FEBRUARY, 1952

# Mobilizing Kentucky's Resources For Community Development

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*Report of the*

*First Annual*

KENTUCKY HOME TOWN MEETING

Lexington, September 24, 1951

Sponsored by

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And

KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

KENTUCKY COMMUNITY SERIES NO. 5

SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

# Preparing A Community Profile:

## *The Methodology of a Social Reconnaissance*

**Kentucky Community Series Number 7**

**Prepared by**

**BUREAU OF COMMUNITY SERVICE**
**College of Arts and Sciences**
**University of Kentucky**
**Lexington**

**MAY, 1952**

INFORMATION SHEET #1 (Revised 1951)

Bureau of Community Service
University of Kentucky, Lexington

Date:_____
Consultant:_____

Community:_____ 1950 Population:_____ County:_____

Primary Services: (number of each)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ____ Groceries | ____ Eating Places | ____ Banks |
| ____ Drugs | ____ Hotels | ____ Bakeries |
| ____ Clothing | ____ Hardware | ____ Loan and/or Ins. |
| ____ Department Stores | ____ Elec.Appliance | ____ Laundry |
| ____ Furniture | ____ Gasoline Stations | ____ Barber-Beauty |
| ____ Auto Sales & Repair | ____ Variety Stores | ____ Frozen Locker |
| ____ Other | ____ | ____ |

Public Service Facilities: (Indicate name of company)

| | |
|---|---|
| _____ Water System | _____ Type of local government |
| _____ Gas System | _____ Size of police force |
| _____ Electric | _____ Fire Department (size and type) |
| _____ Phone System | _____ |
| _____ Sewage System | _____ |
| _____ Garbage disposal | |

Communication, Transportation: (Number of)

| | |
|---|---|
| _____ Telephones | _____ Rail lines |
| _____ Radio Stations | _____ City bus companies |
| _____ Newspapers (Name, political slant) | _____ Inter-city bus lines |
| _____ Post office- city delivery? | _____ Airport |
| _____ Taxi companies | _____ Other |

Education: (Number of white schools within city limits)

| | Public | | Private | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | City | County | City | County |
| Elementary | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| Junior High | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| Senior High | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| Junior College | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| Four year College | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| Business School | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |

Which of the above are consolidated?

What are the provisions ofr Negro Education? Grade and High School

_____ Library _____Volumes Number of adults in classes_____

Number of Agricultural Extension Agents_____

Number of Teachers:_____ Elementary _____Junior High _____ H.S.

In general how does the school and the community get along?_____

_____

Do the people back the school?_____

Health, Welfare and Professional Services: (Number of)

_____ Doctors _____ Clinics: ____Public ____Private

_____ Dentists _____ Hospitals _____ beds

_____ Trained nurses (Check if there is a local: )

_____ Welfare workers _____ Red Cross

_____ Public Health staff _____ Legal Aid Society

_____ Lawyers _____ Community Chest

_____ Other _____ _____ T.B. Association

_____ Traveler's Aid, Family Service Society, City Welfare department County Welfare Department

Does this community seem to have adequate health services?_____

Leisure time activities and organizations: (Number Of)

_____ Theatres _____ Country club, golf links

_____ Dance facilities _____ Skating rinks

_____ Auditorium (name and number seating) _____

_____ Recreation centers _____ Swimming pool Public_____ Private___

_____ Teen Age Club _____ Playground, Parks

_____ Other Youth Groups Specify _____

_____ Bowling _____ Pool Hall

_____ other _____ other

Do you feel that there are enough activities for everyone in the community? _____

Organizations: Fraternal, Youth, Veterans, Service: (Indicate approximate membership)

_____ Masons _____ American Legion _____ V.F.W.

_____ Odd Fellows _____ Elks _____ Other

_____ Knights of Columbus _____ Other _____

_____ YMCA _____ YWCA _____ Scouts _____4H

Others _____ _____

_____ Rotary _____ Kiwanis _____ Lions

_____ Chamber of Commerce _____ Junior Chamber of Commerce

_____ Business and Professional Women _____ Womans Club

_____ Junior Women's Club _____ Other

_____ P.T.A. _____ Homemakers

_____ Farm Bureau or Grange _____ Community Council

Underline the above organizations which are active in community improvement.

Religion: (Number of churches)

_____ Baptist _____ Presbyterian _____ Negro

_____ Christian _____ Jewish _____ Other

_____ Episcopal _____ Roman Catholic _____

_____ Methodist _____ Nazarene _____ Other

_____ Ministerial Association

Do the churches cooperate with each other?_____

What churches actively contribute to community development?_____

_____

Economics:

_____ Property tax rate _____ School rate

| Industries | Product | Number of Employees Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ |

How is the outlook for business here?_____

_____

Is there economic opportunity for youth?_____

_____

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP SCHEDULE
This information restricted to use of:
BUREAU of COMMUNITY SERVICE
UNIVERSITY of KENTUCKY

Date_____

Interview by_____

1. Community_____ County_____

2. Informant

Name_____ Age _____ Sex_____

Lived here how long?_____ Elsewhere?_____

Occupation?_____

Residence: In town OR Out of town. Own, Rent, Other_____

Belong to what organizations? (Church, Civic, Business, etc.)

1._____ 2._____

3._____ 4._____

3. What are the different neighborhoods? Describe (Use map if possible).

4. How do the town and farm people get along?_____

Townspeople toward farm people?_____

Farm people toward townspeople?_____

Either group feel superior?_____

Any change in the relationship?_____

5. Leading "community-minded" organizations? (In order of importance)

| ORGANIZATION | ACTIVITIES OR ACCOMPLISHMENTS |
|---|---|
| 1._____ | _____ |
| 2._____ | _____ |
| 3._____ | _____ |
| 4._____ | _____ |
| 5._____ | _____ |
| 6._____ | _____ |
| 7._____ | _____ |
| 8._____ | _____ |

6. Organizations which cooperate with each other? (examples)

7. Organizations which seem to be in conflict with each other?

8. Are there too many organizations in the community? Yes ___ No ___
Explain:

9. Belonging to what organizations give people most prestige?

1._____ 2._____

3._____ 4._____

10. What are the important community events? (dances, parades, drives, etc.)

| | EVENT | SPONSORSHIP | PARTICIPATION |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |

11. VALUES: Which of the following are most important to the people of this community? (What gives a man his status?)

- [ ] Church attendance
- [ ] Leading Christian life
- [ ] Location of residence
- [ ] Kind of work one does
- [ ] Individual worth
- [ ] Service to community
- [ ] Length of residence
- [ ] Going far in school
- [ ] Friendliness
- [ ] Wealth
- [ ] Nationality
- [ ] Family background
- [ ] Economic success

Others_____

12. Every community has social layers. How would you describe the layers in this community? How easy is it to move from one layer to another?

13. How loyal are the people to their community? Explain

14. How do the people react to new ideas? Examples.

15. How are newcomers received by the local people?_____

_____How do they seem to adjust to the town?

_____

16. Do you recall any groups or factions in the community which seem to disagree or can't seem to get along? List and explain.

17. Are the people here different from other places in regard to relationships or customs? Yes ___ No ___ (explain)

18. Do the people or organizations here cooperate with those of nearby communities for their mutual benefit?

19. What would you consider the outstanding needs of the community and what organizations should or could tackle them?

| NEED | ORGANIZATION |
|---|---|
| 1._____ | _____ |
| 2._____ | _____ |
| 3._____ | _____ |
| 4._____ | _____ |

20. What do you like best about your community?_____

21. What is your biggest complaint about it?_____

What could or should be done about it?_____

22. Give the names of the eight most outstanding leaders of the community.

| NAME | OCCUPATION | WHY CONSIDERED? |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | | |
| 2. | | |
| 3. | | |
| 4. | | |
| 5. | | |
| 6. | | |
| 7. | | |
| 8. | | |

NOTES AND COMMENTS

KENTUCKY COMMUNITY SERIES

Number 1: Shepherdsville: Honor Community, described in First Biennial Report, Bureau of Community Service, December, 1950, 31 pages (multilithed).

✓ Number 2: Somerset: A Social Analysis, March, 1951, 18 pages (mimeographed).

✓ Number 3: Communities in Time of Crisis: An Army Camp Reopens in Morganfield, Kentucky, April, 1951, 17 pages (multilithed).

Number 4: A Social Profile of Providence, Kentucky, April, 1951, 23 pages (multilithed).

✓ Number 5: Mobilizing Kentucky's Resources for Community Development, Report of the First Annual Kentucky Home Town Meeting, September 24, 1951, 29 pages (multilithed).

✓ Number 6: Shelbyville: A Community Social Profile, February, 1952, 13 pages (multilithed).

Number 7: Preparing a Community Profile: The Methodology of a Social Reconnaissance, May, 1952, 17 pages (multilithed).

Number 8: A Social Profile of Metcalfe County, Kentucky, May, 1952, iv-11 pages (multilithed).

Number 9: Bluegrass Town, Kentucky: An Analysis of Four collective Social Values, June, 1952, 18 pages (multilithed).

Number 10: Paducah: An Embryonic Metropolis, July, 1952, 48 pages (multilithed).

Number 11: Report of Second Annual Kentucky Home Town Meeting, December, 1952 (multilithed).

Number 12: Frankfort: A Community Social Profile, February, 1953, 25 pages (multilithed).

Number 13: As the People See It, Harrodsburg and Mercer County, Kentucky, August, 1953, 40 pages (multilithed).

Number 14: The Search for Recipes for Community Development: A Brief Summary of Community School for a Day, September 28, 1953, 14 pages (multilithed).

# BUREAU
# of
# COMMUNITY SERVICE

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

An agency whose purpose is to help communities help themselves. Should you want its assistance, these are the steps we suggest:

A. Check with a few fellow civic leaders and solicit their support of your ideas of community development.

B. Cooperate with a responsible community group in inviting us to help you explore the problem area.

C. Fill out our Community Fact Sheet to help us make a tentative diagnosis.

We will then help you:

1. Analyze the current social situation.
2. Gauge the possible success of various kinds of programs indicated.
3. Assist your local group in tailoring the selected program to fit your community.
4. Assist in locating technical specialized help wherever needed.

The job is yours, the rewards are yours! Our goal is a better community for you!

# BUREAU
# of
# COMMUNITY SERVICE

**UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY**

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

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As we have worked to aid X, Y, and Z'ville, Kentucky, we believe we have helped them develop sound plans for action.

Does their situation resemble yours? Can you benefit from their experiences?

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**SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT**

**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES**

## X'VILLE, KENTUCKY

**Description:**

A bustling, vigorous town of several thousand people. It has 11 churches, 5 women's clubs, 4 men's luncheon clubs, numerous lodges and civic committees. It also has seven faltering, failing community projects. As one citizen says, "Every group has a pet project."

**Diagnosis:**

Flying apart at the seams from over-organization, lack of co-ordination. The effort is spread too thin!

**Prescription:**

Consolidation of efforts, merging of projects, and co-ordination of plans. Selling the citizens on the total community welfare, not just some special project.

## Y'VILLE, KENTUCKY

**Description:**

A quiet, friendly temperate town of a few thousand. It has four churches (poor attendance), one women's club (membership confined to a small clique), one men's service club, no youth groups, one small factory, few eligible bachelors, excessive school debt.

**Diagnosis:**

Suffering mostly from out-migration of young people. No job opportunities. No plan for To-morrow — little interest in To-day!

**Prescription:**

We are assisting a local citizen group in planning for the use of local agricultural resources to develop new business for job opportunities to "bring the boys back home" and at the same time benefit the whole community.

## Z'VILLE, KENTUCKY

**Description:**

An important county seat; forty civic-minded organizations that one man says "have never been able to accomplish anything." It is economically healthy only for a few. It has problems in the fields of health, education, traffic regulations, and government. Several young men express "The itch to move on." They say, "Folks here regard new ideas as bad ideas."

**Diagnosis:**

No provision has ever been made to transfer leadership from the older leaders to the rising generation.

**Prescription:**

We are counseling with a younger age group of citizens to help them demonstrate leadership and prove capable of responsibility in the years to come.

## YOUR TOWN

### —Can you portray it?

**Description:**

**Diagnosis:**

**Prescription:**